

Memoirs of Samuel Pepys, Esq. F.R.S. : secretary to the Admiralty in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. Comprising his diary from 1659 to 1669, deciphered by the Rev. John Smith, from the original short-hand MS. in the Pepysian Library, and a selection from his private correspondence / Edited by Richard, Lord Braybrooke.

Contributors

Pepys, Samuel, 1633-1703.

Braybrooke, Richard Griffin, Baron, 1783-1858 (Editor) Smith, J. (John)
Royal College of Physicians of London

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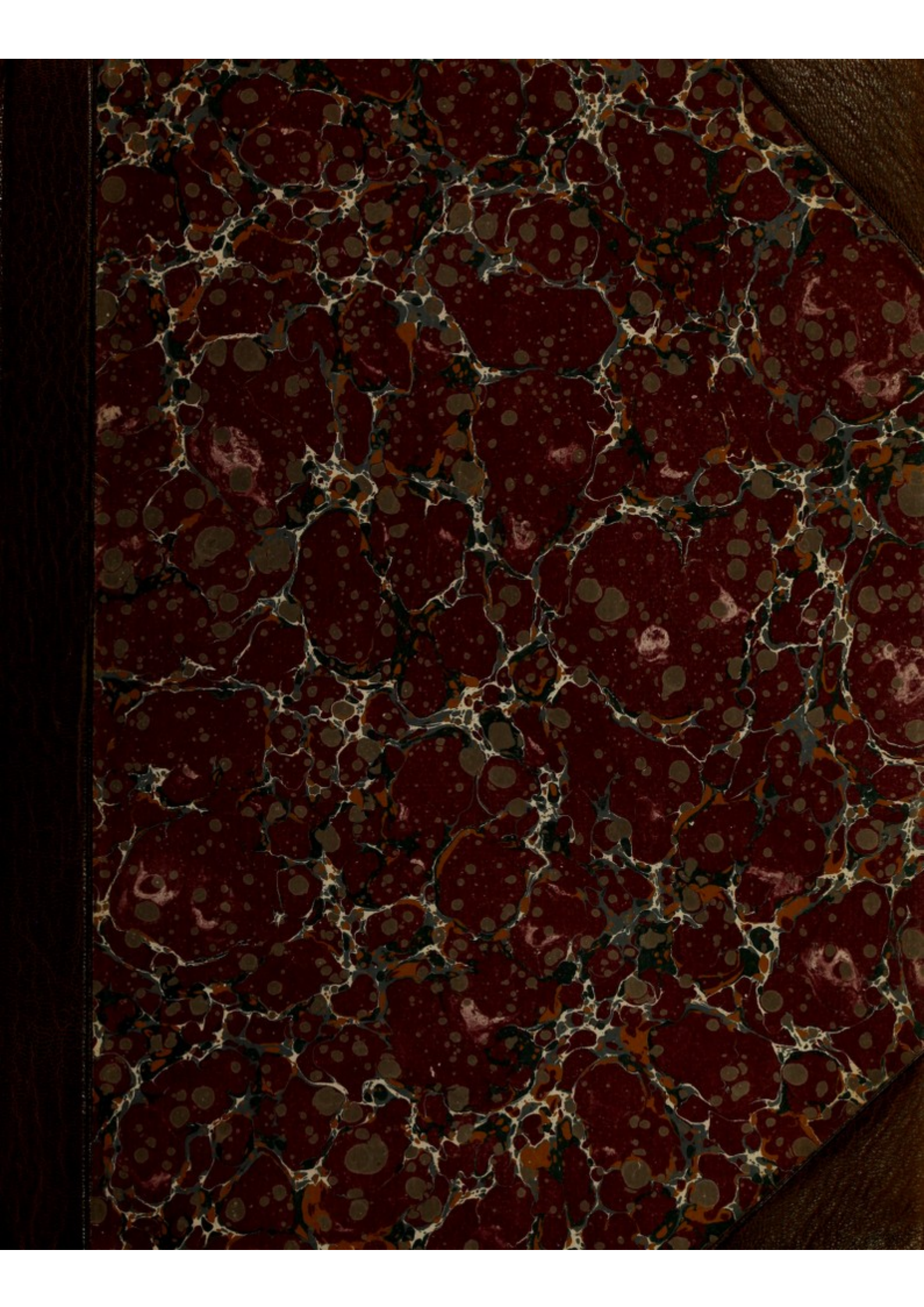
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MEMOIRS
OF
SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ. F.R.S.

SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY, &c. &c.

VOL. II.

MEMOIRS

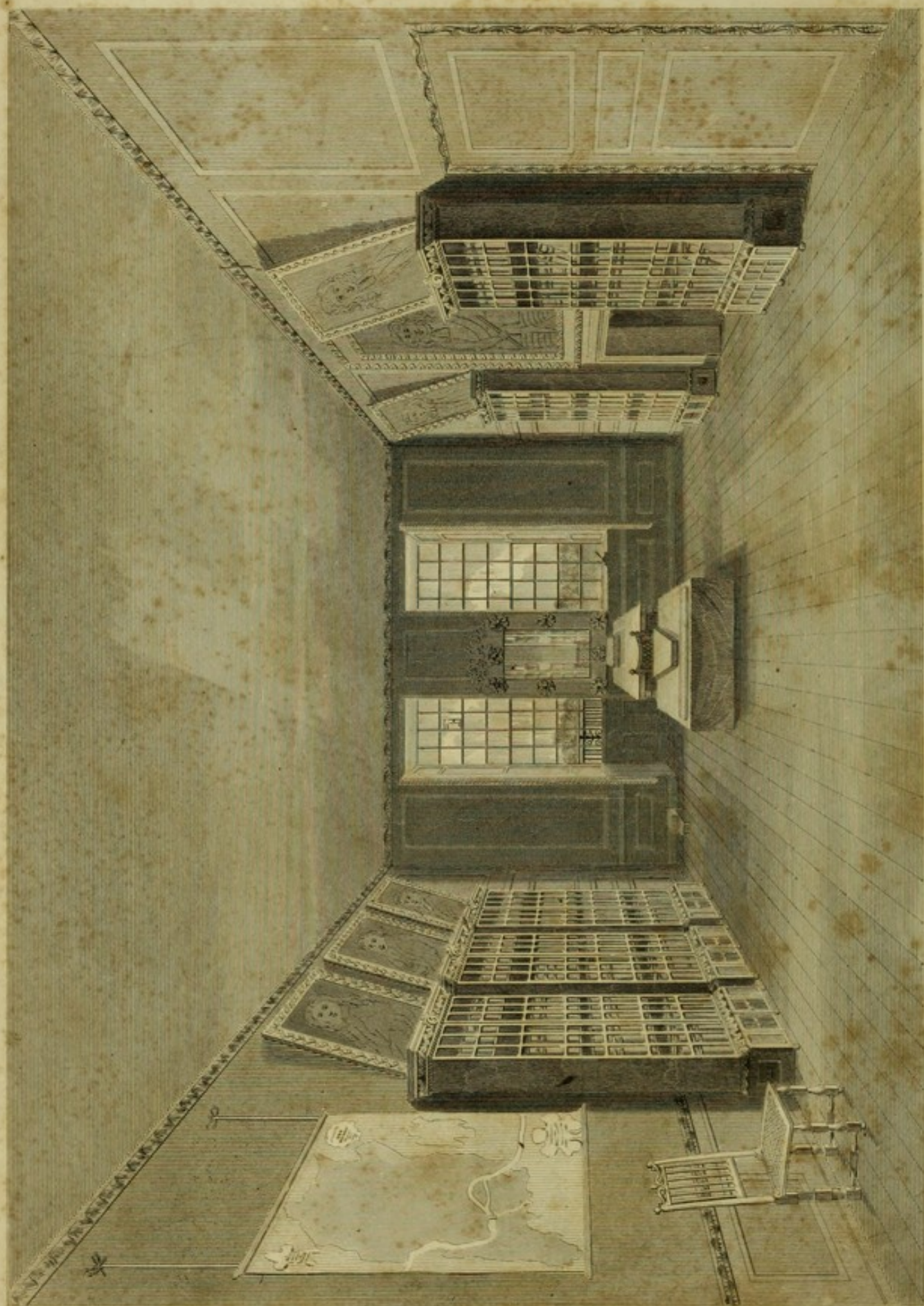
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SAMUEL PEPPY, ESQ. F.R.S.

SECRETARY TO THE ADAMANTINE ASSOCIATION

VOL. II



VIEW OF THE INTERIOR OF MR. PEPPYS' LIBRARY IN YORK BUILDINGS.

From the original Engraving in the M.S. Catalogue in the Bodleian Collection.

MEMOIRS
OF
SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ. F.R.S.

SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY

IN THE REIGNS OF CHARLES II. AND JAMES II.

COMPRISING

H I S D I A R Y

FROM 1659 TO 1669,

DECIPHERED BY THE REV. JOHN SMITH, A.B. OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

FROM THE ORIGINAL SHORT-HAND MS. IN THE PEPYSIAN LIBRARY,

AND A SELECTION FROM HIS

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.



EDITED BY

RICHARD, LORD BRAYBROOKE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

MDCCCXXV.



MEMOIRS

SAMUEL PIERCE, ESQ. F.R.S.

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MEMOIRS,

&c. &c.

1666-7. Jan. 2d. **M**Y wife up, and with Mrs. Pen to walk in the fields to frost-bite themselves. I find the Court full of great apprehensions of the French, who have certainly shipped landmen, great numbers at Brest; and most of our people here guess his design for Ireland. We have orders to send all the ships we can possible to the Downes, every day bringing us news of new mutinies among the seamen; so that our condition is like to be very miserable. Mr. George Montagu tells me of the King displeasing the House of Commons by evading their Bill for examining Accounts, and putting it into a Commission, though therein he hath left out Coventry and ——*, and named all the rest the Parliament named, and all country Lords, not one Courtier: this do not please them. He finds the enmity almost over for my Lord Sandwich. Up to the Painted Chamber, and there heard a conference between the House of Lords and Commons about the Wine Patent; which I was exceeding glad to be at, because of my hearing exceeding good discourses, but especially from the Commons; among others Mr. Swinfen, and a young man, one Sir Thomas Meres:† and do outdo the Lords infinitely. Alone to the King's house, and there saw "The Custome of the Country,"‡ the second time of its being acted, wherein Knipp does the Widow well; but of all the plays that ever I did see, the worst, having neither plot, language, nor any thing in the earth that is acceptable; only Knipp sings a song admirably.

3d. This day, I hear, hath been a conference between the two

* A blank in the MS.

† Knight, M. P. for Lincoln, made a Commissioner of the Admiralty 1679.

‡ A tragi-comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

Houses about the Bill for examining Accounts, wherein the House of Lords their proceedings in petitioning the King for doing it by Commission, are in great heat voted by the Commons, after the conference, unparliamentary.

4th. Comes our company to dinner; my Lord Brouncker, Sir W. Pen, his lady, and Peg, and her servant, Mr. Lowther*. At night to sup, and then to cards, and last of all to have a flaggon of ale and apples, drunk out of a wood cup, as a Christmas draught, which made all merry; and they full of admiration at my plate. Mr. Lowther a pretty gentleman, too good for Peg. Sir W. Pen was much troubled to hear the song I sung, "The New Droll," it touching him home.

5th. With my wife to the Duke's house, and there saw "Muspapha,†" a most excellent play.

6th. Young Michell and I, it being an excellent frosty day, did walk out. He shewed me the baker's house in Pudding-lane, where the late great fire begun: and thence all along Thames-street, where I did view several places, and so up by London Wall by Blackfriars to Ludgate; and thence to Bridewell, which I find to have been heretofore an extraordinary good house, and a fine coming to it before the house by the bridge was built.

7th. Lord Brouncker tells me that my Lady Denham is at last dead. Some suspect her poisoned, but it will be best known when her body is opened to-day, she dying yesterday morning. The Duke of York is troubled for her; but hath declared he will never have another public mistress again; which I shall be glad of, and would the King would do the like. He tells me how the Parliament is grown so jealous of the King's being unfayre to them in the business of the Bill for examining Accounts, Irish Bill, and the business of the Papists, that they will not pass the business for money till they see themselves secure that those Bills will pass; which they do observe the Court to keep off till all the Bills come together, that the King may accept what he pleases, and what he pleases to object to. He tells me how Mr. Henry Howard of Norfolk hath given our Royal Society all his grandfather's library: which noble gift they value at 1000*l.*; and gives them accommodation to

* Anthony Lowther, Esq. of Mark. Ob. 1692.

† A tragedy, by Roger Earl of Orrery.

meet in at his house (Arundell House), they being now disturbed at Gresham College. To the Duke's house, and saw "Macbeth," which though I saw it lately, yet appears a most excellent play in all respects, but especially in divertisement, though it be a deep tragedy; which is a strange perfection in a tragedy, it being most proper here, and suitable.

9th. In a hackney-coach to White Hall, the way being most horribly bad upon the breaking up of the frost, so as not to be passed almost. I do hear by my Lord Brouncker, that for certain Sir W. Coventry hath resigned his place of Commissioner up; which I believe he hath done upon good grounds of security to himself from all the blame which must attend our office this next year; but I fear the King will suffer by it. Thence to Westminster Hall, and there to the conference of the Houses about the word "Nusance," which the Commons would have, and the Lords will not, in the Irish Bill. The Commons do it professedly to prevent the King's dispensing with it; which Sir Robert Howard and others did expressly repeat often: viz., "that no King ever could do any thing which was hurtful to his people." Now the Lords did argue that it was an ill precedent, and that which will ever hereafter be used as a way of preventing the King's dispensation with acts; and therefore rather advise to pass the Bill without that word, and let it go accompanied with a petition to the King that he will not dispense with it; this being a more civil way to the King. They answered well, that this do imply that the King should pass their Bill, and yet with design to dispense with it; which is to suppose the King guilty of abusing them. And more, they produce precedents for it; namely, that against new buildings, and about leather, where the word "Nusance" is used to the purpose: and further, that they do not rob the King of any right he ever had, for he never had a power to do hurt to his people, nor would exercise it; and therefore there is no danger in the passing this Bill of imposing on his prerogative; and concluded that they think they ought to do this, so as the people may really have the benefit of it when it is passed, for never any people could expect so reasonably to be indulged something from a King, they having already given him so much money, and are likely

to give more. Thus they broke up, both adhering to their opinions; but the Commons seemed much more full of judgment and reason than the Lords. Then the Commons made their Report to the Lords of their vote that their Lordships' proceedings in the Bill for examining Accounts were unparliamentary, they having, while a Bill was sent up to them from the Commons about the business, petitioned his Majesty that he would do the same thing by his Commission. They did give their reasons: viz. that it had no precedent; that the King ought not to be informed of any thing passing in the Houses till it comes to a Bill; that it will wholly break off all correspondence between the two Houses, and in the issue wholly infringe the very use and being of Parliaments. Thence to Faythorne, and bought a head or two; one of them my Lord of Ormond's, the best I ever saw. To Arundell House, where first the Royal Society meet by the favour of Mr. Harry Howard, who was there. And here was a great meeting of worthy noble persons; but my Lord Brouncker, who pretended to make a congratulatory speech upon their coming hither, and great thanks to Mr. Howard, did do it in the worst manner in the world.

14th. Sir W. Batten tells me the Lords do agree at last with the Commons about the word "Nusance" in the Irish Bill, and do desire a good correspondence between the two Houses; and that the King do intend to prorogue them the last of this month.

16th. Sir W. Coventry came to me aside in the Duke's chamber to tell that he had not answered part of a late letter of mine, because *littera scripta manet*. About his leaving the office, he tells me, it is because he finds that his business at Court will not permit him to attend it; and then he confesses that he seldom of late could come from it with satisfaction, and therefore would not take the King's money for nothing. I professed my sorrow for it, and prayed the continuance of his favour; which he promised. I do believe he hath acted like a very wise man in reference to himself; but I doubt it will prove ill for the King, and for the office. Prince Rupert, I hear, is very ill; yesterday given over, but better to-day. Sir Stephen Fox, among other things, told me his whole mystery in the business of the interest he pays as Treasurer for the Army. They give him 12*d.* per pound quite

through the Army, with condition to be paid weekly. This he undertakes upon his own private credit, and to be paid by the King at the end of every four months. If the King pay him not at the end of every four months, then, for all the time he stays longer, my Lord Treasurer by agreement allows him eight per cent. per annum for the forbearance. So that, in fine, he hath about twelve per cent. from the King, and the Army, for fifteen or sixteen months' interest; out of which he gains soundly, his expense being about 130,000*l.* per annum; and hath no trouble in it, compared (as I told him) to the trouble I must have to bring in an account of interest. Talk there is of a letter to come from Holland, desiring a place of treaty; but I do doubt it. This day I observe still in many places the smoking remains of the late fire: the ways mighty bad and dirty. This night Sir R. Ford told me how this day, at Christ church Hospital, they have given a living of 200*l.* per annum to Mr. Sanchy, my old acquaintance, which I wonder at, he commending him mightily; but am glad of it. He tells me too how the famous Stillingfleete was a Blue-coat boy.

18th. This morning come Captain Cocke to me, and tells me that the King comes to the House this day to pass the Poll Bill and the Irish Bill; and that, though the Faction is very froward in the House, yet all will end well there. But he says that one had got a Bill ready to present in the House against Sir W. Coventry for selling of places, and says he is certain of it, and how he was withheld from doing it. He says that the Vice-chamberlaine is now one of the greatest men in England again, and was he that did prevail with the King to let the Irish Bill go with the word "Nusance." He told me that Sir G. Carteret's declaration of giving double to any man that will prove that any of his people have demanded or taken any thing for forwarding the payment of the wages of any man, (of which he sent us a copy yesterday, which we approved of,) is set up, among other places, upon the House of Lords' door. I do not know how wisely this is done. Sir W. Pen told me this night how the King did make them a very sharp speech in the House of Lords to-day, saying that he did expect to have had more Bills; that he purposes to prorogue them on Monday come se'nnight; that whereas they have unjustly conceived some

jealousys of his making a peace, he declares he knows of no such thing or treaty: and so left them. But with so little effect, that as soon as he came into the House, Sir W. Coventry moved, that now the King hath declared his intention of proroguing them, it would be loss of time to go on with the thing they were upon when they were called to the King, which was the calling over the defaults of Members appearing in the House; for that before any person could now come or be brought to town, the House would be up. Yet the Faction did desire to delay time, and contend so as to come to a division of the House; where, however, it was carried by a few voices that the debate should be laid by. But this shews that they are not pleased, or that they have not any awe over them from the King's displeasure.

20th. I was sorry to hear of the heat the House was in yesterday about the ill management of the Navy; though I think they were well answered both by Sir G. Carteret and Sir W. Coventry, as he informs me the substance of their speeches. I to church, and there beyond expectation find our seat and all the church crammed by twice as many people as used to be: and to my great joy find Mr. Frampton in the pulpit; and I think the best sermon, for goodness and oratory, without affectation or study, that ever I heard in my life. The truth is, he preaches the most like an apostle that ever I heard man; and it was much the best time that ever I spent in my life at church.

21st. To the Swede's-Resident's in the Piazza, to discourse with him about two of our prizes. A cunning fellow. He lives in one of the great houses there, but ill-furnished; and come to us out of bed in his furred mittins and furred cap. Up to the Lords' House, and there come mighty seasonably to hear the Solicitor about my Lord Buckingham's pretence to the title of Lord Rosse. Mr. Atturny Montagu is also a good man, and so is old Sir P. Ball*; but the Solicitor, and Scroggs† after him, are excellent men. This night at supper comes from Sir W. Coventry the Order of Council for my Lord Brouncker to do all the Controller's part relating to the Treasurer's accounts, and Sir W. Pen all relating to the Victualler's, and Sir J. Minnes to do the

* Sir Peter Ball, the Queen's Attorney.

† Sir William Scroggs, King's Serjeant 1669, and made a Judge 1676.

rest. This, I hope, will do much better for the King, and I think will give neither of them ground to over-top me, as I feared they would; which pleases me mightily. This evening Mr. Wren and Captain Cocke called upon me at the office, and there told me how the House was in better temper to-day, and hath passed the Bill for the remainder of the money, but not to be passed finally till they have done some other things which they will have passed with it; wherein they are very open, what their meaning is, which was but doubted before, for they do in all respects doubt the King's pleasing them.

23d. My Lord Brouncker and I walking into the Park, I did observe the new buildings: and my Lord seeing I had a desire to see them, they being the place for the priests and friers, he took me back to my Lord Almoner*; and he took us quite through the whole house and chapel, and the new monastery, shewing me most excellent pieces in wax-worke: a crucifix given by a Pope to Mary Queene of Scots, where a piece of the Cross is; two bits set in the manner of a cross in the foot of the crucifix: several fine pictures, but especially very good prints of holy pictures. I saw the dortoire† and the cells of the priests, and we went into one; a very pretty little room, very clean, hung with pictures, set with books. The Priest was in his cell, with his hair-clothes to his skin, bare-legged with a sandall only on, and his little bed without sheets, and no feather-bed; but yet, I thought, soft enough. His cord about his middle; but in so good company, living with ease, I thought it a very good life. A pretty library they have. And I was in the refectoire, where every man his napkin, knife, cup of earth, and basin of the same; and a place for one to sit and read while the rest are at meals. And into the kitchen I went, where a good neck of mutton at the fire, and other victuals boiling. I do not think they fared very hard. Their windows all looking into a fine garden and the Park; and mighty pretty rooms all. I wished myself one of the Capuchins. To the King's house, and there saw "The Humorous Lieutenant‡:" a silly play, I think; only the Spirit in it that grows very tall and then sinks again to nothing, having

* Cardinal Howard of Norfolk, the Queen's Almoner. † Dormitory.

‡ A tragi-comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

two heads breeding upon one, and then Knipp's singing, did please us. Here in a box above we spied Mrs. Pierce; and going out they called us, and so we staid for them; and Knipp took us all in, and brought to us Nelly*, a most pretty woman, who acted the great part Coelia to-day very fine, and did it pretty well: I kissed her, and so did my wife; and a mighty pretty soul she is. We also saw Mrs. Ball, which is my little Roman-nose black girl, that is mighty pretty: she is usually called Betty. Knipp made us stay in a box and see the dancing preparatory to to-morrow for "The Goblins," a play of Suckling's†, not acted these twenty-five years; which was pretty. In our way home we find the Guards of horse in the street, and hear the occasion to be news that the seamen are in a mutiny; which put me into a great fright.

24th. Company at home; amongst others, Captain Rolt. And anon at about seven or eight o'clock comes Mr. Harris of the Duke's playhouse, and brings Mrs. Pierce with him, and also one dressed like a country-maid with a straw-hat on, and at first I could not tell who it was, though I expected Knipp: but it was she coming off the stage just as she acted this day in "The Goblins;" a merry jade. Now my house is full, and four fiddlers that play well. Harris I first took to my closet; and I find him a very curious and understanding person in all pictures and other things, and a man of fine conversation; and so is Rolt. Among other things, Harris sung his Irish song, the strangest in itself and the prettiest sung by him that ever I heard.

25th. This afternoon I saw the Poll Bill, now printed; wherein I do fear I shall be very deeply concerned, being to be taxed for all my offices, and then for my money that I have, and my title as well as my head. It is a very great tax; but yet I do think it is so perplexed, it will hardly ever be collected duly. The late invention of Sir G. Downing's is continued of bringing all the money into the Exchequer. This day the House hath passed the Bill for the Assessment; which I am glad of. And also our little Bill, for giving any of us in the office the power of justice of peace, is done as I would have it.

27th. Roger Pepys and I to walk in the Pell Mell. I find by him that the House of Parliament continues full of ill humours; and

* Nell Gwynne.

† Sir John Suckling, the poet.

do say how in their late Poll Bill, which cost so much time, the yeomanry, and indeed two-thirds of the nation, are left out to be taxed. Walked to White Hall, and there I shewed my cosen Roger the Duchesse of York sitting in state, while her own mother stands by her; and my Lady Castlemaine, whom he approves to be very handsome, and wonders that she cannot be as good within as she is fair without. Her little black boy come by him, and a dog being in his way, the little boy swore at the dog: "How," says he, blessing himself, "would I whip this child till the blood come, if it were my child!"

28th. To Westminster, where I spent the morning at the Lords' House door to hear the conference between the two Houses about my Lord Mordaunt, of which there was great expectation. Many hundreds of people coming to hear it. But when they come, the Lords did insist upon my Lord Mordaunt's having leave to sit upon a stool uncovered within their barr, and that he should have counsel, which the Commons would not suffer, but desired leave to report their Lordships' resolution to the House of Commons; and so parted for this day, which troubled me, I having by this means lost the whole day. Here I hear from Mr. Hayes that Prince Rupert is very bad still, and so bad that he do now yield to be trepanned. After supper and reading a little, and my wife's cutting off my hair short, which is grown too long upon my crown of my head, I to bed.

February 2d. I am very well pleased this night with reading a poem I brought home with me last night from Westminster Hall, of Dryden's, upon the present war; a very good poem.

3d. To White Hall, and there to Sir W. Coventry's chamber, and there staid till he was ready. Talking, and among other things of the Prince's being trepanned, which was in doing just as we passed through the Stone Gallery, we asking at the door of his lodgings, and were told so. We are full of wishes for the good success; though I dare say but few do really concern ourselves for him in our hearts. With others into the House, and there hear that the work is done to the Prince in a few minutes without any pain at all to him, he not knowing when it was done. It was performed by Moulins. Having cut

the outward table, as they call it, they find the inner all corrupted, so as it come out without any force ; and their fear is, that the whole inside of his head is corrupted like that, which do yet make them afraid of him ; but no ill accident appeared in the doing of the thing, but all with all imaginable success, as Sir Alexander Frazier did tell me himself, I asking him, who is very kind to me. To Sir G. Carteret's to dinner ; and before dinner he tells me that he believes the Duke of York will go to sea with the fleet, which I am sorry for in respect to his person, but yet there is no person in condition to command the fleet, now the Captains are grown so great, but him. By and by to dinner, where very good company. Among other discourse, we talked much of Nostradamus* his prophecy of these times, and the burning of the City of London, some of whose verses are put into Booker's† Almanack this year : and Sir G. Carteret did tell a story, how at his death he did make the town swear that he should never be dug up, or his tomb opened, after he was buried ; but they did after sixty years do it, and upon his breast they found a plate of brasse, saying what a wicked and unfaithful people the people of that place were, who after so many vows should disturb and open him such a day and year and hour ; which, if true, is very strange. Then we fell to talk of the burning of the City. And my Lady Carteret herself did tell us how abundance of pieces of burnt papers were cast by the wind as far as Cranborne ; and among others she took up one, or had one brought her to see, which was a little bit of paper that had been printed, whereon there remained no more nor less than these words : " Time is, it is done." Away home, and received some letters from Sir W. Coventry, touching the want of victuals to Kempthorne's‡ fleet going to the

* Michael Nostradamus, a physician and astrologer, born in the diocese of Avignon, 1503. Amongst other predictions he prophesied the death of Henry II. of France, by which the celebrity he had before acquired was not a little increased. He succeeded also in rendering assistance to the inhabitants of Aix, during the plague, by a powder of his own invention. He died at Salon, July 1566.

† John Booker, an eminent astrologer and writing-master at Hadley.

‡ John Kempthorne, a distinguished Naval Officer, afterwards knighted and made Commissioner at Portsmouth, which place he represented in Parliament. Ob. 1679. *Vide* some curious letters about his election in the Appendix.

Streights and now in the Downes: which did trouble me, he saying that this disappointment might prove fatal; and the more, because Sir W. Coventry do intend to come to the office upon business to-morrow morning, and I shall not know what answer to give him.

4th. When Sir W. Coventry did come, and the rest met, I did appear unconcerned, and did give him answer pretty satisfactory what he asked me; so that I did get off this meeting without any ground lost. Soon as dined, my wife and I out to the Duke's playhouse, and there saw "Heraclius*," an excellent play, to my extraordinary content; and the more from the house being very full, and great company; among others Mrs. Stewart, very fine, with her locks done up with puffs, as my wife calls them: and several other great ladies had their hair so, though I do not like it; but my wife do mightily; but it is only because she sees it is the fashion. Here I saw my Lord Rochester and his lady, Mrs. Mallet, who hath after all this ado married him; and, as I hear some say in the pit, it is a great act of charity, for he hath no estate. But it was pleasant to see how every body rose up when my Lord John Butler, the Duke of Ormond's son, come into the pit towards the end of the play, who was a servant to Mrs. Mallet, and now smiled upon her, and she on him. Home, and to my chamber, and there finished my Catalogue of my books with my own hand.

5th. Heard this morning that the Prince is much better, and hath good rest. All the talk is that my Lord Sandwich hath perfected the peace with Spain; which is very good, if true. Sir H. Cholmly was with me this morning, and told me of my Lord Bellasses' base dealings with him by getting him to give him great gratuities to near 2000*l.* for his friendship in the business of the Molle, and hath been lately underhand endeavouring to bring another man into his place as Governor, so as to receive his money of Sir H. Cholmly for nothing. To the King's house, to see "The Chances†." A good play I find it, and the actors most good in it. And pretty to hear Knipp sing in the play very properly, "All night I weepe;" and sung it admirably. The whole play pleases me well: and most of all, the sight of many fine ladies; among

* A tragedy, by Lodowick Carlell, taken from Corneille.

† A comedy, by the Duke of Buckingham.

others my Lady Castlemaine and Mrs. Middleton : the latter of the two hath also a very excellent face and body, I think. And so home in the dark over the ruins with a link.

6th. To Westminster Hall, and walked up and down, and hear that the Prince do still rest well by day and night, and out of pain ; so as great hopes are conceived of him : though I did meet Dr. Clerke and Mr. Pierce, and they do say they believe he will not recover it, they supposing that his whole head within is eaten by this corruption, which appeared in this piece of the inner table. To White Hall to attend the Council ; but they sat not to-day. So to Sir W. Coventry's chamber, and find him within, and with a letter from the Downes in his hands, telling the loss of the St. Patricke coming from Harwich in her way to Portsmouth ; and would needs chase two ships (she having the Malago fire-ship in company) which from English colours put up Dutch, and he would clap on board the Vice-Admirall ; and after long dispute the Admirall comes on the other side of him, and both together took him. Our fire-ship (Seely) not coming in to fire all three, but come away, leaving her in their possession, and carried away by them : a ship built at Bristoll the last year, of fifty guns and upwards, and a most excellent good ship.

8th. Sir W. Batten come this morning from the House, where the King hath prorogued this Parliament to October next. I am glad they are up. The Bill for Accounts was not offered, the party being willing to let it fall ; but the King did tell them he expected it. They are parted with great heart-burnings, one party against the other. Pray God bring them hereafter together in better temper ! It is said that the King do intend himself in this interval to take away Lord Mordaunt's government*, so as to do something to appease the House against they come together, and let them see he will do that of his own accord which is fit, without their forcing him ; and that he will have his Commission for Accounts go on : which will be good things. At dinner we talked much of Cromwell ; all saying he was a brave fellow, and did owe his crowne he got to himself as much as any man that ever got one.

* Windsor Castle.

9th. Read a piece of a play, "Every Man in his Humour," wherein is the greatest propriety of speech that ever I read in my life: and so to bed. This noon come my wife's watch-maker, and received 12*l.* of me for her watch; but Captain Rolt coming to speak with me about a little business, he did judge of the work to be very good, and so I am well contented.

10th. Lord's-day. To church, where Mr. Mills made an unnecessary sermon upon Original Sin, neither understood by himself nor the people. Home, where come Mr. Carter*, my old acquaintance of Magdalene College, who hath not been here of many years. He hath spent his time in the country with the Bishop of Carlisle much. He is grown a very comely person, and of good discourse, and one that I like very much. We had much talk of all our old acquaintance of the College, concerning their various fortunes; wherein, to my joy, I met not with any that have sped better than myself. Mrs. Turner do tell me very odde stories how Mrs. Williams do receive the applications of people, and hath presents, and she is the hand that receives all, while my Lord do the business.

12th. With my Lord Brouncker by coach to his house, there to hear some Italian musique: and here we met Tom Killigrew, Sir Robert Murray, and the Italian Signor Baptista†, who hath proposed a play in Italian for the Opera, which T. Killigrew do intend to have up; and here he did sing one of the acts. He himself is the poet as well as the musician; which is very much, and did sing the whole from the words without any musique prickt, and played all along upon a harpsicon most admirably, and the composition most excellent. The words I did not understand, and so know not how they are fitted, but believe very well, and all in the recitativo very fine. But I perceive there is a proper accent in every country's discourse, and that do reach in their setting of notes to words, which, therefore, cannot be natural to any body else but them; so that I am not so much smitten with it as it may be I should be if I were acquainted with their accent. But the whole composition is certainly most excellent; and the poetry, T.

* Thomas Carter, S.T.P. 1669.

† Giovanni Baptista Draghi, an Italian musician in the service of Queen Catherine, and a composer of merit. *Burney, History of Music.*

Killigrew and Sir R. Murray, who understood the words, did say most excellent. I confess I was mightily pleased with the musique. He pretends not to voice, though it be good, but not excellent. This done, T. Killigrew and I to talk : and he tells me how the audience at his house is not above half so much as it used to be before the late fire. That Knipp is like to make the best actor that ever come upon the stage, she understanding so well : that they are going to give her 30*l.* a-year more. That the stage is now by his pains a thousand times better and more glorious than ever heretofore. Now wax-candles, and many of them ; then not above 3 lbs. of tallow : now all things civil, no rudeness any where ; then, as in a bear-garden : then two or three fiddlers, now nine or ten of the best : then nothing but rushes upon the ground, and every thing else mean ; now all otherwise : then the Queene seldom and the King never would come ; now, not the King only for state, but all civil people do think they may come as well as any. He tells me that he hath gone several times (eight or ten times, he tells me,) hence to Rome, to hear good musique ; so much he loves it, though he never did sing or play a note. That he hath ever endeavoured in the late King's time and in this to introduce good musique, but he never could do it, there never having been any musique here better than ballads. And says "Hermitt poore" and "Chiny Chese" was all the musique we had ; and yet no ordinary fiddlers get so much money as ours do here, which speaks our rudenesse still. That he hath gathered our Italians from several Courts in Christendome, to come to make a concert for the King, which he do give 200*l.* a-year a-piece to ; but badly paid, and do come in the room of keeping four ridiculous Gundilows, he having got the King to put them away, and lay out money this way. And indeed I do commend him for it ; for I think it is a very noble undertaking. He do intend to have some times of the year these operas to be performed at the two present theatres, since he is defeated in what he intended in Moorefields on purpose for it. And he tells me plainly that the City audience was as good as the Court ; but now they are most gone. Baptista tells me that Giacomo Charissimi*

* Giacomo Chiarissimi, Maestro di Cappella of the Church of St. Apollinare in the German College at Rome, an excellent Italian musician. He lived to be 90.—*Burney*.

is still alive at Rome, who was master to Vinnecotio, who is one of the Italians that the King hath here, and the chief composer of them. My great wonder is, how this man do to keep in memory so perfectly the musique of the whole act, both for the voice and the instrument too. I confess I do admire it : but in recitativo the sense much helps him, for there is but one proper way of discoursing and giving the accents. Having done our discourse, we all took coaches (my Lord's and T. Killigrew's) and to Mrs. Knipp's chamber, where this Italian is to teach her to sing her part. And so we all thither, and there she did sing an Italian song or two very fine, while he played the bass upon a harpsicon there ; and exceedingly taken I am with her singing, and believe she will do miracles at that and acting.

13th. To the Duke of York, and there did our usual business ; but troubled to see that at this time, after our declaring a debt to the Parliament of 900,000*l.* and nothing paid since, but the debt encreased, and now the fleet to set out, to hear that the King hath ordered but 35,000*l.* for the setting out of the fleet, out of the Poll Bill to buy all provisions, when five times as much had been little enough to have done any thing to purpose. They have, indeed, ordered more for paying off of seamen and the Yards to some time, but not enough for that neither. A foul evening this was to-night, and I mightily troubled to get a coach home ; and, which is now my common practice, going over the ruins in the night, I rid with my sword drawn in the coach.

14th. By coach to my Lord Chancellor's, and there a meeting : the Duke of York, Duke of Albemarle, and several other Lords of the Commission of Tangier. And there I did present a state of my accounts, and managed them well ; and my Lord Chancellor did say, though he was in other things in an ill humour, that no man in England was of more method, nor made himself better understood, than myself. But going, after the business of money was over, to other businesses, of settling the garrison, he did fling out, and so did the Duke of York, two or three severe words touching my Lord Bellasses : that he would have no Governor come away from thence in less than three years ; no, though his lady were with child. "And," says the Duke of York, "there should be no Governor continue so, longer than three

years."—"And," says Lord Arlington, "when our rules are once set, and upon good judgment declared, no Governor should offer to alter them." "We must correct the many things that are amiss there; for (says the Lord Chancellor) you must think we do hear of more things amiss than we are willing to speak before our friends' faces." My Lord Bellasses would not take notice of their reflecting on him, and did wisely. H. Cholmly and I to the Temple, and there walked in the dark in the walks talking of news; and he surprises me with the certain news that the King did last night in Council declare his being in treaty with the Dutch: that they had sent him a very civil letter, declaring that if nobody but themselves were concerned, they would not dispute the place of treaty, but leave it to his choice; but that being obliged to satisfy therein a prince of equal quality with himself, they must except any place in England or Spain. Also the King hath chosen the Hague, and thither hath chose my Lord Hollis and Harry Coventry to go Embassadors to treat; which is so mean a thing as all the world will believe that we do go to beg a peace of them, whatever we pretend. And it seems all our Court are mightily for a peace, taking this to be the time to make one while the King hath money, that he may save something of what the Parliament hath given him to put him out of debt, so as he may need the help of no more Parliaments, as to the point of money: but our debt is so great, and expence daily so increased, that I believe little of the money will be saved between this and the making of the peace up. But that which troubles me most is, that we have chosen a son of Secretary Morris, a boy never used to any business, to go Secretary to the Embassy.

14th. This morning come up to my wife's bedside, I being up dressing myself, little Will Mercer to be her Valentine; and brought her name writ upon blue paper in gold letters, done by himself, very pretty; and we were both well pleased with it. But I am also this year my wife's Valentine, and it will cost me 5*l.*; but that I must have laid out if we had not been Valentines.

15th. Pegg Pen is married this day privately: no friends but two or three relations of his and hers. Borrowed many things of my kitchen for dressing their dinner. This wedding, being private, is

imputed to its being just before Lent, and so in vain to make new clothes till Easter, that they might see the fashions as they are like to be this summer ; which is reason good enough.

16th. To my Lord Brouncker's, and there was Sir Robert Murray, a most excellent man of reason and learning, and understands the doctrine of musique, and every thing else I could discourse of, very finely. Here come Mr. Hooke, Sir George Ent, Dr. Wren, and many others ; and by and by the musique, that is to say, Signior Vincentio, who is the master composer, and six more, whereof two eunuches (so tall that Sir T. Harvy said well that he believes they did grow large as our oxen do), and one woman very well dressed and handsome enough, but would not be kissed, as Mr. Killigrew, who brought the company in, did acquaint us. They sent two harpsicons before, and by and by after tuning them they begun ; and, I confess, very good musique they made ; that is, the composition exceeding good, but yet not at all more pleasing to me than what I have heard in English by Mrs. Knipp, Captain Cooke, and others. Their justness in keeping time by practice much before any that we have, unless it be a good band of practiced fiddlers. I find that Mrs. Pierce's little girl is my Valentine, she having drawn me ; which I was not sorry for, it easing me of something more that I must have given to others. But here I do first observe the fashion of drawing of mottos as well as names ; so that Pierce, who drew my wife, did draw also a motto, and this girl drew another for me. What mine was I have forgot ; but my wife's was, " Most courteous and most fair ;" which as it may be used, or an anagram made upon each name, might be very pretty. One wonder I observed to-day, that there was no musique in the morning to call up our new-married people ; which is very mean, methinks.

17th. Staid till the Council was up, and attended the King and Duke of York round the Park, and was asked several questions by both ; but I was in pain lest they should ask me what I could not answer ; as the Duke of York did the value of the hull of the St. Patricke lately lost, which I told him I could not presently answer ; though I might have easily furnished myself to answer all those questions. They stood a good while to see the ganders and geese in the

water. At home by appointment comes Captain Cocke to me, to talk of State matters and about the peace; who told me that the whole business is managed between Kevet, Burgomaster of Amsterdam, and my Lord Arlington, who hath through his wife* there some interest. We have proposed the Hague, but know not yet whether the Dutch will like it; or if they do, whether the French will. We think we shall have the help of the information of their affairs and state, and the helps of the Prince of Orange his faction: but above all, that De Witt, who hath all this while said he cannot get peace, his mouth will now be stopped, so that he will be forced to offer fit terms for fear of the people; and lastly, if France or Spain do not please us, we are in a way presently to clap up a peace with the Dutch, and secure them. But we are also in treaty with France, as he says; but it must be to the excluding our alliance with the King of Spain or House of Austria: which we do not know presently what will be determined in. He tells me the Vice-chamberlaine is so great with the King, that let the Duke of York, and Sir W. Coventry, and this office, do or say what they will, while the King lives Sir G. Carteret will do what he will; and advises me to be often with him, and eat and drink with him; and tells me that he doubts he is jealous of me, and was mighty mad to-day at our discourse to him before the Duke of York. But I did give him my reasons, that the office is concerned to declare that without money the King's work cannot go on. He assures me that Henry Brouncker is one of the shrewdest fellows for parts in England, and a dangerous man: that while we want money so much in the Navy, the officers of the Ordnance have at this day 300,000*l.* good in tallies, which they can command money upon: that Harry Coventry, who is to go upon this treaty with Lord Hollis (who he confesses to be a very wise man) into Holland, is a mighty quick, ready man, but not so weighty as he should be, he knowing him so well in his drink as he do: that unless the King do do something against my Lord Mordaunt and the Patents for the Canary Company before the Parliament next meets, he do believe there will be a civil war before there will be any more money

* See Note in page 482, Vol. I.

given, unless it may be at their perfect disposal; and that all things are now ordered to the provoking of the Parliament against they come next, and the spending the King's money, so as to put him into a necessity of having it at the time it is prorogued for, or sooner. This evening going to the Queene's side to see the ladies, I did find the Queene, the Duchesse of York, and another or two, at cards, with the room full of great ladies and men; which I was amazed at to see on a Sunday, having not believed it, but, contrarily, flatly denied the same a little while since to my cosen Roger Pepys.

18th. To the King's house to "The Mayd's Tragedy;" but vexed all the while with two talking ladies and Sir Charles Sedley; yet pleased to hear their discourse, he being a stranger. And one of the ladies would and did sit with her mask on all the play, and being exceeding witty as ever I heard woman, did talk most pleasantly with him; but was, I believe, a virtuous woman, and of quality. He would fain know who she was, but she would not tell; yet did give him many pleasant hints of her knowledge of him, by that means setting his brains at work to find out who she was, and did give him leave to use all means to find out who she was, but pulling off her mask. He was mighty witty, and she also making sport with him very inoffensively, that a more pleasant rencontre I never heard. But by that means lost the pleasure of the play wholly, to which now and then Sir Charles Sedley's exceptions against both words and pronouncing were very pretty.

20th. They talk how the King's viallin, Bannister, is mad; that the King hath a Frenchman come to be chief of some part of the King's musique. I with Lord Bellasses to Lord Chancellor's. Lord Bellasses tells me how the King of France hath caused the stop to be made to our proposition of treating in the Hague; that he being greater than they, we may better come and treat at Paris: so that God knows what will become of the peace! He tells me too, as a grand secret, that he do believe the peace offensive and defensive between Spain and us is quite finished, but must not be known, to prevent the King of France's presents falling upon Flanders. He do believe the Duke of York will be made General of the Spanish Armies there, and Governor of Flanders, if the French should come against

it, and we assist the Spaniard: that we have done the Spaniard abundance of mischief in the West Indys by our privateers at Jamaica, which they lament mightily, and I am sorry for it to have it done at this time. By and by come to my Lord Chancellor, who heard mighty quietly my complaints for lack of money, and spoke mighty kind to me, but little hopes of help therein.

24th. To White Hall, and there meeting my Lord Arlington, he by I know not what kindness offered to carry me along with him to my Lord Treasurer's, whither I told him I was going. I believe he had a mind to discourse of some Navy businesses, but Sir Thomas Clifford coming into the coach to us, we were prevented; which I was sorry for, for I had a mind to begin an acquaintance with him. He speaks well, and hath pretty slight superficial parts, I believe. He, in our going, talked much of the plain habit of the Spaniards; how the King and Lords themselves wear but a cloak of Colchester bayze, and the ladies mantles in cold weather of white flannell: and that the endeavours frequently of setting up the manufactory of making these stuffs there, have only been prevented by the Inquisition. Captain Cocke did tell me what I must not forget: that the answer of the Dutch, refusing the Hague for a place of treaty, and proposing Boyssse, Bredah, Bergen-op-Soome, or Maastricht, was seemingly stopped by the Swedes' Ambassador (though he did shew it the King, but the King would take no notice of it, nor does not,) from being delivered to the King; and he hath wrote to desire them to consider better of it. So that, though we know their refusal of the place, yet they know not that we know it, nor the King obliged to shew his sense of the affront. That the Dutch are in very great straits, so as to be said to be not able to set out their fleet this year. By and by comes Sir Robert Viner and Lord Mayor* to ask the King's direction about measuring out the streets according to the New Act for building of the City, wherein the King is to be pleased. But he says that the way proposed in Parliament by Colonel Birch would have been the best, to have chosen some persons in trust, and sold the whole ground, and let it be sold again by them with preference to the old owner, which would have certainly caused the City to be built where

* Sir William Bolton.

these Trustees pleased; whereas now great differences will be, and the streets built by fits, and not entire till all differences be decided. This, as he tells it, I think would have been the best way. I enquired about the Frenchman that was said to fire the City, and was hanged for it by his own confession, that he was hired for it by a Frenchman of Roane, and that he did with a stick reach in a fire-ball in at a window of the house: whereas the master of the house, who is the King's baker, and his son, and daughter, do all swear there was no such window, and that the fire did not begin thereabouts. Yet the fellow, who, though a mopish besotted fellow, did not speak like a madman, did swear that he did fire it: and did not this like a madman; for being tried on purpose, and landed with his keeper at the Tower-Wharf, he could carry the keeper to the very house. Asking Sir R. Viner what he thought was the cause of the fire, he tells me, that the baker, son, and his daughter, did all swear again and again, that their oven was drawn by ten o'clock at night: that having occasion to light a candle about twelve, there was not so much fire in the bakehouse as to light a match for a candle, so that they were fain to go into another place to light it: that about two in the morning they felt themselves almost choked with smoke, and rising, did find the fire coming upstairs; so they rose to save themselves; but that at that time the bavins were not on fire in the yard. So that they are, as they swear, in absolute ignorance how this fire should come; which is a strange thing, that so horrid an effect should have so mean and uncertain a beginning.

25th. Lay long in bed, talking with pleasure with my poor wife, how she used to make coal fires, and wash my foul clothes with her own hand for me, poor wretch! in our little room at my Lord Sandwich's; for which I ought for ever to love and admire her, and do; and persuade myself she would do the same thing again, if God should reduce us to it. At my goldsmith's did observe the King's new medall, where in little there is Mrs. Stewart's face as well done as ever I saw any thing in my whole life, I think: and a pretty thing it is, that he should choose her face to represent Brittannia by.

27th. This day at a leisure, the King and Duke of York being gone down to Sheerensse this morning to lay out the design for a fortification there to the river Medway; and so we do not attend the Duke

of York as we should otherwise have done. To the Dock Yard, and went into Mr. Pett's; and there beyond expectation he did present me with a Japan cane with a silver head, and his wife sent me by him a ring with a Woolwich stone, now much in request; which I accepted, the values not being great: and then at my asking did give me an old draught of an ancient-built ship, given him by his father, of the Beare in Queene Elizabeth's time. Mr. Hunt, newly come out of the country, tells me the country is much impoverished by the greatness of taxes: the farmers do break every day almost, and 1000*l.* a-year become not worth 500*l.* He told me some ridiculous pieces of thrift of Sir G. Downing's, who is his countryman, in inviting some poor people at Christmas last, to charm the country people's mouths; but did give them nothing but beef, porridge, pudding, and pork, and nothing said all dinner, but only his mother would say, "It's good broth, son." He would answer, "Yes, it is good broth." Then says his lady, "Confirm all, and say, Yes, very good broth." By and by she would begin and say, "Good pork:" "Yes," says the mother, "good pork." Then he cries, "Yes, very good pork." And so they said of all things; to which nobody made any answer, they going there not out of love or esteem of them, but to eat his victuals, knowing him to be a niggardly fellow; and with this he is jeered now all over the country. Met Mr. Cooling, who tells me of my Lord Duke of Buckingham's being sent for last night by a Sergeant at Armes to the Tower for treasonable practices, and that the King is infinitely angry with him, and declared him no longer one of his Council. I know not the reason of it, or occasion.

28th. Mr. Holliard gives it me as his opinion, that the City will never be built again together, as is expected, while any restraint is laid upon them. I did within these six days see smoke still remaining of the late fire in the City. Sir J. Minnes this night tells me that he hears for certain that ballads are made of us in Holland for begging of a peace; which I expected, but am vexed at. So ends this month with nothing of weight upon my mind but for my father and mother, who are both very ill, and have been so for some weeks: whom God help! but I do fear my poor father will hardly be ever naturally well again.

March 1st. In Mark-lane I do observe (it being St. David's day) the picture of a man, dressed like a Welchman, hanging by the neck upon one of the poles that stand out at the top of one of the merchants' houses, in full proportion, and very handsomely done; which is one of the oddest sights I have seen a good while. Tom Woodall, the known chyrurgeon, is killed at Somerset House by a Frenchman in a drunken quarrel.

2d. After dinner with my wife to the King's house to see "The Mayden Queene," a new play of Dryden's, mightily commended for the regularity of it, and the strain and wit: and the truth is, there is a comical part done by Nell, which is Florimell, that I never can hope ever to see the like done again by man or woman. The King and Duke of York were at the play. But so great performance of a comical part was never, I believe, in the world before as Nell do this, both as a mad girle, then most and best of all when she comes in like a young gallant; and hath the motions and carriage of a spark the most that ever I saw any man have. It makes me, I confess, admire her.

3d. It is believed that the Dutch will yield to have the treaty at London or Dover, neither of which will get our King any credit, we having already consented to have it at the Hague; which, it seems, De Witt opposed, as a thing wherein the King of England must needs have some profound design, which in my conscience he hath not. They do also tell me that news is this day come to the King, that the King of France is come with his army to the frontiers of Flanders, demanding leave to pass through their country towards Poland, but is denied, and thereupon that he is gone into the country. How true this is I dare not believe till I hear more. I walked into the Park, it being a fine but very cold day; and there took two or three turns the length of the Pell Mell: and there I met Serjeant Bearcroft, who was sent for the Duke of Buckingham, to have brought him prisoner to the Tower. He come to town this day, and brings word that being overtaken and outrid by the Duchesse of Buckingham within a few miles of the Duke's house of Westhorp, he believes she got thither about a quarter of an hour before him, and so had time to consider; so that when he come the doors were kept shut against him.

The next day coming with officers of the neighbour market-town to force open the doors, they were open for him, but the Duke gone; so he took horse presently, and heard upon the road that the Duke of Buckingham was gone before him for London: so that he believes he is this day also come to town before him; but no news is yet heard of him. This is all he brings. Thence to my Lord Chancellor's, and there meeting Sir H. Cholmly, he and I walked in my Lord's garden, and talked, among other things, of the treaty; and he says there will certainly be a peace, but I cannot believe it. He tells me that the Duke of Buckingham his crimes, as far as he knows, are his being of a caball with some discontented persons of the late House of Commons, and opposing the desires of the King in all his matters in that House; and endeavouring to become popular, and advising how the Commons' House should proceed, and how he would order the House of Lords. And that he hath been endeavouring to have the King's nativity calculated; which was done, and the fellow now in the Tower about it: which itself hath heretofore, as he says, been held treason, and people died for it; but by the Statute of Treason in Queen Mary's times and since, it hath been left out. He tells me that this silly Lord hath provoked by his ill carriage the Duke of York, my Lord Chancellor, and all the great persons; and therefore most likely will die. He tells me too many practices of treachery against this King; as betraying him in Scotland, and giving Oliver an account of the King's private councils; which the King knows very well, and yet hath pardoned him.

6th. To White Hall; and here the Duke of York did acquaint us (and the King did the like also afterwards coming in) with his resolution of altering the manner of the war this year: that is, we shall keep what fleet we have abroad in several squadrons; so that now all is come out; but we are to keep it as close as we can, without hindering the work that is to be done in preparation to this. Great preparations there are to fortify Sheerensse and the yard at Portsmouth, and forces are drawing down to both those places, and elsewhere by the sea-side; so that we have some fear of an invasion: and the Duke of York himself did declare his expectation of the enemy's blocking us up

here in the River, and therefore directed that we should send away all the ships that we have to fit out hence. Sir W. Pen told me, going with me this morning to White Hall, that for certain the Duke of Buckingham is brought into the Tower, and that he hath had an hour's private conference with the King before he was sent thither. Every body complains of the dearness of coals, being at 4*l.* per chaldron, the weather too being become most bitter cold, the King saying to-day that it was the coldest day he ever knew in England. Thence by coach to my Lord Crewe's, where very welcome. Here I find they are in doubt where the Duke of Buckingham is; which makes me mightily reflect on the uncertainty of all history, when in a business of this moment, and of this day's growth, we cannot tell the truth.

7th. To Devonshire House, to a burial of a kinsman of Sir R. Viner's; and there I received a ring. To the Duke's playhouse, and saw "The English Princesse,* or Richard the Third;" a most sad, melancholy play, and pretty good, but nothing eminent in it, as some tragedys are; only little Miss Davis† did dance a jigg after the end of the play, and there telling the next day's play, so that it come in by force only to please the company to see her dance in boy's clothes; and the truth is, there is no comparison between Nell's dancing the other day at the King's house in boy's clothes and this, this being infinitely beyond the other. This day was reckoned by all people the coldest day that ever was remembered in England; and, God knows, coals at a very great price.

8th. Sir H. Cholmly and I to the Temple, and there parted, he telling me of my Lord Bellasses's want of generosity, and that he will certainly be turned out of his government, and he thinks himself stands fair for it.

9th. Captain Cocke, who was here to-night, did tell us that he is

* A tragedy, by J. Caryl.

† Mary Davis, some time a comedian in the Duke of York's troop, was, according to Pepys, natural daughter of the Earl of Berkshire: she afterwards became the King's mistress, and had by him a child named Mary Tudor, married to Sir Francis Ratcliffe, Earl of Derwentwater, who was executed for High Treason. There is a fine whole-length portrait of Miss Davis at Billingbear in Berkshire, by Kneller, in which she is represented as a tall handsome woman, and her general appearance ill accords with the description given of her in the Diary.

certain that yesterday a proclamation was voted at the Council touching the proclaiming of my Lord Duke of Buckingham a traytor, and that it will be out on Monday.

11th. Yesterday the King did publicly talk of the King of France's dealing with all the Princes of Christendome. As to the States of Holland he hath advised them, on good grounds, to refuse to treat with us at the Hague, because of having opportunity of spies by reason of our interest in the House of Orange; and then, it being a town in one particular province, it would not be fit to have it but in a town wherein the provinces have equal interest, as at Mastricht and other places named. That he advises them to offer no terms, nor accept of any, without his privity and consent, according to agreement; and tells them, if not so, he hath in his power to be even with them, the King of England being come to offer any terms he pleases: and that my Lord St. Albans is now at Paris, Plenipotentiary, to make what peace he pleases; and so he can make it and exclude them (the Dutch) if he sees fit. A copy of this letter of the King of France's the Spanish Ambassador here gets, and comes and tells all to our King; which our King denies, and says the King of France only uses his power of saying any thing. At the same time the King of France writes to the Emperor, that he is resolved to do all things to express affection to the Emperor, having it now in his power to make what peace he pleases between the King of England and him, and the States of the United Provinces; and therefore, that he would not have him to concern himself in a friendship with us; and assures him that on that regard he will not offer any thing to his disturbance in his interest in Flanders or elsewhere. He writes at the same time to Spain, to tell him that he wonders to hear of a league almost ended between the Crown of Spain and England, by my Lord Sandwich, and all without his privity, while he was making a peace upon what terms he pleased with England. That he is a great lover of the Crown of Spain, and would take the King and his affairs during his minority into his protection, nor would offer to set his foot in Flanders or any where else to disturb him; and therefore would not have him to trouble himself to make peace with any body; only he hath a desire to offer an exchange, which

he thinks may be of moment to both sides : that is, that he will enstate the King of Spain in the kingdom of Portugall, and he and the Dutch will put him into possession of Lisbon ; and that being done, he may have Flanders : and this, they say, do mightily take in Spain, which is sensible of the fruitless expence Flanders, so far off, gives them ; and how much better it would be for them to be master of Portugall : and the King of France offers for security herein that the King of England shall be bond for him, and that he will counter-secure the King of England with Amsterdam ; and it seems hath assured our King, that if he will make a league with him, he will make a peace exclusive to the Hollander. These things are almost romantique, but yet true, as Sir H. Cholmly tells me the King himself did relate it all yesterday ; and it seems as if the King of France did think other princes fit for nothing but to make sport for him : but simple princes they are that are forced to suffer this from him. The proclamation is this day come out against the Duke of Buckingham, commanding him to come in to one of the Secretaries, or to the Lieutenant of the Tower. A silly, vain man to bring himself to this : and there be many hard circumstances in the proclamation of the causes of this proceeding of the King's, which speak great displeasure of the King's, and crimes of his.

13th. The Duke of Buckingham is concluded gone over sea, and, it is thought, to France.

14th. To my Lord Treasurer's. By and by comes the King and Duke of York, and presently the officers of the Ordnance were called ; my Lord Barkeley, Sir John Duncomb, and Mr. Chichly ; then my Lord Brouncker, W. Batten, W. Pen, and myself ; where we find only the King and Duke of York, and my Lord Treasurer, and Sir G. Carteret ; when I only did speak, laying down the state of our wants, which the King and Duke of York seemed very well pleased with, and we did get what we asked, 500,000*l.*, signed upon the eleven months' tax : but that is not so much ready-money, or what will raise 40,000*l.* per week, which we desired, and the business will want. The King did prevent my offering any thing by and by as Treasurer for Tangier, telling me that he had ordered us 30,000*l.* on the same tax ; but that is not what we would have to bring our payments to come within a year. So we

gone out, in went others ; viz. one after another, Sir Stephen Fox for the Army, Captain Cocke for sick and wounded, Mr. Ashburnham for the household. Thence W. Batten, W. Pen, and I back again ; I mightily pleased with what I had said and done, and the success thereof.

15th. Letters this day come to Court do tell us that we are likely not to agree, the Dutch demanding high terms, and the King of France the like in a most braveing manner. This morning I was called up by Sir John Winter, poor man ! come in a sedan from the other end of the town, about helping the King in the business of bringing down his timber to the sea-side in the forest of Deane.

16th. The weather is now grown warm again after much cold ; and it is observable that within these eight days I did see smoke remaining, coming out of some cellars from the late great fire, now above six months since.

17th. I to the Duke of York's lodging, where in his dressing-chamber, he talking of his journey to-morrow or next day to Harwich, to prepare some fortifications there ; so that we are wholly upon the defensive part this year. I to walke in the Parke ; where to the Queene's chapel, and there heard a fryer preach with his cord about his middle in Portuguese, something I could understand, shewing that God did respect the meek and humble as well as the high and rich. He was full of action, but very decent and good, I thought, and his manner of delivery very good. Then I went back to White Hall, and there up to the closet, and spoke with several people till sermon was ended, which was preached by the Bishop of Hereford,* an old good man, that they say made an excellent sermon. He was by birth a Catholique, and a great gallant, having 1500*l.* per annum patrimony, and is a Knight Barronet : was turned from his persuasion by the late Archbishop Laud. He and the Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Ward, are the two Bishops that the King do say he cannot have bad sermons from. Here I met with Sir H. Cholmly, who tells me, that undoubtedly my Lord Bellasses do go no more to Tangier, and that he do believe he do stand in a likely way to go Governor ; though he sees and shewed me

* Dr. Herbert Croft was made Bishop of Hereford 1661, but he could not be then very old, as he lived till 1691.

a young silly lord (one Lord Allington*) who hath offered a great sum of money to go, and will put hard for it, he having a fine lady, and a great man would be glad to have him out of the way. The King is very kind to my Lord Sandwich, and did himself observe to him (Sir G. Carteret) how those very people (meaning the Prince, and Duke of Albemarle) are punished in the same kind as they did seek to abuse my Lord Sandwich.

18th. Comes my old good friend Mr. Richard Cumberland† to see me, being newly come to town, whom I have not seen almost, if not quite, these seven years. In a plain country-parson's dress. I could not spend much time with him, but prayed him to come with his brother, who was with him, to dine with me to-day; which he did do: and I had a great deal of his good company; and a most excellent person he is as any I know, and one that I am sorry should be lost and buried in a little country town, and would be glad to remove him thence; and the truth is, if he would accept of my sister's fortune, I should give 100*l*. more with him than to a man able to settle her four times as much as I fear he is able to do. Comes Captain Jenifer to me, a great servant of my Lord Sandwich's, who tells me that he do hear for certain, though I do not yet believe it, that Sir W. Coventry is to be Secretary of State, and my Lord Arlington Lord Treasurer. I only wish that the latter were as fit for the latter office as the former is for the former, and more fit than my Lord Arlington. Anon Sir W. Pen come and talked with me in the garden; and tells me that for certain the Duke of Richmond is to marry Mrs. Stewart, he having this day brought in an account of his estate and debts to the King on that account. This day Mr. Cæsar told me a pretty experiment of his, of angling with a minikin, a gut-string varnished over, which keeps it from swelling, and is beyond any hair for strength and smallness. The secret I like mightily.

19th. It comes in my mind this night to set down how a house was the other day in Bishopsgate-street blown up with powder; a house

* William Baron Allington of Killard, Ireland, created an English Peer 1682; which title was extinct 1692.

† Richard Cumberland, educated at St. Paul's School, and Magdalene College, Cambridge, made Bishop of Peterborough 1691. Ob. 1718, aged 86.

that was untenanted ; but, thanks be to God, it did no more hurt ; and all do conclude it a plot. This afternoon I am told again that the town do talk of my Lord Arlington's being to be Lord Treasurer, and Sir W. Coventry to be Secretary of State ; and that for certain the match is concluded between the Duke of Richmond and Mrs. Stewart ; which I am well enough pleased with : and it is pretty to consider how his quality will allay people's talk ; whereas had a meaner person married her, he would for certain have been derided at first dash.

20th. To our church to the vestry, to be assessed by the late Poll Bill, where I am rated as an Esquire, and for my office all will come to about 50*l*. But not more than I expected, nor so much by a great deal as I ought to be for all my offices. The Duke of Richmond and Mrs. Stewart were betrothed last night. It is strange how "Rycaut's Discourse of Turkey," which before the fire I was asked but 8*s*. for, there being all but twenty-two or thereabouts burned, I did now offer 20*s*., and he demands 50*s*. and I think I shall give it him, though it be only as a monument of the fire.

21st. To the Duke of York's playhouse, where unexpectedly I come to see only the young men and women of the house act ; they having liberty to act for their own profit on Wednesdays and Fridays this Lent : and the play they did yesterday, being Wednesday, was so well taken, that they thought fit to venture it publickly to-day ; a play of my Lord Falkland's,* called "The Wedding Night," a kind of a tragedy, and some things very good in it, but the whole together, I thought, not so. I confess I was well enough pleased with my seeing it ; and the people did do better (without the great actors) than I did expect, but yet far short of what they do when they are there. Our trial for a good prize came on to-day, "the Phoenix, worth 2 or 3,000*l*." when by and by Sir W. Batten told me we had got the day, which was mighty welcome news to me and us all. But it is pretty to see what money will do. Yesterday Walker† was mighty cold on our behalf, till Sir W. Batten promised him, if we sped in this business of the goods, a coach ; and if at the next trial we sped for the ship,

* Henry Carey, third Viscount Falkland, M. P. for Arundel 1661. Ob. 1664.

† Sir W. Walker.

we would give him a pair of horses. And he hath strove for us to-day like a prince. Though the Swedes' Agent was there with all the vehemence he could to save the goods, but yet we carried it against him.

23d. At the office, where Sir W. Pen come, being returned from Chatham, from considering the means of fortifying the river Medway, by a chain at the stakes, and ships laid there with guns to keep the enemy from coming up to burn our ships: all our care now being to fortify ourselves against their invading us.

24th. With Sir G. Carteret and Sir J. Minnes; and they did talk of my Lord Brouncker, whose father it seems did give Mr. Ashburnham and the present Lord Digby* 1200*l.* to be made an Irish lord, and swore the same day that he had not 12*d.* left to pay for his dinner: they made great mirth at this, my Lord Brouncker having lately given great matter of offence both to them and us all, that we are at present mightily displeased with him. By and by to the Duke of York, where we all met, and there was the King also; and all our discourse was about fortifying of the Medway and Harwich, which is to be entrenched quite round, and Portsmouth: and here they advised with Sir Godfry Lloyd and Sir Bernard de Gunn,† the two great engineers, and had the plates drawn before them; and indeed all their care they now take is to fortify themselves, and are not ashamed of it; for when by and by my Lord Arlington come in with letters, and seeing the King and Duke of York give us and the officers of the Ordnance directions in this matter, he did move that we might do it as privately as we could, that it might not come into the Dutch Gazette presently, as the King's and Duke of York's going down the other day to Sheerensse was the week after in the Harlem Gazette. The King and Duke of York both laughed at it, and made no matter, but said, "Let us be safe, and let them talk, for there is nothing will trouble them more, nor will prevent their coming more, than to hear that we are fortifying ourselves." And the Duke of York said further,

* The Earl of Bristol, frequently called in the Diary Lord Digby, long after he had succeeded to the Earldom.

† Engineer-general, who had been employed in 1661 to construct the works at Dunkirk.

"What said Marshal Turenne, when some in vanity said that the enemies were afraid, for they entrenched themselves? 'Well,' says he, 'I would they were not afraid, for then they would not entrench themselves, and so we could deal with them the better.'" Away thence, and met with Sir H. Cholmly, who tells me that he do believe the government of Tangier is bought by my Lord Allington for a sum of money to my Lord Arlington, and something to Lord Bellasses. I did this night give the waterman who uses to carry me 10s. at his request, for the painting of his new boat, on which shall be my arms.

25th. Called at Mr. Lilly's, who was working; and indeed his pictures are without doubt much beyond Mr. Hales's, I think I may say I am convinced: but a mighty proud man he is, and full of state. To the King's playhouse; and by and by comes Mr. Lowther and his wife and mine, and into a box forsooth, neither of them being dressed, which I was almost ashamed of. Sir W. Pen and I in the pit, and here saw "The Mayden Queene" again; which indeed the more I see the more I like, and is an excellent play, and so done by Nell her merry part, as cannot be better done in nature.

26th. To Exeter House, where the Judge was sitting, and there heard our cause pleaded; Sir — Turner, Sir W. Walker, and Sir Ellis Layton being our counsel against only Sir Robert Wiseman* on the other. The second of our three counsel was the best, and indeed did speak admirably, and is a very shrewd man. Nevertheless as good as he did make our case, and the rest, yet when Wiseman come to argue (nay, and though he did begin so sillily that we laughed in scorn in our sleeves at him), he did so state the case, that the Judge† did not think fit to decide the cause to-night, but took to to-morrow, and did stagger us in our hopes, so as to make us despair of the success. I am mightily pleased with the Judge, who seems a very rational, learned, and uncorrupt man, though our success do shake me.

* D. C. L. King's Advocate 1669.

† Sir Leoline Jenkins, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, and afterwards made Judge of the Admiralty and the Prerogative Court. He was subsequently employed on several Embassies, and in 1680 succeeded Henry Coventry as Secretary of State. Ob. 1685, aged 62.

27th. To the Castle Taverne by Exeter House; and there Sir Ellis Layton, whom I find a wonderful witty, ready man for sudden answers and little tales, and sayings very extraordinary witty. He did give me a full account, upon my demand, of this Judge of the Admiralty, Judge Jenkins; who, he says, is a man never practised in this Court, but taken merely for his merit and ability's sake from Trinity Hall, where he had always lived; only by accident the business of the want of a Judge being proposed, the present Archbishop of Canterbury sent for him up: and here he is against the gré and content of the old Doctors made Judge, but is a very excellent man both for judgment and temper (yet majesty enough), and by all men's report not to be corrupted. After dinner to the Court, where Sir Ellis Layton did make a very silly motion in our behalf, but did neither hurt nor good. After him Walker and Wiseman. And then the Judge did pronounce his sentence; for some a part of the goods and ship, and the freight of the whole to be free and returned and paid by us, and the remaining (which was the greater part) to be ours. The loss of so much troubles us; but we have got a pretty good part, thanks be to God! Received from my brother the news of my mother's dying on Monday about five or six o'clock in the afternoon, and that the last time she spoke of her children was on Friday last, and her last words were, "God bless my poor Sam!" The reading hereof did set me a-weeping heartily.

29th. The great streets in the City are marked out with piles drove into the ground; and if ever it be built in that form with so fair streets, it will be a noble sight. To a periwig-maker's, and there bought two periwigs, mighty fine indeed; too fine, I thought, for me; but he persuaded me, and I did buy them for 4*l.* 10*s.* the two. To the Bull-Head Taverne, whither was brought my French gun; and one Truelocke, the famous gunsmith, that is a mighty ingenious man, did take my gun in pieces, and made me understand the secrets thereof: and upon the whole I do find it a very good piece of work, and truly wrought; but for certain not a thing to be used much with safety: and he do find that this very gun was never yet shot off.

30th. To see the silly play of my Lady Newcastle's*, called "The Humourous Lovers;" the most silly thing that ever came upon a stage. I was sick to see it, but yet would not but have seen it, that I might the better understand her.

31st. To church; and with my mourning, very handsome, and new periwigg, make a great shew. Walked to my Lord Treasurer's, where the King, Duke of York, and the Caball, and much company without; and a fine day. Anon come out from the Caball my Lord Hollis and Mr. H. Coventry†, who, it is conceived, have received their instructions from the King this day; they being to begin their journey towards their treaty at Bredagh speedily, their passes being come. Here I saw the Lady Northumberland‡ and her daughter-in-law (my Lord Treasurer's daughter) my Lady Piercy§, a beautiful lady indeed. The month shuts up only with great desires of peace in all of us, and a belief that we shall have a peace, in most people if it can be had on any terms, for there is a necessity of it; for we cannot go on with the war, and our masters are afraid to come to depend upon the good will of the Parliament any more, as I do hear.

April 1st. To White Hall, and there had the good fortune to walk with Sir W. Coventry into the garden, and there read our melancholy letter to the Duke of York, which he likes. And so to talk: and he flatly owns that we must have a peace, for we cannot set out a fleet; and (to use his own words) he fears that we shall soon have enough of fighting in this new way that we have thought on for this year. He bemoans the want of money, and discovers himself jealous that Sir G. Carteret do not look after or concern himself for getting money; and did further say, that he and my Lord Chancellor do at this very day

* Margaret, daughter of Thomas Lucas of Colchester, and sister to John Lord Lucas, married William Marquis of Newcastle, created a Duke 1664.

† Third son of Thomas first Lord Coventry; after the Restoration made a Groom of the Bed-chamber, and elected M. P. for Droitwich. In 1664 he was sent Envoy Extraordinary to Sweden, where he remained two years, and was again employed on an Embassy to the same Court in 1671. He also succeeded in negotiating the peace at Breda here alluded to, and in 1672 became Secretary of State; which office he resigned in 1679, on account of ill health. He died unmarried, Dec. 7, 1686.

‡ Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Theophilus Earl of Suffolk, wife of Algernon tenth Earl of Northumberland.

§ Lady Elizabeth Wriothesly, daughter to the Earl of Southampton, married Joscelin Lord Percy.

labour all they can to vilify this new way of raising money, and making it payable as it now is into the Exchequer; and that in pursuance hereof my Lord Chancellor hath prevailed with the King in the close of his speech to the House to say, that he did hope to see them come to give money as it used to be given, without so many provisos, meaning this new method of the Act. Mrs. Rebecca Allen, poor heart! come to desire favour for her husband, who is clapt up, being a Lieutenant, for sending a challenge to his Captain in the most saucy, base language that could be writ. I perceive Sir W. Coventry is wholly resolved to bring him to punishment; for "bear with this," says he, "and no discipline shall ever be expected." Sir J. Minnes did tell of the discovery of his own great-grandfather's murder, fifteen years after he was murdered.

3d. To the Duke of York, where Sir G. Carteret did say that he had no funds to raise money on; and being asked by Sir W. Coventry whether the eleven months' tax was not a fund, he answered "No," that the bankers would not lend money upon it. Then Sir W. Coventry burst out and said he did supplicate His Royal Highness, and would do the same to the King, that he would remember who they were that did persuade the King from parting with the Chimney-money to the Parliament, and taking that in lieu which they would certainly have given, and which would have raised infallibly ready-money; meaning the bankers and the farmers of the Chimney-money, (whereof Sir G. Carteret, I think, is one;) saying plainly, that whoever did advise the King to that, did as much as in them lay cut the King's throat, and did wholly betray him. To which the Duke of York did assent; and remembered that the King did say again and again at the time, that he was assured, and did fully believe, the money would be raised presently upon a land-tax. This put us all into a stound. And Sir W. Coventry went on to declare that he was glad he was come to have so lately concern in the Navy as he hath, for he cannot now give any good account of the Navy business; and that all his work now was to be able to provide such orders as would justify His Royal Highness in business when it shall be called to account; and that he do do, not concerning himself whether they are

or can be performed, or no : and that when it comes to be examined and falls on my Lord Treasurer, he cannot help it, whatever the issue of it shall be. One thing more Sir W. Coventry did say to the Duke of York, when I moved again, that of about 9000*l.* debt to Lanyon at Plymouth, he might pay 3700*l.* worth of prize-goods that he bought lately at the candle out of this debt due to him from the King ; and the Duke of York, and Sir G. Carteret, and Lord Barkeley, saying all of them that my Lord Ashly would not be got to yield it, who is Treasurer of the Prizes : Sir W. Coventry did plainly desire that it might be declared whether the proceeds of the prizes were to go to the helping on of the war, or no ; and if it were, how then this could be denied ? Which put them all into another stound ; and it is true, God forgive us ! Thence to the chapel, and there by chance hear that Dr. Crewe is to preach ; and so into the organ-loft, where I met Mr. Carteret, and my Lady Jemimah, and Sir Thomas Crewe's two daughters, and Dr. Childe playing : and Dr. Crewe did make a very pretty, neat, sober, honest sermon ; and delivered it very readily, decently, and gravely, beyond his years : so as I was exceedingly taken with it, and I believe the whole chapel, he being but young ; but his manner of his delivery I do like exceedingly. His text was, " But first seeke the kingdom of God, and all things shall be added unto you." The Dutch letters are come, and say that the Dutch have ordered a passe to be sent for our Commissioners, and that it is now upon the way coming with a trumpeter blinded, as is usual. But I perceive every body begins to doubt the success of the treaty, all their hopes being only that if it can be had on any terms, the Chancellor will have it ; for he dare not come before a Parliament, nor a great many more of the courtiers, and the King himself do declare he do not desire it, nor intend but on a strait ; which God defend him from ! Here I hear how the King is not so well pleased of this marriage between the Duke of Richmond and Mrs. Stewart, as is talked ; and that he by a wile did fetch her to the Beare, at the Bridge-foot, where a coach was ready, and they are stole away into Kent without the King's leave ; and that the King hath said he will never see her more : but people do think that it is only a trick. This day I saw Prince Rupert abroad in the vane-

room, pretty well as he used to be, and looks as well, only something appears to be under his periwig on the crown of his head.

4th. I find the Duke of Albemarle at dinner with sorry company, some of his officers of the Army: dirty dishes and a nasty wife at table, and bad meat, of which I made but an ill dinner. Pretty to hear how she talked against Captain Du Tel, the Frenchman, that the Prince and her husband put out the last year; and how, says she, the Duke of York hath made him for his good services his cupbearer, yet he fired more shot into the Prince's ship, and others of the King's ships, than of the enemy. And the Duke of Albemarle did confirm it, and that somebody in the fight did cry out that a little Dutchman by his ship did plague him more than any other; upon which they were going to order him to be sunk, when they looked and found it was Du Tel, who, as the Duke of Albemarle says, had killed several men in several of our ships. He said, but for his interest, which he knew he had at Court, he had hanged him at the yard's-arm without staying for a Court-martial. One Colonell Howard, at the table, magnified the Duke of Albemarle's fight in June last, as being a greater action than ever was done by Cæsar. The Duke of Albemarle did say it had been no great action, had all his number fought, as they should have done, to have beat the Dutch; but of his 55 ships, not above 25 fought. He did give an account that it was a fight he was forced to: the Dutch being come in his way, and he being ordered to the buoy of the Nore, he could not pass by them without fighting, nor avoid them without great disadvantage and dishonour, (and this Sir G. Carteret, I afterwards giving him an account of what he said, says that it is true that he was ordered up to the Nore.) But I remember he said, had all his captains fought, he would no more have doubted to have beat the Dutch with all their number, than to eat the apple that lay on his trencher. My Lady Duchesse, among other things, discoursed of the wisdom of dividing the fleet; which the Generall said nothing to, though he knew well that it come from themselves in the fleet, and was brought up hither by Sir Edward Spragge. Colonell Howard, asking how the Prince did, the Duke of Albemarle answering "Pretty well," the other replied, "But not so well as to go to sea again."—"How!" says the Duchesse,

“ what should he go for, if he were well, for there are no ships for him to command? And so you have brought your hogs to a fair market,” said she. It was pretty to hear the Duke of Albemarle himself to wish that they would come on our ground (meaning the French), for that he would pay them so as to make them glad to go back to France again; which was like a general, but not like an admiral. One at the table told an odd passage in this late plague: that at Petersfield (I think he said) one side of the street had every house almost infected through the town, and the other, not one shut up. I made Sir G. Carteret merry with telling him how many land-admirals we are to have this year: Allēn at Plymouth, Holmes at Portsmouth, Spragge for Medway, Teddiman at Dover, Smith to the Northward, and Harman to the Southward. With Sir Stephen Fox, talking of the sad condition of the King’s purse, and affairs thereby; and how sad the King’s life must be, to pass by his officers every hour, that are four years behind-hand unpaid. Sir W. Coventry tells me plainly, that to all future complaints of lack of money he will answer but with the shrug of his shoulder; which methought did come to my heart, to see him to begin to abandon the King’s affairs, and let them sink or swim. My wife had been to-day at White Hall to the Maundy, it being Maundy Thursday; but the King did not wash the poor people’s feet himself, but the Bishop of London did it for him.

5th. Mr. Young was talking about the building of the City again: and he told me that those few churches that are to be new built are plainly not chosen with regard to the convenience of the City; they stand a great many in a cluster about Cornhill: but that all of them are either in the gift of the Lord Archbishop, or Bishop of London, or Lord Chancellor, or gift of the City. Thus all things, even to the building of churches, are done in this world! This morning come to me the collectors for my Poll-money; for which I paid for my title as Esquire and place of Clerk of Acts, and my head and wife’s and servants’, and their wages, 40*l.* 17*s.* And though this be a great deal, yet it is a shame I should pay no more: that is, that I should not be assessed for my pay, as in the victualling business and Tangier; and for my money, which of my own accord I had determined to charge

myself with 1000*l.* money, till coming to the Vestry, and seeing nobody of our ablest merchants, as Sir Andrew Rickard,* to do it, I thought it not decent for me to do it.

7th. To White Hall, and there saw the King come out of chapel after prayers in the afternoon, which he is never at but after having received the Sacrament: and the Court, I perceive, is quite out of mourning; and some very fine; among others, my Lord Gerard, in a very rich vest and coate. Here I met with my Lord Bellasses: and it is pretty to see what a formal story he tells me of his leaving his place upon the death of my Lord Cleveland,† by which he is become Captain of the Pensioners; and that the King did leave it to him to keep the other or take this; whereas I know the contrary, that they had a mind to have him away from Tangier. Into Moor-fields, and did find houses built two stories high, and like to stand; and must become a place of great trade till the City be built; and the street is already paved as London streets used to be.

8th. Away to the Temple, to my new bookseller's; and there I did agree for Rycaut's‡ late History of the Turkish Policy, which costs me 55*s.*; whereas it was sold plain before the late fire for 8*s.*, and bound and coloured as this is for 20*s.*; for I have bought it finely bound and truly coloured all the figures, of which there was but six books done so, whereof the King and Duke of York and Duke of Monmouth, and Lord Arlington, had four. The fifth was sold, and I have bought the sixth.

9th. Towards noon I to the Exchange, and there do hear mighty cries for peace, and that otherwise we shall be undone; and yet do suspect the badness of the peace we shall make. Several do complain of abundance of land flung up by tenants out of their hands for want of ability to pay their rents; and by name, that the Duke of Buckingham hath 6000*l.* so flung up. And my father writes that Jasper Trice, upon this pretence of his tenants' dealing with him, is

* A merchant, committed in 1668 by the House of Lords during their proceedings on the petition of Skinner. Vide Journals.

† Thomas Wentworth Earl of Cleveland.

‡ This book is in the Pepysian Library.

broke up housekeeping, and gone to board with his brother, Naylor, at Offord ; which is very sad. To the King's house, and there saw " The Tameing of a Shrew," which hath some very good pieces in it, but generally is but a mean play ; and the best part " Sawny," done by Lacy ; and hath not half its life, by reason of the words, I suppose, not being understood, at least by me.

10th. I begun to discourse with Sir W. Coventry the business of Tangier, which by the removal of my Lord Bellasses is now to have a new Governor ; and did move him, that at this season all the business of reforming the garrison might be considered, while nobody was to be offended. And I told him it is plain that we do overspend our revenue : that it is of no more profit to the King than it was the first day, nor in itself of better credit ; no more people of condition willing to live there, nor any thing like a place likely to turn his Majesty to account : that it hath been hitherto, and for aught I see likely only to be used as a jobb to do a kindness to some lord, or he that can get to be Governor. Sir W. Coventry agreed with me so as to say, that unless the King hath the wealth of the Mogull, he would be a beggar to have his businesses ordered in the manner they now are : that his garrisons must be made places only of convenience to particular persons : that he hath moved the Duke of York in it ; and that it was resolved to send no Governor thither till there had been Commissioners sent to put the garrison in order, so as that he that goes may go with limitations and rules to follow, and not to do as he please, as the rest have hitherto done. That he is not afraid to speak his mind, though to the displeasure of any man ; and that I know well enough. But that when it is come (as it is now), that to speak the truth in behalf of the King plainly do no good, but all things bore down by other measures than by what is best for the King, he hath no temptation to be perpetually fighting of battles, it being more easy to him on those terms to suffer things to go on without giving any man offence, than to have the same thing done, and he contract the displeasure of all the world, as he must do, that will be for the King. To the King's little chapel ; and afterwards to see the King heal the King's Evil (wherein no pleasure, I having seen it before) : and then to see him and

the Queene, and Duke of York and his wife, at dinner in the Queene's lodgings. And so with Sir G. Carteret to his lodgings to dinner; where very good company. And after dinner he and I to talk alone how things are managed, and to what ruin we must come if we have not a peace. He did tell me one occasion, how Sir Thomas Allen (whom I took for a man of known courage and service on the King's side) was tried for his life in Prince Rupert's fleet, in the late times for cowardice, and condemned to be hanged, and fled to Jerzy; where Sir G. Carteret received him, not knowing the reason of his coming thither: and that thereupon Prince Rupert wrote to the Queene-Mother his dislike of Sir G. Carteret's receiving a person that stood condemned; and so Sir G. Carteret was forced to bid him betake himself to some other place. This was strange to me. Our Commissioners are preparing to go to Bredah to the treaty, and do design to be going the next week.

11th. To White Hall, thinking there to have seen the Duchesse of Newcastle's coming this night to Court to make a visit to the Queene, the King having been with her yesterday to make her a visit since her coming to town. The whole story of this lady is a romance, and all she does is romantic. Her footmen in velvet coats, and herself in an antique dress, as they say; and was the other day at her own play, "The Humourous Lovers;" the most ridiculous thing that ever was wrote, but yet she and her Lord mightily pleased with it; and she at the end made her respects to the players from her box, and did give them thanks. There is as much expectation of her coming to Court, that so people may come to see her, as if it were the Queene of Sweden: but I lost my labour, for she did not come this night. There have been two fires in the City within this week.

12th. By water to White Hall, and there did our usual business before the Duke of York: but it fell out that, discoursing of matters of money, it rose to a mighty heat, very high words arising between Sir G. Carteret and Sir W. Coventry, the former in his passion saying that the other should have helped things if they were so bad; and the other answered, So he would, and things should have been better had he been Treasurer of the Navy. I was mightily troubled at this heat, and it will breed ill blood between them, I fear; but things are in that bad

condition, that I do daily expect we shall all fly in one another's faces, when we shall be reduced every one to answer for himself. We broke up; and I soon after to Sir G. Carteret's chamber, where I find the poor man telling his lady privately, and she weeping. I went in to them, and did seem, as indeed I was, troubled for this; and did give the best advice I could, which I think did please them: and they do apprehend me their friend, as indeed I am, for I do take the Vice-chamberlain for a most honest man. He did assure me that he was not, all expences and things paid, clear in estate 15,000*l.* better than he was when the King come in; and that the King and Lord Chancellor did know that he was worth, with the debt the King owed him, 50,000*l.* (I think he said) when the King come into England.

15th. Called up by Sir H. Cholmly, who tells me that my Lord Middleton is for certain chosen Governor of Tangier; a man of moderate understanding, not covetous, but a soldier of fortune, and poor. To the King's house by chance, where a new play: so full as I never saw it; I forced to stand all the while close to the very door till I took cold, and many people went away for want of room. The King and Queene and Duke of York and Duchesse there, and all the Court, and Sir W. Coventry. The play called, "The Change of Crownes;" a play of Ned Howard's,* the best that I ever saw at that house, being a great play and serious; only Lacy did act the country-gentleman come up to Court, who do abuse the Court with all the imaginable wit and plainness about selling of places, and doing every thing for money. The play took very much. Thence I to my new bookseller's, and there bought "Hooker's Polity," the new edition, and "Dugdale's History of the Inns of Court," of which there was but a few saved out of the fire. Carried my wife to see the new play I saw yesterday; but there, contrary to expectation, I find "The Silent Woman."

16th. Knipp tells me the King was so angry at the liberty taken by Lacy's part to abuse him to his face, that he commanded they should act no more, till Moone† went and got leave for them to act

* A younger son of the Earl of Berkshire, and brother to Sir Robert Howard.

† Michael Mohun, a celebrated actor belonging to the King's Company: he had served as a Major in the Royal Army.

again, but not this play. The King mighty angry; and it was bitter indeed, but very fine and witty. I never was more taken with a play than I am with this "Silent Woman," as old as it is, and as often as I have seen it. There is more wit in it than goes to ten new plays. Pierce told us the story how in good earnest the King is offended with the Duke of Richmond's marrying, and Mrs. Stewart's sending the King his jewels again. As she tells it, it is the noblest romance and example of a brave lady that ever I read in my life.

17th. In our way in Tower-street we saw Desbrough* walking on foot; who is now no more a prisoner, and looks well, and just as he used to do heretofore.

19th. Some talk about Sir W. Pen's being to buy Wansted-House of Sir Robert Brookes.

20th. Met Mr. Rolt, who tells me the reason of no play to-day at the King's house. That Lacy had been committed to the porter's lodge for his acting his part in the late new play, and being thence released to come to the King's house, he there met with Ned Howard, the poet of the play, who congratulated his release; upon which Lacy cursed him as that it was the fault of his nonsensical play that was the cause of his ill usage. Mr. Howard did give him some reply; to which Lacy answered him, that he was more a fool than a poet: upon which Howard did give him a blow on the face with his glove; on which Lacy, having a cane in his hand, did give him a blow over the pate. Here Rolt and others that discoursed of it in the pit this afternoon, did wonder that Howard did not run him through, he being too mean a fellow to fight with. But Howard did not do any thing but complain to the King of it; so the whole house is silenced: and the gentry seem to rejoice much at it, the house being become too insolent. I have a mind to buy enough ground to build a coach-house and stable; for I have had it much in my thoughts lately that it is not too much for me now in degree or cost to keep a coach, but contrarily, that I am almost ashamed to be seen in a hackney. To Hackney church. A knight and his lady very civil to me when they

* Major-general John Desborough, Cromwell's brother-in-law, and one of his Council of State; afterwards promoted to the Chancellorship of Ireland by his nephew Richard.

came, being Sir George Viner, and his lady rich in jewells, but most in beauty; almost the finest woman that ever I saw. That which I went chiefly to see was the young ladies of the schools, whereof there is great store, very pretty; and also the organ, which is handsome, and tunes the psalm and plays with the people; which is mighty pretty, and makes me mighty earnest to have a pair at our church, I having almost a mind to give them a pair if they would settle a maintenance on them for it.

22d. To the Lord Chancellor's house, the first time I have been therein; and it is very noble, and brave pictures of the ancient and present nobility. The King was vexed the other day for having no paper laid for him at the Council table, as was usual; and Sir Richard Browne did tell his Majesty he would call the person whose work it was to provide it: who being come, did tell his Majesty that he was but a poor man, and was out 4 or 500*l.* for it, which was as much as he is worth; and that he cannot provide it any longer without money, having not received a penny since the King's coming in. So the King spoke to my Lord Chamberlain. And many such mementos the King do now-a-days meet withall, enough to make an ingenuous man mad.

23d. St. George's-day; the feast being kept at White Hall, out of design, as it is thought, to make the best countenance we can to the Swede's Embassadors before their leaving us to go to the treaty abroad, to shew some jollity.

24th. To Sir John Duncomb's lodging in the Pell Mell, in order to the money spoken of in the morning; and there awhile sat and discoursed: and I find that he is a very proper man for business, being very resolute and proud, and industrious. He told me what reformation they had made in the office of the Ordnance, taking away Legg's fees: have got an order that no Treasurer after him shall ever sit at the Board; and it is a good one: that no Master of the Ordnance here shall ever sell a place. He tells me they have not paid any increase of price for any thing during this war, but in most have paid less; and at this day have greater stores than they know where to lay if there should be peace, and than ever was any time this war.

Then to talk of news: that he thinks the want of money hath undone the King, for the Parliament will never give the King more money without calling all people to account, nor, as he believes, will ever make war again, but they will manage it themselves; unless, which I proposed, he would visibly become a severer inspector into his own business and accounts, and that would gain upon the Parliament yet: which he confesses and confirms as the only lift to set him upon his legs, but says that it is not in his nature ever to do. He thinks that much of our misfortune hath been for want of an active Lord Treasurer, and that such a man as Sir W. Coventry would do the business thoroughly.

26th. To White Hall, and there saw the Duke of Albemarle, who is not well, and do grow crazy. While I was waiting in the Matted Gallery, a young man was working in Indian inke the great picture of the King and Queene sitting by Van Dike; and did it very finely. Then I took a turn with Mr. Evelyn; with whom I walked two hours, till almost one of the clock; talking of the badness of the Government, where nothing but wickedness, and wicked men and women command the King: that it is not in his nature to gainsay any thing that relates to his pleasures; that much of it arises from the sickliness of our Ministers of State, who cannot be about him as the idle companions are, and therefore he gives way to the young rogues; and then from the negligence of the clergy, that a Bishop shall never be seen about him, as the King of France hath always: that the King would fain have some of the same gang to be Lord Treasurer, which would be yet worse, for now some delays are put to the getting gifts of the King, as Lady Byron,* who had been, as he called it, the King's seventeenth mistress abroad, did not leave him till she had got him to give her an order for 4000*l.* worth of plate to be made for her; but by delays, thanks be to God! she died before she had it. He confirmed to me the business of the want of paper at the Council-table the other day, which I have observed; Wooly being to have found it, and did, being called, tell the King to his face the reason of it. And Mr. Evelyn tells me of several of the menial servants of

* Eleanor, daughter of Robert Needham Viscount Kilmurrey, and widow of Peter Warburton, became in 1644 the second wife of Richard first Lord Byron. Ob. 1663.

the Court lacking bread, that have not received a farthing wages since the King's coming in. He tells me the King of France hath his mistresses, but laughs at the foolery of our King, that makes his bastards princes, and loses his revenue upon them, and makes his mistresses his masters. And the King of France did never grant Lavalieri any thing to bestow on others, and gives a little subsistence, but no more, to his bastards. He told me the whole story of Mrs. Stewart's going away from Court, he knowing her well; and believes her, up to her leaving the Court, to be as virtuous as any woman in the world: and told me, from a Lord that she told it to but yesterday with her own mouth, and a sober man, that when the Duke of Richmond did make love to her, she did ask the King, and he did the like also; and that the King did not deny it, and told this Lord that she was come to that pass as to resolve to have married any gentleman of 1500*l.* a-year that would have had her in honour: for it was come to that pass, that she could not longer continue at Court without prostituting herself to the King, whom she had so long kept off, though he had liberty more than any other had, or he ought to have, as to dalliance. She told this Lord that she had reflected upon the occasion she had given the world to think her a bad woman, and that she had no way but to marry and leave the Court, rather in this way of discontent than otherwise, that the world might see that she sought not any thing but her honour; and that she will never come to live at Court more than when she comes to town to kiss the Queene her mistress's hand: and hopes, though she hath little reason to hope, she can please her Lord so as to reclaim him, that they may yet live comfortably in the country on his estate. She told this Lord that all the jewells she ever had given her at Court, or any other presents (more than the King's allowance of 700*l.* per annum out of the Privy-purse for her clothes), were at her first coming, the King did give her a necklace of pearl of about 1100*l.*; and afterwards, about seven months since, when the King had hopes to have obtained some courtesy of her, the King did give her some jewells, I have forgot what, and I think a pair of pendants. The Duke of York, being once her Valentine, did give her a jewell of about 800*l.*; and my Lord Mandeville, her Valentine this year, a ring

of about 300*l.*; and the King of France would have had her mother (who, he says, is one of the most cunning women in the world,) to have let her stay in France, saying that he loved her not as a mistress, but as one that he could marry as well as any lady in France; and that, if she might stay, for the honour of his Court he would take care she should not repent. But her mother, by command of the Queene-Mother, thought rather to bring her into England; and the King of France did give her a jewell: so that Evelyn believes she may be worth in jewells about 6000*l.*, and that that is all she hath in the world: and a worthy woman; and in this hath done as great an act of honour as ever was done by woman. That now the Countesse Castlemaine do carry all before her: and among other arguments to prove Mrs. Stewart to have been honest to the last, he says that the King's keeping in still with my Lady Castlemaine do shew it; for he never was known to keep two mistresses in his life, and would never have kept to her had he prevailed any thing with Mrs. Stewart. She is gone yesterday with her Lord to Cobham. He did tell me of the ridiculous humour of our King and Knights of the Garter the other day, who, whereas heretofore their robes were only to be worn during their ceremonies and service, these, as proud of their coats, did wear them all day till night, and then rode into the Park with them on. Nay, and he tells me he did see my Lord Oxford and Duke of Monmouth in a hackney-coach with two footmen in the Park, with their robes on; which is a most scandalous thing, so as all gravity may be said to be lost among us. By and by we discoursed of Sir Thomas Clifford, whom I took for a very rich and learned man, and of the great family of that name. He tells me he is only a man of about seven-score pounds a-year, of little learning more than the law of a justice of peace; which he knows well: a parson's* son, got to be burgess in a little borough in the West, and here fell into the acquaintance of my Lord Arlington, whose creature he is, and never from him; a man of virtue, and comely, and good parts enough; and hath come into his place with a great grace, though with a great skip

* Collins states, that Sir Thomas Clifford's father was a Colonel in the King's Army during the Scotch Rebellion 1639, and died the same year on his return from the Northern march.

over the heads of a great many, as Chichly and Denham, and some Lords that did expect it. By the way, he tells me that of all the great men of England there is none that endeavours more to raise those that he takes into favour than my Lord Arlington; and that on that score he is much more to be made one's patron than my Lord Chancellor, who never did, nor will do any thing, but for money. Certain news of the Dutch being abroad on our coast with twenty-four great ships. Met my Lady Newcastle going with her coaches and footmen all in velvet: herself (whom I never saw before), as I have heard her often described (for all the town-talk is now-a-days of her extravagancies), with her velvet-cap, her hair about her ears; many black patches, because of pimples about her mouth; naked-necked, without any thing about it, and a black just-au-corps. She seemed to me a very comely woman: but I hope to see more of her on May-day.

28th. To Deptford, and there I walked down the Yard, Shish and Cox with me; and discoursed about cleaning of the wet docke, and heard (which I had before) how, when the docke was made, a ship of near 500 tons was there found; a ship supposed of Queene Elizabeth's time, and well wrought, with a great deal of stone shot in her of eighteen inches diameter, which was shot then in use: and afterwards meeting with Captain Perriman and Mr. Castle at Half-way Tree, they tell me of stone-shot of thirty-six inches diameter, which they shot out of mortar-pieces.

29th. I hear that the Duke of Cambridge*, the Duke of York's son, is very sick; and my Lord Treasurer very bad of the stone, and hath been so some days. Sir G. Carteret tells me my Lord Arlington hath done like a gentleman by him in all things. He says, if my Lord were here, he were the fittest man to be Lord Treasurer of any man in England; and he thinks it might be compassed; for he confesses that the King's matters do suffer through the inability of this man, who is likely to die, and he will propound him to the King. It will remove him from his place at sea, and the King will have a good place to bestow. He says to me, that he could wish when my Lord comes that

* James, second son to the Duke of York; born 1663, and created Duke of Cambridge that year. Died 1667.

he would think fit to forbear playing as a thing below him, and which will lessen him, as it do my Lord St. Albans, in the King's esteem : and as a great secret tells me that he hath made a match for my Lord Hinchingbroke to a daughter of my Lord Burlington's,* where there is great alliance, 10,000*l.* portion ; a civil family, and relation to my Lord Chancellor, whose son hath married one of the daughters : and that my Lord Chancellor do take it with very great kindness, so that he do hold himself obliged by it. My Lord Sandwich hath referred it to my Lord Crewe, Sir G. Carteret, and Mr. Montagu, to end it. My Lord Hinchingbroke and the ladies know nothing yet of it. It will, I think, be very happy.

30th. I met with Mr. Pierce, and he tells me the Duke of Cambridge is very ill and full of spots about his body, that Dr. Frazier knows not what to think of it.

May 1st. To Westminster ; in the way meeting many milk-maids with their garlands upon their pails, dancing with a fiddler before them ; and saw pretty Nelly† standing at her lodgings' door in Drury-lane in her smock sleeves and bodice, looking upon one : she seemed a mighty pretty creature. My Lord Crewe walked with me, giving me an account of the meeting of the Commissioners for Accounts, whereof he is one. How some of the gentlemen, Garraway, Littleton, and others, did scruple at their first coming there, being called thither to act, as Members of Parliament, which they could not do by any authority but that of the Parliament, and therefore desired the King's direction in it, which was sent for by my Lord Bridgewater, who brought answer, very short, that the King expected they should obey his Commission. Then they went on and observed upon a power to be given them of administering and framing an oath, which they thought they could not do by any power but Act of Parliament ; and the whole Commission did think fit to have the Judges' opinion in it, and so drawing up their scruples in writing they all attended the King, who told them he would send to the Judges to be answered, and did so ; who have, my Lord tells me, met three times about it, not knowing what answer to give it : and they have met this week, doing nothing

* Richard Boyle second Earl of Cork, created Earl of Burlington 1663. † Nell Gwynne.

but expecting the solution of the Judges in this point. My Lord tells me he do believe this Commission will do more hurt than good: it may undo some accounts, if these men shall think fit; but it can never clear an account, for he must come into the Exchequer for all this. Besides, it is a kind of inquisition that hath seldom ever been granted in England; and he believes it will never, besides, give any satisfaction to the people or Parliament, but be looked upon as a forced, packed business of the King, especially if these Parliament-men that are of it shall not concur with them; which he doubts they will not, and therefore wishes much that the King would lay hold of this fit occasion and let the Commission fall. Then to talk of my Lord Sandwich, whom my Lord Crewe hath a great desire might get to be Lord Treasurer if the present Lord should die, as it is believed he will in a little time; and thinks he can have no competitor but my Lord Arlington, who, it is given out, desires it: but my Lord thinks not, for that the being Secretary do keep him a greater interest with the King than the other would do; at least do believe that if my Lord would surrender him his Wardrobe place, it would be a temptation to Arlington to assist my Lord in getting the Treasurer's. I did object to my Lord that it would be no place of content, nor safety, nor honour for my Lord, the State being so indigent as it is, and the King so irregular, and those about him, that my Lord must be forced to part with any thing to answer his warrants; and that, therefore, I do believe the King had rather have a man that may be one of his vicious caball, than a sober man that will mind the publick, that so they may sit at cards and dispose of the revenue of the kingdom. This my Lord was moved at, and said he did not indeed know how to answer it, and bid me think of it; and so said he himself would also do. He do mightily cry out of the bad management of our monies, the King having had so much given him; and yet when the Parliament do find that the King should have 900,000*l.* in his purse by the best account of issues they have yet seen, yet we should report in the Navy a debt due from the King of 900,000*l.*; which I did confess I doubted was true in the first, and knew to be true in the last, and did believe that there was some great miscarriages in it: which he owned

to believe also, saying, that at this rate it is not in the power of the kingdom to make a war, nor answer the King's wants. Thence away to the King's playhouse, and saw "Love in a Maze:"* but a sorry play; only Lacy's clown's part, which he did most admirably indeed; and I am glad to find the rogue at liberty again. Here was but little, and that ordinary company. We sat at the upper bench next the boxes; and I find it do pretty well, and have the advantage of seeing and hearing the great people, which may be pleasant when there is good store. Now was only Prince Rupert and my Lord Lauderdale, and my Lord——†, the naming of whom puts me in mind of my seeing at Sir Robert Viner's two or three great silver flagons, made with inscriptions as gifts of the King to such and such persons of quality as did stay in town the late great plague, for the keeping things in order in the town. Thence Sir W. Pen and I in his coach Tiburne way into the Park, where a horrid dust, and number of coaches, without pleasure or order. That which we and almost all went for was to see my Lady Newcastle; which we could not, she being followed and crowded upon by coaches all the way she went, that nobody could come near her; only I could see she was in a large black coach adorned with silver instead of gold, and so white curtains, and every thing black and white, and herself in her cap. Sir W. Pen did give me an account this afternoon of his design of buying Sir Robert Brookes's fine house at Wansted; which I so wondered at, and did give him reasons against it, which he allowed of: and told me that he did intend to pull down the house and build a less, and that he should get 1500*l*. by the old house, and I know not what fooleries. But I will never believe he ever intended to buy it, for my part, though he troubled Mr. Gauden to go and look upon it, and advise him in it.

3d. To the Duke of York's chamber, which, as it is now fretted at the top, and the chimney-piece made handsome, is one of the noblest and best-proportioned rooms that ever, I think, I saw. To Westminster by coach; the Cofferer‡ telling us odd stories how

* Downes mentions this play, which was never printed, nor is the author known.

† Probably Craven.

‡ Mr. Ashburnham.

he was dealt with by the men of the Church at Westminster in taking a lease of them at the King's coming in, and particularly the devilish covetousness of Dr. Busby.* Took a turn with my old acquaintance Mr. Pechell, whose red nose makes me ashamed to be seen with him, though otherwise a good-natured man. This day the news is come that the fleet of the Dutch, of about 20 ships, which come upon our coasts upon design to have intercepted our colliers (but by good luck failed), is gone to the Frith, and there lies, perhaps to trouble the Scotch privateers, which have galled them of late very much, it may be more than all our last year's fleet.

5th. Sir John Robinson tells me he hath now got a street ordered to be continued, forty feet broad, from Paul's through Cannon-street to the Tower, which will be very fine. He and others this day, where I was in the afternoon, do tell me of at least six or eight fires within these few days; and continually stirs of fires, and real fires there have been, in one place or other, almost ever since the late great fire, as if there was a fate sent people for fire. I walked over the Park to Sir W. Coventry's. We talked of Tangier, of which he is ashamed; also that it should put the King to this charge for no good in the world: and now a man going over that is a good soldier, but a debauched man, which the place need not to have. And so used these words: "That this place was to the King as my Lord Carnarvon† says of wood, that it is an excrescence of the earth provided by God for the payment of debts." This day Sir W. Coventry tells me the Dutch fleet shot some shot, four or five hundred, into Burnt Island in the Frith, but without any hurt; and so are gone.

7th. To St. James's; but there find Sir W. Coventry gone out betimes this morning on horseback with the King and Duke of York to Putney-heath, to run some horses.

9th. In our street, at the Three Tuns Tavern, I find a great hubbub:

* Richard Busby, D. D. Master of Westminster School, and in 1660 made a Prebendary of Westminster. Notwithstanding the character given of him here, he was a liberal benefactor to Christ Church, Oxford, and Lichfield Cathedral. Ob. 1695, aged 89.

† Charles Dormer succeeded his father, who fell at the battle of Newbury, as Earl of Carnarvon Ob. s. p. 1709.

and what was it but two brothers had fallen out, and one killed the other? And who should they be but the two Fieldings? one whereof, Bazill, was page to my Lady Sandwich; and he hath killed the other, himself being very drunk, and so is sent to Newgate.

10th. At noon to Kent's, at the Three Tuns Tavern: and there the constable of the parish did shew us the picklocks and dice that were found in the dead man's pocket, and but 18*d.* in money; and a table-book, wherein were entered the names of several places where he was to go; and among others his house, where he was to dine, and did dine yesterday. And after dinner went into the church, and there saw his corpse with the wound in his left breast; a sad spectacle, and a broad wound, which makes my hand now shake to write of it. His brother intending, it seems, to kill the coachman, who did not please him, this fellow stepped in and took away his sword; who thereupon took out his knife, which was of the fashion, with a falchion blade, and a little cross at the hilt like a dagger; and with that stabbed him. Drove hard towards Clerkenwell, thinking to have overtaken my Lady Newcastle, whom I saw before us in her coach, with 100 boys and girls running looking upon her; but I could not: and so she got home before I could come up to her. But I will get a time to see her.

12th. Walked over the fields to Kingsland, and back again; a walk, I think, I have not taken these twenty years; but puts me in mind of my boy's-time when I boarded at Kingsland, and used to shoot with my bow and arrows in these fields.

13th. This morning come Sir H. Cholmly to me for a tally or two; and tells me that he hears that we are by agreement to give the King of France Nova Scotia; which he do not like: but I do not know the importance of it. Sir Philip Warwick do please himself like a good man to tell some of the good ejaculations of my Lord Treasurer concerning the little worth of this world, to buy it with so much pain, and other things fit for a dying man.

14th. To my Lord Chancellor's, where I met Mr. Povy expecting the coming of the rest of the Commissioners for Tangier. Here I understand how the two Dukes, both the only sons of the Duke of

York, are sick even to danger; and that on Sunday last they were both so ill, as that the poor Duchesse was in doubt which would die first: the Duke of Cambridge, of some general disease; the other little Duke, whose title I know not, of the convulsion fits, of which he had four this morning. Fear that either of them might be dead, did make us think that it was the occasion that the Duke of York and others were not come to the meeting of the Commission which was designed, and my Lord Chancellor did expect. And it was pretty to observe how, when my Lord sent down to St. James's to see why the Duke of York come not, and Mr. Povy, who went, returned, my Lord did ask (not how the Princes or the Dukes do, as other people do, but) "How do the Children?" which methought was mighty great, and like a great man and grandfather. I find every body mightily concerned for these children, as a matter wherein the State is much concerned that they should live.

15th. I away with Sir G. Carteret to London, talking all the way: and he do tell me that the business of my Lord Hinchinbroke his marriage with my Lord Burlington's daughter, is concluded on by all friends; and that my Lady is now told of it, and do mightily please herself with it: which I am mightily glad of. News still that my Lord Treasurer is so ill as not to be any man of this world; and it is said that the Treasury shall be managed by Commission. I would to God Sir G. Carteret, or my Lord Sandwich, be in it! But the latter is the more fit for it.

16th. This being Holy Thursday, when the boys go our procession round the parish, we were to go to the Three Tuns Tavern to dine with the rest of the parish; where all the parish almost was, Sir Andrew Rickard and others; and of our house, J. Minnes, W. Batten, W. Pen, and myself: and Mr. Mills did sit uppermost at the table. Sir John Fredricke* and Sir R. Ford did talk of Paul's School, which, they tell me, must be taken away; and then I fear it will be long before another place, such as they say is promised, is found: but they do say that the

* Lord Mayor of London 1662, and President of Christ's Hospital. His eldest son, John, was created a Baronet 1723.

honour of their Company* is concerned in the doing of it, and that it is a thing that they are obliged to do. To my Lord Treasurer's, where I find the porter crying, and suspected it was that my Lord is dead; and, poor Lord! we did find that he was dead just now. There is a good man gone: and I pray God that the Treasury may not be worse managed by the hand or hands it shall now be put into; though, for certain, the slowness (though he was of great integrity) of this man and remissness have gone as far to undo the nation, as any thing else that hath happened; and yet, if I knew all the difficulties that he hath lain under, and his instrument Sir Philip Warwick, I might be true to another mind. It is remarkable that this afternoon Mr. Moore come to me, and there among other things did tell me how Mr. Moyer the merchant, having procured an order from the King and Duke of York and Council, with the consent of my Lord Chancellor, and by assistance of Lord Arlington, for the releasing out of prison his brother Samuel Moyer, who was a great man in the late times in Haberdashers'-hall, and was engaged under hand and seal to give the man that obtained it so much in behalf of my Lord Chancellor; but it seems my Lady Duchesse of Albemarle had before undertaken it for so much money, but hath not done it. The Duke of Albemarle did the next day send for this Moyer, to tell him that notwithstanding this order of the King and Council's being passed for release of his brother, yet, if he did not consider the pains of some friends of his, he would stop that order. This Moyer being an honest, bold man, told him that he was engaged to the hand that had done the thing to give him a reward; and more, he could not give, nor could own any kindness done by his Grace's interest: and so parted. The next day Sir Edward Savage did take the said Moyer in tax about it, giving ill words of this Moyer and his brother; which he not being able to bear, told him he would give to the person that had engaged him what he promised, and not any thing to any body else; and that both he and his brother were as honest men as himself or any man else: and so

* The Mercers' Company, under whose superintendence St. Paul's School was placed by the Founder.

sent him going, and bid him do his worst.* It is one of the most extraordinary cases that ever I saw or understood ; but it is true.

17th. To Sir R. Viner's with 600 pieces of gold to turn into silver, for the enabling me to answer Sir G. Carteret's 3000*l.*; which he now draws all out of my hand towards the paying for a purchase he hath made for his son and my Lady Jemimah, in Northamptonshire, of Sir Samuel Luke,* in a good place : a good house, and near all her friends ; which is a very happy thing.

19th. Great talk of the good end that my Lord Treasurer made ; closing his own eyes, and wetting his mouth, and bidding adieu with the greatest content and freedom in the world : and is said to die with the cleanest hands that ever any Lord Treasurer did. Mr. How come to see us ; and, among other things, told us how the Barristers and Students of Gray's Inne rose in rebellion against the Benchers the other day ; who outlawed them, and a great deal of do : but now they are at peace again.

20th. Among other news I hear that the Commissioners for the Treasury were named by the King yesterday ; but who they are nobody could tell : but the persons are the Lord Chancellor, the two Secretaries, Lord Ashly, and others say Sir W. Coventry and Sir John Duncomb, but all conclude the Duke of Albemarle : but reports do differ.

22d. Up, and by water to White Hall to Sir G. Carteret, who tells me now for certain how the Commission for the Treasury is disposed of ; viz. to Duke of Albemarle, Lord Ashly, Sir W. Coventry, Sir John Duncomb, and Sir Thomas Clifford : at which, he says, all the whole Court is disturbed ; it having been once concluded otherwise into the other hands formerly mentioned in yesterday's notes, but all of a sudden the King's choice was changed, and these are to be the men ; the first of which is only for a puppet to give honour to the rest. He do presage that these men will make it their business to find faults in the management of the late Lord Treasurer, and in discouraging the bankers : but I am (whatever I in compliance do say to him) of another

* Sir Samuel Luke was (according to Granger) the original Hudibras of Butler.

mind, and my heart is very glad of it, for I do expect they will do much good, and that it is the happiest thing that hath appeared to me for the good of the nation since the King come in. Thence to St. James's, and up to the Duke of York; and there in his chamber Sir W. Coventry did of himself take notice of this business of the Treasury, wherein he is in the Commission, and desired that I would be thinking of any thing fit for him to be acquainted with for the lessening of charge and bettering of our credit, and what our expence hath been since the King's coming home, which he believes will be one of the first things they shall enquire into: which I promised him, and from time to time, which he desires, give him an account of what I can think of worthy his knowledge. I am mighty glad of this opportunity of professing my joy to him in what choice the King hath made, and the hopes I have that it will save the kingdom from perishing: and how it do encourage me to take pains again, after my having through despair neglected it! which he told me of himself that it was so with him, that he had given himself up to more ease than ever he expected, and that his opinion of matters was so bad that there was no publick employment in the kingdom should have been accepted by him but this which the King hath now given him; and therein he is glad, in hopes of the service he may do therein; and in my conscience he will. So into the Duke of York's closet; and there, among other things, Sir W. Coventry did take notice of what he told me the other day, about a report of Commissioner Pett's dealing for timber in the Navy, and selling it to us in other names; and besides his own proof did produce a paper I had given him this morning about it in the case of Widow Murford and Morecocke, which was so handled, that the Duke of York grew very angry, and commanded us presently to fall into the examination of it, saying that he would trust a man for his sake that lifts up the whites of his eyes. And it was declared that if he be found to have done so, he should be reckoned unfit to serve the Navy; and I do believe he will be turned out: and it was, methought, a worthy saying of Sir W. Coventry to the Duke of York, "Sir," says he, "I do not make this complaint out of any disrespect to Commissioner Pett, but because I do love to do these things fairly and openly."

This day coming from Westminster with W. Batten, we saw at White Hall stairs a fisher-boat with a sturgeon that he had newly caught in the River; which I saw, but it was but a little one; but big enough to prevent my mistake of that for a colt, if ever I become Mayor of Huntingdon.

23d. Sir John Duncomb is sworn yesterday a Privy-councillor. This day I hear also that last night the Duke of Kendall,* second son of the Duke of York, did die; and that the other, Duke of Cambridge, continues very ill still.

26th. All our discourse about Brampton, and my intentions to build there if I could be free of my engagement to my Uncle Thomas and his son, that they may not have what I have built against my will in case of me and my brother's being without heirs male; which is the true reason why I am against laying out money upon that place, together with my fear of some inconvenience by being so near Hinchinbroke; being obliged to be a servant to that family, and subject to what expence they shall cost me; and to have all that I shall buy or do esteemed as got by the death of my Uncle, when indeed what I have from him is not worth naming.

27th. The new Commissioners of the Treasury have chosen Sir G. Downing for their Secretary: and I think in my conscience they have done a great thing in it; for he is active and a man of business, and values himself upon having of things do well under his hand; so that I am mightily pleased in their choice. Abroad, and stopped at Bear-garden stairs, there to see a prize fought. But the house so full there was no getting in there, so forced to go through an alehouse into the pit, where the bears are baited; and upon a stool did see them fight, which they did very furiously, a butcher and a waterman. The former had the better all along, till by and by the latter dropped his sword out of his hand, and the butcher, whether not seeing his sword dropped I know not, but did give him a cut over the wrist, so as he was disabled to fight any longer. But, Lord! to see how in a minute the whole stage was full of watermen to revenge the foul play,

* Henry Stuart, created Duke of Kendall 1664.

and the butchers to defend their fellow, though most blamed him ; and there they all fell to it to knocking down and cutting many on each side. It was pleasant to see, but that I stood in the pit, and feared that in the tumult I might get some hurt. At last the battle broke up, and so I away. The Duke of Cambridge very ill still.

28th. Up, and by coach to St. James's, where I find Sir W. Coventry desirous to have spoke with me. It was to read over a draught of a letter which he hath made for his brother Commissioners and him to sign to us, demanding an account of the whole business of the Navy Accounts ; and I perceive, by the way he goes about it, that they will do admirable things. He tells me that they have chosen Sir G. Downing their Secretary, who will be as fit a man as any in the world : and he said, by the by, speaking of the bankers being fearful of Sir G. Downing's being Secretary, he being their enemy, that they did not intend to be ruled by their Secretary, but do the business themselves. My heart is glad to see so great hopes of good to the nation as will be by these men ; and it do me good to see Sir W. Coventry so cheerful as he now is on the same score. My wife away down with Jane and W. Hewer to Woolwich, in order to a little ayre and to lie there to-night, and so to gather May-dew to-morrow morning, which Mrs. Turner hath taught her is the only thing in the world to wash her face with ; and I am contented with it. I by water to Fox-hall, and there walked in Spring-garden. A great deal of company, and the weather and garden pleasant : and it is very pleasant and cheap going thither, for a man may go to spend what he will, or nothing, all as one. But to hear the nightingale and other birds, and here fiddles and there a harp, and here a Jew's trumpet, and here laughing, and there fine people walking, is mighty divertising.

29th. Our parson Mills having the offer of another benefice* by Sir Robert Brookes, who was his tutor, he by my Lord Barkeley is made one of the Duke's Chaplains, which qualifies him for two livings. But to see how slightly such things are done, the Duke of York only taking my Lord Barkeley's word upon saying, that we the officers of the Navy do say that he is a good man and minister of our parish, and

* The rectory of Wanstead in Essex, to which he was presented.

the Duke of York admits him to kiss his hand, but speaks not one word to him; but so a warrant will be drawn from the Duke of York to qualify him, and there's an end of it.

30th. After dinner I walked to Arundell House, the way very dusty, (the day of meeting of the Society being changed from Wednesday to Thursday, which I knew not before, because the Wednesday is a Council-day, and several of the Council are of the Society, and would come but for their attending the King at Council;) where I find very much company, in expectation of the Duchesse of Newcastle, who had desired to be invited to the Society; and was; after much debate *pro* and *con*, it seems many being against it; and we do believe the town will be full of ballads of it. Anon comes the Duchesse with her women attending her; among others the Ferabosco, of whom so much talk is that her lady would bid her shew her face and kill the gallants. She is indeed black, and hath good black little eyes, but otherwise but a very ordinary woman I do think, but they say sings well. The Duchesse hath been a good, comely woman; but her dress so antick, and her deportment so ordinary, that I do not like her at all, nor did I hear her say any thing that was worth hearing, but that she was full of admiration, all admiration. Several fine experiments were shewn her of colours, loadstones, microscopes, and of liquors: among others, of one that did while she was there turn a piece of roasted mutton into pure blood, which was very rare. Here was Mrs. Moore of Cambridge, whom I had not seen before, and I was glad to see her; as also a very black boy that run up and down the room, somebody's child in Arundell House. After they had shewn her many experiments, and she cried still she was full of admiration, she departed, being led out and in by several lords that were there; among others, Lord George Barkeley and Earl of Carlisle*, and a very pretty young man, the Duke of Somerset.†

31st. At the Treasury-chamber. Here I saw Duncomb look as

* Charles Howard, created Earl of Carlisle 1661, employed on several Embassies, and Governor of Jamaica. Ob. 1684.

† Francis fifth Duke of Somerset, murdered in Italy 1678.

big, and take as much state on him, as if he had been born a lord. Here I met with Sir H. Cholmly, who tells me that he is told this day by Secretary Morris that he believes we are, and shall be only fooled by the French; and that the Dutch are very high and insolent, and do look upon us as come over only to beg a peace; which troubles me very much, and I do fear it is true. Thence to Sir G. Carteret at his lodgings; who, I perceive, is mightily displeased with this new Treasury; and he hath reason, for it will eclipse him. And he tells me that my Lord Ashly says they understand nothing; and he says he believes the King do not intend they shall sit long. But I believe no such thing, but that the King will find such benefit by them as he will desire to have them continue, as we see he hath done in the late new Act that was so much decried about the King; but yet the King hath since permitted it, and found good by it. He says, and I believe, that a great many persons at Court are angry at the rise of this Duncomb, whose father, he tells me, was a long-Parliament-man, and a great Committee-man; and this fellow used to carry his papers to Committees after him: he was a kind of an attorney: but for all this, I believe will be a great man, in spite of all. In the evening home, and there to my unexpected satisfaction did get my intricate accounts of interest (which have been of late much perplexed by mixing of some moneys of Sir G. Carteret's with mine) evened and set right: and so late to supper, and with great quiet to bed; finding by the balance of my account that I am creditor 6900*l.*; for which the Lord of Heaven be praised!

June 1st. Up; and there comes to me Mr. Commander, whom I employ about hiring of some ground behind the office, for the building of me a stable and coach-house: for I do find it necessary for me, both in respect of honour and the profit of it also, (my expence in hackney-coaches being now so great,) to keep a coach, and therefore will do it. Having given him some instructions about it, I to the office; where we have news that our peace with Spain as to trade is wholly concluded, and we are to furnish him with some men for Flanders against the French. How that will agree with the French I know not; but they say that he also hath liberty to get what men he

pleases out of England. But for the Spaniard, I hear that my Lord Castlehaven is raising a regiment of 4000 men which he is to command there; and several young gentlemen are going over in commands with him; and they say the Duke of Monmouth is going over only as a traveller, not to engage on either side, but only to see the campagne, which will be becoming him much more than to live as he now do.

3d. Met Mr. Mills, our parson, whom I went back with to bring him to Sir W. Coventry to give him the form of a qualification for the Duke of York to sign to, to enable him to have two livings; which was a service I did, but much against my will, for a lazy, fat priest. Sir William Doyly did lay a wager with me, the Treasurership would be in one hand (notwithstanding this present Commission) before Christmas: on which we did lay a poll of ling, a brace of carps, and a pottle of wine; and Sir W. Pen and Mr. Scowen to be at the eating of them. Thence down by water to Deptford, it being Trinity Monday, when the Master is chosen. And so I down with them; and we had a good dinner of plain meat, and good company at our table: among others my good Mr. Evelyn, with whom after dinner I stepped aside and talked upon the present posture of our affairs; which is, that the Dutch are known to be abroad with eighty sail of ships of war, and twenty fire-ships, and the French come into the Channell with twenty sail of men-of-war, and five fire-ships, while we have not a ship at sea to do them any hurt with, but are calling in all we can, while our Embassadors are treating at Bredah, and the Dutch look upon them as come to beg peace, and use them accordingly: and all this through the negligence of our Prince, who had power, if he would, to master all these with the money and men that he hath had the command of, and may now have, if he would mind his business. In the Treasury-chamber an hour or two, where we saw the Country Receivers and Accountants come to attend; and one of them a brisk young fellow (with his hat cocked like a fool behind, as the present fashion among the blades is) committed to the Serjeant. By and by I upon desire was called in, and delivered in my Report of my Accounts. Present, Lord Ashly, Clifford, and Duncomb. But I do like the way of these lords, that they admit nobody to use many words, nor do

they spend many words themselves, but in great state do hear what they see necessary, and say little themselves, but bid withdraw.

5th. Captain Perriman brings us word how the Happy Returne's crew below in the Hope, ordered to carry the Portugal Ambassador to Holland, (and the Ambassador, I think, on board,) refuse to go till paid; and by their example two or three more ships are in a mutiny: which is a sad consideration, while so many of the enemy's ships are at this day triumphing in the sea. Sir G. Carteret shewed me a gentleman coming by in his coach who hath been sent for up out of Lincolnshire, (I think he says he is a justice of peace there,) that the Council have laid by the heels here, and here lies in a messenger's hands, for saying that a man and his wife are but one person, and so ought to pay but 12*d.* for both to the Poll Bill; by which others were led to do the like: and so here he lies prisoner.

7th. With Mr. Townsend, whom I sent for to come to me to discourse about my Lord Sandwich's business; (for whom I am in some pain lest the Accounts of the Wardrobe may not be in so good order as may please the new Lords' Treasurers, who are quick-sighted, and under obligations of recommending themselves to the King and the world by their finding and mending of faults, and are most of them not the best friends to my Lord.)

8th. Up, and to the office, where all the news this morning is that the Dutch are come with a fleet of eighty sail to Harwich, and that guns were heard plain by Sir W. Rider's people at Bednall-green all yesterday even. The news is confirmed that the Dutch are off Harwich, but had done nothing last night. The King hath sent down my Lord of Oxford to raise the countries there; and all the Western barges are taken up to make a bridge over the River about the Hope for horse to cross the River, if there be occasion.

9th. I hear that the Duke of Cambridge, who was given over long since by the Doctors, is now likely to recover; for which God be praised! To Sir W. Coventry, and there talked with him a great while; and mighty glad I was of my good fortune to visit him, for it keeps in my acquaintance with him, and the world sees it, and reckons my interest accordingly. In comes my Lord Barkeley, who is going

down to Harwich also to look after the militia there : and there is also the Duke of Monmouth, and with him a great many young Hectors, the Lord Chesterfield, my Lord Mandeville, and others ; but to little purpose, I fear, but to debauch the country women thereabouts. My Lord Barkeley wanting some maps, and Sir W. Coventry recommending the six maps of England that are bound up for the pocket, I did offer to present my Lord with them, which he accepted ; and so I will send them him. I find an order come for the getting some fire-ships presently to annoy the Dutch, who are in the King's Channel, and expected up higher.

10th. Up ; and news brought us that the Dutch are come up as high as the Nore ; and more pressing orders for fire-ships. W. Batten, W. Pen, and I to St. James's ; whence the Duke of York gone this morning betimes, to send away some men down to Chatham. So we then to White Hall, and met Sir W. Coventry, who presses all that is possible for fire-ships. So we three to the office presently ; and thither comes Sir Fretcheville Hollis*, who is to command them all in some exploits he is to do with them on the enemy in the River. So we all down to Deptford, and pitched upon ships and set men at work : but, Lord ! to see how backwardly things move at this pinch, notwithstanding that by the enemy's being now come up as high as almost the Hope, Sir J. Minnes, who was gone down to pay some ships there, hath sent up the money ; and so we are possessed of money to do what we will with. Yet partly ourselves, being used to be idle and in despair, and partly people that have been used to be deceived by us as to money won't believe us ; and we know not, though we have it, how almost to promise it ; and our wants such, and men out of the

* Son of Fretcheville Hollis, of Grimsby (Colonel of a regiment on the King's side during the Civil Wars, in which he acquired considerable credit), by his second wife Elizabeth Molesworth, and himself a distinguished naval officer. He lost an arm in the sea-fight 1665, and afterwards served as Rear-Admiral under Sir R. Holmes, when they attacked the Smyrna fleet. He fell in the battle of Southwold Bay 1672, on board the Cambridge. Although Mr. Pepys speaks slightly of Sir F. H. he was a man of high spirit and enterprise, and is thus eulogized by Dryden in his *Annus Mirabilis*.—

“ Young Hollis on a Muse by Mars begot,
Born, Caesar-like, to write and act great deeds,
Impatient to revenge his fatal shot,
His right hand doubly to his left succeeds.”

way, that it is an admirable thing to consider how much the King suffers, and how necessary it is in a State to keep the King's service always in a good posture and credit. Down to Gravesend, where I find the Duke of Albemarle just come, with a great many idle lords and gentlemen, with their pistols and fooleries; and the bulworke not able to have stood half an hour had they come up; but the Dutch are fallen down from the Hope and Shell-haven as low as Sheerensse, and we do plainly at this time hear the guns play. Yet I do not find the Duke of Albemarle intends to go thither, but stays here to-night, and hath (though the Dutch are gone) ordered our frigates to be brought in a line between the two block-houses; which I took then to be a ridiculous thing. I find the town had removed most of their goods out of the town, for fear of the Dutch coming up to them; and from Sir John Griffen, that last night there was not twelve men to be got in the town to defend it: which the master of the house tells me is not true, but that the men of the town did intend to stay, though they did indeed, and so had he (at the Ship), removed their goods. Thence went to an Ostend man-of-war just now come up, who met the Dutch fleet, who took three ships that he came convoying hither from him: says they are as low as the Nore, or thereabouts.

11th. Brouncker come to us, who is just now going to Chatham upon a desire of Commissioner Pett's, who is very fearfull of the Dutch, and desires help for God and the King and kingdom's sake. So Brouncker goes down, and Sir J. Minnes also from Gravesend. This morning Pett writes us word that Sheerensse is lost last night, after two or three hours' dispute. The enemy hath possessed himself of that place; which is very sad, and puts us into great fears of Chatham. Home, and there to our business, hiring some fire-ships, and receiving every hour almost letters from Sir W. Coventry, calling for more fire-ships: and an order from Council to enable us to take any man's ships; and Sir W. Coventry, in his letter to us, says he do not doubt but at this time (under an invasion, as he owns it to be) the King may by law take any man's goods. At this business late, and then home; where a great deal of serious talk with my wife about the sad state we are in, and especially from the beating up of drums this night for the

train-bands upon pain of death to appear in arms to-morrow morning, with bullet and powder, and money to supply themselves with victuals for a fortnight: which, considering the soldiers drawn out to Chatham and elsewhere, looks as if they had a design to ruin the City and give it up to be undone; which, I hear, makes the sober citizens to think very sadly of things.

12th. Up very betimes to our business at the office, there hiring of more fire-ships; and at it close all the morning. At noon home, and Sir W. Pen dined with us. By and by after dinner my wife out by coach to see her mother; and I in another (being afraid at this busy time to be seen with a woman in a coach, as if I were idle) towards The. Turner's: but met Sir W. Coventry's boy; and there in a letter find that the Dutch had made no motion since their taking Sheerensse, and the Duke of Albemarle writes that all is safe as to the great ships against any assault, the bomb and chaine being so fortified; which put my heart into great joy. When I come to Sir W. Coventry's chamber, I find him abroad; but his clerk, Powell, do tell me that ill news is come to Court of the Dutch breaking the chaine at Chatham; which struck me to the heart. And to White Hall to hear the truth of it; and there going up the Park-stairs I did hear some lacquies speaking of sad news come to Court, saying, there is hardly any body in the Court but do look as if he cried. I met Roger Pepys, newly come out of the country: in discourse he told me that his grandfather, my great-grandfather, had 800*l.* per annum in Queene Elizabeth's time in the very town of Cottenham; and that we did certainly come out of Scotland with the Abbot of Crowland. Home, where all our hearts do now ake; for the news is true that the Dutch have broke the chaine and burned our ships, and particularly "The Royal Charles:" other particulars I know not, but it is said to be so. And the truth is, I do fear so much that the whole kingdom is undone, that I do this night resolve to study with my father and wife what to do with the little that I have in money by me, for I give all the rest that I have in the King's hands for Tangier for lost. So God help us! and God knows what disorders we may fall into, and whether any violence on this office, or perhaps some severity on our persons, as being reckoned by the silly

people, or perhaps may by policy of State be thought fit to be condemned by the King and Duke of York, and so put to trouble; though, God knows, I have in my own person done my full duty, I am sure.

13th. No sooner up but hear the sad news confirmed of the Royall Charles being taken by them, and now in fitting by them, (which Pett should have carried up higher by our several orders, and deserves therefore to be hanged for not doing it,) and burning several others; and that another fleet is come up into the Hope. Upon which news the King and Duke of York have been below since four o'clock in the morning, to command the sinking of ships at Barking-Creeke and other places, to stop their coming up higher: which put me into such a fear, that I presently resolved of my father's and wife's going into the country; and at two hours' warning they did go by the coach this day, with about 1300*l.* in gold in their night-bag. Pray God give them good passage, and good care to hide it when they come home! but my heart is full of fear. They gone, I continued in frights and fear what to do with the rest. W. Hewer hath been at the banker's, and hath got 500*l.* out of Backewell's hands of his own money; but they are so called upon that they will be all broke, hundreds coming to them for money: and they answer him, "It is payable at twenty days—when the days are out we will pay you;" and those that are not so they make tell over their money, and make their bags false on purpose to give cause to retell it, and so spend time. I cannot have my 200 pieces of gold again for silver, all being bought up last night that were to be had, and sold for 24 and 25*s.* a-piece. Every minute some one or other calls for this or that order; and so I forced to be at the office most of the day about the fire-ships which are to be suddenly fitted out. And it's a most strange thing that we hear nothing from any of my brethren at Chatham: so that we are wholly in the dark, various being the reports of what is done there; insomuch, that I sent Mr. Clapham express thither to see how matters go. I did about noon resolve to send Mr. Gibson away after my wife with another 1000 pieces, under colour of an express to Sir Jeremy Smith, who is, as I hear, with some ships at Newcastle; which I did really send to him, and may possibly prove of good use to the King, for it

is possible in the hurry of business they may not think of it at Court, and the charge of express is not considerable to the King. The King and Duke of York up and down all the day here and there: some time on Tower Hill, where the City militia was; where the King did make a speech to them, that they should venture themselves no further than he would himself. I also sent (my mind being in pain) Saunders after my wife and father, to overtake them at their night's lodging, to see how matters go with them. In the evening I sent for my cousin Sarah and her husband, who come; and I did deliver them my chest of writings about Brampton, and my brother Tom's papers, and my journalls, which I value much; and did send my two silver flagons to Kate Joyce's: that so being scattered what I have, something might be saved. I have also made a girdle, by which with some trouble I do carry about me 300*l.* in gold about my body, that I may not be without something in case I should be surprised; for I think, in any nation but our's, people that appear (for we are not indeed so) so faulty as we, would have their throats cut. In the evening comes Mr. Pelling and several others to the office, and tell me that never were people so dejected as they are in the City all over at this day; and do talk most loudly, even treason; as, that we are bought and sold, that we are betrayed by the Papists and others about the King: cry out that the office of the Ordnance hath been so backward as no powder to have been at Chatham nor Upner Castle till such a time, and the carriages all broken; that Legg* is a Papist; that Upner, the old good castle built by Queen Elizabeth, should be lately slighted; that the ships at Chatham should not be carried up higher. They look upon us as lost, and remove their families and rich goods in the City; and do think verily that the French being come down with an army to Dunkirke, it is to invade us, and that we shall be invaded. Mr. Clerke, the solicitor, comes to me about business, and tells me that he hears that the King hath chosen Mr. Pierpoint and Vaughan of the West, Privy-councillors; that my Lord Chancellor was affronted in the Hall this day, by people telling him of his

* William Legge, mentioned before. He was Treasurer and Superintendant of the Ordnance, with General's pay.

Dunkirke House; and that there are regiments ordered to be got together, whereof to be commanders my Lord Fairfax, Ingolsby, Bethell, Norton, and Birch, and other Presbyterians; and that Dr. Bates will have liberty to preach. Now, whether this be true or not, I know not; but do think that nothing but this will unite us together. Late at night comes Mr. Hudson the cooper, my neighbour, and tells me that he come from Chatham this evening at five o'clock, and saw this afternoon "The Royal James," "Oake," and "London," burnt by the enemy with their fire-ships: that two or three men-of-war come up with them, and made no more of Upner Castle's shooting than of a fly; that those ships lay below Upner Castle, (but therein, I conceive, he is in an error); that the Dutch are fitting out "The Royall Charles;" that we shot so far as from the Yard thither, so that the shot did no good, for the bullets grazed on the water; that Upner played hard with their guns at first, but slowly afterwards, either from the men's being beat off, or their powder spent. But we hear that the fleet in the Hope is not come up any higher the last flood. And Sir W. Batten tells me that ships are provided to sink in the River, about Woolwich, that will prevent their coming up higher if they should attempt it. I made my will also this day, and did give all I had equally between my father and wife.

14th. Up, and to the office; where Mr. Fryer comes and tells me that there are several Frenchmen and Flemish ships in the River with passes from the Duke of York for carrying of prisoners, that ought to be parted from the rest of the ships, and their powder taken, lest they do fire themselves when the enemy comes, and so spoil us; which is good advice, and I think I will give notice of it; and did so. But it is pretty odd to see how every body, even at this high time of danger, puts business off of their own hands! He says that he told this to the Lieutenant of the Tower, (to whom I, for the same reason, was directing him to go); and the Lieutenant of the Tower bade him come to us, for he had nothing to do with it. And yesterday comes Captain Crew, of one of the fire-ships, and told me that the officers of the Ordnance would deliver his gunner's materials, but not compound them, but that we must do it; whereupon I was forced to write to them

about it: and one that like a great many come to me this morning. By and by comes Mr. Willson, and, by direction of his, a man of Mr. Gauden's; who are come from Chatham last night, and saw the three ships burnt, they lying all dry, and boats going from the men-of-war to fire them. But that that he tells me of worst consequence is, that he himself (I think he said) did hear many Englishmen on board the Dutch ships speaking to one another in English; and that they did cry and say, "We did heretofore fight for tickets; now we fight for dollars!" and did ask how such and such a one did, and would commend themselves to them: which is a sad consideration. And Mr. Lewes (who was present at this fellow's discourse to me) did tell me, that he is told that when they took "The Royal Charles," they said that they had their tickets signed (and shewed some), and that now they come to have them paid, and would have them paid before they parted. And several seamen come this morning to me, to tell me that if I would get their tickets paid they would go and do all they could against the Dutch; but otherwise they would not venture being killed, and lose all they have already fought for: so that I was forced to try what I could do to get them paid. This man tells me that the ships burnt last night did lie above Upner Castle, over against the Docke; and the boats come from the ships of war and burnt them: all which is very sad. And masters of ships that we are lately taking up, do keep from their ships all their stores, or as much as they can, so that we can dispatch them, having not time to appraise them nor secure their payment. Only some little money we have, which we are fain to pay the men we have with every night, or they will not work. And indeed the hearts as well as affections of the seamen are turned away; and in the open streets in Wapping, and up and down, the wives have cried publicly, "This comes of your not paying our husbands; and now your work is undone, or done by hands that understand it not." And Sir W. Batten told me that he was himself affronted with a woman, in language of this kind, on Tower Hill publicly yesterday; and we are fain to bear it, and to keep one at the office-door to let no idle people in, for fear of firing of the office and doing us mischief. The City is troubled at their being put upon duty: summoned one hour, and discharged two hours after; and then again summoned two

hours after that ; to their great charge as well as trouble. And Pell-ing, the Potticary, tells me the world says all over, that less charge than what the kingdom is put to, of one kind or other, by this business, would have set out all our great ships. It is said they did in open streets yesterday, at Westminster, cry, "A Parliament! a Parliament!" and I do believe it will cost blood to answer for these miscarriages. We do not hear that the Dutch are come to Gravesend; which is a wonder. But a wonderful thing it is that to this day we have not one word yet from Brouncker, or Peter Pett, or J. Minnes, of any thing at Chatham. The people that come hither to hear how things go, make me ashamed to be found unable to answer them: for I am left alone here at the office; and the truth is, I am glad my station is to be here, near my own home and out of danger, yet in a place of doing the King good service. I have this morning good news from Gibson; three letters from three several stages, that he was safe last night as far as Royston, at between nine and ten at night. The dismay that is upon us all, in the business of the kingdom and Navy at this day, is not to be expressed otherwise than by the condition the citizens were in when the City was on fire, nobody knowing which way to turn themselves, while every thing concurred to greaten the fire; as here the easterly gale and spring-tides for coming up both rivers, and enabling them to break the chaine. D. Gauden did tell me yesterday, that the day before at the Council they were ready to fall together by the ears at the Council-table, arraigning one another of being guilty of the counsel that brought us into this misery, by laying up all the great ships. Mr. Hater tells me at noon that some rude people have been, as he hears, at my Lord Chancellor's, where they have cut down the trees before his house and broke his windows; and a gibbet either set up before or painted upon his gate, and these three words writ: "Three sights to be seen; Dunkirke, Tangier, and a barren Queene." It gives great matter of talk that it is said there is at this hour, in the Exchequer, as much money as is ready to break down the floor. This arises, I believe, from Sir G. Downing's late talk of the greatness of the sum lying there of people's money that they would not fetch away, which he shewed me and a great many others. Most people that I speak with are in doubt how we

shall do to secure our seamen from running over to the Dutch ; which is a sad but very true consideration at this day. At noon I am told that my Lord Duke of Albemarle is made Lord High Constable ; the meaning whereof at this time I know not, nor whether it be true or no. Dined, and Mr. Hater and W. Hewer with me ; where they do speak very sorrowfully of the posture of the times, and how people do cry out in the streets of their being bought and sold ; and both they and every body that come to me do tell me that people make nothing of talking treason in the streets openly ; as, that they are bought and sold, and governed by Papists, and that we are betrayed by people about the King, and shall be delivered up to the French, and I know not what. At dinner we discoursed of Tom of the Wood, a fellow that lives like a hermit near Woolwich, who, as they say, (and Mr. Bodham, they tell me, affirms that he was by at the Justice's when some did accuse him there for it,) did foretell the burning of the City, and now says that a greater desolation is at hand. Thence we read and laughed at Lilly's prophecies this month, in his Almanack this year. So to the office after dinner ; and thither comes Mr. Pierce, who tells me his condition, how he cannot get his money (about 500*l.* which, he says, is a very great part of what he hath for his family and children) out of Viner's hand : and indeed it is to be feared that this will wholly undo the bankers. He says he knows nothing of the late affronts to my Lord Chancellor's house, as is said, nor hears of the Duke of Albemarle's being made High Constable ; but says that they are in great distraction at White Hall, and that every where people do speak high against Sir W. Coventry* : but he agrees with me, that he is the best Minister of State the King hath, and so from my heart I believe. At night come home Sir W. Batten and W. Pen, who only can tell me that they have placed guns at Woolwich and Deptford, and sunk some ships below Woolwich and Blackewall, and are in hopes that they will stop the enemy's coming up. But strange our confusion ! that among them that are sunk they have gone and sunk without consideration " The Franklin,"

* Evelyn says it was owing to Sir W. C. that no fleet was fitted out in 1667.

one of the King's ships with stores to a very considerable value, that hath been long loaden for supply of the ships ; and the new ship at Bristoll, and much wanted there. And nobody will own that they directed it, but do lay it on Sir W. Rider. They speak also of another ship loaden to the value of 80,000*l.* sunk with the goods in her, or at least was mightily contended for by him and a foreign ship that had the faith of the nation for her security : this Sir R. Ford tells us. And it is too plain a truth, that both here and at Chatham the ships that we have sunk have many, and the first of them, been ships completely fitted for fire-ships at great charge. But most strange the backwardness and disorder of all people, especially the King's people in pay, to do any work, (Sir W. Pen tells me,) all crying out for money. And it was so at Chatham, that this night comes an order from Sir W. Coventry to stop the pay of the wages of that Yard, the Duke of Albemarle having related, that not above three of 1100 in pay there, did attend to do any work there. This evening having sent a messenger to Chatham on purpose, we have received a dull letter from my Lord Brouncker and Peter Pett, how matters have gone there this week ; but not so much, or so particularly, as we knew it by common talk before, and as true. I doubt they will be found to have been but slow men in this business ; and they say the Duke of Albemarle did tell my Lord Brouncker to his face that his discharging of the great ships there was the cause of all this ; and I am told that it is become common talk against my Lord Brouncker. But in that he is to be justified, for he did it by verbal order from Sir W. Coventry, and with good intent ; and it was to good purpose, whatever the success be, for the men would have but spent the King so much the more in wages, and yet not attended on board to have done the King any service. And as an evidence of that, just now, being the 15th day in the morning that I am writing yesterday's passages, one is with me, Jacob Bryan, Purser of the *Princesse*, who confesses to me that he hath but 180 men borne at this day in victuals and wages on that ship lying at Chatham, being lately brought in thither ; of which 180 there was not above five appeared to do the King any service at this late business. And this morning also, some of the Cambridge's men come up

from Portsmouth by order from Sir Fretcheville Hollis, who boasted to us the other day that he had sent for 50, and would be hanged if 100 did not come up that would do as much as twice the number of other men: I say some of them, instead of being at work at Deptford, where they were intended, do come to the office this morning to demand the payment of their tickets; for otherwise they would, they said, do no more work; and are, as I understand from every body that has to do with them, the most debauched, damning, swearing rogues that ever were in the Navy, just like their prophane commander.

15th. All the morning at the office. No news more than last night; only Purser Tyler comes and tells me that he being at all the passages in this business at Chatham, he says there have been horrible miscarriages, such as we shall shortly hear of: that the want of boats hath undone us; and it is commonly said, and Sir J. Minnes under his hand tells us, that they were employed by the men of the Yard to carry away their goods; and I hear that Commissioner Pett will be found the first man that began to remove: he is much spoken against, and Brouncker is complained of, and reproached for discharging the men of the great ships heretofore. At noon Mr. Hater dined with me; and tells me he believes that it will hardly be the want of money alone that will excuse to the Parliament the neglect of not setting out a fleet, it having never been done in our greatest straits, but however unlikely it appeared, yet when it was gone about, the State or King did compass it; and there is something in it.

16th. Roger Pepys told me, that when I come to his house he will shew me a decree in Chancery, wherein there was 26 men all house-keepers in the town of Cottenham, in Queene Elizabeth's time, of our name. By and by occasion offered for my writing to Sir W. Coventry a plain bold letter touching lack of money; which, when it was gone, I was afraid might give offence; but upon two or three readings over again the copy of it, I was satisfied it was a good letter; only Sir W. Batten signed it with me, which I could wish I had done alone.

17th. Every moment business of one kind or other about the fire-ships and other businesses, most of them vexatious for want of money,

the commanders all complaining that if they miss to pay their men a night, they run away; seamen demanding money of them by way of advance, and some of Sir Fretcheville Hollis's men, that he so bragged of, demanding their tickets to be paid, or they would not work: this Hollis, Sir W. Batten and W. Pen say, proves a conceited, idle, prating, lying fellow. Captain Cocke tells me there have been great endeavours of bringing in the Presbyterian interest, but that it will not do. He named to me several of the insipid lords that are to command the armies that are to be raised. He says the King and Court are all troubled, and the gates of the Court were shut up upon the first coming of the Dutch to us, but they do mind the business no more than ever: that the bankers, he fears, are broke as to ready-money, though Viner had 100,000*l.* by him when our trouble begun: that he and the Duke of Albemarle have received into their own hands, of Viner, the former 10,000*l.*, and the latter 12,000*l.*, in tallies or assignments to secure what was in his hands of theirs; and many other great men of our masters have done the like; which is no good sign, when they begin to fear the main. He and every body cries out of the office of the Ordnance, for their neglects, both at Gravesend and Upner, and every where else.

18th. To the office, and by and by word was brought me that Commissioner Pett is brought to the Tower, and there laid up close prisoner; which puts me into a fright, lest they may do the same with us as they do with him. Great news to-night of the blowing up of one of the Dutch's greatest ships, while a Council of War was on board: the latter part, I doubt, is not so, it not being confirmed since; but the former, that they had a ship blown up, is said to be true. This evening comes Sir G. Carteret to the office, to talk of business at Sir W. Batten's; where all to be undone for want of money, there being none to pay the chest at their publick pay the 24th of this month, which will make us a scorn to the world. After he had done there, he and I into the garden, and walked; and the greatest of our discourse is, his sense of the requisiteness of his parting with his being Treasurer of the Navy, if he can on any good terms. He do harp upon getting my Lord Brouncker to take it on half profit, but that he

is not able to secure him in paying him so much. He tells me now the great question is, whether a Parliament or no Parliament; and says the Parliament itself cannot be thought able at present to raise money, and therefore it will be to no purpose to call one.

19th. Comes an order from Sir R. Browne, commanding me this afternoon to attend the Council-board with all my books and papers, touching the Medway. I was ready to fear some mischief to myself, though it appears most reasonable that it is to inform them about Commissioner Pett. I am called in to a large Committee of the Council: present, the Duke of Albemarle, Anglesy, Arlington, Ashly, Carteret, Duncomb, Coventry, Ingram, Clifford, Lauderdale, Morrice, Manchester, Craven, Carlisle, Bridgewater.* And after Sir W. Coventry's telling them what orders His Royal Highness had made for the safety of the Medway, I told them to their full content what we had done, and shewed them our letters. Then was Peter Pett called in, with the Lieutenant of the Tower. He is in his old clothes, and looked most sillily. His charge was chiefly the not carrying up of the great ships, and the using of the boats in carrying away his goods; to which he answered very sillily, though his faults to me seem only great omissions. Lord Arlington and Coventry very severe against him; the former saying that, if he was not guilty, the world would think them all guilty. The latter urged, that there must be some faults, and that the Admiral must be found to have done his part. I did say an unhappy word, which I was sorry for, when he complained of want of oars for the boats: and there was, it seems, enough, and good enough, to carry away all the boats with from the King's occasions. He said he used never a boat till they were all gone but one; and that was to carry away things of great value, and these were his models of ships; which, when the Council, some of them, had said they wished that the Dutch had had them instead of the King's ships, he answered, he did believe the Dutch would have made more advantage of the models than of the ships, and that the King had had greater loss thereby: this they all laughed at. After having heard him for an hour or more, they bid him withdraw. He being gone, they caused Sir Richard

* John second Earl of Bridgewater. Ob. 1686.

Browne to read over his minutes; and then my Lord Arlington moved that they might be put into my hands to put into form, I being more acquainted with such business; and they were so. So I away back with my books and papers; and when I got into the Court it was pretty to see how people gazed upon me, that I thought myself obliged to salute people and to smile, lest they should think I was a prisoner too: but afterwards I found that most did take me to be there to bear evidence against P. Pett. My wife did give me so bad an account of her and my father's method in burying of our gold, that made me mad: and she herself is not pleased with it, she believing that my sister knows of it. My father and she did it on Sunday, when they were gone to church, in open daylight, in the midst of the garden; where, for aught they knew, many eyes might see them: which put me into trouble, and presently cast about how to have it back again to secure it here, the times being a little better now.

20th. Mr. Barber told me that all the discourse yesterday, about that part of the town where he was, was that Mr. Pett and I were in the Tower; and I did hear the same before. Busy all the afternoon: in the evening did treat with, and in the end agree, but by some kind of compulsion, with the owners of six merchant-ships, to serve the King as men-of-war. But, Lord! to see how against the hair it is with these men, and every body, to trust us and the King; and how unreasonable it is to expect they should be willing to lend their ships, and lay out 2 or 300*l*. a man to fit their ships for the new voyages, when we have not paid them half of what we owe them for their old services! I did write so to Sir W. Coventry this night.

21st. This day comes news from Harwich that the Dutch fleet are all in sight, near 100 sail great and small, they think, coming towards them; where, they think, they shall be able to oppose them; but do cry out of the falling back of the seamen, few standing by them, and those with much faintness. The like they write from Portsmouth, and their letters this post are worth reading. Sir H. Cholmly come to me this day, and tells me the Court is as mad as ever; and that the night the Dutch burned our ships the King did sup with my Lady

Castlemaine, at the Duchesse of Monmouth's, and there were all mad in hunting of a poor moth. All the Court afraid of a Parliament; but he thinks nothing can save us but the King's giving up all to a Parliament.

22d. In the evening come Captain Hart and Haywood to me about the six merchant-ships now taken up for men-of-war; and in talk they told me about the taking of "The Royal Charles;" that nothing but carelessness lost the ship, for they might have saved her the very tide that the Dutch come up, if they would have but used means and had had but boats; and that the want of boats plainly lost all the other ships. That the Dutch did take her with a boat of nine men, who found not a man on board her, (and her laying so near them was a main temptation to them to come on;) and presently a man went up and struck her flag and jacke, and a trumpeter sounded upon her "Joan's placket is torn*:" that they did carry her down at a time, both for tides and wind, when the best pilot in Chatham would not have undertaken it, they heeling her on one side to make her draw little water; and so carried her away safe. They being gone, by and by comes Sir W. Pen, who hath been at Court; and in the first place, I hear the Duke of Cambridge is dead; which is a great loss to the nation, having, I think, never an heyre male now of the King's or Duke's to succeed to the Crown. He tells me that they do begin already to damn the Dutch and call them cowards at White Hall, and think of them and their business no better than they used to do; which is very sad. The King did tell him himself, (which is so, I was told, here in the City,) that the City hath lent him 10,000*l.* to be laid out towards securing of the River of Thames; which, methinks, is a very poor thing, that we should be induced to borrow by such mean sums.

23d. To Woolwich, and there called on Mr. Bodham: and he and I to see the batterys newly raised; which, indeed, are good works to command the River below the ships that are sunk, but not above them. It is a sad sight to see so many good ships there sunk in the River, while we would be thought to be masters of the sea. Cocke says the bankers cannot, till peace returns, ever hope to have credit

† Placket: the open part of a woman's petticoat.

again; so that they can pay no more money, but people must be contented to take publick security such as they can give them; and if so, and they do live to receive the money thereupon, the bankers will be happy men. Fenn read me an Order of Council passed the 17th instant, directing all the Treasurers of any part of the King's revenue to make no payments but such as shall be approved by the present Lords Commissioners; which will, I think, spoil the credit of all his Majesty's service, when people cannot depend upon payment any where. But the King's declaration in behalf of the bankers, to make good their assignments for money, is very good, and will, I hope, secure me. Cocke says, that he hears it is come to it now that the King will try what he can soon do for a peace; and if he cannot, that then he will cast all upon the Parliament to do as they see fit: and in doing so, perhaps, he may save us all. The King of France, it is believed, is engaged for this year; so that we shall be safe as to him. The great misery the City and kingdom is like to suffer for want of coals in a little time is very visible, and, is feared, will breed a mutiny; for we are not in any prospect to command the sea for our colliers to come, but rather, it is feared, the Dutch may go and burn all our colliers at Newcastle; though others do say that they lie safe enough there. No news at all of late from Bredagh what our treaters do. In the evening comes Mr. Povy about business; and he and I to walk in the garden an hour or two, and to talk of State matters. He tells me his opinion that it is out of possibility for us to escape being undone, there being nothing in our power to do that is necessary for the saving us: a lazy Prince, no Council, no money, no reputation at home or abroad. He says that to this day the King do follow the women as much as ever he did; that the Duke of York hath not got Mrs. Middleton, as I was told the other day: but says that he wants not her, for he hath others, and hath always had, and that he hath known them brought through the Matted Gallery at White Hall into his closet; nay, he hath come out of his wife's bed, and gone to others laid in bed for him: that Mr. Brouncker is not the only pimp, but that the whole family are of the same strain, and will do any thing to please him: that, besides the death of the two Princes lately, the

family is in horrible disorder by being in debt by spending above 60,000*l.* per annum, when he hath not 40,000*l.* : that the Duchesse is not only the proudest woman in the world, but the most expensefull ; and that the Duke of York's marriage with her hath undone the kingdom, by making the Chancellor so great above reach, who otherwise would have been but an ordinary man to have been dealt with by other people ; and he would have been careful of managing things well, for fear of being called to account ; whereas now he is secure, and hath let things run to rack, as they now appear. That at a certain time Mr. Povy did carry him an account of the state of the Duke of York's estate, shewing in faithfullness how he spent more than his estate would bear, by above 20,000*l.* per annum, and asked my Lord's opinion of it ; to which he answered, that no man that loved the King or kingdom durst own the writing of that paper : at which Povy was started, and reckoned himself undone for this good service, and found it necessary then to shew it to the Duke of York's Commissioners ; who read, examined, and approved of it, so as to cause it to be put into form, and signed it, and gave it the Duke. Now the end of the Chancellor was, for fear that his daughter's ill housewifery should be condemned. He tells me that the other day, upon this ill news of the Dutch being upon us, White Hall was shut up, and the Council called and sat close ; (and, by the way, he do assure me, from the mouth of some Privy-councillors, that at this day the Privy-council in general do know no more what the state of the kingdom as to peace and war is, than he or I ; nor who manages it, nor upon whom it depends ;) and there my Lord Chancellor did make a speech to them, saying that they knew well that he was no friend to the war from the beginning, and therefore had concerned himself little in, nor could say much to it ; and a great deal of that kind to discharge himself of the fault of the war. Upon which my Lord Anglesy rose up and told his Majesty that he thought their coming now together was not to enquire who was or was not the cause of the war, but to enquire what was or could be done in the business of making a peace, and in whose hands that was, and where it was stopped or forwarded ; and went on very highly to have all made open to them :

(and, by the way, I remember that Captain Cocke did the other day tell me that this Lord Anglesy hath said within few days, that he would willingly give 10,000*l.* of his estate that he was well secured of the rest, such apprehensions he hath of the sequel of things, as giving all over for lost.) He tells me, (speaking of the horrid effeminacy of the King,) that the King hath taken ten times more care and pains in making friends between my Lady Castlemaine and Mrs. Stewart, when they have fallen out, than ever he did to save his kingdom; nay, that upon any falling out between my Lady Castlemaine's nurse and her woman, my Lady hath often said she would make the King to make them friends, and they would be friends and be quiet; which the King hath been fain to do: that the King is, at this day, every night in Hide Park with the Duchesse of Monmouth, or with my Lady Castlemaine: that he is concerned of late by my Lord Arlington in the looking after some buildings that he is about in Norfolk*, where my Lord is laying out a great deal of money; and that he (Mr. Povy), considering the unsafeness of laying out money at such a time as this, and, besides, the enviousness of the particular county as well as all the kingdom to find him building and employing workmen, while all the ordinary people of the country are carried down to the sea-sides for securing the land, he thought it becoming him to go to my Lord Arlington (Sir Thomas Clifford by) and give it as his advice to hold his hands a little; but my Lord would not, but would have him go on, and so Sir Thomas Clifford advised also, which one would think (if he were a statesman) should be a sign of his foreseeing that all shall do well. He tells me that there is not so great confidence between any two men of power in the nation at this day, that he knows of, as between my Lord Arlington and Sir Thomas Clifford; and that it arises by accident only, there being no relation nor acquaintance between them, but only Sir Thomas Clifford's coming to him and applying himself to him for favours, when he came first up to town to be a Parliament-man.

25th. Up, and with Sir W. Pen in his new chariot (which indeed is plain, but pretty and more fashionable in shape than any coach he

* At Euston Hall in Suffolk, on the borders of Norfolk.

hath, and yet do not cost him, harness and all, above 32*l*.) to White Hall; where staid a very little: and thence to St. James's to Sir W. Coventry, whom I have not seen since before the coming of the Dutch into the River, nor did indeed know how well to go to see him, for shame either to him or me, or both of us, to find ourselves in so much misery. I find that he and his fellow-Treasurers are in the utmost want of money, and do find fault with Sir G. Carteret, that having kept the mystery of borrowing money to himself so long, (to the ruin of the nation, as Sir W. Coventry said in words to Sir W. Pen and me,) he should now lay it aside and come to them for money for every penny he hath, declaring that he can raise no more: which, I confess, do appear to me the most like ill-will of any thing that I have observed of Sir W. Coventry, when he himself did tell us on another occasion at the same time, that the bankers who used to furnish them money are not able to lend a farthing, and he knows well enough that that was all the mystery Sir G. Carteret did use, that is, only his credit with them. He told us the masters and owners of two ships that I had complained of, for not readily setting forth their ships which we had taken up to make men-of-war, had been yesterday with the King and Council, and had made their case so well understood, that the King did owe them for what they had earned the last year, and that they could not set them out again without some money or stores out of the King's Yard; the latter of which Sir W. Coventry said must be done, for that they were not able to raise money for them, though it was but 200*l*. a ship: which do shew us our condition to be so bad, that I am in a total despair of ever having the nation do well. After that talking awhile, and all out of heart with stories of want of seamen, and seamen's running away, and their demanding a month's advance, and our being forced to give seamen 3*s*. a-day to go hence to work at Chatham, and other things that shew nothing but destruction upon us; for it is certain that, as it now is, the seamen of England, in my conscience, would, if they could, go over and serve the King of France or Holland rather than us. Up to the Duke of York to his chamber, where he seems to be pretty easy, and now and then merry; but yet one may perceive in all their minds there is something

of trouble and care, and with good reason. Thence to White Hall, with Sir W. Pen, by chariot; and there in the Court met with my Lord Anglesy: and he to talk with Sir W. Pen, and told him of the masters of ships being with the Council yesterday, and that we were not in condition, though the men were willing, to furnish them with 200*l.* of money (already due to them as earned by them the last year) to enable them to set out their ships again this year for the King: which he is amazed at; and when I told him, "My Lord, this is a sad instance of the condition we are in," he answered that it was so indeed, and sighed; and so parted: and he up to the Council-chamber, where I perceive they sit every morning. It is worth noting that the King and Council in their order of the 23d instant, for unloading three merchant-ships taken up for the King's service for men-of-war, do call the late coming of the Dutch "an invasion." I was told yesterday, that Mr. Oldenburg,* our Secretary at Gresham College, is put into the Tower, for writing news to a virtuoso in France, with whom he constantly corresponds in philosophical matters; which makes it very unsafe at this time to write, or almost do any thing. Several captains come to the office yesterday and to-day, complaining that their men come and go when they will, and will not be commanded, though they are paid every night, or may be. Nay, this afternoon comes Harry Russell from Gravesend, telling us that the money carried down yesterday for the Chest at Chatham had like to have been seized upon yesterday in the barge there by seamen, who did beat our waterman: and what men should these be but the boats' crew of Sir Fretcheville Hollis, who used to brag so much of the goodness and order of his men, and his command over them? Sir H. Cholmly tells me great news; that this day in Council the King hath declared that he will call his Parliament in thirty days: which is the best news I have heard a great while, and will, if any thing, save the kingdom. How the King come to be advised to this, I know not; but he tells me that it was against the Duke of York's mind flatly, who did rather advise the King to raise money as he pleased; and against the Chancellor's, who told the King that Queene Eliza-

* Henry Oldenburgh, Secretary to the Royal Society.

beth did do all her business in eighty-eight without calling a Parliament, and so might he do for any thing he saw. But, blessed be God, it is done; and pray God it may hold, though some of us must surely go to the pot, for all must be flung up to them, or nothing will be done.

26th. The Parliament is ordered to meet the 25th of July, being, as they say, St. James's day; which every creature is glad of. Colonel Reymes* tells me of a letter come last night or the day before from my Lord St. Albans out of France, wherein he says that the King of France did lately fall out with him, giving him ill names, saying that he had belied him to our King, by saying that he had promised to assist our King, and to forward the peace; saying that indeed he had offered to forward the peace at such a time, but it was not accepted of, and so he thinks himself not obliged, and would do what was fit for him; and so made him to go out of his sight in great displeasure: and he hath given this account to the King, which, Colonel Reymes tells me, puts them into new melancholy at Court, and he believes hath forwarded the resolution of calling the Parliament. At White Hall spied Mr. Povy, who tells me as a great secret, which none knows but himself, that Sir G. Carteret hath parted with his place of Treasurer of the Navy by consent to my Lord Anglesy, and is to be Treasurer of Ireland in his stead; but upon what terms it is, I know not: and that it is in his power to bring me to as great a friendship and confidence in my Lord Anglesy, as ever I was with Sir W. Coventry. Such is the want already of coals, and the despair of having any supply, by reason of the enemy's being abroad, and no fleet of ours to secure them, that they are come this day to 5*l.* 10*s.* per chaldron.

27th. Proclamations come out this day for the Parliament to meet the 25th of next month; for which God he praised! And another to invite seamen to bring in their complaints, of their being ill used in the getting their tickets and money. Pierce tells me that he hears for certain fresh at Court, that France and we shall agree; and more, that yesterday was damned at the Council the Canary Company; and also that my Lord Mordaunt hath laid down his Commission. News

* Bullen Reymes, M. P. for Melcombe Regis.

this tide that about 80 sail of Dutch, great and small, were seen coming up the River this morning; and this tide some of them to the upper end of the Hope.

28th. We find the Duke of York and Sir W. Coventry gone this morning by two o'clock to Chatham, to come home to-night: and it is fine to observe how both the King and Duke of York have in their several late journeys to and again done them in the night for coolnesse. They tell me that the Duke of Buckingham hath surrendered himself to Secretary Morrice, and is going to the Tower. Mr. Fenn, at the table, says that he hath been taken by the watch two or three times of late, at unseasonable hours, but so disguised that they could not know him: and when I come home by and by, Mr. Lowther tells me that the Duke of Buckingham do dine publickly this day at Wadlow's, at the Sun Tavern; and is mighty merry, and sent word to the Lieutenant of the Tower that he would come to him as soon as he had dined. It is said that the King of France do make a sport of us now; and says, that he knows no reason why his cosen the King of England should not be as willing to let him have his kingdom, as that the Dutch should take it from him. Sir G. Carteret did tell me, that the business was done between him and my Lord Anglesy; that himself is to have the other's place of Deputy-Treasurer of Ireland (which is a place of honour and great profit, being far better than the Treasurer's, my Lord of Corke's), and to give the other his of Treasurer of the Navy; that the King, at his earnest entreaty, did with much unwillingness, but with owning of great obligations to him for his faithfulness and long service to him and his father, grant his desire. My Lord Chancellor, I perceive, is his friend in it. I remember I did in the morning tell Sir H. Cholmly of this business: and he answered me, he was sorry for it; for whatever Sir G. Carteret was, he is confident my Lord Anglesy is one of the greatest knaves in the world. Home, and there find my wife making of tea; a drink which Mr. Pelling, the Potticary, tells her is good for her cold and defluxions. To Sir W. Batten's to see how he did; and he is better than he was. He told me how Mrs. Lowther had her train held up yesterday by her page at his house in the country; which is ridiculous. Mr. Pelling

told us the news of the town ; how the officers of the Navy are cried out upon, and a great many greater men ; but do think that I shall do well enough ; and I think, if I have justice, I shall. We hear that the Dutch are gone down again ; and, thanks be to God, the trouble they give us this second time is not very considerable !

30th. To Rochester about ten of the clock. At the landing-place I met my Lord Brouncker and my Lord Douglas, and all the officers of the soldiers in the town, waiting there for the Duke of York, whom they heard was coming. By and by comes my Lord Middleton, well mounted : he seems a fine soldier, and so every body says he is ; and a man like my Lord Tiviott, and indeed most of the Scotch gentry (as I observe), of few words. After seeing the boats come up from Chatham with them that rowed with bandeleeres about their shoulders, and muskets in their boats ; they being the workmen of the Yard, who have promised to redeem their credit, lost by their deserting the service when the Dutch were there ; I and Creed down by boat to Chatham-yard. Thence to see the batteries made ; which indeed are very fine, and guns placed so as one would think the River should be very secure. Here I was told that in all the late attempt there was but one man that they knew killed on shore ; and that was a man that had laid upon his belly upon one of the hills on the other side of the River, to see the action ; and a bullet come, and so he was killed. Thence by barge, it raining hard, down to the chaine ; and in our way did see the sad wrackes of the poor "Royall Oake," "James," and "London;" and several other of our ships by us sunk, and several of the enemy's, whereof three men-of-war that they could not get off, and so burned. I do not see that Upner Castle hath received any hurt by them, though they played long against it ; and they themselves shot till they had hardly a gun left upon the carriages, so badly provided they were : they have now made two batteries on that side, which will be very good, and do good service. So to the chaine, and there saw it fast at the end on Upner side of the River ; very fast, and borne up upon the several stages across the River ; and where it is broke nobody can tell me. I went on shore on Upner side to look upon the end of the chaine ; and caused the link to be measured, and it was six inches and one-fourth

in circumference. It seems very remarkable to me, and of great honour to the Dutch, that those of them that did go on shore to Gillingham, though they went in fear of their lives, and were some of them killed, and notwithstanding their provocation at Scelling, yet killed none of our people nor plundered their houses, but did take some things of easy carriage and left the rest, and not a house burned; and, which is to our eternal disgrace, that what my Lord Douglas's men, who come after them, found there, they plundered and took all away: and the watermen that carried us did further tell us, that our own soldiers are far more terrible to those people of the country-towns than the Dutch themselves. We were told at the batteries, upon my seeing of the field-guns that were there, that had they come a day sooner they had been able to have saved all; but they had no orders, and lay lingering upon the way. Several complaints, I hear, of the Monmouth's coming away too soon from the chaine, where she was placed with the two guard-ships to secure it; and Captain Robert Clerke, my friend, is blamed for so doing there, but I hear nothing of him at London about it; but Captain Brookes's running aground with the "Sancta Maria," which was one of the three ships that were ordered to be sunk to have dammed up the River at the chaine, is mightily cried against, and with reason. It is a strange thing to see, that while my Lords Douglas and Middleton do ride up and down upon single horses, my Lord Brouncker do go up and down with his hackney-coach and six horses at the King's charge, and is not able to do so much good as a good boatswain in this business.

July 2d. To the office, where W. Pen and myself and Sir T. Harvey met, the first time we have had a meeting since the coming of the Dutch upon this coast.

3d. Sir Richard Ford tells us how he hath been at the Sessions-house, and there it is plain that there is a combination of rogues in the town that do make it their business to set houses on fire, and that one house they did set on fire in Aldersgate-streete last Easter; and that this is proved by two young men, whom one of them debauched by degrees to steal their fathers' plate and clothes, and at last to be of their company. One of these boys is the son of a Montagu, of my

Lord Manchester's family. To the Council-chamber, to deliver a letter to their Lordships about the state of the six merchantmen which we have been so long fitting out. When I come, the King and the whole table full of Lords were hearing of a pitifull cause of a complaint of an old man with a great grey beard against his son, for not allowing him something to live on; and at last come to the ordering the son to allow his father 10*l.* a-year. This cause lasted them near two hours; which, methinks, at this time to be the work of the Council-board of England, is a scandalous thing. Here I find all the news is the enemy's landing 3000 men near Harwich, and attacking Landguard Fort, and being beat off thence with our great guns, killing some of their men, and they leaving their ladders behind them; but we had no horse in the way on Suffolke side, otherwise we might have galled their foot. The Duke of York is gone down thither this day, while the Generall sat sleeping this afternoon at the Council-table.

4th. To the Sessions-house, where I have a mind to hear Bazill Fielding's case tried; and so got up to the Bench, my Lord Chief-Justice Keeling* being Judge. Here I stood bare, not challenging, though I might well enough, to be covered. But here were several fine trials: among others, several brought in for making it their trade to set houses on fire merely to get plunder; and all proved by the two little boys spoken of yesterday by Sir R. Ford, who did give so good account of particulars that I never heard children in my life. One my Lady Montagu's (I know not what Lady Montagu) son, and the other of good condition, were playing in Moore-fields, and one rogue, Gabriel Holmes, did come to them and teach them to drink, and then to bring him plate and clothes from their fathers' houses: and this Gabriel Holmes did advise to have had two houses set on fire, one after another, that while they were quenching of one they might be burning another. The boys did swear against one of them, that he had made it his part to pull out the plug out of the engine while it was a-playing; and it really was so. Well, this fellow Holmes was found guilty of the act of burning the house, and other things that he stood indicted for. It was time very well spent to be here. Here I

* Sir John Keeling, Knight, King's Serjeant 1661, Chief Justice of the King's Bench 1665.

saw how favourable the Judge was to a young gentleman that struck one of the officers, for not making him room: told him he had endangered the loss of his hand, but that he hoped he had not struck him, and would suppose that he had not struck him. The Court then rose, and I to dinner with my Lord Mayor and Sheriffs; where a good dinner and good discourse, the Judge being there. There was also tried this morning Fielding (which I thought had been Bazill, but it proved the other, and Bazill was killed,) that killed his brother, who was found guilty of murder, and nobody pitied him. The Judge seems to be a worthy man, and able; and do intend for these rogues that burned this house to be hung in some conspicuous place in the town, for an example.

6th. Mr. Williamson told me that Mr. Coventry is coming over with a project of a peace; which, if the States agree to, and our King when their Ministers on both sides have shewed it them, we shall agree, and that is all: but the King, I hear, do give it out plain that the peace is concluded. This day with great satisfaction I hear that my Lady Jemimah is brought to bed, at Hinchinbroke, of a boy.*

7th. Lord's-day. Mr. Moore tells me that the discontented Parliament-men are fearful that the next sitting the King will try for a general excise by which to raise him money, and then to fling off the Parliament, and raise a land-army and keep them all down like slaves; and it is gotten among them that Bab. May, the Privy-purse, hath been heard to say that 300*l.* a-year is enough for any country-gentleman; which makes them mad, and they do talk of 6 or 800,000*l.* gone into the Privy-purse this war, when in King James's time it arose but to 5000*l.*, and in King Charles's but 10,000*l.* in a year. He tells me that a goldsmith in town told him, that being with some plate with my Lady Castlemaine lately, she directed her woman (the great beauty), "Willson," says she, "make a note for this and for that to the Privy-purse for money." He tells me a little more of the baseness of the courses taken at Court in the case of Mr. Moyer, who is at liberty, and is to give 500*l.* for his liberty; but now the great ones are divided

* In 1681 created Baron Carteret of Hawnes, co. Bedford, in consideration of the eminent services rendered by his grandfather and father to Charles II.

who shall have the money, the Duke of Albemarle on one hand, and another Lord on the other; and that it is fain to be decided by having the person's name put into the King's warrant for his liberty, at whose intercession the King shall own that he is set at liberty: which is a most lamentable thing, that we do professedly own that we do these things, not for right and justice' sake, but only to gratify this or that person about the King. God forgive us all!

8th. Mr. Coventry is come from Bredah, as was expected; but, contrary to expectation, brings with him two or three articles which do not please the King: as, to retrench the Act of Navigation, and then to ascertain what are contraband goods; and then that those exiled persons, who are or shall take refuge in their country, may be secure from any further prosecution. Whether these will be enough to break the peace upon, or no, he cannot tell; but I perceive the certainty of peace is blown over. To Charing Cross, there to see the great boy and girle that are lately come out of Ireland, the latter eight, the former but four years old, of most prodigious bigness for their age. I tried to weigh them in my arms, and find them twice as heavy as people almost twice their age; and yet I am apt to believe they are very young. Their father a little sorry fellow, and their mother an old Irish woman. They have had four children of this bigness, and four of ordinary growth, whereof two of each are dead. If (as my Lord Ormond certifies) it be true that they are no older, it is very monstrous.

9th. This evening news comes for certain that the Dutch are with their fleet before Dover, and that it is expected they will attempt something there. The business of the peace is quite dashed again.

12th. The Duke of Buckingham was before the Council the other day, and there did carry it very submissively and pleasingly to the King; but to my Lord Arlington, who do prosecute the business, he was most bitter and sharp, and very slighting. As to the letter about his employing a man to cast the King's nativity, says he to the King, "Sir, this is none of my hand, and I refer it to your Majesty whether you do not know this hand." The King answered, that it was indeed none of his, and that he knew whose it was, but

could not recall it presently. "Why," says he, "it is my sister of Richmond's,* some frolick or other of hers about some certain person; and there is nothing of the King's name in it, but it is only said to be his by supposition, as is said." The King, it seems, was not very much displeased with what the Duke had said; but however, he is still in the Tower, and no discourse of his being out in haste, though my Lady Castlemaine hath so far solicited for him that the King and she are quite fallen out: he comes not to her, nor hath for some three or four days; and parted with very foul words, the King calling her a jade that meddled with things she had nothing to do with at all: and she calling him fool; and told him if he was not a fool he would not suffer his businesses to be carried on by fools that did not understand them, and cause his best subjects, and those best able to serve him, to be imprisoned; meaning the Duke of Buckingham. And it seems she was not only for his liberty, but to be restored to all his places; which, it is thought, he will never be. It was computed that the Parliament had given the King for this war only, besides all prizes, and besides the 200,000*l.* which he was to spend of his own revenue, to guard the sea above 5,000,000*l.* and odd 100,000*l.*; which is a most prodigious sum. It is strange how every body do now-a-days reflect upon Oliver, and commend him, what brave things he did, and made all the neighbour princes fear him; while here a prince, come in with all the love and prayers and good liking of his people, who have given greater signs of loyalty and willingness to serve him with their estates than ever was done by any people, hath lost all so soon, that it is a miracle what way a man could devise to lose so much in so little time. Sir Thomas Crewe tells me how I am mightily in esteem with the Parliament; there being harangues made in the House to the Speaker, of Mr. Pepys's readiness and civility to shew them every thing.

13th. Mr. Pierce tells us what troubles me, that my Lord Buckhurst hath got Nell away from the King's house, and gives her 100*l.* a-year, so as she hath sent her parts to the house, and will

* Mary, daughter of George Villiers first Duke of Buckingham; married, first, to Charles Lord Herbert; secondly, to James Duke of Richmond and Lenox; and thirdly, to Thomas Howard, brother to Charles Earl of Carlisle. She left no issue by any of her husbands.

act no more. And yesterday Sir Thomas Crewe told me that Lacy lies a-dying; nor will receive any ghostly advice from a bishop, an old acquaintance of his, that went to see him. It is an odd and sad thing to say, that though this be a peace worse than we had before, yet every body's fear almost is, that the Dutch will not stand by their promise, now the King hath consented to all they would have. And yet no wise man that I meet with, when he comes to think of it, but wishes with all his heart a war; but that the King is not a man to be trusted with the management of it. It was pleasantly said by a man in this City, a stranger, to one that told him the peace was concluded, "Well," says he, "and have you a peace?" "Yes," says the other. "Why then," says he, "hold your peace!" Partly reproaching us with the disgracefulness of it, that it is not fit to be mentioned; and next, that we are not able to make the Dutch keep it, when they have a mind to break it.

14th. To Epsum, by eight o'clock, to the well; where much company. And to the towne to the King's Head; and hear that my Lord Buckhurst and Nelly are lodged at the next house, and Sir Charles Sedley with them: and keep a merry house. Poor girl! I pity her; but more the loss of her at the King's house. Here Tom Wilson come to see me, and sat and talked an hour: and I perceive he hath been much acquainted with Dr. Fuller (Tom) and Dr. Pierson, and several of the great cavalier parsons during the late troubles; and I was glad to hear him talk of them, which he did very ingenuously, and very much of Dr. Fuller's art of memory, which he did tell me several instances of. By and by he parted, and I talked with the two women that farm the well at 12*l.* per annum of the lord of the manor. Mr. Evelyn with his lady, and also my Lord George Barkeley's lady,* and their fine daughter, that the King of France liked so well, and did dance so rich in jewells before the King at the Ball I was at at our Court last winter, and also their son,† a Knight of the Bath, were at church this morning. I walked upon the Downes, where a flock of

* Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of John Massingberd, Esq.

† Charles, eldest son, summoned to Parliament as Baron Berkeley, *vitâ patris*, 1689. Ob. 1710, having succeeded his father in the Earldom 1698.

sheep was; and the most pleasant and innocent sight that ever I saw in my life. We found a shepherd and his little boy reading, far from any houses or sight of people, the Bible to him; and we took notice of his woolen knit stockings, of two colours mixed. Mrs. Turner mightily pleased with my resolution, which, I tell her, is never to keep a country-house, but to keep a coach, and with my wife on the Saturday to go sometimes for a day to this place, and then quit to another place; and there is more variety and as little charge, and no trouble, as there is in a country-house.

17th. Home, where I am saluted with the news of Hogg's bringing a rich Canary prize to Hull: and Sir W. Batten do offer me 1000*l.* down for my particular share, beside Sir Richard Ford's part; which do tempt me; but yet I would not take it, but will stand and fall with the company. He and two more, the Panther and Fanfan, did enter into consortship; and so they have all brought in each a prize, though ours worth as much as both theirs, and more. However, it will be well worth having, God be thanked for it! This news makes us all very glad. I at Sir W. Batten's did hear the particulars of it; and there for joy he did give the company that were there a bottle or two of his own last year's wine growing at Walthamstow, than which the whole company said they never drank better foreign wine in their lives. The Duke of Buckingham is, it seems, set at liberty without any further charge against him or other clearing of him, but let to go out; which is one of the strangest instances of the fool's play, with which all publick things are done in this age, that is to be apprehended. And it is said that when he was charged with making himself popular, (as indeed he is, for many of the discontented Parliament, Sir Robert Howard, and Sir Thomas Meres, and others, did attend at the Council-chamber when he was examined,) he should answer, that whoever was committed to prison by my Lord Chancellor or my Lord Arlington, could not want being popular. But it is worth considering the ill state a Minister of State is in, under such a Prince as ours is; for, undoubtedly, neither of those two great men would have been so fierce against the Duke of Buckingham at the Council-table the other day, had they been assured of the King's good liking, and supporting

them therein: whereas, perhaps at the desire of my Lady Castlemaine, (who, I suppose, hath at last overcome the King,) the Duke of Buckingham is well received again, and now these men delivered up to the interest he can make for his revenge. He told me over the story of Mrs. Stewart, much after the manner which I was told it by Mr. Evelyn; only he says it is verily believed that the King did never intend to marry her to any but himself, and that the Duke of York and Lord Chancellor were jealous of it; and that Mrs. Stewart might be got with child by the King, or somebody else, and the King own a marriage before his contract (for it is but a contract, as he tells me, to this day,) with the Queene, and so wipe their noses of the Crown; and that, therefore, the Duke of York and Chancellor did do all they could to forward the match with my Lord Duke of Richmond, that she might be married out of the way: but above all, it is a worthy part that this good lady hath acted. My sister Michell* come from Lee to see us; but do tattle so much of the late business of the Dutch coming thither that I am weary of it. Yet it is worth remembering what she says: that she hath heard both seamen and soldiers swear they would rather serve the Dutch than the King, for they should be better used. She saw "The Royal Charles" brought into the River by them; and how they shot off their great guns for joy, when they got her out of Chatham river.

19th. One tells me that, by letter from Holland, the people there are made to believe that our condition in England is such as they may have whatever they will ask; and that so they are mighty high, and despise us, or a peace with us: and there is too much reason for them to do so. The Dutch fleet are in great squadrons every where still about Harwich, and were lately at Portsmouth; and the last letters say at Plymouth, and now gone to Dartmouth to destroy our Streights' fleet lately got in thither: but God knows whether they can do it any hurt, or no.

22d. Up to my Lord Chancellor's, where was a Committee of Tangier in my Lord's roome, where he sits to hear causes, and where all the Judges' pictures hung up, very fine. But to see how Sir W.

* The wife of Balthazar St. Michel, Mrs. Pepys's brother.

Coventry did oppose both my Lord Chancellor and the Duke of York himself, about the Order of the Commissioners of the Treasury to me for not paying of pensions, and with so much reason, and eloquence so natural, was admirable. And another thing, about his pressing for the reduction of the charge of Tangier, which they would have put off to another time; "But," says he, "the King suffers so much by the putting off of the consideration of reductions of charge, that he is undone; and therefore I do pray you, Sir, (to His Royal Highness,) that when any thing offers of the kind, you will not let it escape you." Here was a great bundle of letters brought hither, sent up from sea, from a vessel of ours that hath taken them after they had been flung over by a Dutchman; wherein, among others, the Duke of York did read the superscription of one to De Witt, thus—"To the most wise, foreseeing, and discreet, These, &c."; which, I thought with myself, I could have been glad might have been duly directed to any one of them at the table, though the greatest men in this kingdom. The Duke of York, the Lord Chancellor, my Lord Duke of Albemarle, Arlington, Ashly, Peterborough, and Coventry, (the best of them all for parts,) I perceive they do all profess their expectation of a peace, and that suddenly. Sir W. Coventry did declare his opinion that if Tangier were offered us now, as the King's condition is, he would advise against the taking it; saying, that the King's charge is too great, and must be brought down, it being like the fire of this City, never to be mastered till you have brought it under you; and that these places abroad are but so much charge to the King, and we do rather herein strive to greaten them than lessen them; and then the King is forced to part with them, "as," says he, "he did with Dunkirke, by my Lord Tiviott's making it so chargeable to the King as he did that, and would have done Tangier, if he had lived." I perceive he is the only man that do seek the King's profit, and is bold to deliver what he thinks on every occasion. With much pleasure reflecting upon our discourse to-day at the Tangier meeting, and crying up the worth of Sir W. Coventry. Creed tells me of the fray between the Duke of Buckingham at the Duke's playhouse the last Saturday, (and it is the first day I have heard that they have acted at either the King's or

Duke's houses this month or six weeks), and Henry Killigrew, whom the Duke of Buckingham did soundly beat and take away his sword, and make a fool of, till the fellow prayed him to spare his life; and I am glad of it, for it seems in this business the Duke of Buckingham did carry himself very innocently and well, and I wish he had paid this fellow's coat well. I heard something of this at the 'Change to-day: and it is pretty to hear how people do speak kindly of the Duke of Buckingham, as one that will enquire into faults; and therefore they do mightily favour him. And it puts me in mind that, this afternoon, Billing the Quaker meeting me in the Hall, come to me, and after a little discourse did say, "Well," says he, "now you will be all called to an account;" meaning the Parliament is drawing near.

23d. By and by comes sudden news to me by letter from the Clerk of the Cheque at Gravesend, that there were thirty sail of Dutch men-of-war coming up into the Hope this last tide: which I told Sir W. Pen of; but he would not believe it, but laughed, and said it was a fleet of Billanders, and that the guns that were heard was the salutation of the Swede's Ambassador that comes over with them. But within half an hour comes another letter from Captain Proud, that eight of them were come into the Hope, and thirty more following them, at ten this morning. By and by comes an order from White Hall to send down one of our number to Chatham, fearing that, as they did before, they may make a shew first up hither, but then go to Chatham: so my Lord Brouncker do go, and we here are ordered to give notice to the merchant men-of-war, gone below the barricado at Woolwich, to come up again.

24th. Betimes this morning comes a letter from the Clerk of the Cheque at Gravesend to me, to tell me that the Dutch fleet did come all into the Hope yesterday noon, and held a fight with our ships from thence till seven at night; that they had burned twelve fire-ships, and we took one of theirs, and burned five of our fire-ships. But then rising and going to Sir W. Batten, he tells me that we have burned one of their men-of-war, and another of theirs is blown up: but how true this is, I know not. But these fellows are mighty bold, and have had the fortune of the wind easterly this time to bring them

up, and prevent our troubling them with our fire-ships ; and, indeed, have had the winds at their command from the beginning, and now do take the beginning of the spring, as if they had some great design to do. About five o'clock down to Gravesend ; and as we come nearer Gravesend, we hear the Dutch fleet and ours a-firing their guns most distinctly and loud. So I landed and discoursed with the landlord of the Ship, who undeceives me in what I heard this morning about the Dutch having lost two men-of-war, for it is not so, but several of their fire-ships. He do say, that this afternoon they did force our ships to retreat, but that now they are gone down as far as Shield-haven : but what the event hath been of this evening's guns they know not, but suppose not much, for they have all this while shot at good distance one from another. They seem confident of the security of this town and the River above it, if ever the enemy should come up so high ; their fortifications being so good, and guns many. But he do say that people do complain of Sir Edward Spragg, that he hath not done extraordinary ; and more of Sir W. Jenings, that he came up with his tamkins* in his guns.

25th. I demanded of Sir R. Ford and the rest, what passed to-day at the meeting of Parliament : who told me that, contrary to all expectation by the King that there would be but a thin meeting, there met above 300 this first day, and all the discontented party ; and, indeed, the whole House seems to be no other almost. The Speaker told them, as soon as they were sat, that he was ordered by the King to let them know he was hindered by some important business to come to them and speak to them, as he intended ; and, therefore, ordered him to move that they would adjourn themselves till Monday next, (it being very plain to all the House that he expects to hear by that time of the sealing of the peace, which by letters, it seems, from my Lord Hollis was to be sealed the last Sunday). But before they would come to the question whether they would adjourn, Sir Thomas Tomkins steps up and tells them, that all the country is grieved at this new-raised standing army ; and that they thought themselves safe enough in their trayn-bands ; and that, therefore, he desired the King might

* Tamkin or Tompion, the stopple of a great gun.

be moved to disband them. Then rises Garraway and seconds him, only with this explanation, (which he said he believed the other meant); that, as soon as peace should be concluded, they might be disbanded. Then rose Sir W. Coventry, and told them that he did approve of what the last gentleman said; but also, that at the same time he did no more than what he durst be bold to say he knew to be the King's mind, that as soon as peace was concluded he would do it of himself. Then rose Sir Thomas Littleton, and did give several reasons from the uncertainty of their meeting again but to adjourne, (in case news comes of the peace being ended before Monday next,) and the possibility of the King's having some about him that may endeavour to alter his own, and the good part of his Council's advice, for the keeping up of the land-army; and, therefore, it was fit that they did present it to the King as their desire, that as soon as peace was concluded the land-army might be laid down, and that this their request might be carried to the King by them of their House that were Privy-councillors; which was put to the vote, and carried *nemine contradicente*. So after this vote passed, they adjourned: but it is plain what the effects of this Parliament will be, if they be suffered to sit, that they will fall foul upon the faults of the Government; and I pray God they may be permitted to do it, for nothing else, I fear, will save the King and kingdom than the doing it betimes.

27th. To the office, where I hear that Sir John Coventry* is come over from Bredagh, (a nephew, I think, of Sir W. Coventry's); but what message he brings I know not. This morning news is come that Sir Jos. Jordan is come from Harwich, with sixteen fire-ships and four other little ships of war; and did attempt to do some execution upon the enemy, but did it without discretion, as most do say, so as they have been able to do no good, but have lost four of their fire-ships. They attempted this, it seems, when the wind was too strong, that our grapplings could not hold: others say we came to leeward of them,

* Nephew to Sir William and Henry Coventry; created K.B. at Charles II.'s coronation, and M. P. for Weymouth in several Parliaments. The outrage committed on his person by Sir Thomas Sandys, O'Bryan, and others, who cut his nose to the bone, gave rise to the passing a Bill still known by the name of "*The Coventry Act*."

but all condemn it as a foolish management. They are come to Sir Edward Spragg about Lee, and the Dutch are below at the Nore. At the office all the morning; and at noon to the 'Change, where I met Fenn. And he tells me that Sir John Coventry do bring the confirmation of the peace; but I do not find the 'Change at all glad of it, but rather the worse, they looking upon it as a peace made only to preserve the King for a time in his lusts and ease, and to sacrifice trade and his kingdoms only to his own pleasures; so that the hearts of merchants are quite down. He tells me that the King and my Lady Castlemaine are quite broke off, and she is gone away, and is with child, and swears the King shall own it; and she will have it christened in the Chapel at White Hall so, and owned for the King's, as other Kings have done; or she will bring it into White Hall gallery, and dash the brains of it out before the King's face. He tells me that the King and Court were never in the world so bad as they are now for gaming, swearing, women, and drinking, and the most abominable vices that ever were in the world; so that all must come to nought. He told me that Sir G. Carteret was at this end of the town; so I went to visit him in Broad-street. And there he and I together: and he is mightily pleased with my Lady Jem's having a son; and a mighty glad man he is. He tells me, as to news, that the peace is now confirmed, and all that over. He says it was a very unhappy motion in the House the other day about the land-army; for whether the King hath a mind of his own to do the thing desired, or no, his doing it will be looked upon as a thing done only in fear of the Parliament. He says that the Duke of York is suspected to be the great man that is for raising of this army, and bringing things to be commanded by an army; but that he do know that he is wronged therein. He do say that the Court is in a way to ruin all for their pleasures; and says that he himself hath once taken the liberty to tell the King the necessity of having at least a shew of religion in the Government, and sobriety; and that it was that that did set up and keep up Oliver, though he was the greatest rogue in the world. He tells me the King adheres to no man, but this day delivers himself up to this and the next to that, to the ruin of himself and business: that he is at the command of any woman like a slave,

though he be the best man to the Queene in the world, with so much respect, and never lies a night from her ; but yet cannot command himself in the presence of a woman he likes. It raining this day all day to our great joy, it having not rained, I think, this month before, so as the ground was every where so burned and dry as could be ; and no travelling in the road or streets in London, for dust.

28th. All the morning close to draw up a letter to Sir W. Coventry upon the tidings of peace, taking occasion (before I am forced to it) to resign up to his Royal Highness my place of the Victualling, and to recommend myself to him by promise of doing my utmost to improve this peace in the best manner we may, to save the kingdom from ruin.

29th. Up, and with Sir W. Batten to St. James's, to Sir W. Coventry's chamber ; where, among other things, he came to me and told me that he had received my yesterday's letters, and that we concurred very well in our notions ; and that as to my place which I had offered to resign of the Victualling, he had drawn up a letter at the same time for the Duke of York's signing for the like places in general raised during this war ; and that he had done me right to the Duke of York, to let him know that I had of my own accord offered to resign mine. The letter do bid us to do all things, particularizing several, for the laying up of the ships and easing the King of charge ; so that the war is now professedly over. By and by up to the Duke of York's chamber ; and there all the talk was about Jordan's coming with so much indiscretion, with his four little frigates and sixteen fire-ships from Harwich, to annoy the enemy. His failures were of several sorts, I know not which the truest : that he came with so strong a gale of wind that his grapplings would not hold ; that he did come by their lee, whereas if he had come athwart their hawse, they would have held ; that they did not stop a tide, and ebb up with a windward tide, and then they would have come so fast. Now there happened to be Captain Jenifer by, who commanded the Lily in this business, and thus says : that finding the Dutch not so many as they expected, they did not know that there were more of them above, and so were not so earnest to the setting upon these ; that they did do what they could to make the fire-ships fall in among the enemy ; and for their lives Sir

J. Jordan nor others could, by shooting several times at them, make them go in : and it seems they were commanded by some idle fellows, such as they could of a sudden gather up at Harwich ; which is a sad consideration, that at such a time as this, where the saving the reputation of the whole nation lay at stake, and after so long a war, the King had not credit to gather a few able men to command these vessels. He says, that if they had come up slower, the enemy would (with their boats and their great sloops, which they have to row with a great many men,) and did come and cut up several of our fire-ships, and would certainly have taken most of them, for they do come with a great provision of these boats on purpose, and to save their men, which is bravely done of them, though they did on this very occasion shew great fear, as they say, by some men leaping overboard out of a great ship (as these were all of them of sixty and seventy guns a-piece) which one of our fire-ships laid on board, though the fire did not take. But yet it is brave to see what care they do take to encourage their men to provide great stores of boats to save them, while we have not credit to find one boat for a ship. And further, he told us that this new way used by Deane (and this Sir W. Coventry observed several times) of preparing of fire-ships do not do the work ; for the fire not being strong and quick enough to flame up, so as to take the rigging and sails, lies smothering a great while, half an hour before it flames, in which time they can get the fire-ship off safely, though (which is uncertain, and did fail in one or two this bout) it do serve to burn our own ships. But what a shame it is to consider how two of our ships' companies did desert their ships for fear of being taken by their boats, our little frigates being forced to leave them, being chased by their greater ! And one more company did set their ship on fire, and leave her ; which afterwards a Feversham fisherman came up to, and put out the fire, and carried safe into Feversham, where she now is. Which was observed by the Duke of York, and all the company with him, that it was only want of courage, and a general dismay and abjectness of spirit upon all our men ; and others did observe our ill management, and God Almighty's curse upon all that we have in hand, for never such an opportunity was of destroying so many good ships of theirs as we now had. But

to see how negligent we were in this business, that our fleet of Jordan's should not have any notice where Spragg was, nor Spragg of Jordan's, so as to be able to meet and join in the business, and help one another; but Jordan, when he saw Spragg's fleet above, did think them to be another part of the enemy's fleet! While, on the other side, notwithstanding our people at Court made such a secret of Jordan's design that nobody must know it, and even this office itself must not know it; nor for my part I did not, though Sir W. Batten says by others' discourse to him he had heard something of it; yet De Ruyter (or he that commanded this fleet) had notice of it, and told it to a fisherman of ours that he took and released on Thursday last, which was the day before our fleet came to him. But then, that that seems most to our disgrace, and which the Duke of York did take special and vehement notice of, is, that when the Dutch saw so many fire-ships provided for them, themselves lying, I think, about the Nore, they did with all their great ships, with a North-east wind, (as I take it they said, but whatever it was, it was a wind that we should not have done it with,) turn down to the Middle-ground; which, the Duke of York observed, never was nor would have been undertaken by ourselves. And whereas some of the company answered, it was their great fear, not their choice, that made them do it, the Duke of York answered, that it was, it may be, their fear and wisdom that made them do it; but yet their fear did not make them mistake, as we should have done, when we have had no fear upon us, and have run our ships on ground. And this brought it into my mind, that they managed their retreat down this difficult passage, with all their fear, better than we could do ourselves in the main sea, when the Duke of Albemarle ran away from the Dutch, when the Prince was lost, and the Royal Charles and the other great ships came on ground upon the Galloper. Thus in all things, in wisdom, courage, force, knowledge of our own streams, and success, the Dutch have the best of us, and do end the war with victory on their side. One thing extraordinary was this day: a man, a Quaker, came naked through the Hall, only very civilly tied about the loins to avoid scandal, and with a chafing-dish of fire and brimstone burning upon his head, did

pass through the Hall, crying, "Repent! repent!" Presently comes down the House of Commons, the King having made a very short and no pleasing speech to them at all, not at all giving them thanks for their readiness to come up to town at this busy time; but told them that he did think he should have had occasion for them, but had none, and therefore did dismiss them to look after their own occasions till October; and that he did wonder any should offer to bring in a suspicion that he intended to rule by an army, or otherwise than by the laws of the land, which he promised them he would do; and so bade them go home and settle the minds of the country in that particular; and only added, that he had made a peace which he did believe they would find reasonable, and a good peace, but did give them none of the particulars thereof. Thus they are dismissed again to their general great distaste, I believe the greatest that ever Parliament was, to see themselves so fooled, and the nation in certain condition of ruin, while the King, they see, is only governed by his lust, and women, and rogues about him. The Speaker, they found, was kept from coming in the morning to the House on purpose till after the King was come to the House of Lords, for fear they should be doing any thing in the House of Commons to the further dissatisfaction of the King and his courtiers. They do all give up the kingdom for lost, that I speak to; and do hear what the King says, how he and the Duke of York do do what they can to get up an army, that they may need no more Parliaments: and how my Lady Castlemaine hath, before the late breach between her and the King, said to the King, that he must rule by an army, or all would be lost. I am told that many petitions were provided for the Parliament, complaining of the wrongs they have received from the Court and courtiers, in city and country, if the Parliament had but sat: and I do perceive they all do resolve to have a good account of the money spent before ever they give a farthing more; and the whole kingdom is every where sensible of their being abused, insomuch that they forced their Parliament-men to come up to sit; and my cosen Roger told me that (but that was in mirth) he believed, if he had not come up he should have had his house burned. The kingdom never in so troubled a con-

dition in this world as now ; nobody pleased with the peace, and yet nobody daring to wish for the continuance of the war, it being plain that nothing do nor can thrive under us. Here I saw old good Mr. Vaughan, and several of the great men of the Commons, and some of them old men, that are come 200 miles and more to attend this session of Parliament ; and have been at great charge and disappointments in their other private business ; and now all to no purpose, neither to serve their country, content themselves, nor receive any thanks from the King. It is verily expected by many of them that the King will continue the prorogation in October, so as, if it be possible, never to have this Parliament more. My Lord Bristoll took his place in the House of Lords this day, but not in his robes ; and when the King came in he withdrew : but my Lord of Buckingham was there as brisk as ever, and sat in his robes ; which is a monstrous thing, that a man should be proclaimed against, and put in the Tower, and released without any trial, and yet not restored to his places. But above all, I saw my Lord Mordaunt* as merry as the best, that it seems hath done such further indignities to Mr. Taylor since the last sitting of Parliament as would hang him, if there were nothing else, would the King do what were fit for him ; but nothing of that is now likely to be. Cosen Roger and Creed to dinner with me, and very merry : but among other things they told me of the strange, bold sermon of Dr. Creeton yesterday before the King ; how he preached against the sins of the Court, and particularly against adultery, over and over instancing how for that single sin in David the whole nation was undone ; and of our negligence in having our castles without ammunition and powder when the Dutch came upon us ; and how we have no courage now-a-days, but let our ships be taken out of our harbour. Here Creed did tell us the story of the duell last night, in Covent-garden, between Sir H. Bellasses and Tom Porter. It is worth remembering the silliness of the quarrel, and is a kind of emblem of the general complexion of this whole kingdom at present. They two dined yesterday at Sir Robert Carr's,† where it

* Vide Note at the end of Vol. I.

† M. P. Knight and Baronet, of Sleaford, Lincolnshire, and one of the proposed Knights of the Royal Oak for that county.

seems people do drink high, all that come. It happened that these two, the greatest friends in the world, were talking together; and Sir H. Bellasses talked a little louder than ordinary to Tom Porter, giving of him some advice. Some of the company standing by said, "What! are they quarrelling, that they talk so high?" Sir H. Bellasses hearing it, said, "No!" says he: "I would have you know I never quarrel, but I strike; and take that as a rule of mine!"—"How?" says Tom Porter, "strike! I would I could see the man in England that durst give me a blow!" With that Sir H. Bellasses did give him a box of the eare; and so they were going to fight there, but were hindered. And by and by Tom Porter went out; and meeting Dryden the poet, told him of the business, and that he was resolved to fight Sir H. Bellasses presently; for he knew, if he did not, they should be friends to-morrow, and then the blow would rest upon him; which he would prevent, and desired Dryden to let him have his boy to bring him notice which way Sir H. Bellasses goes. By and by he is informed that Sir H. Bellasses's coach was coming: so Tom Porter went down out of the Coffee-house where he stayed for the tidings, and stopped the coach, and bade Sir H. Bellasses come out. "Why," says H. Bellasses, "you will not hurt me coming out—will you?"—"No," says Tom Porter. So out he went, and both drew: and H. Bellasses having drawn and flung away his scabbard, Tom Porter asked him whether he was ready? The other answering him he was, they fell to fight, some of their acquaintance by. They wounded one another, and H. Bellasses so much that it is feared he will die: and finding himself severely wounded, he called to Tom Porter, and kissed him and bade him shift for himself; "for," says he, "Tom, thou hast hurt me; but I will make shift to stand upon my legs till thou mayest withdraw, and the world not take notice of you, for I would not have thee troubled for what thou hast done." And so whether he did fly or no I cannot tell; but Tom Porter shewed H. Bellasses that he was wounded too: and they are both ill, but H. Bellasses to fear of life. And this is a fine example; and H. Bellasses a Parliament-man too, and both of them extraordinary friends! Among other discourse my cosen Roger told us as a thing

certain, that my Lady Castlemaine hath made a bishop lately, namely, her uncle Dr. Glenham,* who, I think they say, is Bishop of Carlisle; a drunken, swearing rascal, and a scandal to the Church; and do now pretend to be Bishop of Lincoln, in competition with Dr. Raynbow,† who is reckoned as worthy a man as most in the Church for piety and learning: which are things so scandalous to consider, that no man can doubt but we must be undone that hears of them. Cosen Roger did acquaint me in private with an offer made of his marrying of Mrs. Elizabeth Wiles, whom I know; a kinswoman of Mr. Honiwood's, an ugly old maid, but good housewife, and is said to have 2500*l.* to her portion; though I am against it in my heart, she being not handsome at all: and it hath been the very bad fortune of the Pepyses that ever I knew, never to marry an handsome woman, excepting Ned Pepys. To White Hall; and looking out of the window into the garden, I saw the King (whom I have not had any desire to see since the Dutch came upon the coast first to Sheerness, for shame that I should see him, or he me, methinks, after such a dishonour) come upon the garden; with him two or three idle Lords; and instantly after him, in another walk, my Lady Castlemaine, led by Bab. May: at which I was surprised, having but newly heard the stories of the King and her being parted for ever. So I took Mr. Povy, who was there, aside, and he told me all,—how imperious this woman is, and hectors the King to whatever she will. It seems she is with child, and the King says he did not get it: with that she made a slighting puh with her mouth, and went out of the house, and never came in again till the King went to Sir Daniel Harvy's to pray her; and so she is come to-day, when one would think his mind should be full of some other cares, having but this morning broken up such a Parliament with so much discontent and so many wants upon him, and but yesterday heard such a sermon against adultery. But it seems she hath told the King, that whoever did get it, he should own it. And the bottom of the quarrel is this:—She is fallen in love with young Jermin, who hath of late been with her oftener than the King, and is now going to marry my Lady

* Henry Glenham, D. D. was Dean of Bristol 1661; but, I believe, never raised to the Bench.

† Dr. Rainbow was Bishop of Carlisle from 1664 to 1684.

Falmouth;* the King is mad at her entertaining Jermin, and she is mad at Jermin's going to marry from her: so they are all mad; and thus the kingdom is governed! But he tells me for certain that nothing is more sure than that the King, and Duke of York, and the Chancellor, are desirous and labouring all they can to get an army, whatever the King says to the Parliament; and he believes that they are at last resolved to stand and fall all three together: so that he says in terms that the match of the Duke of York with the Chancellor's daughter hath undone the nation. He tells me also that the King hath not greater enemies in the world than those of his own family; for there is not an officer in the house almost but curses him for letting them starve, and there is not a farthing of money to be raised for the buying them bread.

30th. To the Treasury-chamber, where I did speak with the Lords. Here I do hear that there are three Lords more to be added to them; my Lord Bridgewater, my Lord Anglesy, and my Lord Chamberlaine. Mr. Cooling told us how the King, once speaking of the Duke of York's being mastered by his wife, said to some of the company by, that he would go no more abroad with this Tom Otter† (meaning the Duke of York) and his wife. Tom Killigrew being by, said, "Sir, pray which is the best for a man, to be a Tom Otter to his wife or to his mistress?" meaning the King's being so to my Lady Castlemaine.

31st. To Marrowbone, where my Lord Mayor and Aldermen, it seems, dined to-day; and were just now going away, methought, in a disconsolate condition, compared with their splendour they formerly had when the City was standing.

August 1st. Home, the gates of the City shut, it being so late; and at Newgate we find them in trouble, some thieves having this night broke open prison.

3d. To the office, there to enable myself, by finishing our great account, to give it to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury; which I did, and there was called in to them, to tell them only the total of

* Lady Falmouth married the Earl of Dorset.

† A character in "Epicene, or the Silent Woman."

our debt of the Navy on the 25th of May last, which is above 950,000*l*. Here I find them mighty hot in their answer to the Council-board about our Treasurer's threepences of the Victualling, and also against the present farm of the Customes, which they do most highly inveigh against.

5th. I hear the ill news of our loss lately of four rich ships, two from Guinea, one from Gallipoly, all with rich oyles, and the other from Barbadoes, worth, as is guessed, 80,000*l*. But here is strong talk as if Harman had taken some of the Dutch East India ships, (but I dare not yet believe it,) and brought them into Lisbon. To the Duke of York's house, and there saw "Love Trickes, or the School of Compliments*;" a silly play, only Miss Davis, dancing in a shepherd's clothes, did please us mightily.

6th. A full Board. Here, talking of news, my Lord Anglesy did tell us that the Dutch do make a further bogle with us about two or three things, which they will be satisfied in, he says, by us easily, but only in one, it seems, they do demand that we shall not interrupt their East Indiamen coming home, and of which they are in some fear; and we are full of hopes that we have light upon some of them and carried them into Lisbon by Harman; which God send! But they (which do shew the low esteem they have of us) have the confidence to demand that we shall have a cessation on our parts, and yet they at liberty to take what they will; which is such an affront, as another cannot be devised greater.

7th. Though the King and my Lady Castlemaine are friends again, she is not at White Hall, but at Sir D. Harvy's, whither the King goes to her; and he says she made him ask her forgiveness upon his knees, and promise to offend her no more so: and that, indeed, she did threaten to bring all his bastards to his closet-door, and hath nearly hector'd him out of his wits.

8th. Sir Henry Bellasses is dead of the duell he fought about ten days ago with Tom Porter; and it is pretty to see how the world talk of them as of a couple of fools that killed one another out of love. I to my bookseller's; where by and by I met Mr. Evelyn, and talked of

* A comedy, by James Shirley.

several things, but particularly of the times : and he tells me that wise men do prepare to remove abroad what they have, for that we must be ruined, our case being past relief, the kingdom so much in debt, and the King minding nothing but his lust, going two days a-week to see my Lady Castlemaine at Sir D. Harvy's.

9th. To St. James's, and there met Sir W. Coventry ; and he and I walked in the Park an hour. And then to his chamber, where he read to me the heads of the late great dispute between him and the rest of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and our new Treasurer of the Navy ; where they have overthrown him the last Wednesday, in the great dispute touching his having the payment of the Victualler, which is now settled by Council that he is not to have it : and, indeed, they have been most just as well as most severe and bold in the doing this against a man of his quality : but I perceive he does really make no difference between any man. He tells me this day it is supposed the peace is ratified at Bredah, and all that matter over. We did talk of many retrenchments of charge of the Navy which he will put in practice, and every where else ; though, he tells me, he despairs of being able to do what ought to be done for the saving of the kingdom, (which I tell him, indeed, all the world is almost in hopes of, upon the proceeding of these gentlemen for the regulating of the Treasury,) it being so late, and our poverty grown so great, that they want where to set their feet to begin to do any thing. He tells me how weary he hath for this year and half been of the warr ; and how in the Duke of York's bedchamber at Christ Church, at Oxford, when the Court was there, he did labour to persuade the Duke to fling off the care of the Navy, and get it committed to other hands ; which, if he had done, would have been much to his honour, being just come home with so much honour from sea as he was. I took notice of the sharp letter he wrote (which he sent us to read) to Sir Edward Spragg, where he is very plain about his leaving his charge of the ships at Gravesend, when the enemy came last up, and several other things ; a copy whereof I have kept. But it is done like a most worthy man ; and he says it is good now and then to tell these gentlemen their duty, for they need it. And it seems, as he tells me, all our Knights

are fallen out one with another, he and Jenings and Hollis, and (his words were) they are disputing which is the coward among them; and yet men that take the greatest liberty of censuring others! Here with him very late, till I could hardly get a coach or link willing to go through the ruins; but I do, but will not do it again, it being indeed very dangerous.

10th. Sir John Denham's Poems are going to be all printed together; and, among others, some new things; and among them he shewed me a copy of verses of his upon Sir John Minnes's going heretofore to Bullogne to eat a pig. Cowly, he tells me, is dead; who, it seems, was a mighty civil, serious man; which I did not know before.

11th. To the Wells at Barnett, by seven o'clock; and there found many people a-drinking; but the morning is a very cold morning, so as we were very cold all the way in the coach. And so to Hatfield, to the inn next my Lord Salisbury's house; and there rested ourselves, and drank, and bespoke dinner: and so to church. In this church lies the former Lord of Salisbury (Cecil), buried in a noble tomb. Then we to our inn, and there dined very well, and mighty merry; and walked out into the Park through the fine walk of trees, and to the Vineyard, and there shewed them that which is in good order, and indeed a place of great delight; which, together with our fine walk through the Park, was of as much pleasure as could be desired in the world for country pleasure and good ayre. Being come back and weary with the walk, the women had pleasure in putting on some straw-hats, which are much worn in this country, and did become them mightily, but especially my wife.

12th. To my bookseller's, and did buy Scott's Discourse of Witches; and do hear Mr. Cowly mightily lamented (his death) by Dr. Ward, the Bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Bates, who were standing there, as the best poet of our nation, and as good a man.

13th. Attended the Duke of York, with our usual business; who upon occasion told us that he did expect this night or to-morrow to hear from Bredah of the consummation of the peace.

15th. Sir W. Pen and I to the Duke's house; where a new play. The King and Court there: the house full, and an act begun. And so

we went to the King's, and there saw "The Merry Wives of Windsor;" which did not please me at all, in no part of it.

16th. My wife and I to the Duke's playhouse, where we saw the new play acted yesterday, "The Feign Innocence, or Sir Martin Mar-all;" a play made by my Lord Duke of Newcastle, but, as every body says, corrected by Dryden. It is the most entire piece of mirth, a complete farce from one end to the other, that certainly was ever writ. I never laughed so in all my life, and at very good wit therein, not fooling. The House full, and in all things of mighty content to me. Every body wonders that we have no news from Bredah of the ratification of the peace; and do suspect that there is some stop in it.

17th. To the King's playhouse, where the house extraordinary full; and there the King and Duke of York to see the new play, "Queene Elizabeth's Troubles, and the History of Eighty Eight." I confess I have sucked in so much of the sad story of Queene Elizabeth from my cradle, that I was ready to weep for her sometimes; but the play is the most ridiculous that sure ever came upon stage, and, indeed, is merely a shew, only shews the true garbe of the Queene in those days, just as we see Queene Mary and Queene Elizabeth painted: but the play is merely a puppet play, acted by living puppets. Neither the design nor language better; and one stands by and tells us the meaning of things: only I was pleased to see Knipp dance among the milk-maids, and to hear her sing a song to Queene Elizabeth; and to see her come out in her night-gowne with no lockes on, but her bare face and hair only tied up in a knot behind; which is the comeliest dress that ever I saw her in to her advantage.

18th. To Cree Church, to see it how it is; but I find no alteration there, as they say there was, for my Lord Mayor and Aldermen to come to sermon, as they do every Sunday, as they did formerly to Paul's.

20th. Sir W. Coventry fell to discourse of retrenchments; and therein he tells how he would have but only one Clerk of the Acts. He do tell me he hath propounded how the charge of the Navy in peace shall come within 200,000*l.*, by keeping out twenty-four ships in summer, and ten in the winter. And several other particulars we went over of retrenchment: and I find I must provide some things to

offer, that I may be found studious to lessen the King's charge. Sir W. Coventry did single Sir W. Pen and me, and desired us to lend the King some money, out of the prizes we have taken by Hogg. He did not much press it, and we made but a merry answer thereto: but I perceive he did ask it seriously, and did tell us that there never was so much need of it in the world as now, we being brought to the lowest straits that can be in the world.

22d. Up, and to the office; whence Lord Brouncker, J. Minnes, W. Pen, and I went to examine some men that are put in there for rescuing of men that were pressed into the service: and we do plainly see that the desperate condition that we put men into for want of their pay makes them mad, they being as good men as ever were in the world, and would as readily serve the King again, were they but paid. Two men leapt overboard, among others, into the Thames out of the vessel into which they were pressed, and were shot by the soldiers placed there to keep them, two days since; so much people do avoid the King's service! And then these men are pressed without money, and so we cannot punish them for any thing, so that we are forced only to make a shew of severity* by keeping them in prison, but are unable to punish them. Returning to the office, I did ask whether we might visit Commissioner Pett, (to which, I confess, I have no great mind); and it was answered that he was close prisoner, and we could not; but the Lieutenant of the Tower would send for him to his lodgings, if we would: so we put it off to another time. To Captain Cocke's to dinner; where Lord Brouncker and his lady, Matt. Wren, and Bulteale, and Sir Allan Apsly; the last of whom did make good sport, he being already fallen under the retrenchments of the new Committee, as he is Master Falconer; which makes him mad. With my Lord Brouncker and his mistress to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Indian Emperour:"† where I find Nell come again, which I am glad of; but was most infinitely displeased with her being put to act the Emperour's daughter, which is a great and serious part, which she does most basely. This evening Mr. Pelling comes to me, and tells me that this night the Dutch letters are come, and that the peace was proclaimed there the

* Shooting the men was rather more than a shew of severity. † A tragi-comedy, by Dryden.

19th inst. and that all is finished; which for my life I know not whether to be glad or sorry for, a peace being so necessary, and yet so bad in its terms.

23d. To White Hall, to attend the Council. The King there: and it was about considering how the fleet might be discharged at their coming in shortly, the peace being now ratified, and it takes place on Monday next. To the Treasury-chamber, where I waited talking with Sir G. Downing till the Lords met. He tells me how he will make all the Exchequer officers, of one side and the other, to lend the King money upon the Act; and that the least Clerk shall lend money, and he believes the least will 100l.: but this I do not believe. He made me almost ashamed that we of the Navy had not in all this time lent any; so that I find it necessary I should, and so will speedily do it before any of my fellows begin and lead me to a bigger sum. By and by the Lords come; and I perceive Sir W. Coventry is the man, and nothing done till he comes. Among other things I heard him observe, looking over a paper, that Sir John Shaw is a miracle of a man, for he thinks he executes more places than any man in England; for there he finds him a Surveyor of some of the King's woods, and so reckoned up many other places, the most inconsistent in the world. Their business with me was to consider how to assigne such of our commanders as will take assignements upon the Act for their wages; and the consideration thereof was referred to me to give them an answer the next sitting: which is a horrid poor thing; but they scruple at nothing of honour in the case. I find most people pleased with their being at ease, and safe of a peace, that they may know no more charge or hazard of an ill-managed war; but nobody speaking of the peace with any content or pleasure, but are silent in it, as of a thing they are ashamed of; no, not at Court, much less in the City.

24th. St. Bartholomew's-day. This morning was proclaimed the peace between us and the States of the United Provinces, and also of the King of France and Denmarke; and in the afternoon the Proclamations were printed and came out; and at night the bells rung, but no bonfires that I hear of any where, partly from the dearness of firing, but principally from the little content most people have in the

peace. This day comes a letter from the Duke of York to the Board, to invite us, which is as much as to fright us, into the lending the King money; which is a poor thing, and most dishonourable, and shews in what a case we are at the end of the war to our neighbours. And the King do now declare publickly to give 10 per cent. to all lenders; which makes some think that the Dutch themselves will send over money, and lend it upon our publick faith, the Act of Parliament.

26th. To the office, where we sat upon a particular business all the morning: and my Lord Anglesy with us; who, and my Lord Brouncker, do bring us news how my Lord Chancellor's seal is to be taken away from him to-day. The thing is so great and sudden to me, that it put me into a very great admiration what should be the meaning of it; and they do not own that they know what it should be; but this is certain, that the King did resolve it on Saturday, and did yesterday send the Duke of Albemarle (the only man fit for those works) to him for his purse: to which the Chancellor answered, that he received it from the King, and would deliver it to the King's own hand, and so civilly returned the Duke of Albemarle without it; and this morning my Lord Chancellor is to be with the King, to come to an end in the business. Dined at Sir W. Batten's, where Mr. Boreman was, who came from White Hall; who tells us that he saw my Lord Chancellor come in his coach with some of his men, without his seal, to White Hall to his chamber; and thither the King and Duke of York came and staid together alone an hour or more: and it is said that the King do say that he will have the Parliament meet, and that it will prevent much trouble by having of him out of their enmity by his place being taken away; for that all their enmity will be at him. It is said also that my Lord Chancellor answers, that he desires he may be brought to his trial, if he have done any thing to lose his office; and that he will be willing and is most desirous to lose that and his head both together. Upon what terms they parted nobody knows; but the Chancellor looked sad, he says. Then in comes Sir Richard Ford, and says he hears that there is nobody more presses to reconcile the King and Chancellor than the Duke of Albemarle and Duke of Buckingham: the latter of which is very strange, not only that he who was so lately

his enemy should do it, but that this man, that but the other day was in danger of losing his own head, should so soon come to be a mediator for others : it shews a wise Government. They all say that he is but a poor man, not worth above 3000*l.* a-year in land ; but this I cannot believe : and all do blame him for having built so great a house, till he had got a better estate. Sir W. Pen and I had a great deal of discourse with Mall;* who tells us that Nell is already left by my Lord Buckhurst, and that he makes sport of her, and swears she hath had all she could get of him ; and Hart† her great admirer now hates her ; and that she is very poor, and hath lost my Lady Castlemaine, who was her great friend also : but she is come to the playhouse, but is neglected by them all.

27th. To White Hall ; and there hear how it is like to go well enough with my Lord Chancellor ; that he is like to keep his Seal, desiring that he may stand his trial in Parliament, if they will accuse him of any thing. This day Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, was with me ; and tells me how this business of my Lord Chancellor's was certainly designed in my Lady Castlemaine's chamber ; and that when he went from the King on Monday morning she was in bed (though about twelve o'clock), and ran out in her smock into her aviary looking into White Hall garden ; and thither her woman brought her her night-gown ; and stood blessing herself at the old man's going away : and several of the gallants of White Hall (of which there were many staying to see the Chancellor's return) did talk to her in her bird-cage ; among others Blancford, telling her she was the bird of passage.

28th. To White Hall : till past twelve in a crowd of people in the lobby, expecting the hearing of the great cause of Alderman Barker against my Lord Deputy of Ireland for his ill usage in his business of land there ; but the King and Council sat so long as they neither heard them nor me. Went twice round Bartholomew fayre ; which I was glad to see again, after two years missing it by the plague.

* Orange Moll, mentioned before.

† The celebrated actor.

29th. I find at Sir G. Carteret's that they do mightily joy themselves in the hopes of my Lord Chancellor's getting over this trouble; and I make them believe (and so, indeed, I do believe he will) that my Lord Chancellor is become popular by it. I find by all hands that the Court is at this day all to pieces, every man of a faction of one sort or other, so as it is to be feared what it will come to. But that that pleases me is, I hear to-night that Mr. Brouncker is turned away yesterday by the Duke of York, for some bold words he was heard by Colonel Werden to say in the garden the day the Chancellor was with the King—that he believed the King would be hectored out of every thing. For this the Duke of York, who all say hath been very strong for his father-in-law at this trial, hath turned him away: and every body, I think, is glad of it; for he was a pestilent rogue, an atheist, that would have sold his King and country for 6*d.* almost, so corrupt and wicked a rogue he is by all men's report. But one observed to me, that there never was the occasion of men's holding their tongues at Court and every where else as there is at this day, for nobody knows which side will be uppermost.

30th. At White Hall I met with Sir G. Downing, who tells me of Sir W. Pen's offering to lend 500*l.*; and I tell him of my 300*l.* which he would have me to lend upon the credit of the latter part of the Act; saying, that by that means my 10 per cent. will continue to me the longer. But I understand better, and will do it upon the 380,000*l.* which will come to be paid the sooner; there being no delight in lending money now, to be paid by the King two years hence. But here he and Sir William Doyly were attending the Council as Commissioners for sick and wounded, and prisoners: and they told me their business, which was to know how we shall do to release our prisoners; for it seems the Dutch have got us to agree in the treaty (as they fool us in any thing), that the dyet of the prisoners on both sides shall be paid for before they be released: which they have done, knowing ours to run high, they having more prisoners of ours than we have of theirs; so that they are able and most ready to discharge the debt of theirs, but we are neither able nor willing to do that for ours, the debt of those in Zeland only amounting to above 5000*l.* for men taken in the

King's own ships, besides others taken in merchantmen, who expect, as is usual, that the King should redeem them ; but I think he will not, by what Sir G. Downing says. This our prisoners complain of there ; and say in their letters, which Sir G. Downing shewed me, that they have made a good feat that they should be taken in the service of the King, and the King not pay for their victuals while prisoners for him. But so far they are from doing thus with their men as we do to discourage ours, that I find in the letters of some of our prisoners there, which he shewed me, that they have with money got our men, that they took, to work and carry their ships home for them ; and they have been well rewarded, and released when they come into Holland : which is done like a noble, brave, and wise people. I to Bartholomew fayre to walk up and down ; and there among other things find my Lady Castlemaine at a puppet-play (Patient Grizill), and the street full of people expecting her coming out. I confess I did wonder at her courage to come abroad, thinking the people would abuse her : but they, silly people ! do not know the work she makes, and therefore suffered her with great respect to take coach, and she away without any trouble at all. Captain Cocke tells me that there is yet expectation that the Chancellor will lose the Seal ; and assures me that there have been high words between the Duke of York and Sir W. Coventry, for his being so high against the Chancellor ; so as the Duke of York would not sign some papers that he brought, saying that he could not endure the sight of him : and that Sir W. Coventry answered, that what he did was in obedience to the King's commands ; and that he did not think any man fit to serve a prince, that did not know how to retire and live a country life.

31st. At the office all the morning ; where by Sir W. Pen I do hear that the Seal was fetched away to the King yesterday from the Lord Chancellor by Secretary Morrice ; which puts me into a great horror. In the evening Mr. Ball of the Excise-office tells me that the Seal is delivered to Sir Orlando Bridgeman ; the man of the whole nation that is the best spoken of, and will please most people ; and therefore I am mighty glad of it. He was then at my Lord Arlington's, whither I went, expecting to see him come out ; but staid so

long, and Sir W. Coventry coming there, whom I had not a mind should see me there idle upon a post-night, I went home without seeing him; but he is there with his Seal in his hand.

September 1st. Our new Lord-keeper, Bridgeman, did this day, the first time, attend the King to chapel with his Seal. Sir H. Cholmly tells me there are hopes that the women also will have a rout, and particularly that my Lady Castlemaine is coming to a composition with the King to be gone; but how true this is, I know not. Blancfort is made Privy-purse to the Duke of York; the Attorney-general* is made Chief Justice, in the room of my Lord Bridgeman; the Solicitor-general* is made Attorney-general; and Sir Edward Turner made Solicitor-general.* It is pretty to see how strange every body looks, nobody knowing whence this arises; whether from my Lady Castlemaine, Bab. May, and their faction; or from the Duke of York, notwithstanding his great appearing of defence of the Chancellor; or from Sir William Coventry, and some few with him. But greater changes are yet expected.

2d. This day is kept in the City as a publick fast for the fire this day twelve months: but I was not at church, being commanded with the rest to attend the Duke of York; and therefore with Sir J. Minnes to St. James's, where we had much business before the Duke of York, and observed all things to be very kind between the Duke of York and Sir W. Coventry; which did mightily joy me. When we had done, Sir W. Coventry called me down with him to his chamber, and there told me that he is leaving the Duke of York's service; which I was amazed at. But he tells me that it is not with the least unkindness on the Duke of York's side, though he expects (and I told him he was in the right) it will be interpreted otherwise, because done just at this time; "but," says he, "I did desire it a good while since, and the Duke of York did with much entreaty grant it, desiring that I would say nothing of it, that he might have time and liberty to choose his successor, without being importuned for others whom he should not like:" and that he hath chosen Mr. Wren, which I am glad of, he being a very ingenious man; and so Sir W. Coventry says

* According to Beatson, no change took place in these officers at this time.

of him, though he knows him little ; but particularly commends him for the book he writ in answer to " Harrington's Oceana," which for that reason I intend to buy. He tells me the true reason is, that he being a man not willing to undertake more business than he can go through, and being desirous to have his whole time to spend upon the business of the Treasury, and a little for his own ease, he did desire this of the Duke of York. He assures me that the kindness with which he goes away from the Duke of York, is one of the greatest joys that ever he had in the world. I used some freedom with him, telling him how the world hath discoursed of his having offended the Duke of York, about the late business of the Chancellor. He does not deny it, but says that perhaps the Duke of York might have some reason for it, he opposing him in a thing wherein he was so earnest : but tells me, that notwithstanding all that, the Duke of York does not now, nor can blame him ; for he was the man that did propose the removal of the Chancellor ; and that he did still persist in it, and at this day publickly owns it, and is glad of it : but that the Duke of York knows that he did first speak of it to the Duke of York before he spoke to any mortal creature besides, which was fair dealing ; and the Duke of York was then of the same mind with him, and did speak of it to the King, though since, for reasons best known to himself, he afterwards altered. I did then desire to know, what was the great matter that grounded his desire of the Chancellor's removal ? He told me many things not fit to be spoken, and yet not any thing of his being unfaithful to the King, but, *instar omnium*, he told me that while he was so great at the Council-board, and in the administration of matters, there was no room for any body to propose any remedy to what was amiss, or to compass any thing, though never so good, for the kingdom, unless approved of by the Chancellor, he managing all things with that greatness, which now will be removed, that the King may have the benefit of others' advice. I then told him that the world hath an opinion that he hath joined himself with my Lady Castlemaine's faction : but in this business, he told me, he cannot help it, but says they are in an error ; for he will never, while he lives, truckle under any body or any faction, but do just as his own reason

and judgment directs ; and when he cannot use that freedom, he will have nothing to do in public affairs : but then he added that he never was the man that ever had any discourse with my Lady Castlemaine, or with others from her, about this or any public business, or ever made her a visit, or at least not this twelvemonth, or been in her lodgings but when called on any business to attend the King there, nor hath had any thing to do in knowing her mind in this business. He ended all with telling me that he knows that he that serves a prince must expect and be contented to stand all fortunes, and be provided to retreat ; and that he is most willing to do whatever the King shall please. And so we parted, he setting me down out of his coach at Charing Cross, and desired me to tell Sir W. Pen what he had told me of his leaving the Duke of York's service, that his friends might not be the last that know it. I took a coach and went homewards ; but then turned again, and to White Hall, where I met with many people ; and among other things do learn that there is some fear that Mr. Brouncker is got into the King's favour, and will be cherished there ; which will breed ill will between the King and Duke of York, he lodging at this time in White Hall since he was put away from the Duke of York ; and he is great with Bab. May, my Lady Castlemaine, and that wicked crew. But I find this denied by Sir G. Carteret, who tells me that he is sure he hath no kindness from the King ; that the King at first, indeed, did endeavour to persuade the Duke of York from putting him away ; but when, besides this business of his ill words concerning his Majesty in the business of the Chancellor, he told him that he hath had a long time a mind to put him away for his ill offices, done between him and his wife, the King held his peace, and said no more, but wished him to do what he pleased with him ; which was very noble. I met with Fenn ; and he tells me, as I do hear from some others, that the business of the Chancellor's had proceeded from something of a mistake, for the Duke of York did first tell the King that the Chancellor had a desire to be eased of his great trouble ; and that the King, when the Chancellor came to him, did wonder to hear him deny it, and the Duke of York was forced to deny to the King that ever he did tell him so in those terms :

but the King did answer that he was sure that he did say some such things to him ; but, however, since it had gone so far, did desire him to be contented with it as a thing very convenient for him as well as for himself (the King) : and so matters proceeded, as we find. Now it is likely the Chancellor might some time or other, in a compliment or vanity, say to the Duke of York, that he was weary of this burden, and I know not what ; and this comes of it. Some people, and myself among them, are of good hope from this change that things are reforming ; but there are others that do think it is a hit of chance, as all other our greatest matters are, and that there is no general plot or contrivance in any number of people what to do next, (though, I believe, Sir W. Coventry may in himself have further designs ;) and so that though other changes may come, yet they shall be accidental and laid upon good principles of doing good. Mr. May shewed me the King's new buildings, in order to their having of some old sails for the closing of the windows this winter. I dined with Sir G. Carteret, with whom dined Mr. Jack Ashburnham and Dr. Creeton, who I observe to be a most good man and scholar. In discourse at dinner concerning the change of men's humours and fashions touching meats, Mr. Ashburnham told us, that he remembers since the only fruit in request, and eaten by the King and Queene at table as the best fruit, was the Katharine payre, though they knew at the time other fruits of France and our own country. After dinner comes in Mr. Townsend : and there I was witness of a horrid rateing which Mr. Ashburnham, as one of the Grooms of the King's Bedchamber, did give him for want of linen for the King's person ; which he swore was not to be endured, and that the King would not endure it, and that the King his father would have hanged his Wardrobe-man should he have been served so ; the King having at this day no handkerchers, and but three bands to his neck, he swore. Mr. Townsend pleaded want of money and the owing of the linen-draper 5000*l.* ; and that he hath of late got many rich things made, beds and sheets and saddles, without money ; and that he can go no further : but still this old man (indeed like an old loving servant) did cry out for the King's person to be neglected. But when he was gone, Townsend told me that it is the Grooms taking

away the King's linen at the quarter's end, as their fees, which makes this great want ; for whether the King can get it or no, they will run away at the quarter's end with what he hath had, let the King get more as he can. All the company gone, Sir G. Carteret and I to talk : and it is pretty to observe how already he says that he did always look upon the Chancellor indeed as his friend, though he never did do him any service at all, nor ever got any thing by, nor was a man apt (and that, I think, is true) to do any man any kindness of his own nature ; though I do know that he was believed by all the world to be the greatest support of Sir G. Carteret with the King of any man in England : but so little is now made of it ! He observes that my Lord Sandwich will lose a great friend in him ; and I think so too, my Lord Hinchingbroke being about a match calculated purely out of respect to my Lord Chancellor's family. By and by Sir G. Carteret, and Townsend, and I to consider of an answer to the Commissioners of the Treasury about my Lord Sandwich's profits in the Wardrobe ; which seem as we make them to be very small, not 1000*l.* a-year, but only the difference in measure at which he buys and delivers out to the King, and then 6*d.* in the pound from the tradesman for what money he receives for him ; but this, it is believed, these Commissioners will endeavour to take away. From him I went to see a great match at tennis, between Prince Rupert and one Captain Cooke against Bab. May and the elder Chichly ; where the King was, and Court ; and it seems they are the best players at tennis in the nation. But this puts me in mind of what I observed in the morning, that the King playing at tennis had a steele-yard carried to him ; and I was told it was to weigh him after he had done playing ; and at noon Mr. Ashburnham told me that it is only the King's curiosity, which he usually hath of weighing himself before and after his play, to see how much he loses in weight by playing ; and this day he lost 4½*lbs.* I to Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen, and there discoursed of Sir W. Coventry's leaving the Duke of York, and Mr. Wren's succeeding him. They told me both seriously that they had long cut me out for Secretary to the Duke of York, if ever Sir W. Coventry left him ; which agreeing with what I have heard from other hands heretofore, do make me not only think that something of that kind hath been thought on, but do comfort me

to see that the world hath such an esteem of my qualities as to think me fit for any such thing: though I am glad with all my heart that I am not so; for it would never please me to be forced to the attendance that that would require, and leave my wife and family to themselves, as I must do in such a case; thinking myself now in the best place that ever man was in to please his own mind in, and therefore I will take care to preserve it.

3d. Attended the Duke of York about the list of ships that we propose to sell: and here there attended Mr. Wren the first time, who hath not yet, I think, received the Duke of York's seal and papers. At our coming hither we found the Duke and Duchesse all alone at dinner, methought melancholy; or else I thought so, from the late occasion of the Chancellor's fall, who, they say, however, takes it very contentedly.

4th. By coach to White Hall to the Council-chamber; and there met with Sir W. Coventry going in, who took me aside, and told me that he was just come from delivering up his seal and papers to Mr. Wren; and told me he must now take his leave of me as a naval man, but that he shall always bear respect to his friends there,* and particularly to myself with great kindness; which I returned to him with thanks, and so with much kindness parted; and he into the Council. Staid and heard Alderman Barker's case of his being abused by the Council of Ireland, touching his lands there. All I observed there is the silliness of the King, playing with his dog all the while, and not minding the business; and what he said was mighty weak: but my Lord Keeper I observe to be a mighty able man. To the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw "Mustapha;" which the more I see the more I like; and is a most admirable poem, and bravely acted; only both Betterton and Harris could not contain from laughing in the midst of a most serious part, from the ridiculous mistake of one of the men upon the stage; which I did not like. This morning was told by Sir W. Batten that he do hear from Mr. Grey, who hath good intelligence, that our Queene is to go into a nunnery, there to spend her days; and that my Lady

* The officers of the Navy.

Castlemaine is going into France, and is to have a pension of 4000*l.* a-year. This latter I do more believe than the other, it being very wise in her to do it and save all she hath, besides easing the King and kingdom of a burden and reproach.

8th. Lord Brouncker says he do believe that my Lady Castlemaine is compounding with the King for a pension, and to leave the Court; but that her demands are mighty high: but he believes the King is resolved, and so do every body else I speak with, to do all possible to please the Parliament; and he do declare that he will deliver every body up to give an account of their actions: and that last Friday, it seems, there was an Act of Council passed, to put out all Papists in office, and to keep out any from coming in. Sir G. Downing told me he had been seven years finding out a man that could dress English sheep-skin as it should be; and indeed it is now as good in all respects as kidd; and, he says, will save 100,000*l.* a-year that goes out to France for kidds'-skins. He tells me that at this day the King in familiar talk do call the Chancellor "the insolent man," and says that he would not let him speak himself in Council: which is very high, and do shew that the Chancellor is like to be in a bad state, unless he can defend himself better than people think. And yet Creed tells me that he do hear that my Lord Cornbury* do say that his father do long for the coming of the Parliament, in order to his own vindication, more than any one of his enemies. And here it comes into my head to set down what Mr. Rawlinson (whom I met in Fenchurch-street on Friday last looking over his ruines there) told me that he was told by one of my Lord Chancellor's gentlemen lately, that a grant coming to him to be sealed, wherein the King hath given my Lady Castlemaine, or somebody by her means, a place which he did not like well of, he did stop the grant; saying, that he thought this woman would sell every thing shortly: which she hearing of, she sent to let him know that she had disposed of this place, and did not doubt in a little time to dispose of his. To White Hall, and saw the King and Queene at dinner; and observed (which I never did before) the formality, but it is but a formality, of putting a bit of bread wiped upon each dish into

* Henry, afterwards second Earl of Clarendon.

the mouth of every man that brings a dish; but it should be in the sauce. Here were some Russes come to see the King at dinner: among others the interpreter, a comely Englishman, in the Envoy's own clothes; which the Envoy, it seems, in vanity did send to shew his fine clothes upon this man's back, he being one, it seems, of a comelier presence than himself: and yet it is said that none of their clothes are their own, but taken out of the King's own Wardrobe; and which they dare not bring back dirty or spotted, but clean, or are in danger of being beaten, as they say: insomuch that, Sir Charles Cotterell* says, when they are to have an audience they never venture to put on their clothes till he appears to come to fetch them; and soon as ever they come home, put them off again. I to Sir G. Carteret's to dinner; where Mr. Cofferer Ashburnham; who told a good story of a prisoner's being condemned at Salisbury for a small matter. While he was on the bench with his father-in-law Judge Richardson,† and while they were considering to transport him to save his life, the fellow flung a great stone at the Judge, that missed him, but broke through the wainscoat. Upon this he had his hand cut off, and was hanged presently.

9th. To White Hall; and here do hear, by Tom Killigrew and Mr. Progers, that for certain news is come of Harman's having spoiled nineteen of twenty-two French ships, somewhere about the Barbadoes, I think they said; but wherever it is, it is a good service and very welcome. To the Bear-garden, where now the yard was full of people, and those most of them seamen, striving by force to get in. I got into the common pit; and there, with my cloak about my face, I stood and saw the prize fought, till one of them, a shoemaker, was so cut in both his wrists that he could not fight any longer, and then they broke off: his enemy was a butcher. The sport very good, and various humours to be seen among the rabble that is there.

10th. To St. James's, where we all met and did our usual weekly business with the Duke of York. But, Lord! methinks both he and we are mighty flat and dull to what we used to be when Sir W. Coventry was among us. Met Mr. Povy; and he and I to walk an hour or

* Knight, and Master of the Ceremonies from 1641 to 1686, when he resigned in favour of his son.

† Sir Thomas Richardson, Knight; appointed Chief Justice of the Common Pleas 1626.

more in the Pell Mell, talking of the times. He tells me, among other things, that this business of the Chancellor do breed a kind of inward distance between the King and the Duke of York, and that it cannot be avoided; for though the latter did at first move it through his folly, yet he is made to see that he is wounded by it, and is become much a less man than he was, and so will be: but he tells me that they are, and have always been, great dissemblers one towards another; and that their parting heretofore in France is never to be thoroughly reconciled between them. He tells me that he believes there is no such thing like to be as a composition with my Lady Castlemaine, and that she shall be got out of the way before the Parliament comes; for he says she is as high as ever she was, though he believes the King is as weary of her as is possible; and would give any thing to remove her, but he is so weak in his passion that he dare not do it: that he do believe that my Lord Chancellor will be doing some acts in the Parliament which shall render him popular; and that there are many people now do speak kindly of him that did not before; but that if he do do this, it must provoke the King and that party that removed him. He seems to doubt what the King of France will do, in case an accommodation shall be made between Spain and him for Flanders, for then he will have nothing more easy to do with his army than to subdue us.

11th. Come to dine with me Sir W. Batten and his lady, and Mr. Griffith their Ward, and Sir W. Pen and his lady, and Mrs. Lowther, (who is grown either through pride or want of manners a fool, having not a word to say; and, as a further mark of a beggarly proud fool, hath a bracelet of diamonds and rubies about her wrist, and a sixpenny necklace about her neck, and not one good rag of clothes upon her back;) and Sir John Chichly in their company, and Mr. Turner. Here I had an extraordinary good and handsome dinner for them, better than any of them deserve or understand (saving Sir John Chichly and Mrs. Turner). To the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw part of "The Ungratefull Lovers;" and sat by Beck Marshall, whose hand is very handsome. Here came Mr. Moore, and sat and discoursed with me of public matters: the sum of which is, that he do doubt that there is more at the bottom than the removal of the Chancellor; that is, he

do verily believe that the King do resolve to declare the Duke of Monmouth legitimate, and that we shall soon see it. This I do not think the Duke of York will endure without blows; but his poverty, and being lessened by having the Chancellor fallen and Sir W. Coventry gone from him, will disable him from being able to do any thing almost, he being himself almost lost in the esteem of people; and will be more and more, unless my Lord Chancellor (who is already begun to be pitied by some people, and to be better thought of than was expected) do recover himself in Parliament. He do say that that is very true, that my Lord Chancellor did lately make some stop of some grants of 2000*l.* a-year to my Lord Grandison,* which was only in his name, for the use of my Lady Castlemaine's children; and that this did incense her, and she did speak very scornful words and sent a scornful message to him about it.

14th. The King and Duke of York and the whole Court is mighty joyful at the Duchesse of York's being brought to bed this day, or yesterday, of a son; which will settle men's minds mightily. And Pierce tells me that he do think that what the King do, of giving the Duke of Monmouth the command of his Guards, and giving my Lord Gerard 12,000*l.* for it, is merely to find an employment for him upon which he may live, and not out of any design to bring him into any title to the Crowne; which Mr. Moore did the other day put me into great fear of. To the King's playhouse, to see "The Northerne Castle," which I think I never did see before. Knipp acted in it, and did her part very extraordinary well; but the play is but a mean, sorry play. Sir H. Cholmly was with me a good while; who tells me that the Duke of York's child is christened, the Duke of Albemarle and the Marquis of Worcester † godfathers, and my Lady Suffolke godmother; and they have named it Edgar, which is a brave name. But it seems they are more joyful in the Chancellor's family, at the birth of this Prince, than in wisdom they should, for fear it should give the King cause of jealousy. Sir H. Cholmly thinks there may possibly be some persons

* George Villiers, fourth Viscount Grandison, and younger brother of Lady Castlemaine's father, who had died without issue male.

† Edward, second Marquis of Worcester, author of "The Century of Inventions."

that would be glad to have the Queene removed to some monastery, or somewhere or other, to make room for a new wife; for they will all be unsafe under the Duke of York. He says the King and Parliament will agree; that is, that the King will do any thing that they will have him. I met with a fourth advice* to the Painter upon the coming in of the Dutch to the River and end of the war, that made my heart ake to read, it being too sharp and so true. Here I also saw a printed account of the examinations taken touching the burning of the City of London, shewing the plot of the Papists therein; which, it seems, hath been ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, in Westminster Palace. My wife and Mercer and I away to the King's playhouse, to see "The Scornfull Lady;" but it being now three o'clock there was not one soul in the pit; whereupon for shame we could not go in, but, against our wills, went all to see "Tu quoque" again, where there was pretty store of company. Here we saw Madam Morland,† who is grown mighty fat, but is very comely. Thence to the King's house, upon a wager of mine with my wife that there would be no acting there to-day, there being no company: so I went in and found a pretty good company there, and saw their dance at the end of the play.

18th. I walked in the Exchange; which is now made pretty, by having windows and doors before all their shops, to keep out the cold.

20th. By coach to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Mad Couple,‡" my wife having been at the same play with Jane in the 18d. seat.

21st. The King, Duke of York, and the men of the Court have been these four or five days a-hunting at Bagshot.

22d. At noon comes Mr. Sheres, whom I find a good, ingenious man, but do talk a little too much of his travels. He left my Lord Sandwich well, but in pain to be at home for want of money, which

* In the Collection of Poems on Affairs of State, there are four pieces called "*Directions to a Painter*;" the first of them "*Concerning the Dutch War, 1667, by Sir John Denham*." The same book also contains "*The Last Instructions to a Painter about the Dutch Wars, by Andrew Marvel, Esq.*" which from its severity I suppose to be the work here alluded to.

† Sir Samuel Moreland's first wife.

‡ Probably "*A Mad Couple well Matched*," a comedy by Richard Brome, printed in 1653.

comes very hardly. I have indulged myself more in pleasure for these last two months than ever I did in my life before, since I came to be a person concerned in business; and I doubt, when I come to make up my accounts, I shall find it so by the expence.

23d. At my Lord Ashly's by invitation to dine there. At table it is worth remembering that my Lord tells us that the House of Lords is the last appeal that a man can make upon a point of interpretation of the law, and that therein they are above the Judges; and that he did assert this in the Lords' House upon the late occasion of the quarrel between my Lord Bristoll and the Chancellor, when the former did accuse the latter of treason, and the Judges did bring it in not to be treason: my Lord Ashly did declare that the judgement of the Judges was nothing in the presence of their Lordships, but only as far as they were the properest men to bring precedents; but not to interpret the law to their Lordships, but only the inducements of their persuasions: and this the Lords did concur in. Another pretty thing was my Lady Ashly's speaking of the bad qualities of glass-coaches; among others, the flying open of the doors upon any great shake: but another was, that my Lady Peterborough being in her glass-coach with the glass up, and seeing a lady pass by in a coach whom she would salute, the glass was so clear that she thought it had been open, and so ran her head through the glass! We were put into my Lord's room before he could come to us, and there had opportunity to look over his state of his accounts of the prizes; and there saw how bountiful the King hath been to several people: and hardly any man almost, commander of the Navy of any note, but hath had some reward or other out of them; and many sums to the Privy-purse, but not so many, I see, as I thought there had been: but we could not look quite through it. But several Bed-chamber-men and people about the Court had good sums; and, among others, Sir John Minnes and Lord Brouncker have 200*l.* a-piece for looking to the East India prizes, while I did their work for them. By and by my Lord came, and we did look over Yeabsly's business a little; and I find how prettily this cunning Lord can be partial and dissemble it in this case, being privy to the bribe he is to receive. With Sir H. Cholmly to Westminster; who by the way told me how merry the

King and Duke of York and Court were the other day, when they were abroad a-hunting. They came to Sir G. Carteret's house at Cranbourne, and there were entertained, and all made drunk; and being all drunk, Armerer did come to the King, and swore to him by God, "Sir," says he, "you are not so kind to the Duke of York of late as you used to be."—"Not I?" says the King. "Why so?"—"Why," says he, "if you are, let us drink his health."—"Why let us," says the King. Then he fell on his knees and drank it; and having done, the King began to drink it. "Nay, Sir," says Armerer, "by God you must do it on your knees!" So he did, and then all the company: and having done it, all fell a-crying for joy, being all maudlin and kissing one another, the King the Duke of York, and the Duke of York the King; and in such a maudlin pickle as never people were: and so passed the day. But Sir H. Cholmly tells me, that the King hath this good luck: that the next day he hates to have any body mention what he had done the day before, nor will suffer any body to gain upon him that way; which is a good quality. By and by comes Captain Cocke about business; who tells me that Mr. Brouncker is lost for ever, notwithstanding that my Lord Brouncker hath advised with him (Cocke) how he might make a peace with the Duke of York and Chancellor, upon promise of serving him in the Parliament: but Cocke says that is base to offer, and will have no success there. He says that Mr. Wren hath refused a present of Tom Wilson's for his place of Store-keeper at Chatham, and is resolved never to take any thing; which is both wise in him, and good to the King's service.

25th. With Sir H. Cholmly (who came to me about his business) to White Hall: and thither came also my Lord Brouncker. And we by and by called in, and our paper read; and much discourse thereon by Sir G. Carteret, my Lord Anglesy, Sir W. Coventry, and my Lord Ashly, and myself: but I could easily discern that they none of them understood the business; and the King at last ended it with saying lazily, "Why," says he, "after all this discourse I now come to understand it; and that is, that there can nothing be done in this more than is possible," (which was so silly as I never heard): "and therefore," says he, "I would have these gentlemen do as much as is possible to hasten the

Treasurer's accounts; and that is all." And so we broke up: and I confess I went away ashamed, to see how slightly things are advised upon there. Here I saw the Duke of Buckingham sit in Council again, where he was re-admitted, it seems, the last Council-day: and it is wonderful to see how this man is come again to his places, all of them, after the reproach and disgrace done him; so that things are done in a most foolish manner quite through. The Duke of Buckingham did second Sir W. Coventry in the advising the King that he would not concern himself in the evening or not evening any man's accounts, or any thing else, wherein he had not the same satisfaction that would satisfy the Parliament; saying, that nothing would displease the Parliament more than to find him defending any thing that is not right nor justifiable to the utmost degree: but methought he spoke it but very poorly. After this I walked up and down the Gallery till noon; and here I met with Bishop Fuller, who, to my great joy, is made (which I did not hear before) Bishop of Lincolne. At noon I took coach, and to Sir G. Carteret's in Lincoln's-inn-fields, to the house that is my Lord's, which my Lord lets him have: and this is the first day of dining there. And there dined with him and his lady my Lord Privy-seale*, who is indeed a very sober man; who, among other talk, did mightily wonder at the reason of the growth of the credit of bankers, (since it is so ordinary a thing for citizens to break out of knavery.) Upon this we had much discourse; and I observed therein, to the honour of this City, that I have not heard of one citizen of London broke in all this war, this plague, or this fire, and this coming up of the enemy among us; which he owned to be very considerable. I to the King's playhouse, my eyes being so bad since last night's straining of them that I am hardly able to see, besides the pain which I have in them. The play was a new play: and infinitely full; the King and all the Court almost there. It is "The Storme," a play of Fletcher's; which is but so-so, methinks; only there is a most admirable dance at the end, of the ladies, in a military manner, which indeed did please me mightily.

27th. Creed and Sheres come and dined with me; and we had a

* John Lord Robarts, afterwards Earl of Radnor, filled this office from 1661 to 1669.

great deal of pretty discourse of the ceremoniousness of the Spaniards, whose ceremonies are so many and so known, that, he tells me, upon all occasions of joy or sorrow in a Grandee's family, my Lord Ambassador is fain to send one with an *en hora buena* (if it be upon a marriage or birth of a child), or a *pesa me*, if it be upon the death of a child, or so. And these ceremonies are so set, and the words of the compliment, that he hath been sent from my Lord when he hath done no more than send in word to the Grandee that one was there from the Ambassador; and he knowing what was his errand, that hath been enough, and he never spoken with him: nay, several Grandees having been to marry a daughter, have wrote letters to my Lord to give him notice, and out of the greatness of his wisdom to desire his advice, though people he never saw; and then my Lord he answers by commending the greatness of his discretion in making so good an alliance, &c. and so ends. He says that it is so far from dishonour to a man to give private revenge for an affront, that the contrary is a disgrace; they holding that he that receives an affront is not fit to appear in the sight of the world till he hath revenged himself; and therefore, that a gentleman there that receives an affront oftentimes never appears again in the world till he hath, by some private way or other, revenged himself: and that, on this account, several have followed their enemies privately to the Indys, thence to Italy, thence to France and back again, waiting for an opportunity to be revenged. He says my Lord was fain to keep a letter from the Duke of York to the Queene of Spain a great while in his hands, before he could think fit to deliver it, till he had learnt whether the Queene could receive it, it being directed to his cosen. He says that many ladies in Spain, after they are found to be with child, do never stir out of their beds or chambers till they are brought to bed: so ceremonious they are in that point also. He tells me of their wooing by serenades at the window, and that their friends do always make the match; but yet they have opportunities to meet at masse at church, and there they make love: that the Court there hath no dancing nor visits at night to see the King or Queene, but is always just like a cloyster, nobody stirring in it: that my Lord Sandwich wears a beard now, turned up in the Spanish manner. But that

which pleases me most indeed is, that the peace which he hath made with Spain is now printed here, and is acknowledged by all the merchants to be the best peace that ever England had with them : and it appears that the King thinks it so, for this is printed before the ratification is gone over ; whereas that with France and Holland was not in a good while after, till copys came over of it in English out of Holland and France, that it was a reproach not to have it printed here. This I am mighty glad of ; and is the first and only piece of good news, or thing fit to be owned, that this nation hath done several years.

28th. All the morning at the office busy upon an Order of Council, wherein they are mightily at a loss what to advise about our discharging of seamen by ticket, there being no money to pay their wages before January. After dinner comes Sir Fr. Hollis to me about business ; and I with him by coach to the Temple, and there I light ; all the way he telling me romantic lies of himself and his family, how they have been Parliament-men for Grimsby, he and his forefathers, this 140 years ; and his father is now : and himself, at this day, stands for to be with his father*, by the death of his fellow-burgess ; and that he believes it will cost him as much as it did his predecessor, which was 300*l.* in ale, and 52*l.* in buttered ale ; which I believe is one of his devilish lies.

30th. To the Duke of York to Council, where the officers of the Navy did attend ; and my Lord Ashly did move that an assignment for money on the Act might be put into the hands of the East India Company, or City of London, which he thought the seamen would believe. But this my Lord Anglesy did very handsomely oppose, and I think did carry it that it will not be : and it is indeed a mean thing that the King should so far own his own want of credit as to borrow theirs in this manner. My Lord Anglesy told him that this was the way indeed to teach the Parliament to trust the King no more for the time to come, but to have a kingdom's Treasurer distinct from the King's.

October 1st. To White Hall ; and there in the Boarded Gallery

* Jervas Hollis and Sir Frecheville Hollis represented Grimsby in 1669.—*Chamberlayne's Angliæ Notitia.*

did hear the musick with which the King is presented this night by Monsieur Grebus, the Master of his Musick: both instrumental (I think twenty-four violins) and vocall; an English song upon Peace. But, God forgive me! I never was so little pleased with a concert of music in my life. The manner of setting of words and repeating them out of order, and that with a number of voices, makes me sick, the whole design of vocall musick being lost by it. Here was a great press of people; but I did not see many pleased with it, only the instrumental musick he had brought by practice to play very just.

3d. To St. James's, where Sir W. Coventry took me into the Gallery and walked with me an hour, discoursing of Navy business, and with much kindness to and confidence in me still; which I must endeavour to preserve, and will do. And, good man! all his care how to get the Navy paid off, and that all other things therein may go well. He gone, I thence to my Lady Peterborough, who sent for me; and with her an hour talking about her husband's pension, and how she hath got an order for its being paid again; though I believe, for all that order, it will hardly be; but of that I said nothing; but her design is to get it paid again: and how to raise money upon it to clear it from the engagement which lies upon it to some citizens, who lent her husband money (without her knowledge) upon it, to vast loss. She intends to force them to take their money again, and release her husband of those hard terms. The woman is a very wise woman, and is very plain in telling me how her plate and jewels are at pawne for money, and how they are forced to live beyond their estate, and do get nothing by his being a courtier. The lady I pity, and her family.

4th. To my Lord Crewe's, and there did stay with him an hour till almost night, discoursing about the ill state of my Lord Sandwich, that he can neither be got to be called home, nor money got to maintain him there†; which will ruin his family. And the truth is, he do almost deserve it, for by all relation he hath, in little more than a year and half, spent 20,000*l.* of the King's money, and the best part of 10,000*l.* of his own; which is a most prodigious expence, more than

* In Spain.

ever Ambassador spent there, and more than these Commissioners of the Treasury will or do allow. And they demand an account before they will give him any more money; which puts all his friends to a loss what to answer. But more money we must get him, or to be called home. I offer to speak to Sir W. Coventry about it; but my Lord will not advise to it, without consent of Sir G. Carteret.

5th. Up, and to the office; and there all the morning; none but my Lord Anglesy and myself. But much surprized with the news of the death of Sir W. Batten, who died this morning, having been but two days sick. Sir W. Pen and I did dispatch a letter this morning to Sir W. Coventry, to recommend Colonell Middleton, who we think a most honest and understanding man, and fit for that place. Sir G. Carteret did also come this morning, and walked with me in the garden; and concluded not to concern or have any advice made to Sir W. Coventry in behalf of my Lord Sandwich's business: so I do rest satisfied, though I do think they are all mad, that they will judge Sir W. Coventry an enemy, when he is indeed no such man to any body, but is severe and just, as he ought to be, where he sees things ill done. To the King's house; and there going in met with Knipp, and she took us up into the tireing-rooms; and to the women's shift, where Nell was dressing herself, and was all unready, and is very pretty, prettier than I thought. And into the scene-room, and there sat down, and she gave us fruit: and here I read the questions to Knipp, while she answered me, through all her part of "Flora's Figarys," which was acted to-day. But, Lord! to see how they were both painted, would make a man mad, and did make me loath them; and what base company of men comes among them, and how lewdly they talk! And how poor the men are in clothes, and yet what a shew they make on the stage by candle-light, is very observable. But to see how Nell cursed, for having so few people in the pit, was strange; the other house carrying away all the people at the new play, and is said now-a-days to have generally most company, as being better players. By and by into the pit, and there saw the play, which is pretty good.

7th. I and my wife, and Willet,* set out in a coach I have hired with four horses; and W. Hewer and Murford rode by us on horseback: and before night come to Bishop-Stafford†. Took coach to Audly-End, and did go all over the house and garden; and mighty merry we were. The house indeed do appear very fine, but not so fine as it hath heretofore to me; particularly the ceilings are not so good as I always took them to be, being nothing so well wrought as my Lord Chancellor's are; and though the figure of the house without be very extraordinary good, yet the stayre-case is exceeding poor; and a great many pictures, and not one good one in the house but one of Harry the Eighth, done by Holbēn; and not one good suit of hangings in all the house, but all most ancient things, such as I would not give the hanging-up of in my house; and the other furniture, beds and other things, accordingly. Only the gallery is good, and above all things the cellars, where we went down and drank of much good liquor. And indeed the cellars are fine: and here my wife and I did sing to my great content. And then to the garden, and there eat many grapes, and took some with us: and so away thence exceeding well satisfied, though not to that degree that by my old esteem of the house I ought and did expect to have done, the situation of it not pleasing me. Thence away to Cambridge, and did take up at the Rose.

9th. Up, and got ready, and eat our breakfast; and then took coach: and the poor, as they did yesterday, did stand at the coach to have something given them, as they do to all great persons; and I did give them something: and the town musick did also come and play; but, Lord! what sad music they made! So through the town, and observed at our College of Magdalene the posts new painted, and understand that the Vice Chancellor is there this year. And so away for Huntingdon; and come to Brampton at about noon, and there find my father and sister and brother all well: and up and down to see the garden with my father, and the house, and do altogether find it very pretty; and I bless God that I am like to have such a pretty place to retire to. After dinner I walked up to Hinchinbroke, where my

* Mrs. Pepys's maid.

† Stortford.

Lady expected me; and there spent all the afternoon with her: the same most excellent, good, discreet lady that ever she was; and, among other things, is mightily pleased with the lady that is like to be her son Hinchinbroke's wife. I am pleased with my Lady Paulina * and Anne, who are both grown very proper ladies, and handsome enough. But I do find by my Lady that they are reduced to great straits for money, having been forced to sell her plate, 8 or 900*l.* worth; and she is now going to sell a suit of her best hangings, of which I could almost wish to buy a piece or two, if the pieces will be broke. But the house is most excellently furnished, and brave rooms and good pictures, so that it do please me infinitely beyond Audley End.

10th. Up, to walk up and down in the garden with my father, to talk of all our concernments: about a husband for my sister, whereof there is at present no appearance; but we must endeavour to find her one now, for she grows old and ugly. My father and I with a dark lantern, it being now night, into the garden with my wife, and there went about our great work to dig up my gold. But, Lord! what a tosse I was for some time in, that they could not justly tell where it was: but by and by poking with a spit we found it, and then begun with a spudd to lift up the ground. But, good God! to see how sillily they did it, not half a foot under ground, and in the sight of the world from a hundred places, if any body by accident were near hand, and within sight of a neighbour's window: only my father says that he saw them all gone to church before he began the work, when he laid the money. But I was out of my wits almost, and the more from that, upon my lifting up the earth with the spudd, I did discern that I had scattered the pieces of gold round about the ground among the grass and loose earth; and taking up the iron head-pieces wherein they were put, I perceived the earth was got among the gold, and wet so that the bags were all rotten, and all the notes, that I could not tell what in the world to say to it, not knowing how to judge what was wanting, or what had been lost by Gibson in his coming down: which, all put together, did make me mad; and at last I was

* A mistake for Lady Catherine, Lady Paulina being dead.

forced to take up the head-pieces, dirt and all, and as many of the scattered pieces as I could with the dirt discern by candle-light, and carry them up into my brother's chamber, and there lock them up till I had eat a little supper : and then, all people going to bed, W. Hewer and I did all alone with several pails of water and besoms at last wash the dirt off of the pieces, and parted the pieces and the dirt, and then began to tell them by a note which I had of the value of the whole (in my pocket). And do find that there was short above a hundred pieces : which did make me mad ; and considering that the neighbour's house was so near that we could not possibly speak one to another in the garden at that place where the gold lay (especially my father being deaf) but they must know what we had been doing, I feared that they might in the night come and gather some pieces and prevent us the next morning ; so W. Hewer and I out again about midnight (for it was now grown so late) and there by candle-light did make shift to gather forty-five pieces more. And so in and to cleanse them : and by this time it was past two in the morning ; and so to bed, and there lay in some disquiet all night telling of the clock till it was day-light.

11th. And then W. Hewer and I, with pails and a sieve, did lock ourselves into the garden, and there gather all the earth about the place into pails, and then sift those pails in one of the summer-houses (just as they do for dyamonds in other parts of the world) ; and there to our great content did by nine o'clock make the last night's forty-five up seventy-nine : so that we are come to about twenty or thirty of what I think the true number should be. So do leave my father to make a second examination of the dirt ; and my mind at rest in it, being but an accident : and so give me some kind of content to remember how painful it is sometimes to keep money, as well as to get it, and how doubtful I was to keep it all night, and how to secure it to London. About ten o'clock took coach, my wife and I, and Willet, and W. Hewer, and Murford and Bowles (whom my Lady lent me to go along with me my journey, not telling her the reason, but it was only to secure my gold), and my brother John on horse-back ; and with these four I thought myself pretty safe. My gold I put

into a basket and set under one of the seats; and so my work every quarter of an hour was to look to see whether all was well; and I did ride in great fear all the day.

12th. By five o'clock got home, where I find all well; and did bring my gold to my heart's content very safe, having not this day carried it in a basket, but in our hands: the girl took care of one, and my wife another bag, and I the rest, I being afraid of the bottom of the coach, lest it should break. At home we find that Sir W. Batten's body was to-day carried from hence, with a hundred or two of coaches, to Walthamstow, and there buried. The Parliament met on Thursday last, and adjourned to Monday next. The King did make them a very kind speech, promising them to leave all to them to do, and call to account what and whom they pleased; and declared by my Lord Keeper how many (thirty-six) actes he had done since he saw them: among others, disbanding the army, and putting all Papists out of employment, and displacing persons that had managed their business ill. The Parliament is mightily pleased with the King's speech, and voted giving him thanks for what he said and hath done; and among other things, would by name thank him for displacing my Lord Chancellor, for which a great many did speak in the House, but it was opposed by some, and particularly Harry Coventry, who got that it should be put to a Committee to consider what particulars to mention in their thanks to the King, saying that it was too soon to give thanks for the displacing of a man, before they knew or had examined what was the cause of his displacing. And so it rested: but this do shew that they are and will be very high. And Mr. Pierce do tell me that he fears and do hear that it hath been said among them, that they will move for the calling my Lord Sandwich home, to bring him to account; which do trouble me mightily, but I trust it will not be so. Anon comes home Sir W. Pen from the buriall; and he says that Lady Batten and her children-in-law are all broke in pieces, and that there is but 800*l.* found in the world of money; and is in great doubt what we shall do towards the doing ourselves right with them, about the prize-money.

13th. To St. James's; and there to the Duke of York's chamber: and there he was dressing; and many Lords and Parliament-men, come to kiss his hands, they being newly come to town. And there the Duke of York did of himself call me to him and tell me that he had spoke to the King, and that the King had granted me the ship I asked for; and did moreover say that he was mightily pleased with my service, and that he would be willing to do any thing that was in his power for me: which he said with mighty kindness; which I did return him thanks for, and departed with mighty joy, more than I did expect. And so walked over the Park to White Hall, and then met Sir H. Cholmly, who walked with me and told me most of the news I heard last night of the Parliament; and thinks they will do all things very well, only they will be revenged of my Lord Chancellor; and says, however, that he thinks there will be but two things proved on him; and that one is, that he may have said to the King and to others words to breed in the King an ill opinion of the Parliament—that they were factious, and that it was better to dissolve them: and this he thinks they will be able to prove; but what this will amount to, he knows not. And next, that he hath taken money for several bargains that have been made with the Crown; and did instance one that is already complained of: but there are so many more involved in it, that should they unravel things of this sort, every body almost will be more or less concerned. But these are the two great points which he thinks they will insist on, and prove against him.

14th. To Mr. Wren's; and he told me that my business was done about my warrant on the Maybolt Galliot; which I did see, and thought it was not so full in the reciting of my services as the other was in that of Sir W. Pen's; yet I was well pleased with it, and do intend to fetch it away anon. To visit Sir G. Carteret; and from him do understand that the King himself (but this he told me as a great secret) is satisfied that these thanks which he expects from the House, for the laying aside of my Lord Chancellor, are a thing irregular; but since it is come into the House, he do think it necessary to carry it on, and will have it, and hath made his mind known to be so to

some of the House. But Sir G. Carteret do say he knows nothing of what my Lord Brouncker told us to-day, that the King was angry with the Duke of York yesterday, and advised him not to hinder what he had a mind to have done touching this business; which is news very bad, if true. He tells me also that the King will have the thanks of the House go on : and commends my Lord Keeper's speech for all but what he was forced to say about the reason of the King's sending away the House so soon the last time, when they were met.

16th. At home most of the morning with Sir H. Cholmly, about some accounts of his : and for news he tells me that the Commons and Lords have concurred, and delivered the King their thanks, among other things, for his removal of the Chancellor ; who took their thanks very well, and, among other things, promised them (in these words) never in any degree to give the Chancellor any employment again. And he tells me that it is very true, he hath it from one that was by, that the King did give the Duke of York a sound reprimande ; told him that he had lived with him with more kindness than ever any brother King lived with a brother, and that he lived as much like a monarch as himself, but advised him not to cross him in his designs about the Chancellor ; in which the Duke of York do very wisely acquiesce, and will be quiet as the King bade him, but presently commands all his friends to be silent in the business of the Chancellor, and they were so : but that the Chancellor hath done all that is possible to provoke the King, and to bring himself to lose his head, by enraging of people. To the Duke of York's house ; and I was vexed to see Young (who is but a bad actor at best) act Macbeth, in the room of Betterton, who, poor man ! is sick.

17th. The Parliament run on mighty furiously, having yesterday been almost all the morning complaining against some high proceedings of my Lord Chief Justice Keeling, that the gentlemen of the country did complain against him in the House, and run very high. It is the man that did fall out with my cosen Roger Pepys, once at the Assizes there, and would have laid him by the heels ; but, it seems, a very able lawyer. This afternoon my Lord Anglesy tells us that the House of Commons have this morning run into the enquiry in many

things ; as, the sale of Dunkirke, the dividing of the fleet the last year, the business of the prizes with my Lord Sandwich, and many other things : so that now they begin to fall close upon it, and God knows what will be the end of it, but a Committee they have chosen to enquire into the miscarriages of the war.

18th. To White Hall, and there attended the Duke of York; but first we find him to spend above an hour in private in his closet with Sir W. Coventry; which I was glad to see, that there is so much confidence between them. By and by we were called in. The Duke of York considering that the King had a mind for Spragg to command the Rupert, which would not be well, by turning out Hubbert, who is a good man, said he did not know whether he did so well conforme as at this time to please the people and Parliament. Sir W. Coventry answered, and the Duke of York merrily agreed to it, that it was very hard to know what it was that the Parliament would call conformity at this time.

19th. Full of my desire of seeing my Lord Orrery's new play this afternoon at the King's house, "The Black Prince," the first time it is acted; where, though we came by two o'clock, yet there was no room in the pit, but were forced to go into one of the upper boxes, at 4s. a-piece, which is the first time I ever sat in a box in my life. And in the same box came by and by, behind me, my Lord Barkeley and his lady; but I did not turn my face to them to be known, so that I was excused from giving them my seat. And this pleasure I had, that from this place the scenes do appear very fine indeed, and much better than in the pit. The house infinite full, and the King and Duke of York there. The whole house was mightily pleased all along till the reading of a letter, which was so long and so unnecessary that they frequently began to laugh, and to hiss twenty times, that had it not been for the King's being there, they had certainly hissed it off the stage.

20th. Lord's-day. Up, and put on my new tunique of velvett; which is very plain, but good. This morning is brought to me an order for the presenting the Committee of Parliament to-morrow with a list of the commanders and ships' names of all the fleets set out

since the war, and particularly of those ships which were divided from the fleet with Prince Rupert; which gives me occasion to see that they are busy after that business, and I am glad of it. This afternoon comes to me Captain O'Bryan, about a ship that the King hath given him; and he and I to talk of the Parliament. And he tells me that the business of the Duke of York's slackening sail in the first fight, at the beginning of the war, is brought into question, and Sir W. Pen and Captain Cox are to appear to-morrow about it; and it is thought will at last be laid upon Mr. Brouncker's giving orders from the Duke of York (which the Duke of York do not own) to Captain Cox to do it; but it seems they do resent this very highly, and are mad in going through all business, where they can lay any fault. I am glad to hear that in the world I am as kindly spoke of as any body; for, for aught I see, there is bloody work like to be, Sir W. Coventry having been forced to produce a letter in Parliament, wherein the Duke of Albemarle did from Sheerness write in what good posture all things were at Chatham, and that they were so well placed that he feared no attempt of the enemy: so that, among other things, I do see every body is upon his own defence, and spares not to blame another to defend himself; and the same course I shall take. But God knows where it will end! Pelling tells me that my Lady Duchesse Albemarle was at Mrs. Turner's this afternoon (she being ill), and did there publickly talk of business, and of our office; and that she believed that I was safe, and had done well; and so, I thank God, I hear every body speaks of me; and indeed I think, without vanity, I may expect to be profited rather than injured by this enquiry which the Parliament makes into business.

21st. To Westminster, and up to the lobby, where many commanders of the fleet were, and Captain Cox, and Mr. Pierce the Surgeon; the last of whom hath been in the House, and declared that he heard Brouncker advise and give arguments to Cox for the safety of the Duke of York's person to shorten sail, that they might not be in the middle of the enemy in the morning alone; and Cox denying to observe his advice, having received the Duke of York's commands over night to keep within gun-shot (as they then were) of the enemy, Brouncker did go to Harman, and used the same arguments, and told him that he was

sure it would be well pleasing to the King that care should be taken of not endangering the Duke of York; and, after much persuasion, Harman was heard to say, "Why, if it must be, then lower the topsail." And so did shorten sail, to the loss, as the Parliament will have it, of the greatest victory that ever was, and which would have saved all the expence of blood and money, and honour, that followed; and this they do resent, so as to put it to the question, whether Brouncker should not be carried to the Tower: who do confess that, out of kindness to the Duke of York's safety, he did advise that they should do so, but did not use the Duke of York's name therein; and so it was only his error in advising it, but the greatest theirs in taking it contrary to order. At last it ended that it should be suspended till Harman comes home; and then the Parliament-men do all tell me that it will fall heavy, and, they think, be fatal to Brouncker or him. Sir W. Pen tells me he was gone to bed, having been all day labouring, and then not able to stand, of the gout, and did give order for the keeping the sails standing as they then were all night. But, which I wonder at, he tells me that he did not know the next day that they had shortened sail, nor ever did enquire into it till about ten days ago, that this began to be mentioned; and indeed it is charged privately as a fault on the Duke of York, that he did not presently examine the reason of the breach of his orders, and punish it. But Cox tells me that he did finally refuse it; and what prevailed with Harman he knows not, and do think that we might have done considerable service on the enemy the next day, if this had not been done. Thus this business ended to-day, having kept them till almost two o'clock: and then I by coach with Sir W. Pen as far as St. Clement's, talking of this matter, and there set down; and I walked to Sir G. Carteret's, and there dined with him and several Parliament-men, who, I perceive, do all look upon it as a thing certain that the Parliament will enquire into every thing, and will be very severe where they can find any fault. Sir W. Coventry, I hear, did this day make a speech, in apology for his reading the letter of the Duke of Albemarle, concerning the good condition which Chatham was in before the enemy came thither; declaring his simple intention therein without prejudice to my Lord.

And I am told that he was also with the Duke of Albemarle yesterday to excuse it; but this day I do hear, by some of Sir W. Coventry's friends, that they think he hath done himself much injury by making this man and his interest so much his enemy. After dinner I away to Westminster, and up to the Parliament-house, and there did wait with great patience till seven at night to be called in to the Committee, who sat all this afternoon examining the business of Chatham; and at last was called in, and told that the least they expected from us Mr. Wren had promised them, and only bade me to bring all my fellow-officers thither to-morrow afternoon. Sir Robert Brookes in the chair: methinks a sorry fellow to be there, because a young man; and yet he seems to speak very well. I gone thence, my cosen Pepys comes out to me, and walks in the Hall with me, and bids me prepare to answer to every thing; for they do seem to lay the business of Chatham upon the Commissioners of the Navy, and they are resolved to lay the fault heavy somewhere, and to punish it: and prays me to prepare to save myself, and gives me hints what to prepare against; which I am obliged to him for. This day I did get a list of the fourteen particular miscarriages which are already before the Committee to be examined; wherein, besides two or three that will concern this office much, there are those of the prizes, and that of Bergen, and not following the Dutch ships, against my Lord Sandwich; that I fear will ruin him, unless he hath very good luck, or they may be in better temper before he can come to be charged: but my heart is full of fear for him and his family. I hear that they do prosecute the business against my Lord Chief Justice Keeling with great severity.

22d. Slept but ill all the last part of the night, for fear of this day's success in Parliament: therefore up, and all of us all the morning close, till almost two o'clock, collecting all we had to say and had done from the beginning, touching the safety of the River Medway and Chatham. And having done this, and put it into order, we away, I not having time to eat my dinner; and so all in my Lord Brouncker's coach, (that is to say, Brouncker, W. Pen, T. Hater, and myself,) talking of the other great matter with which they charge us, that is, of discharging men by ticket, in order to our defence in case that should

be asked. We came to the Parliament-door, and there, after a little waiting till the Committee was sat, we were, the House being very full, called in: (Sir W. Pen went in and sat as a Member; and my Lord Brouncker would not at first go in, expecting to have a chair set for him, and his brother had bid him not go in till he was called for; but, after a few words, I had occasion to mention him, and so he was called in, but without any more chair or respect paid him than myself:) and so Brouncker, and T. Hater, and I were there to answer: and I had a chair brought me to lean my books upon; and so did give them such an account, in a series of the whole business that had passed the office touching the matter, and so answered all questions given me about it, that I did not perceive but they were fully satisfied with me and the business as to our office: and then Commissioner Pett (who was by at all my discourse, and this held till within an hour after candle-light, for I had candles brought in to read my papers by) was to answer for himself, we having lodged all matters with him for execution. But, Lord! what a tumultuous thing this Committee is, for all the reputation they have of a great council, is a strange consideration; there being as impertinent questions, and as disorderly proposed, as any man could make. But Commissioner Pett of all men living did make the weakest defence for himself: nothing to the purpose, nor to satisfaction, nor certain; but sometimes one thing and sometimes another, sometimes for himself and sometimes against him; and his greatest failure was (that I observed) from his considering whether the question propounded was his part to answer or no, and the thing to be done was his work to do: the want of which distinction will overthrow him; for he concerns himself in giving an account of the disposal of the boats, which he had no reason at all to do, or take any blame upon him for them. He charged the not carrying up of "The Charles" upon the Tuesday to the Duke of Albemarle; but I see the House is mighty favourable to the Duke of Albemarle, and would give little weight to it. And something of want of armes he spoke, which Sir J. Duncomb answered with great imperiousness and earnestness; but, for all that, I do see the House is resolved to be better satisfied in the business of the unreadiness of Sheerness, and want of armes and ammunition there and every where; and all their officers were

here to-day attending, but only one called in, about armes for boats to answer Commissioner Pett. None of my brethren said any thing but me there: but only two or three silly words my Lord Brouncker gave in answer to one question about the number of men there were in the King's Yard at the time. At last the House dismissed us, and shortly after did adjourn the debate till Friday next: and my cosen Pepys did come out and joy me in my acquitting myself so well, and so did several others, and my fellow-officers all very briske to see themselves so well acquitted; which makes me a little proud, but yet not secure but we may yet meet with a back-blow which we see not.

23d. To White Hall, there to attend the Duke of York; but came a little too late, and so missed it: only spoke with him, and heard him correct my Lord Barkeley, who fell foul on Sir Edward Spragg, (who, it seems, said yesterday to the House, that if the officers of the Ordnance had done as much work at Sheernesse in ten weeks as "The Prince" did in ten days, he could have defended the place against the Dutch): but the Duke of York told him that every body must have liberty at this time to make their own defence, though it be to the charging of the fault upon any other, so it be true; so I perceive the whole world is at work in blaming one another. Thence Sir W. Pen and I back into London; and there saw the King, with his kettle-drums and trumpets, going to the Exchange to lay the first stone of the first pillar of the new building of the Exchange; which, the gates being shut, I could not get in to see: so with Sir W. Pen to Captain Cocke's, and then again toward Westminster; but in my way stopped at the Exchange and got in, the King being newly gone; and there find the bottom of the first pillar laid. And here was a shed set up, and hung with tapestry, and a canopy of state, and some good victuals and wine, for the King, who, it seems, did it;* and so a great many people, as Tom Killigrew and others of the Court, there. I do find Mr. Gauden in his gowne as Sheriffe, and understand that the King hath this morning knighted him upon the place (which I am mightily pleased with); and I think the other Sheriffe, who is Davis, the little fellow, my school-fellow the bookseller, who was one of Audly's executors, and now

* *i. e.* Laid the stone.

become Sheriffe ; which is a strange turn, methinks. To Westminster Hall, where I came just as the House rose ; and there in the Hall met with Sir W. Coventry, who is in pain to defend himself in the business of tickets, it being said that the paying of the ships at Chatham by ticket was by his direction. He says the House was well satisfied with my Report yesterday ; and so several others told me in the Hall that my Report was very good and satisfactory, and that I have got advantage by it in the House : I pray God it may prove so ! To the King's playhouse, and saw "The Black Prince ;" which is now mightily bettered by that long letter being printed, and so delivered to every body at their going in, and some short reference made to it in the play. But here to my great satisfaction I did see my Lord Hinchinbroke and his mistress (with her father and mother) ; and I am mightily pleased with the young lady, being handsome enough, and indeed to my great liking, as I would have her. This day it was moved in the House that a day might be appointed to bring in an impeachment against the Chancellor, but it was decried as being irregular ; but that if there was ground for complaint, it might be brought to the Committee for miscarriages, and, if they thought good, to present it to the House ; and so it was carried. They did also vote this day thanks to be given to the Prince and Duke of Albemarle, for their care and conduct in the last year's war ; which is a strange act : but, I know not how, the blockhead Albemarle hath strange luck to be loved, though he be (and every man must know it) the heaviest man in the world, but stout and honest to his country. This evening late, Mr. Moore come to me to prepare matters for my Lord Sandwich's defence ; wherein I can little assist, but will do all I can ; and am in great fear of nothing but the damned business of the prizes, but I fear my Lord will receive a cursed deal of trouble by it.

25th. Up, and to make our answer ready for the Parliament this afternoon, to shew how Commissioner Pett was singly concerned in the execution of all orders at Chatham, and that we did properly lodge all orders with him. Thence with Sir W. Pen to the Parliament Committee, and there I had no more matters asked me. The Commissioners of the Ordnance, being examined with all severity and

hardly used, did go away with mighty blame ; and I am told by every body that it is likely to stick mighty hard upon them : at which every body is glad, because of Duncomb's pride, and their expecting to have the thanks of the House ; whereas they have deserved, as the Parliament apprehends, as bad as bad can be. Here is great talk of an impeachment brought in against my Lord Mordaunt, and that another will be brought in against my Lord Chancellor in a few days. Here I understand for certain that they have ordered that my Lord Arlington's letters, and Secretary Morrice's letters of intelligence, be consulted about the business of the Dutch fleet's coming abroad ; and I do hear how Birch is the man that do examine and trouble every body with his questions.

26th. Mrs. Pierce tells me that the two Marshalls at the King's house are Stephen Marshall's the great Presbyterian's daughters : and that Nelly and Beck Marshall falling out the other day, the latter called the other my Lord Buckhurst's mistress. Nell answered her, " I was but one man's mistress, though I was brought up in a brothel to fill strong water to the gentlemen ; and you are a mistress to three or four, though a Presbyterian's praying daughter !"

27th. This evening come Sir J. Minnes to me, to let me know that a Parliament-man hath been with him to tell him that the Parliament intend to examine him particularly about Sir W. Coventry's selling of places, and about my Lord Brouncker's discharging the ships at Chatham by ticket : for the former of which I am more particularly sorry, that that business of Sir W. Coventry should come up again ; though this old man tells me, and I believe, that he can say nothing to it.

28th. Sir W. Coventry says he is so well armed to justify himself in every thing, unless in the old business of selling places, when he says every body did ; and he will now not be forward to tell his own story, as he hath been ; but tells me he is grown wiser, and will put them to prove any thing, and he will defend himself : that he is weary of public employment ; and neither ever designed, nor will ever, if his commission were brought to him wrapt in gold, accept of any single place in the State, as particularly Secretary of State ; which, he says, the world discourses Morrice is willing to resign.

29th. To Westminster Hall, the House sitting all this day about the method of bringing in the charge against my Lord Chancellor; and at last resolved for a Committee to draw up the heads.

30th. To the Parliament-house; where, after the Committee was sat, I was called in: and the first thing was upon the complaint of a dirty slut that was there, about a ticket which she had lost, and had applied herself to me for another. I did give them a short and satisfactory answer to that; and so they sent her away, and were ashamed of their foolery, in giving occasion to 500 seamen and seamen's wives to come before them, as there were this afternoon.

31st. I to Westminster; and there at the lobby do hear by Commissioner Pett, to my great amazement, that he is in worse condition than before, by the coming in of the Duke of Albemarle's and Prince Rupert's Narratives this day; wherein the former do most severely lay matters upon him, so as the House this day have, I think, ordered him to the Tower again, or something like it: so that the poor man is likely to be overthrown, I doubt, right or wrong, so infinite fond they are of any thing the Duke of Albemarle says or writes to them! I did then go down, and there met with Colonell Reames and cosen Roger Pepys; and there they do tell me how the Duke of Albemarle and the Prince have laid blame on a great many, and particularly on our office in general; and particularly for want of provision, wherein I shall come to be questioned again in that business myself; which do trouble me. But my cosen Pepys and I had much discourse alone: and he do bewail the constitution of this House, and says there is a direct caball and faction as much as is possible between those for and against the Chancellor, and so in other factions, that there is nothing almost done honestly and with integrity; only some few, he says, there are, that do keep out of all plots and combinations, and when their time comes will speak and see right done if possible; and that he himself is looked upon to be a man that will be of no faction, and so they do shun to make him: and I am glad of it. He tells me that he thanks God that he never knew what it was to be tempted to be a knave in his life, till he did come into the House of Commons, where there is nothing done but by passion and faction and private interest. I espied

Sir D. Gauden's coach, and so went out of mine into his; and there had opportunity to talk of the business of victuals, which the Duke of Albemarle and Prince did complain that they were in want of the last year: but we do conclude we shall be able to shew quite the contrary of that; only it troubles me that we must come to contend with these great persons, which will overrun us.

November 1st. I this morning before chapel visited Sir G. Carteret, who is vexed to see how things are likely to go, but cannot help it, and yet seems to think himself mighty safe. I also visited my Lord Hinchingbroke, at his chamber at White Hall; where I found Mr. Turner, Moore, and Creed talking of my Lord Sandwich, whose case I doubt is but bad, and, I fear, will not escape being worse. To the King's playhouse, and there saw a silly play and an old one, "The Taming of a Shrew."

2d. To the King's playhouse, and there saw "Henry the Fourth;" and, contrary to expectation, was pleased in nothing more than in Cartwright's* speaking of Falstaffe's speech about "What is Honour?" The house full of Parliament-men, it being holyday with them: and it was observable how a gentleman of good habit sitting just before us, eating of some fruit in the midst of the play, did drop down as dead, being choked; but with much ado Orange Mall did thrust her finger down his throat, and brought him to life again.

4th. To Westminster; and there landing at the New Exchange stairs, I to Sir W. Coventry: and there he read over to me the Prince's and Duke of Albemarle's Narratives; wherein they are very severe against him and our office. But Sir W. Coventry do condemn them; only that their persons and qualities are great, and so I do perceive he is afraid of them, though he will not confess it. But he do say that, if he can get out of these briars, he will never trouble himself with Princes nor Dukes again. He finds several things in their Narratives which are both inconsistent and foolish, as well as untrue. Sir H. Cholmly owns Sir W. Coventry, in his opinion, to be one of the

* William Cartwright, one of Killigrew's Company at the original establishment of Drury-lane. By his will, dated 1686, he left his books, pictures, and furniture to Dulwich College, where his portrait still remains.

worthiest men in the nation, as I do really think he is. He tells me he do think really that they will cut off my Lord Chancellor's head, the Chancellor at this day having as much pride as is possible to those few that venture their fortunes by coming to see him; and that the Duke of York is troubled much, knowing that those that fling down the Chancellor cannot stop there, but will do something to him, to prevent his having it in his power hereafter to avenge himself and father-in-law upon them. And this Sir H. Cholmly fears may be by divorcing the Queene and getting another, or declaring the Duke of Monmouth legitimate: which God forbid! He tells me he do verily believe that there will come in an impeachment of High Treason against my Lord of Ormond; among other things, for ordering the quartering of soldiers in Ireland on free quarters; which, it seems, is High Treason in that country, and was one of the things that lost the Lord Strafford his head, and the law is not yet repealed; which, he says, was a mighty oversight of him not to have repealed (which he might with ease have done), or have justified himself by an Act.

7th. At noon resolved with Sir W. Pen to go to see "The Tempest," an old play of Shakespeare's, acted, I hear, the first day. And so my wife and girl and W. Hewer by themselves, and Sir W. Pen and I afterwards by ourselves: and forced to sit in the side balcone over against the musique-room at the Duke's house, close by my Lady Dorset* and a great many great ones. The house mighty full; the King and Court there: and the most innocent play that ever I saw; and a curious piece of musique in an echo of half sentences, the echo repeating the former half, while the man goes on to the latter; which is mighty pretty. The play has no great wit, but yet good above ordinary plays.

9th. The House very busy, and like to be so all day, about my Lord Chancellor's impeachment, whether Treason or not.

10th. To White Hall, to speak with Sir W. Coventry; and there, beyond all we looked for, do hear that the Duke of York hath got and is full of the small-pox. And so we to his lodgings; and there find most of the family going to St. James's, and the gallery-doors locked up,

* Frances, daughter of Lionel Earl of Middlesex, wife of Richard fifth Earl of Dorset.

that nobody might pass to nor fro: and so a sad house, I am sorry to see. I am sad to consider the effects of his death if he should miscarry; but Dr. Frazier tells me that he is in as good condition as a man can be in his case. They appeared last night: it seems he was let blood on Friday.

11th. Sir G. Carteret and I towards the Temple in coach together; and there he did tell me how the King do all he can in the world to overthrow my Lord Chancellor, and that notice is taken of every man about the King that is not seen to promote the ruine of the Chancellor; and that this being another great day in his business, he dares not but be there. He tells me that as soon as Secretary Morrice brought the Great Seale from my Lord Chancellor, Bab. May fell upon his knees, and catched the King about the legs, and joyed him, and said that this was the first time that ever he could call him King of England, being freed from this great man: which was a most ridiculous saying. And he told me that when first my Lord Gerard, a great while ago, came to the King, and told him that the Chancellor did say openly that the King was a lazy person and not fit to govern, (which is now made one of the things in people's mouths against the Chancellor,) "Why," says the King, "that is no news, for he hath told me so twenty times, and but the other day he told me so;" and made matter of mirth at it: but yet this light discourse is likely to prove bad to him.

12th. Up, and to the office, where sat all the morning; and there hear that the Duke of York do yet do very well with his small-pox: pray God he may continue to do so! This morning also, to my astonishment, I hear that yesterday my Lord Chancellor, to another of his Articles, that of betraying the King's councils to his enemies, is voted to have matter against him for an impeachment of High Treason, and that this day the impeachment is to be carried up to the House of Lords: which is very high, and I am troubled at it; for God knows what will follow, since they that do this must do more to secure themselves against any that will revenge this, if it ever come in their power!

13th. To Westminster; where I find the House sitting, and in a mighty heat about Commissioner Pett, that they would have him im-

peached, though the Committee have yet brought in but part of their Report: and this heat of the House is much heightened by Sir Thomas Clifford telling them, that he was the man that did, out of his own purse, employ people at the out-ports to prevent the King of Scots to escape after the battle of Worcester. The House was in a great heat all this day about it; and at last it was carried, however, that it should be referred back to the Committee to make further enquiry. By and by I met with Mr. Wren, who tells me that the Duke of York is in as good condition as is possible for a man in his condition of the small-pox. He, I perceive, is mightily concerned in the business of my Lord Chancellor, the impeachment against whom is gone up to the House of Lords; and great differences there are in the Lords' House about it, and the Lords are very high one against another. This day Mr. Chichly told me, with a seeming trouble, that the House have stopped his son Jack (Sir John) his going to France, that he may be a witness against my Lord Sandwich: which do trouble me, though he can, I think, say little.

15th. A conference between the two Houses to-day; so I stayed: and it was only to tell the Commons that the Lords cannot agree to the confining or sequestering of the Earle of Clarendon from the Parliament, forasmuch as they do not specify any particular crime which they lay upon him and call Treason. This the House did receive, and so parted: at which, I hear, the Commons are like to grow very high, and will insist upon their privileges, and the Lords will own theirs, though the Duke of Buckingham, Bristoll, and others have been very high in the House of Lords to have had him committed. This is likely to breed ill blood. The King hath (as Mr. Moore says Sir Thomas Crewe told him) been heard to say that the quarrel is not between my Lord Chancellor and him, but his brother and him; which will make sad work among us if that be once promoted, as to be sure it will, Buckingham and Bristoll being now the only counsel the King follows, so as Arlington and Coventry are come to signify little. He tells me they are likely to fall upon my Lord Sandwich; but for my part sometimes I am apt to think they cannot do him much harm, he telling me that there is no great fear of the business of

Resumption. This day Poundy the waterman was with me, to let me know that he was summonsed to bear witness against me to Prince Rupert's people (who have a commission to look after the business of prize-goods), about the business of the prize-goods I was concerned in: but I did desire him to speak all he knew, and not to spare me, nor did promise nor give him any thing, but sent him away with good words.

16th. Met Mr. Gregory, my old acquaintance, an understanding gentleman; and he and I walked an hour together, talking of the bad prospect of the times. And the sum of what I learn from him is this: That the King is the most concerned in the world against the Chancellor and all people that do not appear against him, and therefore is angry with the Bishops, having said that he had one Bishop on his side (Crofts*), and but one: that Buckingham and Bristoll are now his only Cabinet Counsel; and that, before the Duke of York fell sick, Buckingham was admitted to the King of his Cabinet, and there stayed with him several hours, and the Duke of York shut out. That it is plain that there is dislike between the King and Duke of York, and that it is to be feared that the House will go so far against the Chancellor, that they must do something to undo the Duke of York, or will not think themselves safe. That this Lord Vaughan† that is so great against the Chancellor, is one of the lewdest fellows of the age, worse than Sir Charles Sedley; and that he was heard to swear he would do my Lord Clarendon's business. That he do find that my Lord Clarendon hath more friends in both Houses than he believes he would have, by reason that they do see what are the hands that pull him down; which they do not like. That Harry Coventry was scolded at by the King severely the other day; and that his answer was, that if he must not speak what he thought in this business in Parliament, he must not come thither. And he says that by this very business Harry Coventry hath got more fame and common esteem than any

* Herbert Croft, Dean of Hereford, elected Bishop of that see 1661.

† John Lord Vaughan, eldest surviving son to Richard Earl of Carbery, whom he succeeded. He was well versed in literature, and President of the Royal Society from 1686 to 1689, and had been Governor of Jamaica. He was amongst Dryden's earliest patrons. Ob. 1712-13.

gentleman in England hath at this day, and is an excellent and able person. That the King, who not long ago did say of Bristoll, that he was a man able in three years to get himself a fortune in any kingdom in the world, and lose all again in three months, do now hug him and commend his parts every where, above all the world. How fickle is this man, and how unhappy we like to be! That he fears some furious courses will be taken against the Duke of York; and that he hath heard that it was designed, if they cannot carry matters against the Chancellor, to impeach the Duke of York himself; which God forbid! That Sir Edward Nicholas, whom he served while Secretary, is one of the best men in the world, but hated by the Queene-Mother, (for a service he did the old King against her mind and her favourites;) and that she and my Lady Castlemaine did make the King to lay him aside: but this man says that he is one of the most heavenly and charitable men in the whole world. That the House of Commons resolve to stand by their proceedings, and have chosen a Committee to draw up the reasons thereof to carry to the Lords; which is likely to breed great heat between them. That the Parliament, after all this, is likely to give the King no money; and therefore, that it is to be wondered what makes the King give way to so great extravagancies, which do all tend to the making him less than he is, and so will every day more and more: and by this means every creature is divided against the other, that there never was so great an uncertainty in England, of what would be the event of things, as at this day; nobody being at ease, or safe. To White Hall; and there got into the theatre-room, and there heard both the vocall and instrumentall musick. Here was the King and Queene, and some of the ladies; among whom none more jolly than my Lady Buckingham, her Lord being once more a great man.

19th. I was told this day that Lory Hide*, second son of my Lord Chancellor, did some time since in the House say, that if he thought his father was guilty but of one of the things then said against him, he would be the first that should call for judgement against him: which Mr. Waller the poet did say was spoke like the old Roman, like Brutus, for its greatness and worthiness.

* Laurence Hyde, Master of the Robes, afterwards created Earl of Rochester.

20th. This afternoon Mr. Mills told me how fully satisfactory my first Report was to the House in the business of Chatham : which I am glad to hear ; and the more, for that I know that he is a great creature of Sir R. Brookes's.

21st. Among other things of news I do hear, that upon the reading of the House of Commons' Reasons of the manner of their proceedings in the business of my Lord Chancellor, the Reasons were so bad, that my Lord Bristoll himself did declare that he would not stand to what he had and did still advise the Lords to concur to, upon any of the Reasons of the House of Commons ; but if it was put to the question whether it should be done on their Reasons, he would be against them : and indeed it seems the Reasons, however they come to escape the House of Commons (which shews how slightly the greatest matters are done in this world, and even in Parliaments), were none of them of strength, but the principle of them untrue ; they saying, that where any man is brought before a Judge accused of Treason in general, without specifying the particular, the Judge is obliged to commit him. The question being put by the Lords to my Lord Keeper, he said that quite the contrary was true. And then in the Sixth Article (I will get a copy of them if I can) there are two or three things strangely asserted to the diminishing of the King's power, as is said at least ; things that heretofore would not have been heard of. But then the question being put among the Lords, as my Lord Bristoll advised, whether, upon the whole matter and Reasons that had been laid before them, they would commit my Lord Clarendon, it was carried five to one against it ; there being but three Bishops against him, of whom Cosens* and Dr. Reynolds† were two, and I know not the third. This made the opposite Lords, as Bristoll and Buckingham, so mad that they declared and protested against it, speaking very broad that there was mutiny and rebellion in the hearts of the Lords, and that they desired they might enter their dissents, which they did do in great fury. So that upon the Lords sending to the Commons, as I am

* John Cosins, Master of Peter House and Dean of Peterborough in the time of Charles I.; afterwards Bishop of Durham. Ob. 1671-2, aged 78.

† Edward Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich. Ob. 1676.

told, to have a conference for them to give their answer to the Commons' Reasons, the Commons did desire a free conference: but the Lords do deny it; and the reason is, that they hold not the Commons any Court, but that themselves only are a Court, and the Chief Court of Judicature, and therefore are not to dispute the laws and method of their own Court with them that are none, and so will not submit so much as to have their power disputed. And it is conceived that much of this eagerness among the Lords do arise from the fear some of them have that they may be dealt with in the same manner themselves, and therefore to stand upon it now. It seems my Lord Clarendon hath, as is said and believed, had his coach and horses several times in his coach, ready to carry him to the Tower, expecting a message to that purpose; but by this means his case is like to be laid by. With Creed to a tavern, where Dean Wilkins and others: and good discourse; among the rest, of a man that is a little frantic (that hath been a kind of Minister, Dr. Wilkins saying that he hath read for him in his church), that is poor and a debauched man, that the College have hired for 20s. to have some of the blood of a sheep let into his body; and it is to be done on Saturday next. They purpose to let in about twelve ounces; which, they compute, is what will be let in in a minute's time by a watch. On this occasion Dr. Whistler told a pretty story related by Muffett, a good author, of Dr. Cayus that built Caius College; that being very old, and living only at that time upon woman's milk, he, while he fed upon the milk of an angry fretful woman, was so himself; and then being advised to take it of a good-natured patient woman, he did become so beyond the common temper of his age.

22d. Met with Cooling, my Lord Chamberlain's Secretary, and from him learn the truth of all I heard last night; and understand further, that this stiffness of the Lords is in no manner of kindness to my Lord Chancellor, for he neither hath, nor do, nor for the future can oblige any of them, but rather the contrary; but that they do fear what the consequence may be to themselves, should they yield in his case, as many of them have reason. And more, he shewed me how this is rather to the wrong and prejudice of my Lord

Chancellor; for that it is better for him to come to be tried before the Lords, where he can have right and make interest, than, when the Parliament is up, be committed by the King, and tried by a Court on purpose made by the King of what Lords the King pleases, who have a mind to have his head. So that my Lord Cornbury himself, his son, (he tells me,) hath moved, that if they have Treason against my Lord of Clarendon, that they would specify it and send it up to the Lords, that he might come to his trial; so full of intrigues this business is! Walked a good while in the Temple church, observing the plainness of Selden's tomb, and how much better one of his executors hath, who is buried by him.

23d. Busy till late preparing things to fortify myself and fellows against the Parliament; and particularly myself against what I fear is thought, that I have suppressed the Order of the Board by which the discharging the great ships at Chatham by ticket was directed; whereas, indeed, there was no such Order.

25th. This morning Sir W. Pen tells me that the House was very hot on Saturday last upon the business of liberty of speech in the House, and damned the vote in the beginning of the Long-Parliament against it; so that he fears that there may be some bad thing which they have a mind to broach, which they dare not do without more security than they now have. God keep us, for things look mighty ill!

26th. This evening comes to me to my closet at the office Sir John Chichly, of his own accord, to tell me what he shall answer to the Committee, when, as he expects, he shall be examined about my Lord Sandwich; which is so little as will not hurt my Lord at all, I know.

27th. Mr. Pierce comes to me, and there in general tells me how the King is now fallen in and become a slave to the Duke of Buckingham, led by none but him, whom he (Mr. Pierce) swears he knows do hate the very person of the King, and would as well, as will certainly, ruin him. He do say, and I think is right, that the King do in this do the most ungrateful part of a master to a servant that ever was done, in this carriage of his to my Lord Chancellor: that

it may be the Chancellor may have faults, but none such as these they speak of : that he do now really fear that all is going to ruin, for he says he hears that Sir W. Coventry hath been just before his sickness with the Duke of York, to ask his forgiveness and peace for what he had done; for that he never could foresee that what he meant so well, in the counselling to lay by the Chancellor, should come to this.

30th. To Arundell House, to the election of officers* for the next year; where I was near being chosen of the Council, but am glad I was not, for I could not have attended, though above all things I could wish it; and do take it as a mighty respect to have been named there. Then to Cary House, a house now of entertainment, next my Lord Ashly's; where I have heretofore heard Common Prayer in the time of Dr. Mossum†. I was pleased to see the person who had his blood taken out. He speaks well, and did this day give the Society a relation thereof in Latin, saying that he finds himself much better since, and as a new man: but he is cracked a little in his head, though he speaks very reasonably, and very well. He had but 20s. for his suffering it, and is to have the same again tried upon him: the first sound man that ever had it tried on him in England, and but one that we hear of in France. My Lord Anglesy told me this day that he did believe the House of Commons would the next week yield to the Lords; but speaking with others this day, they conclude they will not, but that rather the King will accommodate it by committing my Lord Clarendon himself. I remember what Mr. Evelyn said, that he did believe we should soon see ourselves fall into a Commonwealth again.

December 1st. I to church: and in our pew there sat a great lady, whom I afterwards understood to be my Lady Carlisle‡, a very fine woman indeed in person.

2d. The Lords' answer is come down to the Commons, that they

* Of the Royal Society.

† Probably Robert Mossum, D. D. Dean of Christ Church, Dublin; and in 1666 made Bishop of Derry.

‡ Anne, daughter of Edward Lord Howard of Escrick, wife to Charles first Earl of Carlisle.

are not satisfied in the Commons' Reasons; and so the Commons are hot, and like to sit all day upon the business what to do herein, most thinking that they will remonstrate against the Lords. Thence to Lord Crewe's, and there dined with him; where, after dinner, he took me aside and bewailed the condition of the nation, now the King and his brother are at a distance about this business of the Chancellor, and the two Houses differing: and he do believe that there are so many about the King like to be concerned and troubled by the Parliament, that they will get him to dissolve or prorogue the Parliament; and the rather, for that the King is likely by this good husbandry of the Treasury to get out of debt, and the Parliament is likely to give no money. Among other things, my Lord Crewe did tell me with grief that he hears that the King of late hath not dined nor supped with the Queene, as he used of late to do. To Westminster Hall, where my cosen Roger tells me of the high vote of the Commons this afternoon, that the proceedings of the Lords in the case of my Lord Clarendon are an obstruction to justice, and of ill precedent to future times.

3d. To Sir W. Coventry's, the first time I have seen him at his new house since he came to lodge there. He tells me of the vote for none of the House to be of the Commission for the Bill of Accounts; which he thinks is so great a disappointment to Birch and others that expected to be of it, that he thinks, could it have been seen, there would not have been any Bill at all. We hope it will be the better for all that are to account; it being likely that the men, being few and not of the House, will hear reason. The main business I went about was about Gilsthrop, Sir W. Batten's clerk; who being upon his death-bed, and now dead, hath offered to make discoveries of the disorders of the Navy and of 65,000*l.* damage to the King: which made mighty noise in the Commons House; and Members appointed to go to him, which they did; but nothing to the purpose got from him, but complaints of false musters, and ships being refitted with victuals and stores at Plymouth after they were fitted from other ports. But all this to no purpose, nor more than we know and will owne. But the best is, that this logger-head should say this, that understands nothing of the Navy, nor ever would; and hath particularly blemished his master by name among us.

I told Sir W. Coventry of my letter to Sir R. Brookes, and his answer to me. He advises me, in what I write to him, to be as short as I can, and obscure, saving in things fully plain; for that all that he do is to make mischief; and that the greatest wisdom in dealing with the Parliament in the world is to say little, and let them get out what they can by force: which I shall observe. He declared to me much of his mind to be ruled by his own measures, and not to go so far as many would have him to the ruin of my Lord Chancellor, and for which they do endeavour to do what they can against Sir W. Coventry. "But," says he, "I have done my do in helping to get him out of the administration of things, for which he is not fit; but for his life or estate I will have nothing to say to it: besides that, my duty to my master the Duke of York is such, that I will perish before I will do any thing to displease or disoblige him, where the very necessity of the kingdom do not in my judgment call me." Home; and there met W. Batelier, who tells me the first great news, that my Lord Chancellor is fled this day, and left a paper behind him for the House of Lords, telling them the reason of his retiring, complaining of a design for his ruin. But the paper I must get: only the thing at present is great, and will put the King and Commons to some new counsels certainly. Sir Richard Ford told us this evening an odd story of the baseness of the late Lord Mayor, Sir W. Bolton, in cheating the poor of the City (out of the collections made for the people that were burned) of 1800*l.*; of which he can give no account, and in which he hath forsworn himself plainly, so as the Court of Aldermen have sequestered him from their Court till he do bring in an account. He says also that this day hath been made appear to them that the Keeper of Newgate hath at this day made his house the only nursery of rogues, prostitutes, pick-pockets and thieves, in the world; where they were bred and entertained, and the whole society met: and that for the sake of the Sheriffs they durst not this day committ him, for fear of making him let out the prisoners, but are fain to go by artifice to deal with him. He tells me also, speaking of the new street that is to be made from Guild Hall down to Cheapside, that the ground is already most of it bought. And tells me of one particular, of a man that hath a piece

of ground lying in the very middle of the street that must be ; which, when the street is cut out of it, there will remain ground enough, of each side, to build a house to front the street. He demanded 700*l.* for the ground, and to be excused paying any thing for the melioration of the rest of his ground that he was to keep. The Court consented to give him 700*l.*, only not to abate him the consideration: which the man denied ; but told them, and so they agreed, that he would excuse the City the 700*l.*, that he might have the benefit of the melioration without paying any thing for it. So much some will get by having the City burned ! Ground by this means, that was not worth 4*d.* a-foot before, will now, when houses are built, be worth 15*s.* a-foot. But he tells me of the common standard now reckoned on between man and man, in places where there is no alteration of circumstances, but only the houses burnt, there the ground, which with a house on it did yield 100*l.* a-year, is now reputed worth 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* ; and that this is the common market-price between one man and another, made upon a good and moderate medium.

4th. I hear that the House of Lords did send down the paper which my Lord Clarendon left behind him, directed to the Lords, to be seditious and scandalous ; and the Commons have voted that it be burned by the hands of the hangman, and that the King be desired to agree to it. I do hear also that they have desired the King to use means to stop his escape out of the nation. This day Gilstthrop is buried, who hath made all the late discourse of the great discovery of 65,000*l.* of which the King hath been wronged.

6th. With Sir J. Minnes to the Duke of York, the first time that I have seen him, or we waited on him, since his sickness : and, blessed be God, he is not at all the worse for the small-pox, but is only a little weak yet. We did much business with him, and so parted. My Lord Anglesy told me how my Lord Northampton* brought in a Bill into the House of Lords yesterday, under the name of a Bill for the Honour and Privilege of the House, and Mercy to my Lord Clarendon : which, he told me, he opposed, saying that he was a man

* James third Earl of Northampton, Lord Lieutenant of Warwickshire, and Constable of the Tower. Ob. 1681.

accused of treason by the House of Commons, and mercy was not proper for him, having not been tried yet, and so no mercy needful for him. However, the Duke of Buckingham and others did desire that the Bill might be read ; and it was for banishing my Lord Clarendon from all his Majesty's dominions, and that it should be treason to have him found in any of them : the thing is only a thing of vanity, and to insult over him. By and by home with Sir J. Minnes, who tells me that my Lord Clarendon did go away in a Custom-house boat, and is now at Callis : and, I confess, nothing seems to hang more heavy than his leaving of this unfortunate paper behind him, that hath angered both Houses, and hath, I think, reconciled them in that which otherwise would have broke them in pieces : so that I do hence, and from Sir W. Coventry's late example and doctrine to me, learn that on these sorts of occasions there is nothing like silence ; it being seldom any wrong to a man to say nothing, but for the most part it is to say any thing. Sir J. Minnes told me a story of my Lord Cottington, who, wanting a son, intended to make his nephew his heir, a country boy ; but did alter his mind upon the boy's being persuaded by another young heir (in roguery) to crow like a cock at my Lord's table, much company being there, and the boy having a great trick at doing that perfectly. My Lord bade them take away that fool from the table, and so gave over the thoughts of making him his heir from this piece of folly. Captain Cocke comes to me ; and, among other discourse, tells me that he is told that an impeachment against Sir W. Coventry will be brought in very soon. He tells me that even those that are against my Lord Chancellor and the Court in the House, do not trust nor agree one with another. He tells me that my Lord Chancellor went away about ten at night, on Saturday last, at Westminster ; and took boat at Westminster, and thence by a vessel to Callis, where he believes he now is ; and that the Duke of York and Mr. Wren knew of it, and that himself did know of it on Sunday morning : that on Sunday his coach, and people about it, went to Twittenham, and the world thought that he had been there : that nothing but this unhappy paper hath undone him, and that he doubts that this paper hath lost him every where : that his withdrawing do reconcile things so far as, he

thinks, the heat of their fury will be over, and that all will be made well between the two brothers : that Holland do endeavour to persuade the King of France to break peace with us : that the Dutch will, without doubt, have sixty sail of ships out the next year : so knows not what will become of us, but hopes the Parliament will find money for us to have a fleet.

7th. Somebody told me this day that they hear that Thomson with the wooden leg, and Wildman, the Fifth-Monarchy man (a great creature of the Duke of Buckingham's), are in nomination to be Commissioners, among others, upon the Bill of Accounts.

8th. To White Hall, where I saw the Duchesse of York (in a fine dress of second mourning for her mother, being black edged with ermin) go to make her first visit to the Queene since the Duke of York's being sick ; and by and by she being returned, the Queene came and visited her. But it was pretty to observe that Sir W. Coventry and I walking an hour and more together in the Matted Gallery, he observed, and so did I, how the Duchesse, soon as she spied him, turned her head a' one side. Here he and I walked thus long, which we have not done a great while before. Our discourse was upon every thing : the unhappiness of having our matters examined by people that understand them not ; that it is better for us in the Navy to have men that do understand the whole, and that are not passionate ; that we that have taken the most pains are called upon to answer for all crimes, while those that, like Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes, did sit and do nothing, do lie still without any trouble : that if it were to serve the King and kingdom again in a war, neither of us could do more, though upon this experience we might do better than we did : that the commanders, the gentlemen that could never be brought to order, but undid all, are now the men that find fault and abuse others : that it had been much better for the King to have given Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten 1000*l.* a-year to have sat still, than to have had them in this business this war : that the serving a prince that minds not his business is most unhappy for them that serve him well, and an unhappiness so great that he declares he will never have more to do with a war under him. That he hath papers which do flatly contradict

the Duke of Albemarle's Narrative; and that he hath been with the Duke of Albemarle and shewed him them, to prevent his falling into another like fault: that the Duke of Albemarle seems to be able to answer them; but he thinks that the Duke of Albemarle and the Prince are contented to let their Narratives sleep, they being not only contradictory in some things (as he observed about the business of the Duke of Albemarle's being to follow the Prince upon the dividing the fleet in case the enemy come out), but neither of them to be maintained in others. That the business the other night of my Lord Anglesy at the Council was happily got over for my Lord, by his dexterous silencing it, and the rest not urging it further; forasmuch as had the Duke of Buckingham come in time enough and had got it by the end, he would have toused him in it; Sir W. Coventry telling me that my Lord Anglesy did with such impudence maintain the quarrel against the Commons and some of the Lords, in the business of my Lord Clarendon, that he believes there are enough would be glad but of this occasion to be revenged of him. He tells me that he hears some of the Thomsons are like to be of the Commission for the Accounts, and Wildman, which he much wonders at, as having been a false fellow to every body, and in prison most of the time since the King's coming in. But he do tell me that the House is in such a condition that nobody can tell what to make of them, and, he thinks, they were never in before; that every body leads, and nobody follows; and that he do now think that, since a great many are defeated in their expectation of being of the Commission, now they would put it into such hands as it shall get no credit from: for if they do look to the bottom and see the King's case, they think they are then bound to give the King money; whereas they would be excused from that, and therefore endeavour to make this business of the Accounts to signify little. Comes Captain Cocke to me; and there he tells me, to my great satisfaction, that Sir Robert Brookes did dine with him to-day; and that he told him, speaking of me, that he would make me the darling of the House of Commons, so much he is satisfied concerning me. And this Cocke did tell me that I might give him thanks for it; and I do think it may do

me good, for he do happen to be held a considerable person, of a young man, both for sobriety and ability.

9th. Comes Sir G. Carteret to talk with me; who seems to think himself safe as to his particular, but do doubt what will become of the whole kingdom, things being so broke in pieces. He tells me that the King himself did the other day very particularly tell the whole story of my Lord Sandwich's not following the Dutch ships, with which he is charged; and shews the reasons of it to be the only good course he could have taken, and do discourse it very knowingly. This I am glad of, though, as the King is now, his favour, for aught I see, serves very little in stead at this day, but rather is an argument against a man; and the King do not concern himself to relieve or justify any body, but is wholly negligent of every body's concernment.

10th. The King did send a message to the House to-day that he would adjourne them on the 17th instant to February; by which time, at least, I shall have more respite to prepare things on my own behalf and the office, against their return.

11th. I met Harris the player, and talked of "Catiline," which is to be suddenly acted at the King's house; and there all agree that it cannot be well done at that house, there not being good actors enough: and Burt* acts Cicero, which they all conclude he will not be able to do well. The King gives them 500*l.* for robes, there being, as they say, to be sixteen scarlet robes. Comes Sir W. Warren to talk about some business of his and mine: and he, I find, would have me not to think that the Parliament, in the mind they are in, and having so many good offices in their view to dispose of, will leave any of the King's officers in, but will rout all, though I am likely to escape as well as any, if any can escape. And I think he is in the right, and I do look for it accordingly.

12th. My bookseller did give me a list of the twenty who were mentioned for the Commission in Parliament for the Accounts: and it is strange that of the twenty the Parliament could not think fit to choose

* Davies says Burt ranked in the list of good actors without possessing superior talents.—*Dramatic Miscellanies.*

their nine, but were fain to add three that were not in the list of the twenty, they being many of them factious people and ringleaders in the late troubles; so that Sir John Talbot did fly out and was very hot in the business of Wildman's being named, and took notice how he was entertained in the bosom of the Duke of Buckingham, a Privy-counsellor; and that it was fit to be observed by the House, and punished. The men that I know of the nine I like very well; that is, Mr. Pierrepont, Lord Brereton,* and Sir William Turner; and I do think the rest are so too, but such as will not be able to do this business as it ought to be to do any good with. Here I did also see their votes against my Lord Chief Justice Keeling, that his proceedings were illegal, and that he was a contemner of Magna Charta, the great preserver of our lives, freedoms and properties, and an introduction to arbitrary government; which is very high language, and of the same sound with that in the year 1640. This day my Lord Chancellor's letter was burned at the 'Change.

13th. To Westminster, to the Parliament-door, to speak with Roger: and here I saw my Lord Keeling go into the House to the bar, to have his business heard by the whole House to-day; and a great crowd of people to stare upon him. Here I hear that the Lords' Bill for banishing and disabling my Lord Clarendon from bearing any office, or being in the King's dominions, and it being made felony for any to correspond with him but his own children, is brought to the Commons; but they will not agree to it, being not satisfied with that as sufficient, but will have a Bill of Attainder brought in against him: but they make use of this against the Lords, that they that would not think there was cause enough to commit him without hearing, will have him banished without hearing. By and by comes out my cosen Roger to me, he being not willing to be in the House at the business of my Lord Keeling, lest he should be called upon to complain against him for his abusing him at Cambridge. Among other news it is now

* William third Lord Brereton, of Leaghlin in Ireland, M.P. for Cheshire, where he possessed an estate which he disposed of on account of the exigencies of the times, and his father's losses in the cause of Charles I. He was educated at Breda, and was an accomplished and amiable nobleman, and one of the Founders of the Royal Society. Ob. 1679.

fresh that the King of Portugall is deposed, and his brother made King; and that my Lord Sandwich is gone from Madrid with great honour to Lisbon, to make up at this juncture a peace to the advantage, as the Spaniard would have it, of Spain. I wish it may be for my Lord's honour, if it be so; but it seems my Lord is in mighty estimation in Spain. With my cosen Roger to Westminster Hall; and there we met the House rising: and they have voted my Lord Chief Justice Keeling's proceedings illegal; but that out of particular respect to him and the mediation of a great many, they have resolved to proceed no further against him.

16th. To Westminster, where I find the House mighty busy upon a petition against my Lord Gerard, which lays heavy things to his charge, of his abusing the King in his Guards; and very hot the House is upon it.

17th. This day I do hear at White Hall that the Duke of Monmouth is sick, and in danger of the small-pox.

19th. To the office, where Commissioner Middleton first took his place at the Board as Surveyor of the Navy; and indeed I think will be an excellent officer, I am sure much beyond what his predecessor was. This evening the King by message (which he never did before) hath passed several Bills, among others that for the Accounts and for banishing my Lord Chancellor, and hath adjourned the House to February; at which I am glad, hoping in this time to get leisure to state my Tangier Accounts, and to prepare better for the Parliament's enquiries. Here I hear how the House of Lords with great severity, if not tyranny, have proceeded against poor Carr, who only erred in the manner of the presenting his petition against my Lord Gerard, it being first printed before it was presented; which was, it seems, by Colonell Sands's going into the country, into whose hands he had put it: the poor man is ordered to stand in the pillory two or three times, and to have his eares cut, and be imprisoned I know not how long. But it is believed that the Commons, when they meet, will not be well pleased with it; and they have no reason, I think.

21st. The Nonconformists are mighty high, and their meetings frequented and connived at; and they do expect to have their day now

soon; for my Lord of Buckingham is a declared friend to them, and even to the Quakers, who had very good words the other day from the King himself: and, what is more, the Archbishop of Canterbury* is called no more to the Caball, nor, by the way, Sir W. Coventry; which I am sorry for, the Caball at present being, as he says, the King, and Duke of Buckingham, and Lord Keeper, the Duke of Albemarle, and Privy Seale. The Bishops differing from the King in the late business in the House of Lords, have caused this and what is like to follow, for every body is encouraged now-a-days to speak, and even to preach (as I have heard one of them,) as bad things against them as ever in the year 1640; which is a strange change.

23d. I to the Exchange; and there I saw Carr stand in the pillory for the business of my Lord Gerard; and there hear by Creed that the Bishops of Winchester† and of Rochester,‡ and the Dean of the Chapel, and some other great prelates, are suspended: and a cloud upon the Archbishop ever since the late business in the House of Lords; and I believe it will be a heavy blow to the Clergy.

24th. By coach to St. James's, it being about six at night; my design being to see the ceremonys, this night being the eve of Christmas, at the Queene's chapel. I got in almost up to the rail, and with a great deal of patience staid from nine at night to two in the morning in a very great crowd; and there expected but found nothing extraordinary, there being nothing but a high masse. The Queene was there, and some ladies. All being done, I was sorry for my coming, and missing of what I expected; which was, to have had a child born and dressed there, and a great deal of do: but we broke up, and nothing like it done. And there I left people receiving the Sacrament: and the Queene gone, and ladies; only my Lady Castlemaine, who looked prettily in her night-clothes. And so took my coach, which waited; and drank some burnt wine at the Rose Tavern door while the constables came, and two or three bellmen went by, it being a fine light moonshine morning: and so home round the City.

26th. With my wife to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The

* Gilbert Sheldon.

† George Morley.

‡ John Dolben.

Surprizall;”* which did not please me to-day, the actors not pleasing me; and especially Nell's acting of a serious part, which she spoils. I hear this day that Mrs. Stewart do at this day keep a great court at Somerset House with her husband the Duke of Richmond, she being visited for her beauty's sake by people as the Queene is at nights; and they say also that she is likely to go to Court again, and there put my Lady Castlemaine's nose out of joynt.

27th. A Committee of Tangier met: the Duke of York there. And there I did discourse over to them their condition as to money; which they were all mightily as I could desire satisfied with, but the Duke of Albemarle, who takes the part of the Guards against us in our supplies of money; which is an odd consideration for a dull, heavy blockhead as he is, understanding no more of either than a goose: but the ability and integrity of Sir W. Coventry, in all the King's concernments, I do and must admire. After the Committee, Sir W. Coventry tells me that the businesse of getting the Duchesse of Richmond to Court is broke off, the Duke not suffering it; and thereby great trouble is brought among the people that endeavoured it, and thought they had compassed it. And, Lord! to think that at this time the King should mind no other cares but these! He tells me that my Lord of Canterbury is a mighty stout man, and a man of a brave, high spirit, and cares not for this disfavour that he is under at Court, knowing that the King cannot take away his profits during his life, and therefore do not value it.

28th. To the King's house, and there saw “The Mad Couple;” which is but an ordinary play; but only Nell's and Hart's mad parts are most excellent done, but especially her's: which makes it a miracle to me to think how ill she do any serious part, as, the other day, just like a fool or changeling; and, in a mad part, do beyond all imitation almost. It pleased us mightily to see the natural affection of a poor woman, the mother of one of the children brought on the stage: the child crying, she by force got upon the stage, and took up her child and carried it away off of the stage from Hart. Many fine faces here to-day. I am told to-day, which troubles me, that great com-

* A comedy, by Sir Robert Howard.

plaint is made upon the 'Change among our merchants, that the very Ostend little pickaroon men-of-war do offer violence to our merchantmen and search them, beat our masters, and plunder them, upon pretence of carrying Frenchmen's goods.

29th. At night comes Mrs. Turner to see us; and there, among other talk, she tells me that Mr. William Pen, who is lately come over from Ireland, is a Quaker again, or some very melancholy thing; that he cares for no company, nor comes into any: which is a pleasant thing, after his being abroad so long, and his father such a hypocritical rogue, and at this time an Atheist.

30th. Sir G. Carteret and I alone did talk of the ruinous condition we are in, the King being going to put out of the Council so many able men; such as my Lord Anglesy, Ashly, Hollis, Secretary Morrice (to bring in Mr. Trevor*), and the Archbishop of Canterbury and my Lord Bridgewater. He tells me that this is true, only the Duke of York do endeavour to hinder it, and the Duke of York himself did tell him so: that the King and the Duke of York do not in company disagree, but are friendly; but that there is a core in their hearts, he doubts, which is not to be easily removed; for these men so suffer only for their constancy to the Chancellor, or at least from the King's ill-will against him. He do suggest that something is intended for the Duke of Monmouth, and, it may be, against the Queene also: that we are in no manner sure against an invasion the next year: that the Duke of Buckingham do rule all now, and the Duke of York comes indeed to the Caball, but signifies little there. That this new faction do not endure, nor the King, Sir W. Coventry; but yet that he is so usefull that they cannot be without him; but that he is not now called to the Caball. That my Lord of Buckingham, Bristoll, and Arlington do seem to agree in these things; but that they do not in their hearts trust one another, but do drive several ways all of them. In short, he do bless himself that he is no more concerned in matters now; and the hopes he hath of being at liberty, when his accounts are over, to retire into the country. That he do give over the kingdom for wholly lost.

* John Trevor, knighted by Charles II. who made him Secretary of State 1668, which office he held till his death in 1672.

This day I got a little rent in my new fine camlett cloak with the latch of Sir G. Carteret's door ; but it is darned up at my tailor's, that it will be no great blemish to it ; but it troubled me. I could not but observe that Sir Philip Carteret* would fain have given me my going into a play ; but yet when he came to the door he had no money to pay for himself, I having refused to accept of it for myself, but was fain ; and I perceive he is known there, and do run upon the score for plays, which is a shame ; but I perceive always he is in want of money. In the pit I met with Sir Ch. North (formerly Mr. North, who was with my Lord at sea) ; and he, of his own accord, was so silly as to tell me he is married ; and for her quality, being a Lord's daughter,† (my Lord Grey) and person and beauty, and years and estate and disposition, he is the happiest man in the world. I am sure he is an ugly fellow ; but a good scholar and sober gentleman ; and heir to his father, now Lord North, the old Lord being dead.

31st. Thus ends the year, with great happiness to myself and family as to health and good condition in the world, blessed be God for it ! only with great trouble to my mind in reference to the publick, there being little hopes left but that the whole nation must in a very little time be lost, either by troubles at home, the Parliament being dissatisfied, and the King led into unsettled councils by some about him, himself considering little, and divisions growing between the King and Duke of York ; or else by foreign invasion, to which we must submit if any at this bad point of time should come upon us, which the King of France is well able to do. These thoughts, and some cares upon me, concerning my standing in this office when the Committee of Parliament shall come to examine our Navy matters, which they will now shortly do. I pray God they may do the kingdom service therein, as they will have sufficient opportunity of doing it !

1667-8. January 1st. Dined with my Lord Crewe, with whom was Mr. Browne, Clerk of the House of Lords, and Mr. John Crewe. Here was mighty good discourse, as there is always : and among other things my Lord Crewe did turn to a place in the Life of Sir Philip

* Sir G. Carteret's eldest son, mentioned before, who had been knighted.

† Catharine, daughter to William Lord Grey of Warke, and widow of Sir Edward Moseley.

Sidney, wrote by Sir Fulke Greville, which do foretell the present condition of this nation, in relation to the Dutch, to the very degree of a prophecy; and is so remarkable that I am resolved to buy one of them, it being quite through a good discourse. Here they did talk much of the present cheapness of corne, even to a miracle; so as their farmers can pay no rent, but do fling up their lands; and would pay in corne: but (which I did observe to my Lord, and he liked well of it) our gentry are grown so ignorant in every thing of good husbandry that they know not how to bestow this corne; which, did they understand but a little trade, they would be able to joyne together and know what markets there are abroad, and send it thither, and thereby ease their tenants and be able to pay themselves. They did talk much of the disgrace the Archbishop is fallen under with the King, and the rest of the Bishops also. Thence I after dinner to the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw "Sir Martin Mar-all;" which I have seen so often, and yet am mightily pleased with it, and think it mighty witty, and the fullest of proper matter for mirth that ever was writ; and I do clearly see that they do improve in their acting of it. Here a mighty company of citizens, prentices, and others; and it makes me observe, that when I began first to be able to bestow a play on myself, I do not remember that I saw so many by half of the ordinary prentices and mean people in the pit at 2s. 6d. a-piece as now; I going for several years no higher than the 12d. and then the 18d. places, though I strained hard to go in then when I did: so much the vanity and prodigality of the age is to be observed in this particular. Thence I to White Hall, and there walked up and down the house a while, and do hear nothing of any thing done further in this business of the change of Privy-counsellors: only I hear that Sir G. Savile,* one of the Parliament Committee of nine for examining the Accounts, is by the King made a Lord, the Lord Halifax; which, I believe, will displease the Parliament. By and by I met with Mr. Brisband; and having it in my mind this Christmas to do (what I never can remember that I did) go to see the gaming at the groome-porter's, (I having in

* Of Rufford, co. Notts, Bart.; created Lord Savile of Eland, and Viscount Halifax, 1668, Earl of Halifax 1679, and Marquis of Halifax 1682. Ob. 1695.

my coming from the playhouse stepped into the two Temple-halls, and there saw the dirty prentices and idle people playing; wherein I was mistaken, in thinking to have seen gentlemen of quality playing there,) he did lead me thither; where, after staying an hour, they began to play, at about eight at night. And to see the formality of the groome-porter, who is their judge of all disputes in play and all quarrels that may arise therein, and how his under-officers are there to observe true play at each table, and to give new dice, is a consideration I never could have thought had been in the world, had I not now seen it. And so I having enough for once, refusing to venture, though Brisband pressed me hard, went away.

2d. Attended the King and the Duke of York in the Duke of York's lodgings, with the rest of the officers and many of the commanders of the fleet, and some of our master shipwrights, to discourse the business of having the topmasts of ships made to lower abaft of the mainmast; a business I understand not, and so can give no good account: but I do see that by how much greater the Council and the number of counsellors is, the more confused the issue is of their councils; so that little was said to the purpose regularly, and but little use was made of it, they coming to a very broken conclusion upon it, to make trial in a ship or two. From this they fell to other talk about the fleet's fighting this late war, and how the King's ships have been shattered; though the King said that the world would not have it that above ten or twenty ships in any fight did do any service, and that this hath been told so to him himself by ignorant people. The Prince, who was there, was mightily surprised at it, and seemed troubled; but the King told him that it was only discourse of the world. But Mr. Wren whispered me in the eare, and said that the Duke of Albemarle had put it into his Narrative for the House, that not above twenty-five ships fought in the engagement wherein he was, but that he was advised to leave it out; but this he did write from sea, I am sure, or words to that effect: and did displease many commanders, among others Captain Batts, who the Duke of York said was a very stout man, all the world knew; and that another was brought into his ship that had been turned out of his place when he was a boatswain,

not long before, for being a drunkard. This the Prince* took notice of, and would have been angry, I think, but they let their discourse fall : but the Duke of York was earnest in it. And the Prince said to me, standing by me, " If they will turn out every man that will be drunk, they must turn out all the commanders in the fleet. What is the matter if he be drunk, so when he comes to fight he do his work ? At least, let him be punished for his drunkenness, and not put out of his command presently." This he spoke very much concerned for this idle fellow, one Greene. After this the King began to tell stories of the cowardize of the Spaniards in Flanders, when he was there, at the siege of Mardike and Dunkirke ; which was very pretty, though he tells them but meanly. To Westminster Hall, and there staid a little : and then home, and by the way did find with difficulty the Life of Sir Philip Sidney. And the bookseller told me that he had sold four within this week or two, which is more than ever he sold in all his life of them ; and he could not imagine what should be the reason of it : but I suppose it is from the same reason of people's observing of this part therein, touching his prophecying our present condition here in England in relation to the Dutch, which is very remarkable. It is generally believed that France is endeavouring a firmer league with us than the former, in order to his going on with his business against Spain the next year ; which I am, and so every body else is, I think, very glad of, for all our fear is of his invading us. This day at White Hall I overheard Sir W. Coventry propose to the King his ordering of some particular thing in the Wardrobe, which was of no great value ; but yet, as much as it was, it was of profit to the King and saving to his purse. The King answered to it with great indifferency, as a thing that it was no great matter whether it was done or no. Sir W. Coventry answered : " I see your Majesty do not remember the old English proverb, ' He that will not stoop for a pin, will never be worth a pound.' " And so they parted, the King bidding him do as he would ; which, methought, was an answer not like a King that did intend ever to do well.

4th. It seems worth remembering that this day I did hear my Lord Anglesy at the table, speaking touching this new Act for Accounts,

* Rupert.

say that the House of Lords did pass it because it was a senseless, impracticable, ineffectual, and foolish Act; and that my Lord Ashly having shewn that it was so to the House of Lords, the Duke of Buckingham did stand up and told the Lords that they were beholden to my Lord Ashly, that having first commended them for a most grave and honourable assembly, he thought it fit for the House to pass this Act for Accounts because it was a foolish and simple Act: and it seems it was passed with but a few in the House, when it was intended to have met in a grand Committee upon it. And it seems that in itself it is not to be practiced till after this session of Parliament, by the very words of the Act, which nobody regarded, and therefore cannot come in force yet, unless the next meeting they do make a new Act for the bringing it into force sooner; which is a strange omission. But I perceive my Lord Anglesy do make a mere laughing-stock of this Act, as a thing that can do nothing considerable, for all its great noise.

5th. The business of putting out of some of the Privy-council is over, the King being at last advised to forbear it; for whereas he did design it to make room for some of the House of Commons that are against him, thereby to gratify them, it is believed that it will but so much the more fret the rest that are not provided for, and raise a new stock of enemies by them that are displeased: and it goes for a pretty saying of my Lord Anglesy's up and down the Court, that he should lately say to one of the great promoters of this putting him and others out of the Council, "Well, and what are we to look for when we are outed? Will all things be set right in the nation?" The other said that he did believe that many things would be mended: "But," says my Lord, "will you and the rest of you be contented to be hanged if you do not redeem all our misfortunes and set all right, if the power be put into your hands?" The other answered, No, he would not undertake that. "Why then," says my Lord, "I and the rest of us that you are labouring to put out will be contented to be hanged if we do not recover all that is past, if the King will put the power into our hands and adhere wholly to our advice."

7th. To the Nursery: but the house did not act to-day; and so I to the other two playhouses into the pit to gaze up and down, and

there did by this means for nothing see an act in "The Schoole of Compliments" at the Duke of York's house, and "Henry the Fourth" at the King's house; but not liking either of the plays, I took my coach again, and home.

8th. To White Hall, and by coach home, taking up Mr. Prin at the Court gate (it raining), and setting him down at the Temple: and by the way did ask him about the manner of holding of Parliaments, and whether the number of Knights and Burgesses were always the same? And he says that the latter were not; but that, for aught he can find, they were sent up at the discretion at first of the Sheriffes, to whom the writs are sent to send up generally the Burgesses and citizens of their county: and he do find that heretofore the Parliament-men being paid by the country, several burroughs have complained of the Sheriffes putting them to the charge of sending up Burgesses; which is a very extraordinary thing to me, that knew not this, but thought that the number had been known, and always the same.

10th. To White Hall; and there to wait on the Duke of York with the rest of my brethren, which we did a little in the King's green-room while the King was in Council: and in this room we found my Lord Bristoll walking alone; which wondering at while the Council was sitting, I was answered that as being a Catholique he could not be of the Council; which I did not consider before. This day I received a letter from my father, and another from my cosen Roger Pepys, who have had a view of Jackson's evidences of his estate, and do mightily like of the man and his condition and estate, and do advise me to accept of the match for my sister, and to finish it soon as I can; and he do it so as I confess I am contented to have it done, and so give her her portion.

11th. To the King's house, to see "The Wild-goose Chase*." In this play I met with nothing extraordinary at all, but very dull inventions and designs. Knipp came and sat by us, and her talk pleased me a little, she telling me how Miss Davis is for certain going away from the Duke's house, the King being in love with her; and a house is taken for her, and furnishing; and she hath a ring given her already

* By Beaumont and Fletcher.

worth 600*l.* : that the King did send several times for Nelly, and she was with him; and I am sorry for it, and can hope for no good to the State from having a Prince so devoted to his pleasure. She told me also of a play shortly coming upon the stage of Sir Charles Sedley's, which, she thinks, will be called "The Wandering Ladys," a comedy that she thinks will be most pleasant; and also another play, called "The Duke of Lorane;" besides "Catiline," which she thinks, for want of the clothes which the King promised them, will not be acted for a good while.

14th. To my bookseller, Martin, and there did receive my book I expected of China, a most excellent book with rare cuts; and there fell into discourse with him about the burning of Paul's when the City was burned, his house being in the church-yard. And he tells me that it took fire first upon the end of a board that among others was laid upon the roof instead of lead, the lead being broke off, and thence down lower and lower: but that the burning of the goods under St. Fayth's arose from the goods taking fire in the church-yard, and so got into St. Fayth's church; and that they first took fire from the Draper's side, by some timber of the houses that were burned falling into the church. He says that one warehouse of books was saved under Paul's; and there were several dogs found burned among the goods in the church-yard, and but one man, which was an old man, that said he would go and save a blanket which he had in the church, and being weak the fire overcame him. He says that most of the booksellers do design to fall a-building again the next year; but that the Bishop of London do use them most basely, worse than any other landlords, and says he will be paid to this day the rent, or else he will not come to treat with them for the time to come; and will not, on that condition either, promise them in any thing how he will use them: and the Parliament sitting, he claims his privilege, and will not be cited before the Lord Chief Justice, as others are there, to be forced to a fair dealing. Thence by coach to Mrs. Pierce's, where my wife is; and there they fell to discourse of the last night's work at Court, where the ladies and Duke of Monmouth and others acted "The Indian Empeur;" wherein they told me these things most remarkable: That not

any women but the Duchesse of Monmouth and Mrs. Cornwallis did any thing but like fools and stocks, but that these two did do most extraordinary well: that not any man did any thing well but Captain Orligran*, who spoke and did well, but above all things did dance most incomparably. That she did sit near the players of the Duke's house; among the rest Miss Davis, who is the most impertinent slut, she says, in the world; and the more, now the King do shew her countenance; and is reckoned his mistress, even to the scorne of the whole world; the King gazing on her, and my Lady Castlemaine being melancholy and out of humour, all the play not smiling once. The King, it seems, hath given her a ring of 700*l.* which she shews to every body, and owns that the King did give it her; and he hath furnished a house in Suffolke-street most richly for her; which is a most infinite shame. It seems she is a bastard of Colonell Howard, my Lord Berkshire, and that he hath got her for the King: but Pierce says that she is a most homely jade as ever she saw, though she dances beyond any thing in the world. She tells me that the Duchesse of Richmond do not yet come to the Court, nor hath seen the King, nor will not, nor do he own his desire of seeing her; but hath used means to get her to Court, but they do not take.

15th. This afternoon my Lord Anglesy tells us that it is voted in Council to have a fleet of 50 ships out: but it is only a disguise for the Parliament to get some money by; but it will not take, I believe.

16th. Lord Anglesy tells us again that a fleet is to be set out; and that it is generally, he hears, said that it is but a Spanish rhodomontado; and that he saying so just now to the Duke of Albemarle, who came to town last night (after the thing was ordered), he told him a story of two seamen: one wished all the guns of the ship were his, and that they were silver; and says the other, "You are a fool, for if you can have it for wishing, why do you not wish them gold?" "So," says he, "if a rhodomontado will do any good, why do you not say 100 ships?" And it is true; for the Dutch and French are said to make such preparations as 50 sail will do no good. Mightily pleased with Mr. Gibson's talking; he telling me so many good stories relating

* *Sic Orig.*

to the war and practices of commanders, which I will find a time to recollect ; and he will be an admirable help to my writing a history of the Navy, if ever I do.

17th. Much discourse of the duell yesterday between the Duke of Buckingham, Holmes, and one Jenkins, on one side, and my Lord of Shrewsbury,* Sir John Talbot,† and one Bernard Howard,‡ on the other side : and all about my Lady Shrewsbury,§ who is at this time, and hath for a great while been, a mistress to the Duke of Buckingham. And so her husband challenged him, and they met yesterday in a close near Barne-Elmes and there fought : and my Lord Shrewsbury is run through the body, from the right breast through the shoulder ; and Sir John Talbot all along up one of his armes ; and Jenkins killed upon the place, and the rest all in a little measure wounded. This will make the world think that the King hath good counsellors about him, when the Duke of Buckingham, the greatest man about him, is a fellow of no more sobriety than to fight about a mistress. And this may prove a very bad accident to the Duke of Buckingham, but that my Lady Castlemaine do rule all at this time as much as ever she did, and she will, it is believed, keep all matters well with the Duke of Buckingham : though this is a time that the King will be very backward, I suppose, to appear in such a business. And it is pretty to hear how the King had some notice of this challenge a week or two ago, and did give it to my Lord Generall to confine the Duke, or take security that he should not do any such thing as fight : and the Generall trusted to the King that he, sending for him, would do it ; and the King trusted to the Generall. And it is said that my Lord Shrewsbury's case is to be feared, that he may die too ; and that may make it much worse for the Duke of Buckingham : and I shall not be much sorry for it, that we may have some sober man come in his room to

* Francis eleventh Earl of Shrewsbury, died of his wounds March 16th following.

† Sir John Talbot, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, M. P. for Knaresborough.

‡ Bernard Howard, eighth son of Henry Frederic Earl of Arundel.

§ Anna Maria, daughter of Robert Earl of Cardigan, the Duke of Buckingham's mistress, and said to have held his horse, in the habit of a page, while he was fighting with her husband. She married, secondly, George Rodney Bridges, son of Sir Thomas Bridges of Keynsham, Somerset, and died April 20, 1702.

assist in the Government. Creed tells me of Mr. Harry Howard's giving the Royall Society a piece of ground next to his house to build a college on ; which is a most generous act. And he tells me he is a very fine person, and understands and speaks well ; and no rigid Papist neither, but one that would not have a Protestant servant leave his religion, which he was going to do, thinking to recommend himself to his master by it ; saying, that he had rather have an honest Protestant than a knavish Catholique. I was not called in to the Council ; and therefore home, first informing myself that my Lord Hinchingbroke hath been married this week to my Lord Burlington's daughter : so that that great business is over ; and I am mighty glad of it, though I am not satisfied that I have not a favour sent me.

19th. Lord Shrewsbury is likely to do well.

20th. To Drumbleby's the pipe-maker, there to advise about the making of a flageolet to go low and soft ; and he do shew me a way which do do, and also a fashion of having two pipes of the same note fastened together, so as I can play on one, and then echo it upon the other ; which is mighty pretty. So to my Lord Crewe's to dinner ; where we hear all the good news of our making a league now with Holland against the French Power coming over them or us : which is the first good act that hath been done a great while, and done secretly and with great seeming wisdom ; and is certainly good for us at this time, while we are in no condition to resist the French, if he should come over hither : and then a little time of peace will give us time to lay up something, which these Commissioners of the Treasury are doing ; and the world do begin to see that they will do the King's work for him, if he will let them. My Lord told a good story of Mr. Newman, the Minister in New England, who wrote the Concordance, of his foretelling his death and preaching a funeral sermon, and did at last bid the angels do their office, and died. It seems there is great presumption that there will be a Toleration granted : so that the Presbyterians do hold up their heads ; but they will hardly trust the King or the Parliament what to yield them, though most of the sober party be for some kind of allowance to be given them. Lord Gerard is likely to meet with ill, the next sitting of Parliament, about Carr being

set in the pillory ; and I am glad of it. And it is mighty acceptable to the world to hear, that among other reductions the King do reduce his Guards ; which do please mightily.

21st. Comes news from Kate Joyce that, if I would see her husband alive, I must come presently. So I to him, and find his breath rattled in the throate ; and they did lay pigeons to his feet, and all despair of him. It seems on Thursday last he went sober and quiet to Islington, and behind one of the inns (the White Lion) did fling himself into a pond : was spied by a poor woman, and got out by some people, and set on his head and got to life : and so his wife and friends sent for. He confessed his doing the thing, being led by the Devil ; and do declare his reason to be his trouble in having forgot to serve God as he ought since he came to his new employment :* and I believe that, and the sense of his great loss by the fire, did bring him to it ; for he grew sick, and worse and worse to this day. The friends that were there being now in fear that the goods and estate would be seized on, though he lived all this while, because of his endeavouring to drown himself, my cosen did endeavour to remove what she could of plate out of the house, and desired me to take my flagons ; which I did, but in great fear all the way of being seized ; though there was no reason for it, he not being dead. So with Sir D. Gauden to Guild Hall to advise with the Towne-Clerke about the practice of the City and nation in this case : and he thinks it cannot be found selfe-murder ; but if it be, it will fall, all the estate, to the King. So I to my cosen's again ; where I no sooner come but find that he was departed. So at their entreaty I presently to White Hall, and there find Sir W. Coventry ; and he carried me to the King, the Duke of York being with him, and there told my story which I had told him ; and the King, without more ado, granted that, if it was found, the estate should be to the widow and children : which indeed was a very great courtesy, for people are looking out for the estate.

22d. At noon with my Lord Brouncker to Sir D. Gauden's, at the Victualling-office, to dinner, where I have not dined since he was Sheriffe. He expected us : and a good dinner, and much good com-

* He kept a tavern.

pany; and a fine house, and especially two rooms very fine, he hath built there. His lady a good lady; but my Lord led himself and me to a great absurdity in kissing all the ladies, but the finest of all the company, leaving her out I know not how; and I was loath to do it, since he omitted it. Here little Chaplin dined, who is like to be Sheriffe the next year; and a pretty humoured little man he is: and Mr. Talents the younger, of Magdalene College, Chaplain to the Sheriffe; which I was glad to see, though not much acquainted with him.

23d. At the office all the morning; and at noon find the Bishop of Lincolne* come to dine with us; and after him comes Mr. Brisband. And there mighty good company. But the Bishop a very extraordinary good-natured man, and one that is mightily pleased, as well as I am, that I live so near Bugden, † the seat of his bishopricke, where he is like to reside; and indeed I am glad of it. In discourse we think ourselves safe for this year, by this league with Holland; which pleases every body, and, they say, vexes France; insomuch that De l'Estrade, the French Ambassador in Holland, when he heard it, told the States that he would have them not forget that his master is in the head of 100,000 men, and is but 28 years old; which was a great speech. The Bishop tells me he thinks that the great business of Toleration will not, notwithstanding this talk, be carried this Parliament; nor for the King's taking away the Deans' and Chapters' lands to supply his wants, they signifying little to him if he had them for his present service.

27th. Mr. Povy do tell me how he is like to lose his 400*l.* a-year pension of the Duke of York, which he took in consideration of his place that was taken from him. He tells me the Duchesse is a devil against him, and do now come like Queene Elizabeth, and sits with the Duke of York's Council, and sees what they do; and she crosses out this man's wages and prices as she sees fit for saving money: but yet, he tells me, she reserves 5000*l.* a-year for her own spending; and my Lady Peterborough by and by tells me that the Duchesse do lay up mightily jewells.

28th. To White Hall; and by and by the Duke of York comes,

* Dr. William Fuller, translated from Limerick 1667.

† At Brampton.

and we had a little meeting, Anglesy, W. Pen, and I there, and none else: and, among other things, did discourse of the want of discipline in the fleet; which the Duke of York confessed, and yet said that he while he was there did keep it in a good measure, but that it was now lost when he was absent; but he will endeavour to have it again. That he did tell the Prince and Duke of Albemarle they would lose all order by making such and such men commanders, which they would because they were stout men: he told them it was a reproach to the nation, as if there were no sober men among us, that were stout, to be had. That they did put out some men for cowards that the Duke of York had put in, but little before, for stout men; and would now, were he to go to sea again, entertain them in his own division to choose: and did put in an idle fellow, Greene, who was hardly thought fit for a boatswain by him; they did put him from being a lieutenant to a captain's place of a second-rate ship; as idle a drunken fellow, he said, as any was in the fleet. That he will now desire the King to let him be what he is, that is, Admirall; and he will put in none but those that he hath great reason to think well of; and particularly says that though he likes Colonell Legg well, yet his son that was, he knows not how, made a captain after he had been but one voyage at sea, he should go to sea another apprenticeship before ever he gives him a command. We did tell him of the many defects and disorders among the captains, and I prayed we might do it in writing to him; which he liked; and I am glad of an opportunity of doing it. My wife this day hears from her father and mother: they are in France, at Paris; he, poor good man! thankful for my small charities to him.

29th. To Sir W. Coventry. He tells me he hath no friends in the whole Court but my Lord Keeper and Sir John Duncomb. They have reduced the charges of Ireland about 70,000*l.* a-year, and thereby cut off good profits from my Lord Lieutenant; which will make a new enemy, but he cares not. He tells me that Townsend, of the Wardrobe, is the veriest knave and bufflehead that ever he saw.

30th. I first heard that my cosen Pepys, of Salisbury Court, was Marshall to my Lord Coke when he was Lord Chief Justice; which beginning of his I did not know to be so low; but so it was, it seems.

31st. Up; and by coach, with W. Griffin with me, and our Contract-books, to Durham Yard, to the Commissioners for Accounts; the first time I ever was there; and staid awhile before I was admitted to them. I did observe a great many people attending about complaints of seamen concerning tickets, and among others Mr. Carcasse, and Mr. Martin my purser. And I observe a fellow, one Collins, is there, who is employed by these Commissioners particularly to hold an office in Bishopsgate-street, or somewhere thereabouts, to receive complaints of all people about tickets: and I believe he will have work enough. Presently I was called in; where I found the whole number of Commissioners, and was there received with great respect and kindness; and did give them great satisfaction, making it my endeavour to inform them what it was they were to expect from me, and what was the duty of other people; this being my only way to preserve myself, after all my pains and trouble. They did ask many questions, and demanded other books of me, which I did give them very ready and acceptable answers to; and, upon the whole, I do observe they do go about their business like men resolved to go through with it, and in a very good method, like men of understanding. They have Mr. Jessop their secretary: and it is pretty to see that they are fain to find out an old-fashioned man of Cromwell's to do their business for them, as well as the Parliament to pitch upon such for the most part in the lowest of people that were brought into the House for Commissioners. I went away giving and receiving great satisfaction: and so to White Hall, to the Commissioners of the Treasury; where waiting some time, I there met with Colonell Birch: and he and I fell into discourse; and I did give him thanks for his kindness to me in the Parliament-house, both before my face and behind my back. He told me that he knew me to be a man of the old way of taking pains, and did always endeavour to do me right, and prevent any thing that was moved that might tend to my injury; which I was obliged to him for, and thanked him. Thence to talk of other things, and the want of money: and he told me of the general want of money in the country; that land sold for nothing, and the many pennyworths he knows of lands and houses upon them, with good titles in his country, at 16 years' purchase: "And," says

he, "though I am in debt, yet I have a mind to one thing, and that is a Bishop's lease:" but said, "I will yet choose such a lease before any other, because I know they cannot stand, and then it will fall into the King's hands, and I in possession shall have an advantage by it." Says he, "I know they must fall, and they are now near it, taking all the ways they can to undo themselves, and shewing us the way:" and thereupon told me a story of the present quarrel between the Bishop* and Dean† of Coventry and Lichfield; the former of whom did excommunicate the latter, and caused his excommunication to be read in the church while he was there: and after it was read the Dean made the service be gone through with, though himself an excommunicate was present (which is contrary to the Canon), and said he would justify the quire therein against the Bishop: and so they are at law in the Arches about it; which is a very pretty story. He tells me that the King is for Toleration, though the Bishops be against it; and that he do not doubt but it will be carried in Parliament: but that he fears some will stand for the tolerating of Papists with the rest; and that he knows not what to say, but rather thinks that the sober party will be without it rather than have it upon those terms; and I do believe so. It is observed, and is true, in the late fire of London, that the fire burned just as many parish-churches as there were hours from the beginning to the end of the fire; and next, that there were just as many churches left standing as there were taverns left standing in the rest of the City that was not burned, being, I think, thirteen in all of each: which is pretty to observe.

Februrary 1st. To the office till past two o'clock; where at the Board some high words passed between Sir W. Pen and I, begun by me, and yielded to by him, I being in the right in finding fault with him for his neglect of duty. Home, my head mighty full of business now on my hands: viz. of finishing my Tangier Accounts; of auditing my last year's Accounts; of preparing answers to the Commissioners of Accounts; of drawing up several important letters to the Duke of York and the Commissioners of the Treasury; the marrying of my sister;

* John Hacket.

† Henry Greswold, A. M.

the building of a coach and stables against summer, and the setting many things in the office right; and the drawing up a new form of Contract with the Victualler of the Navy, and several other things, which pains, however, will go through with.

5th. Mr. Moore mightily commends my Lord Hinchinbroke's match and Lady, though he buys her 10,000*l.* dear, by the jointure and settlement his father makes her; and says that the Duke of York and Duchesse of York did come to see them in bed together on their wedding-night, and how my Lord had fifty pieces of gold taken out of his pocket that night after he was in bed. He tells me that an Act of Comprehension is likely to pass this Parliament for admitting of all persuasions in religion to the public observation of their particular worship, but in certain places, and the persons therein concerned to be listed of this or that church; which, it is thought, will do them more hurt than good, and make them not own their persuasion. He tells me that there is a pardon passed to the Duke of Buckingham, my Lord of Shrewsbury and the rest, for the late duell and murder; which he thinks a worse fault than any ill use my late Lord Chancellor ever put the Great Seal to, and will be so thought by the Parliament, for them to be pardoned without bringing them to any trial: and that my Lord Privy-seale therefore would not have it pass his hand, but made it go by immediate warrant; or at least they knew that he would not pass it, and so did direct it to go by immediate warrant, that it might not come to him. He tells me what a character my Lord Sandwich hath sent over of Mr. Godolphin*; as the worthiest man, and such a friend to him as he may be trusted in any thing relating to him in the world; as one whom, he says, he hath infallible assurances that he will remain his friend: which is very high, but indeed they say the gentleman is a fine man.

6th. Sir H. Cholmly tells me how the Parliament (which is to meet again to-day) are likely to fall heavy on the business of the Duke of Buckingham's pardon; and I shall be glad of it: and that the King hath put out of the Court the two Hides, my Lord Chancellor's two sons, and

* Sidney Godolphin, Groom of the Bedchamber to Charles II.; made a Commissioner of the Treasury 1678-9, and in 1684 created Baron Godolphin.

also the Bishops of Rochester* and Winchester†, the latter of whom should have preached before him yesterday, being Ash-Wednesday, and had his sermon ready, but was put by; which is great news. My wife being gone before, I to the Duke of York's playhouse; where a new play of Etheridge's, called "She would if she could;" and though I was there by two o'clock, there was 1000 people put back that could not have room in the pit; and I at last, because my wife was there, made shift to get into the 18*d.* box, and there saw: but, Lord! how full was the house, and how silly the play, there being nothing in the world good in it, and few people pleased in it. The King was there; but I sat mightily behind, and could see but little, and hear not all. The play being done, I into the pit to look for my wife, it being dark and raining; but could not find her, and so staid going between the two doors and through the pit an hour and half, I think, after the play was done; the people staying there till the rain was over, and to talk one with another. And among the rest here was the Duke of Buckingham to-day openly sat in the pit; and there I found him with my Lord Buckhurst, and Sedley, and Etheridge the poet; the last of whom I did hear mightily find fault with the actors, that they were out of humour and had not their parts perfect, and that Harris did do nothing, nor could so much as sing a ketch in it; and so was mightily concerned: while all the rest did through the whole pit blame the play as a silly, dull thing, though there was something very roguish and witty; but the design of the play and end mighty insipid. At last I did find my wife.

7th. Met my cosen Roger Pepys, (the Parliament meeting yesterday and adjourned to Monday next;) and here he tells me that Mr. Jackson my sister's servant is come to town, and hath this day suffered a recovery on his estate in order to the making her a settlement. There is a great triall between my Lord Gerard and Carr to-day, who is indicted for his life at the King's Bench for running from his colours; but all do say that my Lord Gerard, though he designs the ruin of this man, will not get any thing by it. Met my cosen Roger again, and Mr. Jackson, who is a plain young man, handsome

* John Dolben.

† George Morley.

enough for her*, one of no education nor discourse, but of few words, and one altogether that, I think, will please me well enough. My cosen had got me to give the odd sixth 100*l.* presently, which I intended to keep to the birth of the first child: and let it go—I shall be eased of the care. So there parted, my mind pretty well satisfied with this plain fellow for my sister; though I shall, I see, have no pleasure nor content in him, as if he had been a man of reading and parts, like Cumberland.

8th. The great talk is of Carr's coming off in all his trials, to the disgrace of my Lord Gerard to that degree, and the ripping up of so many notorious rogueries and cheats of my Lord's, that my Lord, it is thought, will be ruined: and above all do shew the madness of the House of Commons, who rejected the petition of this poor man by a combination of a few in the House; and, much more, the base proceedings (just the epitome of all our publick managements in this age) of the House of Lords, that ordered him to stand in the pillory for those very things, without hearing and examining what he hath now, by the seeking of my Lord Gerard himself, cleared himself of in open Court, to the gaining himself the pity of all the world, and shame for ever to my Lord Gerard.

10th. Made a visit to Mr. Godolphin at his chamber; and I do find him a very pretty and able person, a man of very fine parts, and of infinite zeal to my Lord Sandwich; and one that says, he is (he believes) as wise and able a person as any prince in the world hath. He tells me that he meets with unmannerly usage by Sir Robert Southwell†, in Portugall, who would sign with him in his negociations there, being a forward young man; but that my Lord mastered him in that point, it being ruled for my Lord here at a hearing of a Committee of the Council. He says that if my Lord can compass a peace between Spain and Portugall, and hath the doing of it and the honour himself, it will be a thing of more honour than ever any man had, and of as much advantage. Thence to Westminster Hall, where the Hall mighty full: and, among

* Paulina Pepys.

† He was knighted and sent as Envoy Extraordinary to Portugal 1665, and with the same rank to Brussels in 1671. He became afterwards Clerk of the Privy Council, and was five times elected President of the Royal Society. Ob. 1702, aged 60.

other things, the House begins to sit to-day, and the King came. But before the King's coming the House of Commons met; and upon information given them of a Bill intended to be brought in, as common report said, for Comprehension, they did mightily and generally inveigh against it, and did vote that the King should be desired by the House, and the message delivered by the Privy-counsellors of the House, that the laws against breakers of the Act for Uniformity should be put in execution: and it was moved in the House that if any people had a mind to bring any new laws into the House about religion, they might come as a proposer of new laws did in Athens, with ropes about their necks. By and by the King comes to the Lords' House, and there tells them of his league with Holland, and the necessity of a fleet, and his debts; and, therefore, want of money; and his desire that they would think of some way to bring in all his Protestant subjects to a right understanding and peace one with another; meaning the Bill of Comprehension. The Commons coming to their House, it was moved that the vote passed this morning might be suspended, because of the King's Speech, till the House was full and called over, two days hence: but it was denied, so furious they are against this Bill; and thereby a great blow either given to the King or Presbyters, or, which is the rather of the two, to the House itself, by denying a thing desired by the King, and so much desired by much the greater part of the nation. Whatever the consequence be, if the King be a man of any stomach and heat, all do believe that he will resent this vote. Read over and agreed upon the deed of settlement to our minds: my sister to have 600*l.* presently, and she to be joynured in 60*l.* per annum; wherein I am very well satisfied.

11th. To Pemberton's* chamber. It was pretty here to see the heaps of money upon this lawyer's table; and more, to see how he had not since last night spent any time upon our business, but begun with telling us that we were not at all concerned in that Act; which was a total mistake, by his not having read over the Act at all.

12th. My cosen Roger told me the pleasant passage of a fellow's

* Francis Pemberton, afterwards knighted, and made Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench 1679.

bringing a bag of letters to-day into the lobby of the House, where he left them, and withdrew himself without observation. The bag being opened, the letters were found all of one size, and directed with one hand : a letter to most of the Members of the House. The House was acquainted with it, and voted they should be brought in and one opened by the Speaker; wherein if he found any thing unfit to communicate, to propose a Committee to be chosen for it. The Speaker opening one, found it only a case with a libell in it, printed : a satire most sober and bitter as ever I read ; and every letter was the same. So the House fell a-scrambling for them like boys ; and my cosen Roger had one directed to him, which he lent me to read.

13th. Mr. Brisband tells me in discourse that Tom Killigrew hath a fee out of the Wardrobe for cap and bells, under the title of the King's Foole or Jester ; and may revile or jeere any body, the greatest person, without offence, by the privilege of his place. This morning Sir G. Carteret come to the office to see and talk with me : and he assures me that to this day the King is the most kind man to my Lord Sandwich in the whole world ; that he himself do not now mind any publick business, but suffers things to go on at Court as they will, he seeing all likely to come to ruin : that this morning the Duke of York sent to him to come to make up one of a Committee of the Council for Navy Affairs ; upon which, when he came, he told the Duke of York that he was none of them : which shews how things are now-a-days ordered, that there should be a Committee for the Navy, and the Lord Admirall knows not the persons of it ; and that Sir G. Carteret and my Lord Anglesy should be left out of it, and men wholly improper put into it. I do hear of all hands that there is great difference at this day between my Lord Arlington and Sir W. Coventry ; which I am sorry for.

14th. I to my office to perfect my Narrative about prize-goods ; and did carry it to the Commissioners of Accounts, who did receive it with great kindness, and express great value of and respect to me : and my heart is at rest that it is lodged there in so full truth and plainness, though it may hereafter prove some loss to me. But here I do see they are entered into many enquiries about prizes, by the great

attendance of commanders and others before them ; which is a work I am not sorry for. Thence I away, with my head busy but my heart at pretty good ease, to visit Colonell Thomson, one of the Committee of Accounts ; who among the rest is mighty kind to me, and is likely to mind our business more than any ; and I would be glad to have a good understanding with him. Thence after dinner to White Hall to attend the Duke of York ; where I did let him know too the troublesome life we lead, and particularly myself, by being obliged to such attendances every day as I am, on one Committee or other. And I do find the Duke of York himself troubled, and willing not to be troubled with occasions of having his name used among the Parliament ; though he himself do declare that he did give directions to Lord Brouncker to discharge the men at Chatham by ticket, and will own it if the House call for it, but not else. Thence I attended the King and Council, and some of the rest of us, in a business to be heard about the value of a ship of one Dorrington's. And it was pretty to observe how Sir W. Pen, making use of this argument against the validity of an oath, against the King, being made by the master's mate of the ship, who was but a fellow of about 23 years of age ; the master of the ship, against whom we pleaded, did say that he did think himself at that age capable of being master's mate of any ship ; and do know that he, Sir W. Pen, was so himself, and in no better degree at that age himself : which word did strike Sir W. Pen mad, and made him open his mouth no more ; and I saw the King and Duke of York wink at one another at it. This done, we into the Gallery ; and there I walked with several people, and among others my Lord Brouncker ; who I do find under much trouble still about the business of the tickets, his very case being brought in, as is said, this day in the Report of the Miscarriages. And he seems to lay much of it on me, which I did clear and satisfy him in ; and would be glad with all my heart to serve him in, and have done it more than he hath done for himself, he not deserving the least blame, but commendations, for this. I met with my cosen Roger Pepys and Creed ; and from them understand that the Report was read to-day of the Miscarriages, wherein my Lord Sandwich is named about the business I mentioned this

morning; but I will be at rest, for it can do him no hurt. Our business of tickets is soundly up, and many others: so they went over them again, and spent all the morning on the first, which is the dividing of the fleet; wherein hot work was, and that among great men, Privy-counsellors, and, they say, Sir W. Coventry; but I do not much fear it, but do hope that it will shew a little of the Duke of Albemarle and the Prince to have been advisers in it: but whereas they ordered that the King's Speech should be considered to-day, they took no notice of it at all, but are really come to despise the King in all possible ways of shewing it. And it was the other day a strange saying, as I am told by my cosen Roger Pepys, in the House, when it was moved that the King's Speech should be considered, that though the first part of the Speech, meaning the league that is there talked of, be the only good publick thing that hath been done since the King come into England, yet it might bear with being put off to consider till Friday next, which was this day. Secretary Morrice did this day in the House, when they talked of intelligence, say that he was allowed but 700*l.* a-year for intelligence; whereas in Cromwell's time he did allow 70,000*l.* a-year for it; and was confirmed therein by Colonell Birch, who said that thereby Cromwell carried the secrets of all the princes of Europe at his girdle. The House is in a most broken condition; nobody adhering to any thing, but reviling and finding fault: and now quite mad at the Undertakers, as they are commonly called, Littleton, Lord Vaughan, Sir R. Howard, and others that are brought over to the Court, and did undertake to get the King money: but they despise and will not hear them in the House; and the Court do do as much, seeing that they cannot be useful to them, as was expected. In short, it is plain that the King will never be able to do any thing with this Parliament; and that the only likely way to do better (for it cannot do worse) is to break this and call another Parliament; and some do think that it is intended. I was told to-night that my Lady Castlemaine is so great a gamester as to have won 15,000*l.* in one night, and lost 25,000*l.* in another night at play, and hath played 1000*l.* and 1500*l.* at a cast.

16th. Mr. Hollier* dined with my wife and me. Much discourse

* He was a Surgeon.

about the bad state of the Church, and how the Clergy are come to be men of no worth in the world ; and, as the world do now generally discourse, they must be reformed : and I believe the Hierarchy will in a little time be shaken, whether they will or no ; the King being offended with them and set upon it, as I hear.

17th. Great high words in the House on Saturday last upon the first part of the Committee's Report about the dividing of the fleet ; wherein some would have the counsels of the King to be declared, and the reasons of them, and who did give them ; where Sir W. Coventry laid open to them the consequences of doing that, that the King would never have any honest and wise men ever to be of his Council. They did here in the House talk boldly of the King's bad Counsellors, and how they must all be turned out, and many others, and better brought in : and the proceedings of the Long-Parliament in the beginning of the war were called to memory ; and the King's bad intelligence was mentioned, wherein they were bitter against my Lord Arlington, saying, among other things, that whatever Morrice's was, who declared he had but 750*l.* a-year allowed him for intelligence, the King paid too dear for my Lord Arlington's in giving him 10,000*l.* and a Barony for it. Sir W. Coventry did here come to his defence in the business of the letter that was sent to call back Prince Rupert after he was divided from the fleet, wherein great delay was objected ; but he did shew that he sent it at one in the morning, when the Duke of York did give him the instructions after supper that night, and did clear himself well of it : only it was laid as a fault, which I know not how he removes, of not sending it by an express, but by the ordinary post ; it coming not to Sir Philip Honiwood's hand at Portsmouth till four in the afternoon that day, being about fifteen or sixteen hours in going. The dividing of the fleet however is, I hear, voted a miscarriage, and the not building a fortification at Sheerness : and I have reason every hour to expect that they will vote the like of our paying men off by ticket ; and what the consequence of that will be, I know not.

18th. Sir W. Coventry and I did look over the list of commanders, and found that we could presently recollect thirty-seven commanders that have been killed in actual service this war. He tells me that Sir

Fr. Hollis is the main man that hath prosecuted him hitherto in the business of dividing the fleet, saying vainly that the want of that letter to the Prince hath given him that that he shall remember it by to his grave, meaning the loss of his arme^{*}; when, God knows, he is as idle and insignificant a fellow as ever came into the fleet. I well remember what in mirth he said to me this morning, when upon this discourse he said if ever there was another Dutch war they should not find a Secretary; "Nor," said I, "a Clerk of the Acts, for I see the reward of it; and, thank God, I have enough of my own to buy me a good book and a good fiddle, and I have a good wife;"—"Why," says he, "I have enough to buy me a good book, and shall not need a fiddle, because I have never a one of your good wives." This morning the House is upon a Bill, brought in to-day by Sir Richard Temple, for obliging the King to call Parliaments every three years; or if he fail, for others to be obliged to do it, and to keep him from a power of dissolving any Parliament in less than forty days after their first day of sitting: which is such a Bill as do speak very high proceedings to the lessening of the King; and this they will carry, and whatever else they desire, before they will give any money; and the King must have money, whatever it cost him. I to see Kate Joyce; where I find her and her friends in great ease of mind, the Jury having this day given in their verdict that her husband died of a fever. Some opposition there was, the foreman pressing them to declare the cause of the fever, thinking thereby to obstruct it; but they did adhere to their verdict, and would give no reason: so all trouble is now over, and she safe in her estate.

19th. In the evening to White Hall; where I find Sir W. Coventry a great while with the Duke of York in the King's drawing-room, they two talking together all alone; which did mightily please me. I do hear how La Roche, a French captain, who was once prisoner here, being with his ship at Plymouth, hath played some freakes there, for which his men being beat out of the town, he hath put up a flag of defiance, and also somewhere there about did land with his men and go a mile into the country, and did some prank; which sounds pretty

* *Vide* Note to page 64.

odd to our disgrace, but we are in condition now to bear any thing. But, blessed be God! all the Court is full of good news of my Lord Sandwich's having made a peace between Spain and Portugall; which is mighty great news, and above all to my Lord's honour more than any thing he ever did; and yet I do fear it will not prevail to secure him in Parliament against incivilities there.

20th. The House most of the morning upon the business of not prosecuting the first victory; which they have voted one of the greatest miscarriages of the whole war, though they cannot lay the fault any where yet, because Harman is not come home. Dined, and by one o'clock to the King's house: a new play, "The Duke of Lerma," of Sir Robert Howard's: where the King and Court was; and Knipp and Nell spoke the prologue most excellently, especially Knipp, who spoke beyond any creature I ever heard. The play designed to reproach our King with his mistresses, that I was troubled for it, and expected it should be interrupted; but it ended all well, which salved all.

21st. The House this day is still as backward for giving any money as ever, and do declare they will first have an account of the disposals of the last Poll-bill, and eleven months' tax. And it is pretty odde that the very first sum mentioned in the account brought in by Sir Robert Long of the disposal of the Poll-bill money is 5000*l.* to my Lord Arlington for intelligence; which was mighty unseasonable, so soon after they had so much cried out against his want of intelligence. The King do also own but 250,000*l.* or thereabouts yet paid on the Poll-bill, and that he hath charged 350,000*l.* upon it. This makes them mad; for that the former Poll-bill, that was so much less in its extent than the last, which took in all sexes and qualities, did come to 350,000*l.* Upon the whole, I perceive they are like to do nothing in this matter to please the King, or relieve the State, be the case never so pressing; and therefore it is thought by a great many that the King cannot be worse if he should dissolve them; but there is nobody dares advise it, nor do he consider any thing himself. My cosen Roger Pepys shewed me Granger's written confession, of his being forced by imprisonment, &c. by my Lord Gerard, most barbarously to confess

his forging of a deed in behalf of Fitton, in the great case between him and my Lord Gerard; which business is under examination, and is the foulest against my Lord Gerard that ever any thing in the world was, and will, all do believe, ruine him; and I shall be glad of it.

22d. To the Duke's playhouse, and there saw "Alblemanazar*," an old play, this the second time of acting. It is said to have been the ground of B. Jonson's "Alchymist;" but, saving the ridiculousnesse of Angell's part, which is called Trinkilo, I do not see any thing extraordinary in it, but was indeed weary of it before it was done. The King here; and indeed all of us pretty merry at the mimique tricks of Trinkilo.

23d. I met with Sir W. Coventry, and he and I walked awhile together in the Matted Gallery; and there he told me all the proceedings yesterday: that the matter is found in general a miscarriage, but no persons named; and so there is no great matter to our prejudice yet, till, if ever, they come to particular persons. He told me Birch was very industrious to do what he could, and did like a friend; but they were resolved to find the thing in general a miscarriage: and says, that when we shall think fit to desire its being heard, as to our own defence, it will be granted. He tells me how he hath with advantage cleared himself in what concerns himself therein, by his servant Robson; which I am glad of. He tells me that there is a letter sent by conspiracy to some of the House, which he hath seen, about the manner of selling of places; which he do believe he shall be called upon to-morrow for: and thinks himself well prepared to defend himself in it; and then neither he nor his friends for him are afraid of any thing to his prejudice. Thence by coach with Brisband to Sir G. Carteret's, in Lincoln's Inn-fields, and there dined: a good dinner and good company. And after dinner he and I alone, discoursing of my Lord Sandwich's matters; who hath, in the first business before the House, been very kindly used beyond expectation, the matter being laid by till his coming home: and old Mr. Vaughan did speak for my Lord; which I am mighty glad of. The business of

* Albumazar, a comedy, by Tomkins of Trin. Coll. Cambridge.

the prizes is the worst that can be said, and therein I do fear something may lie hard upon him; but against this we must prepare the best we can for his defence. Thence with Sir G. Carteret to White Hall; where finding a meeting of the Committee of the Council for the Navy, his Royal Highness there, and Sir W. Pen, and some of the Brethren of the Trinity House to attend, I did go in with them. And it was to be informed of the practice heretofore, for all foreign nations at enmity one with another to forbear any acts of hostility to one another in the presence of any of the King of England's ships; of which several instances were given: and it is referred to their further enquiry, in order to the giving instructions accordingly to our ships now during the war between Spain and France. Would to God we were in the same condition as heretofore, to challenge and maintain this our dominion! Thence with W. Pen homeward, and quite through to Mile End for a little ayre; the days being now pretty long, but the ways mighty dirty. Going back again, Sir R. Brookes overtook us coming to town; who played the jacke with us all, and is a fellow that I must trust no more, he quoting me for all he hath said in this business of tickets; though I have told him nothing that either is not true, or I afraid to own. But here talking he did discourse in this stile: "We," and We all along, "will not give any money, be the pretence never so great, nay, though the enemy was in the River of Thames again, till we know what is become of the last money given." And I do believe he do speak the mind of his fellows; and so let him. This evening my wife did with great pleasure shew me her stock of jewells, encreased by the ring she hath made lately as my Valentine's gift this year, a Turkey stone set with diamonds: and with this, and what she had, she reckons that she hath above 150*l.* worth of jewells of one kind or other; and I am glad of it, for it is fit the wretch should have something to content herself with.

24th. Meeting Dr. Gibbons,* he and I to see an organ at the Dean of Westminster's lodgings at the Abby, the Bishop of Rochester's;†

* Christopher Gibbons, Organist to the King and of Westminster Abbey. He was admitted Doctor of Music at Oxford 1664, and died 1676.

† John Dolben; afterwards translated to York.

where he lives like a great prelate, his lodgings being very good ; though at present under great disgrace at Court, being put by his Clerk of the Closet's place. I saw his lady, of whom the *Terræ Filius* of Oxford was once so merry ; and two children, whereof one a very pretty little boy, like him, so fat and black. Here I saw the organ ; but it is too big for my house, and the fashion do not please me enough ; and therefore I will not have it. To the Nursery, where none of us ever were before ; where the house is better and the musique better than we looked for, and the acting not much worse, because I expected as bad as could be : and I was not much mistaken, for it was so. I was prettily served this day at the playhouse-door ; where, giving six shillings into the fellow's hand for three of us, the fellow by legerdemain did convey one away, and with so much grace faced me down that I did give him but five, that, though I knew the contrary, yet I was overpowered by his so grave and serious demanding the other shilling, that I could not deny him, but was forced by myself to give it him.

26th. To Westminster Hall, where, it being now about six o'clock, I find the House just risen ; and met with Sir W. Coventry and the Lieutenant of the Tower, they having sat all day ; and with great difficulty have got a vote for giving the King 300,000*l.*, not to be raised by any land-tax. The sum is much smaller than I expected, and than the King needs ; but is grounded upon Mr. Wren's reading our estimates the other day of 270,000*l.* to keep the fleet abroad, wherein we demanded nothing for setting and fitting of them out, which will cost almost 200,000*l.* I do verily believe : and do believe that the King hath no cause to thank Wren for this motion. I home to Sir W. Coventry's lodgings with him and the Lieutenant of the Tower, where also was Sir John Coventry, and Sir John Duncomb, and Sir Job Charleton*. And here a great deal of good discourse : and they seem mighty glad to have this vote pass ; which I did wonder at, to see them so well satisfied with so small a sum, Sir John

* M. P. for Ludlow ; and in 1663 elected Speaker, which office he resigned on account of ill health. He was successively King's Serjeant, Chief Justice of Chester, and a Justice of the Common Pleas ; created a Baronet 1686, and ob. 1697.

Duncomb swearing (as I perceive he will freely do) that it was as much as the nation could beare.

27th. With my wife to the King's house to see "The Virgin Martyr *," the first time it hath been acted a great while: and it is mighty pleasant; not that the play is worth much, but it is finely acted by Beck Marshall. But that which did please me beyond any thing in the whole world, was the wind-musique when the angel comes down; which is so sweet that it ravished me, and indeed, in a word, did wrap up my soul so that it made me really sick, just as I have formerly been when in love with my wife; that neither then, nor all the evening going home, and at home, I was able to think of any thing, but remained all night transported, so as I could not believe that ever any musique hath that real command over the soul of a man as this did upon me; and makes me resolve to practice wind-musique, and to make my wife do the like.

28th. After dinner with Sir W. Pen to White Hall, where we and the rest of us presented a great letter of the state of our want of money to his Royal Highness. I did also present a demand of mine for consideration for my travelling-charges of coach and boat-hire during the war: which, though his Royal Highness and the company did all like of, yet, contrary to my expectation, I find him so jealous now of doing any thing extraordinary, that he desired the gentlemen that they would consider it, and report their minds in it to him. This did unsettle my mind a great while, not expecting this stop: but, however, I shall do as well, I know, though it causes me a little stop. But that that troubles me most is, that while we were thus together with the Duke of York, comes in Mr. Wren from the House; where, he tells us, another storm hath been all this day almost against the officers of the Navy upon this complaint,—that though they have made good rules for payment of tickets, yet that they have not observed them themselves; which was driven so high as to have it urged that we should presently be put out of our places: and so they have at last ordered that we shall be heard at the bar of the House upon this

* A tragedy, by Massinger.

business on Thursday next. This did mightily trouble me and us all ; but me particularly, who am least able to bear these troubles, though I have the least cause to be concerned in it. Thence therefore to visit Sir H. Cholmly, who hath for some time been ill of a cold ; and thence walked towards Westminster, and met Colonell Birch, who took me back to walk with him, and did give me an account of this day's heat against the Navy-officers, and an account of his speech on our behalf, which was very good. And indeed we are much beholden to him, as I, after I parted with him, did find by my cosen Roger, whom I went to : and he and I to his lodgings. And there he did tell me the same over again ; and how Birch did stand up in our defence ; and that he do see that there are many desirous to have us out of the office ; and the House is so furious and passionate that he thinks nobody can be secure, let him deserve never so well. But now, he tells me, we shall have a fair hearing of the House, and he hopes justice of them : but upon the whole, he do agree with me that I should hold my hand as to making any purchase of land, which I had formerly discoursed with him about, till we see a little further how matters go. He tells me that what made them so mad to-day first was, several letters in the House about the Fanatickes in several places coming in great bodies and turning people out of the churches, and there preaching themselves, and pulling the surplice over the parsons' heads : this was confirmed from several places ; which makes them stark mad, especially the hectors and bravadoes of the House, who shew all the zeal on this occasion.

29th. They tell me how Sir Thomas Allen hath taken the Englishmen out of La Roche's ship, and taken from him an Ostend prize which La Roche had fetched out of our harbours. And at this day La Roche keeps upon our coasts ; and had the boldness to land some men and go a mile up into the country, and there took some goods belonging to this prize out of a house there : which our King resents, and, they say, hath wrote to the King of France about. And every body do think a war will follow ; and then in what a case we shall be for want of money, nobody knows. Wrote to my father, and sent him Colvill's note for 600*l.* for my sister's portion.

March 1st. Lord's-day. Up very betimes, and by coach to Sir W. Coventry's; and there largely carrying with me all my notes and papers, did run over our whole defence in the business of tickets, in order to the answering the House on Thursday next; and I do think, unless they be set without reason to ruin us, we shall make a good defence. I find him in great anxiety, though he will not discover it, in the business of the proceedings of Parliament; and would as little as is possible have his name mentioned in our discourse to them. And particularly the business of selling places is now upon his hand to defend himself in; wherein I did help him in his defence about the flag-maker's place, which is named in the House. We did here do the like about the complaint of want of victuals in the fleet in the year 1666, which will lie upon me to defend also.

2d. Mr. Moore was with me, and do tell me, and so W. Hewer tells me, he hears this morning that all the town is full of the discourse that the officers of the Navy shall be all turned out, but honest Sir John Minnes; who, God knows, is fitter to have been turned out himself than any of us, doing the King more hurt by his dotage and folly than all the rest can do by their knavery, if they had a mind to it. This day I have the news that my sister was married on Thursday last to Mr. Jackson; so that work is, I hope, well over.

3d. Up betimes to work again, and then met at the office, where to our great business of this answer to the Parliament; where to my great vexation I find my Lord Brouncker prepared only to excuse himself; while I, that have least reason to trouble myself, am preparing with great pains to defend them all: and more, I perceive he would lodge the beginning of discharging ships by ticket upon me; but I care not, for I believe I shall get more honour by it when the Parliament against my will shall see how the whole business of the office was done by me. Down by water to Deptford; where the King, Queene, and Court are to see launched the new ship built by Mr. Shish, called "The Charles." God send her better luck than the former! Here some of our brethren, who went in a boat a little before my boat, did by appointment take opportunity of asking the King's leave that we might make full use of the want of money in our excuse

to the Parliament for the business of tickets and other things they will lay to our charge, all which arise from nothing else: and this the King did readily agree to, and did give us leave to make our full use of it. The ship being well launched, I back again by boat.

5th. To Westminster; where I found myself come time enough, and my brethren all ready. But I full of thoughts and trouble touching the issue of this day: and to comfort myself did go to the Dog and drink half-a-pint of mulled sack, and in the hall did drink a dram of brandy at Mrs. Hewlett's; and with the warmth of this did find myself in better order as to courage, truly. So we all up to the lobby; and between eleven and twelve o'clock were called in, with the mace before us, into the House; where a mighty full House: and we stood at the bar; namely, Brouncker, Sir J. Minnes, Sir T. Harvey, and myself, W. Pen being in the House as a Member. I perceive the whole House was full of expectation of our defence what it would be, and with great prejudice. After the Speaker had told us the dissatisfaction of the House, and read the Report of the Committee, I began our defence most acceptably and smoothly, and continued at it without any hesitation or losse, but with full scope, and all my reason free about me, as if it had been at my own table, from that time till past three in the afternoon; and so ended, without any interruption from the Speaker; but we withdrew. And there all my fellow-officers, and all the world that was within hearing, did congratulate me, and cry up my speech as the best thing they ever heard; and my fellow-officers were overjoyed in it. And we were called in again by and by to answer only one question touching our paying tickets to ticket-mongers: and so out. And we were in hopes to have had a vote this day in our favour, and so the generality of the House was; but my speech being so long, many had gone out to dinner and come in again half-drunk. And then there are two or three that are professed enemies to us and every body else; among others, Sir T. Littleton, Sir Thomas Lee,* Mr. Wiles, (the coxcomb whom I saw heretofore at the cock-fighting,) and a few others: I say, these did rise up and speak against the coming to a vote

* Of Hartwell, Bucks; created a Baronet 1660.

now, the House not being full by reason of several being at dinner, but most because that the House was to attend the King this afternoon about the business of religion (wherein they pray him to put in force all the laws against Nonconformists and Papists): and this prevented it, so that they put it off to to-morrow come se'nnight. However, it is plain we have got great ground; and every body says I have got the most honour that any could have had opportunity of getting: and so our hearts mightily overjoyed at this success. After dinner to the King's house, and there saw part of "The Discontented Colonell*."

6th. Up betimes, and with Sir D. Gauden to Sir W. Coventry's chamber; where the first word he said to me was, "Good-morrow, Mr. Pepys, that must be Speaker of the Parliament-house:" and did protest I had got honour for ever in Parliament. He said that his brother, that sat by him, admires me; and another gentleman said that I could not get less than 1000*l.* a-year, if I would put on a gown and plead at the Chancery-bar. But, what pleases me most, he tells me that the Solicitor-generall did protest that he thought I spoke the best of any man in England. After several talks with him alone touching his own businesses, he carried me to White Hall; and there parted. And I to the Duke of York's lodgings, and find him going to the Parke, it being a very fine morning; and I after him: and as soon as he saw me, he told me with great satisfaction that I had converted a great many yesterday, and did with great praise of me go on with the discourse with me. And by and by overtaking the King, the King and Duke of York came to me both; and he† said, "Mr. Pepys, I am very glad of your success yesterday:" and fell to talk of my well speaking. And many of the Lords there. My Lord Barkeley did cry me up for what they had heard of it; and others, Parliament-men there about the King, did say that they never heard such a speech in their lives delivered in that manner. Progers of the Bedchamber swore to me afterwards before Brouncker, in the afternoon, that he did tell the King that he thought I might match the Solicitor-generall. Every body that saw me almost came to me, as Joseph Williamson

* Brennoralt, or The Discontented Colonel; a tragedy, by Sir John Suckling.

† The King.

and others, with such eulogys as cannot be expressed. From thence I went to Westminster Hall; where I met Mr. G. Montagu, who came to me and kissed me, and told me that he had often heretofore kissed my hands, but now he would kiss my lips; protesting that I was another Cicero, and said, all the world said the same of me. Mr. Ashburnham, and every creature I met there of the Parliament, or that knew any thing of the Parliament's actings, did salute me with this honour: Mr. Godolphin; Mr. Sands, who swore he would go twenty miles at any time to hear the like again, and that he never saw so many sit four hours together to hear any man in his life as there did to hear me. Mr. Chichly, Sir John Duncomb, and every body do say that the kingdom will ring of my abilities, and that I have done myself right for my whole life; and so Captain Cocke and others of my friends say that no man had ever such an opportunity of making his abilities known. And that I may cite all at once, Mr. Lieutenant of the Tower did tell me that Mr. Vaughan did protest to him, and that in his hearing it said so to the Duke of Albemarle, and afterwards to Sir W. Coventry, that he had sat twenty-six years in Parliament and never heard such a speech there before: for which the Lord God make me thankful; and that I may make use of it, not to pride and vain-glory, but that, now I have this esteem, I may do nothing that may lessen it! To White Hall to wait on the Duke of York; where he again and all the company magnified me, and several in the Gallery: among others, my Lord Gerard, who never knew me before nor spoke to me, desires his being better acquainted with me; and that, at table where he was, he never heard so much said of any man as of me in his whole life. So waited on the Duke of York, and thence into the Gallery, where the House of Lords waited the King's coming out of the Park; which he did by and by. And there in the Vane-roome my Lord Keeper delivered a Message to the King, the Lords being about him, wherein the Barons of England, from many good arguments very well expressed in the part he read out of, do demand precedence in England of all noblemen of either of the King's other two kingdoms, be their title what it will; and did shew that they were in England reputed but as Commoners, and sat in the House of Com-

mons, and at conferences with the Lords did stand bare. It was mighty worth my hearing; but the King did say only that he would consider of it, and so dismissed them.

8th. With Sir W. Coventry, who I find full of care in his own business, how to defend himself against those that have a mind to choque him; and though I believe not for honour and for the keeping his employment, but for safety and reputation's sake, is desirous to preserve himself free from blame.

9th. By coach to White Hall, and there met Lord Brouncker: and he and I to the Commissioners of the Treasury; where I find them mighty kind to me, more, I think, than was wont. And here I also met Colvill the goldsmith; who tells me, with great joy, how the world upon the 'Change talks of me; and how several Parliament-men, viz. Boscawen* and Major Walden of Huntingdon, who it seems do deal with him, do say how bravely I did speak, and that the House was ready to have given me thanks for it: but that, I think, is a vanity.

10th. With Sir D. Gauden homewards, calling at Lincolne's Inn-fields. But my Lady Jemimah was not within: and so to Newgate, where he stopped to give directions to the jaylor about a Knight, one Sir Thomas Halford †, brought in yesterday for killing one Colonell Temple, falling out at a tavern. Home; and there comes Mr. Moore to me; who tells me that he fears my Lord Sandwich will meet with very great difficulties to go through about the prizes, it being found that he did give orders for more than the King's letter do justify; and then for the Act of Resumption, which he fears will go on, and is designed only to do him hurt; which troubles me much. He tells me he believes the Parliament will not be brought to do any thing in matters of religion, but will adhere to the Bishops.

11th. Meeting Mr. Colvill I walked with him to his building, where he is building a fine house, where he formerly lived, in Lumbard-street: and it will be a very fine street. So to Westminster; and there walked, till by and by comes Sir W. Coventry, and with him Mr. Chichly and Mr. Andrew Newport. I to dinner with them to Mr. Chichly's in Queene-street, in Covent Garden. A very fine house, and

* Edward Boscawen, M. P. for Truro.

† Of Welham, Leicestershire, Baronet.

a man that lives in mighty great fashion, with all things in a most extraordinary manner noble and rich about him, and eats in the French fashion all; and mighty nobly served with his servants, and very civilly; that I was mighty pleased with it: and good discourse. He is a great defender of the Church of England, and against the Act for Comprehension; which is the work of this day, about which the House is like to sit till night. After dinner with them back to Westminster. Captain Cocke told me that the Speaker says he never heard such a defence made in all his life in the House, and that the Solicitor-generall do commend me even to envy.

12th. To Gresham College, there to shew myself; and was there greeted by Dr. Wilkins, Whistler, and others, as the patron of the Navy-office, and one that got great fame by my late speech to the Parliament.

13th. At noon all of us to Chatelin, the French house in Covent Garden, to dinner; Brouncker, J. Minnes, W. Pen, T. Harvey, and myself; and there had a dinner cost us 8s. 6d. a-piece, a base dinner, which did not please us at all. My head being full of to-morrow's dinner, I to my Lord Crewe's, there to invite Sir Thomas Crewe; and there met with my Lord Hinchingbroke and his lady, the first time I spoke to her. I saluted her; and she mighty civil; and, with my Lady Jemimah, do all resolve to be very merry to-morrow at my house. My Lady Hinchingbroke I cannot say is a beauty, nor ugly; but is altogether a comely lady enough, and seems very good-humoured. Thence home; and there find one laying of my napkins against to-morrow in figures of all sorts; which is mighty pretty; and it seems it is his trade, and he gets much money by it.

14th. Up very betimes, and with Jane to Levett's, there to conclude upon our dinner; and thence to the pewterer's to buy a pewter sesterne, which I have ever hitherto been without. Anon comes my company, viz. my Lord Hinchingbroke and his lady, Sir Philip Carteret and his lady, Godolphin and my cosen Roger, and Creed: and mighty merry; and by and by to dinner, which was very good and plentiful: (and I should have said, and Mr. George Montagu, who came at a very little warning, which was exceeding kind of him.) And there, among other

things, my Lord had Sir Samuel Morland's late invention for casting up of sums of £. s. d.; which is very pretty, but not very useful. Most of our discourse was of my Lord Sandwich and his family, as being all of us of the family. And with extraordinary pleasure all the afternoon, thus together eating and looking over my closet: and my Lady Hinchinbroke I find a very sweet-natured and well-disposed lady, a lover of books and pictures, and of good understanding. About five o'clock they went; and then my wife and I abroad by coach into Moore-fields, only for a little ayre.

15th. Walked with Sir W. Coventry into the Park, and there met the King and the Duke of York, and walked a good while with them: and here met Sir Jer. Smith, who tells me he is like to get the better of Holmes, and that when he is come to an end of that he will do Hollis's business for him in the House for his blasphemies; which I shall be glad of. So to White Hall, and there walked with this man and that man till chapel done and the King dined: and then Sir Thomas Clifford the Comptroller took me with him to dinner to his lodgings, where my Lord Arlington and a great deal of good and great company; where I very civilly used by them, and had a most excellent dinner. And good discourse of Spain, Mr. Godolphin being there; particularly of the removal of the bodies of all the dead Kings of Spain that could be got together, and brought to the Pantheon at the Escorial (when it was finished) and there placed before the altar, there to lie for ever: and there was a sermon made to them upon this text, "*Arida ossa, audite verbum Dei*;" and a most eloquent sermon, as they say.

17th. To the Excise-office, where I met Mr. Ball, and did receive my paper I went for; and there fell in talk with him, who being an old cavalier do swear and curse at the present state of things, that we should be brought to this, that we must be undone and cannot be saved; that the Parliament is sitting now, and will till midnight, to find how to raise this 300,000*l.* and doubts they will not do it so as to be seasonable for the King: but do cry out against all our great men at Court; how it is a fine thing for a Secretary of State to dance a jig, and that it was not so heretofore; and, above all, do curse my Lord of

Bristoll, saying the worst news that ever he heard in his life, or that the Devil could ever bring us, was this Lord's coming to prayers the other day in the House of Lords, by which he is coming about again from being a Papist, which will undo this nation; and he says he ever did say at the King's first coming in, that this nation could not be safe while that man was alive. The house, I hear, have this day concluded upon raising 100,000*l.* of the 300,000*l.* by wine, and the rest by a poll, and have resolved to excuse the Church, in expectation that they will do the more of themselves at this juncture; and I do hear that Sir W. Coventry did make a speech in behalf of the clergy.

18th. To White Hall, where we and my Lord Brouncker attended the Council, to discourse about the fitness of entering of men presently for the manning of the fleet, before one ship is in condition to receive them. Sir W. Coventry did argue against it: I was wholly silent, because I saw the King upon the earnestness of the Prince was willing to it, crying very civilly, "If ever you intend to man the fleet without being cheated by the captains and pursers, you may go to bed and resolve never to have it manned." And so it was, like other things, over-ruled that all volunteers should be presently entered. Then there was another great business about our signing of certificates to the Exchequer for goods upon the 1,250,000*l.* Act; which the Commissioners of the Treasury did all oppose, and to the laying fault upon us. But I did then speak to the justifying what we had done even to the angering of Duncomb and Clifford; which I was vexed at: but for all that, I did set the office and myself right, and went away with the victory, my Lord Keeper saying that he would not advise the Council to order us to sign more certificates. But before I began to say any thing in this matter, the King and the Duke of York talking at the Council-table before all the Lords of the Committee of Miscarriages, how this entering of men before the ships could be ready would be reckoned a miscarriage; "Why," says the King, "it is then but Mr. Pepys making of another speech to them;" which made all the Lords (and there were by also the Attorny and Solicitor-generall) look upon me. Thence Sir W. Coventry, W. Pen, and I by hackney-coach to take a little ayre in Hide Parke, the first time that I have been there this year; and we

did meet many coaches going and coming, it being mighty pleasant weather. And so coming back again I light in the Pell Mell; and there went to see Sir H. Cholmly, who continues very ill of his cold. And there came in Sir H. Yelverton, and Sir H. Cholmly commended me to his acquaintance; which the other received, but without remembering to me, or I him, of our being school-fellows together; and I said nothing of it. But he took notice of my speech the other day at the bar of the House; and indeed I perceive he is a wise man. Here he do say that the town is full of it; that now the Parliament hath resolved upon 300,000*l.*; the King instead of fifty will set out but twenty-five ships, and the Dutch as many; and that Smith is to command them, who is allowed to have the better of Holmes in the late dispute, and is in good esteem in the Parliament above the other. Thence home, and there in favour to my eyes staid at home reading the ridiculous History of my Lord Newcastle, wrote by his wife; which shews her to be a mad, conceited, ridiculous woman, and he an asse to suffer her to write what she writes to him and of him. So to bed, my eyes being very bad; and I know not how in the world to abstain from reading.

19th. Walked all along Thames-street, which I have not done since it was burned, as far as Billingsgate; and there do see a brave street likely to be, many brave houses being built, and of them a great many by Mr. Jaggard; but the raising of the street will make it mighty fine.

20th. All the evening pricking down some things and trying some conclusions upon my viall, in order to the inventing a better theory of musique than hath yet been abroad; and I think verily I shall do it. This day at Court I do hear that Sir W. Pen do command this summer's fleet; and Mr. Progers of the Bedchamber as a secret told me that the Prince Rupert is troubled at it, and several friends of his have been with him to know the reason of it; so that he do pity Sir W. Pen, whom he hath great kindness for, that he should not at any desire of his be put to this service, and thereby make the Prince his enemy and contract more envy from other people.

24th. From the Duke's chamber Sir W. Coventry and I to walk in the Matted Gallery; and there, among other things, he tells me of

the wicked design that now is at last contriving against him, to get a petition presented from people, that the money they have paid to Sir W. Coventry for their places may be repaid them back; and that this is set on by Temple and Hollis of the Parliament, and, among other mean people in it, by Captain Tatnell: and he prays me that I will use some effectual way to sift Tatnell what he do and who puts him on in this business; which I do undertake, and will do with all my skill for his service, being troubled that he is still under this difficulty. Thence back to White Hall; where great talk of the tumult at the other end of the town, about Moore-fields, among the prentices, taking the liberty of these holydays to pull down brothels. And, Lord! to see the apprehensions which this did give to all people at Court, that presently order was given for all the soldiers, horse and foot, to be in armes; and forthwith alarmes were beat by drum and trumpet through Westminster, and all to their colours and to horse, as if the French were coming into the town. So Creed, whom I met here, and I to Lincolne's Inn-fields, thinking to have gone into the fields to have seen the prentices; but here we found these fields full of soldiers all in a body, and my Lord Craven commanding of them, and riding up and down to give orders like a madman. And some young men we saw brought by soldiers to the Guard at White Hall, and overheard others that stood by say that it was only for pulling down the brothels; and none of the bystanders finding fault with them, but rather of the soldiers for hindering them. And we heard a Justice of Peace this morning say to the King, that he had been endeavouring to suppress this tumult, but could not; and that imprisoning some of them in the new prison at Clerkenwell, the rest did come and break open the prison and release them; and that they do give out that they are for pulling down the brothels, which is one of the great grievances of the nation. To which the King made a very poor, cold, insipid answer: "Why, why do they go to them, then?"—and that was all, and had no mind to go on with the discourse. This evening I came home from White Hall with Sir W. Pen, who fell in talk about his going to sea this year, and the difficulties that arise to him by it, by giving offence to the Prince and occasioning envy to him, and many other things that make

it a bad matter at this time of want of money and necessaries, and bad and uneven counsels at home, for him to go abroad : and did tell me how much with the King and Duke of York he had endeavoured to be excused, desiring the Prince might be satisfied in it who hath a mind to go ; but he tells me they will not excuse him, and I believe it, and truly do judge it a piece of bad fortune to W. Pen.

25th. Up, and walked to White Hall, there to wait on the Duke of York ; which I did : and in his chamber there, first by hearing the Duke of York call me by my name, my Lord Burlington did come to me and with great respect take notice of me and my relation to my Lord Sandwich, and express great kindness to me ; and so to talk of my Lord Sandwich's concernments. By and by the Duke of York is ready ; and I did wait for an opportunity of speaking my mind to him about Sir J. Minnes, his being unable to do the King any service. The Duke of York and all with him this morning were full of the talk of the prentices, who are not yet put down, though the guards and militia of the town have been in armes all this night and the night before ; and the prentices have made fools of them, sometimes by running from them and flinging stones at them. Some blood hath been spilt, but a great many houses pulled down ; and, among others, the Duke of York was mighty merry at that of Daman Page's, the great bawd of the seamen ; and the Duke of York complained merrily that he hath lost two tenants, by their houses being pulled down, who paid him for their wine-licenses 15*l.* a-year. But these idle fellows have had the confidence to say that they did ill in contenting themselves in pulling down the little brothels, and did not go and pull down the great one at White Hall. And some of them have the last night had a word among them, and it was "Reformation and Reducement." This do make the courtiers ill at ease to see this spirit among people, though they think this matter will not come to much : but it speakes people's minds ; and then they do say that there are men of understanding among them, that have been of Cromwell's army : but how true that is, I know not.

26th. To the Duke of York's house to see the new play, called "The Man is the Master* ;" where the house was, it being not

* A comedy, by Sir Wm. Davenant, taken from Molière's "Joddelet."

one o'clock, very full. By and by the King came; and we sat just under him, so that I durst not turn my back all the play. The most of the mirth was sorry, poor stuffe, of eating of sack posset and slabbering themselves, and mirth fit for clownes: the prologue but poor, and the epilogue little in it but the extraordinariness of it, it being sung by Harris and another in the form of a ballet. My wife extraordinary fine to-day in her flower tabby suit, bought a year and more ago, before my mother's death put her into mourning, and so not worn till this day: and every body in love with it; and indeed she is very fine and handsome in it. Home in a coach round by the wall; where we met so many stops by the watches, that it cost us much time and some trouble, and more money, to every watch to them to drink; this being encreased by the trouble the prentices did lately give the City, so that the militia and watches are very strict at this time; and we had like to have met with a stop for all night at the constable's watch at Mooregate by a pragmatistical constable; but we came well home at about two in the morning. This noon from Mrs. Williams's my Lord Brouncker sent to Somerset House to hear how the Duchesse of Richmond do; and word was brought him that she is pretty well, but mighty full of the small-pox, by which all do conclude she will be wholly spoiled; which is the greatest instance of the uncertainty of beauty that could be in this age: but then she hath had the benefit of it to be first married, and to have kept it so long under the greatest temptations in the world from a King, and yet without the least imputation. This afternoon, at the play, Sir Fr. Hollis spoke to me as a secret and matter of confidence in me, and friendship to Sir W. Pen, who is now out of town, that it were well he were made acquainted that he finds in the House of Commons, which met this day, several motions made for the calling strictly again upon the miscarriages, and particularly in the business of the prizes and the not prosecuting of the first victory, only to give an affront to Sir W. Pen, whose going to sea this year does give them matter of great dislike.

27th. This day at noon comes Mr. Pelling to me, and shews me the stone cut lately out of Sir Thomas Adams's* (the old comely Alderman)

* Knight and Bart. Alderman of London; ob. 1667. He founded an Arabic Professorship at Cambridge.

body; which is very large indeed, bigger I think than my fist, and weighs above twenty-five ounces: and which is very miraculous, he never in all his life had any fit of it, but lived to a great age without pain, and died at last of something else, without any sense of this in all his life. This day Creed at White Hall in discourse told me what information he hath had from very good hands, of the cowardize and ill-government of Sir Jer. Smith and Sir Thomas Allen, and the repute they have both of them abroad in the Streights, from their deportment when they did at several times command there; and that, above all Englishmen that ever were there, there never was any man that behaved himself like poor Charles Wager, whom the very Moores do mention with teares sometimes.

29th. To church; and there did first find a strange reader, who could not find in the Service-book the place for churching women, but was fain to change books with the clerke: and then a stranger preached, a seeming able man; but said in his pulpit that God did a greater work in raising of an oake-tree from an acorn, than a man's body raising it at the last day from his dust (shewing the possibility of the Resurrection): which was, methought, a strange saying. Harris do so commend my wife's picture of Mr. Hales's, that I shall have him draw Harris's head; and he hath also persuaded me to have Cooper draw my wife's, which though it cost 30*l*. yet I will have done. I do hear by several that Sir W. Pen's going to sea do dislike the Parliament mightily, and that they have revived the Committee of Miscarriages to find something to prevent it; and that he being the other day with the Duke of Albemarle to ask his opinion touching his going to sea, the Duchesse overheard and came in to him, and asked W. Pen how he durst have the confidence to offer to go to sea again to the endangering the nation, when he knew himself such a coward as he was; which, if true, is very severe.

30th. By coach to Common-garden Coffee-house, where by appointment I was to meet Harris; which I did, and also Mr. Cooper the great painter, and Mr. Hales. And thence presently to Mr. Cooper's house to see some of his work; which is all in little, but so excellent as, though I must confess I do think the colouring of the flesh to be

a little forced, yet the painting is so extraordinary as I do never expect to see the like again. Here I did see Mrs. Stewart's picture as when a young maid, and now just done before her having the small-pox : and it would make a man weep to see what she was then, and what she is like to be by people's discourse now. Here I saw my Lord Generall's picture, and my Lord Arlington and Ashly's, and several others ; but among the rest one Swinfen that was Secretary to my Lord Manchester, Lord Chamberlain (with Cooling), done so admirably as I never saw any thing : but the misery was, this fellow died in debt and never paid Cooper for his picture ; but it being seized on by his creditors among his other goods after his death, Cooper himself says that he did buy it and give 25*l.* out of his purse for it, for what he was to have had but 30*l.* To White Hall and Westminster, where I find the Parliament still bogling about the raising of this money. And every body's mouth full now ; and Mr. Wren himself tells me that the Duke of York declares to go to sea himself this year ; and I perceive it is only on this occasion of distaste of the Parliament against W. Pen's going, and to prevent the Prince's : but I think it is mighty hot counsel for the Duke of York at this time to go out of the way ; but, Lord ! what pass are all our matters come to ! At noon by appointment to Cursitor's-alley in Chancery-lane, to meet Captain Cocke and some other creditors of the Navy, and their Counsel (Pemberton, North, Offly, and Charles Porter) ; and there dined, and talked of the business of the assignments on the Exchequer of the 1,250,000*l.* on behalf of our creditors ; and there I do perceive that the Counsel had heard of my performance in the Parliament-house lately, and did value me and what I said accordingly. At dinner we had a great deal of good discourse about Parliament ; their number being uncertain, and always at the will of the King to encrease as he saw reason to erect a new borough. But all concluded that the bane of the Parliament hath been the leaving off the old custom of the places allowing wages to those that served them in Parliament, by which they chose men that understood their business and would attend it, and they could expect an account from ; which now they cannot : and so the Parliament is become a company of men unable to give account for the interest of the place they

serve for. Thence, the meeting of the Counsel with the King's Counsel this afternoon being put off by reason of the death of Serjeant Maynard's* lady, I to White Hall, where the Parliament was to wait on the King; and they did: and he did think fit to tell them that they might expect to be adjourned at Whitsuntide, and that they might make haste to raise their money; but this, I fear, will displease them, who did expect to sit as long as they pleased.

April 2d. With Lord Brouncker to the Royall Society, where they had just done; but there I was forced to subscribe to the building of a college, and did give 40*l.*; and several others did subscribe, some greater and some less sums; but several I saw hang off: and I doubt it will spoil the Society, for it breeds faction and ill-will, and becomes burdensome to some that cannot or would not do it.

3d. As soon as we had done with the Duke of York we did attend the Council; and were there called in, and did hear Mr. Sollicitor make his Report to the Council in the business of a complaint against us, for having prepared certificates on the Exchequer for the further sum of 50,000*l.*; which he did in a most excellent manner of words, but most cruelly severe against us, and so were some of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, as men guilty of a practice with the tradesmen, to the King's prejudice. I was unwilling to enter into a contest with them; but took advantage of two or three words last spoke, and brought it to a short issue in good words, that if we had the King's order to hold our hands, we would; which did end the matter: and they all resolved we should have it, and so it ended. And so we away; I vexed that I did not speak more in a cause so fit to be spoke in, and wherein we had so much advantage; but perhaps I might have provoked the Sollicitor and the Commissioners of the Treasury, and therefore since I am not sorry that I forebore. This day I hear that Prince Rupert and Holmes do go to sea: and by this there is a seeming friendship and peace among our great seamen; but the devil a bit there is any love among them, or can be.

* John Maynard, an eminent lawyer; made Serjeant to Cromwell in 1653, and afterwards King's Serjeant by Charles II., who knighted him. In 1661 he was chosen Member for Berealston, and sat in every Parliament till the Revolution. Ob. 1690, aged 88.

4th. I did attend the Duke of York, and he did carry us to the King's lodgings: but he was asleep in his closet; so we stayed in the green-roome; where the Duke of York did tell us what rules he had of knowing the weather, and did now tell us we should have rain before to-morrow (it having been a dry season for some time), and so it did rain all night almost; and pretty rules he hath, and told Brouncker and me some of them, which were such as no reason can readily be given for them. By and by the King comes out: and then to talk of other things; about the Quakers not swearing, and how they do swear in the business of a late election of a Knight of the Shire of Hartfordshire in behalf of one they have a mind to have; and how my Lord of Pembroke says he hath heard the Quaker at the tennis-court swear to himself when he loses; and told us what pretty notions my Lord Pembroke hath of the first chapter of Genesis, and a great deal of such fooleries; which the King made mighty mockery at.

5th. I hear that eight of the ringleaders in the late tumults of the prentices at Easter are condemned to die.

6th. The King and Duke of York themselves in my absence did call for some of the Commissioners of the Treasury and give them directions about the business of the certificates; which I, despairing to do any thing on a Sunday, and not thinking that they would think of it themselves, did rest satisfied with, and stayed at home all yesterday, leaving it to do something in this day: but I find that the King and Duke of York had been so pressing in it, that my Lord Ashly was more forward with the doing of it this day than I could have been. And so I to White Hall with Alderman Backewell in his coach, with Mr. Blany, my Lord's Secretary; and there did draw up a rough draught of what order I would have, and did carry it in, and had it read twice and approved of before my Lord Ashly and three more of the Commissioners of the Treasury; and then went up to the Council-chamber, where the Duke of York and Prince Rupert, and the rest of the Committee of the Navy, were sitting: and I did get some of them to read it there; and they would have had it passed presently, but Sir John Nichollas desired they would first have it approved by a full Council; and therefore a Council Extraordinary was readily summoned against

the afternoon, and the Duke of York run presently to the King, as if now they were really set to mind their business; which God grant! Mr. Montagu did tell me how Mr. Vaughan in that very room did say that I was a great man, and had great understanding, and I know not what; which, I confess, I was a little proud of, if I may believe him. Here I do hear as a great secret that the King, and Duke of York and Duchesse, and my Lady Castlemaine, are now all agreed in a strict league, and all things like to go very current, and that it is not impossible to have my Lord Clarendon in time here again. But I do hear that my Lady Castlemaine is horribly vexed at the late libell, the petition of the poor prostitutes about the town whose houses were pulled down the other day. I have got one of them; and it is not very witty, but devilish severe against her and the King: and I wonder how it durst be printed and spread abroad; which shews that the times are loose, and come to a great disregard of the King, or Court, or Government. To the Park; and then to the House, and there at the door eat and drank; whither came my Lady Kerneagy,* of whom Creed tells me more particulars: how her Lord, finding her and the Duke of York at the King's first coming in, too kind, did get it out of her that he did dishonour him; and did take the most pernicious and full piece of revenge that ever I heard of; and he at this day owns it with great glory, and looks upon the Duke of York and the world with great content in the ampleness of his revenge†. This day in the afternoon, stepping with the Duke of York into St. James's Park, it rained; and I was forced to lend the Duke of York my cloak, which he wore through the Park.

7th. To the King's playhouse, and there saw "The English Monsieur‡ (sitting for privacy sake in an upper box): the play hath much mirth in it as to that particular humour. After the play done, I down to Knipp, and did stay her undressing herself: and there saw the several players, men and women, go by; and pretty to see how strange they are all, one to another, after the play is done. Here I hear Sir W. Davenant is just now dead; and so who will succeed him in the mastership of the House is not yet known. The eldest Davenport is,

* Carnegie.

† *Vide Mémoires de Grammont.*

‡ A comedy, by James Howard.

it seems, gone from this house to be kept by somebody; which I am glad of, she being a very bad actor. Mrs. Knipp tells me that my Lady Castlemaine is mightily in love with Hart of their house; and he is much with her in private, and she goes to him and do give him many presents; and that the thing is most certain, and Beck Marshall only privy to it, and the means of bringing them together: which is a very odd thing; and by this means she is even with the King's love to Mrs. Davis.

8th. To Drumbleby's, and there did talk a great deal about pipes; and did buy a recorder, which I do intend to learn to play on, the sound of it being, of all sounds in the world, most pleasing to me.

9th. I up and down to the Duke of York's playhouse, there to see, which I did, Sir W. Davenant's corpse carried out towards Westminster, there to be buried. Here were many coaches and six horses, and many hacknies, that made it look, methought, as if it were the buriall of a poor poet. He seemed to have many children, by five or six in the first mourning-coach, all boys. To my office, where is come a packet from the Downes from my brother Balty, who with Harman are arrived there, of which this day comes the first news. And now the Parliament will be satisfied, I suppose, about the business they have so long desired between Brouncker* and Harman, about not prosecuting the first victory.

16th. To Westminster Hall, where I hear W. Pen is ordered to be impeached. There spoke with many, and particularly with G. Montagu; and went with him and Creed to his house, where he told how Sir W. Pen hath been severe to Lord Sandwich; but the Coventrys both labouring to save him by laying it on Lord Sandwich; which our friends cry out upon, and I am silent, but do believe they did it as the only way to save him. It could not be carried to commit him. It is thought the House do cool: Sir W. Coventry's being for him provoked Sir R. Howard and his party: Court all for W. Pen.

17th. I hear that the House is upon the business of Harman, who, they say, takes all on himself.

* Henry Brouncker.

18th. Do hear this morning that Harman is committed by the Parliament last night, the day he came up; which is hard: but he took all upon himself first, and then, when a witness came in to say otherwise, he would have retracted; and the House took it so ill, they would commit him.

19th. Roger Pepys did tell me the whole story of Harman, how he prevaricated, and hath undoubtedly been imposed on and wheedled; and he is like the miller's man that in Richard the Third's time was hanged for his master.

20th. To White Hall, and there hear how Brouncker is fled, which I think will undo him; but what good it will do Harman I know not, he hath so befouled himself; but it will be good sport to my Lord Chancellor to hear how his great enemy is fain to take the same course that he is. There met Robinson, who tells me that he fears his master, Sir W. Coventry, will this week have his business brought upon the stage again about selling of places; which I shall be sorry for, though the less since I hear his standing up for Pen the other day, to the prejudice, though not to the ruin, of my Lord Sandwich; and yet I do think what he did, he did out of a principle of honesty. Meeting Sir William Hooker the Alderman, he did cry out mighty high against Sir W. Pen for his getting such an estate and giving 15,000*l.* with his daughter; which is more by half than ever he did give; but this the world believes, and so let them.

21st. I hear how Sir W. Pen's impeachment was read and agreed to in the House this day, and ordered to be engrossed; and he suspended the House: Harman set at liberty; and Brouncker put out of the House, and a writ* for a new election, and an impeachment ordered to be brought in against him, he being fled.

22d. To White Hall; and there we attended the Duke of York as usual; and I did present Mrs. Pett the widow and her petition to the Duke of York, for some relief from the King. Here was to-day a proposition made to the Duke of York by Captain Von Hemskirke for 20,000*l.* to discover an art how to make a ship go two feet for one

* At Romney, for which Brouncker was Member.

what any ship do now: which the King inclines to try, it costing him nothing to try; and it is referred to us to contract with the man. Then by water from the Privy-stairs to Westminster Hall: and taking water, the King and the Duke of York were in the new buildings; and the Duke of York called to me whither I was going? And I answered aloud, "To wait on our masters at Westminster;" at which he and all the company laughed: but I was sorry and troubled for it afterwards, for fear any Parliament-man should have been there; and it will be a caution to me for the time to come.

24th. I did hear the Duke of York tell how Sir W. Pen's impeachment was brought into the House of Lords to-day; and he spoke with great kindness of him: and that the Lords would not commit him till they could find precedent for it, and did incline to favour him.

25th. To Westminster Hall, and there met with Roger Pepys; and he tells me that nothing hath lately passed about my Lord Sandwich, but only Sir Robert Carr did speak hardly of him. But it is hoped that nothing will be done more this meeting of Parliament, which the King did by a message yesterday declare again should rise the 4th of May, and then only adjourne for three months; and this message being only about an adjournment did please them mightily, for they are desirous of their power mightily.

27th. To Westminster Hall, and up to the Lords' House; and there saw Sir W. Pen go into the House of Lords, where his impeachment was read to him and he used mighty civilly, the Duke of York being there; and two days hence, at his desire, he is to bring in his answer, and a day then to be appointed for his being heard with Counsel. Thence down into the Hall, and with Creed and Godolphin walked; and do hear that to-morrow is appointed, upon a motion on Friday last, to discourse the business of my Lord Sandwich, moved by Sir R. Howard, that he should be sent for home; and I fear it will be ordered. Certain news come, I hear, this day, that the Spanish Plenipotentiary in Flanders will not agree to the peace and terms we and the Dutch have made for him and the King of France; and by this means the face of things may be altered, and we forced to join with the French against Spain; which will be an odd thing.

28th. By coach to Westminster Hall, and there do understand that the business of religion and the Act against Conventicles have so taken them up all this morning, and do still, that my Lord Sandwich's business is not like to come on to-day; which I am heartily glad of. This law against Conventicles is very severe; but Creed, whom I meet here, do tell me that it being moved that Papists' meetings might be included, the House was divided upon it, and it was carried in the negative; which will give great disgust to the people, I doubt. To the King's house, and there did see "Love in a Maze;" wherein very good mirth of Lacy the clown, and Wintershell the country-knight, his master.

29th. To White Hall, and there do hear how Sir W. Pen hath delivered in his answer; and the Lords have sent it down to the Commons, but they have not yet read it nor taken notice of it, so as I believe they will by design defer it till they rise, that so he by lying under an impeachment may be prevented in his going to sea; which will vex him, and trouble the Duke of York. To Westminster Hall, and there met Mr. G. Montagu, and walked and talked; who tells me that the best fence against the Parliament's present fury is delay, and recommended it to me in my friends' business and my own, if I have any; and is that that Sir W. Coventry do take, and will secure himself: that the King will deliver up all to the Parliament; and being petitioned the other day by Mr. Brouncker to protect him, with teares in his eyes the King did say he could not, and bid him shift for himself, at least till the House is up.

30th. To the Dolphin Tavern, there to meet our neighbours all of the parish, this being Procession-day, to dine. And did: and much very good discourse; they being most of them very able merchants, as any in the City: Sir Andrew Rickard, Mr. Vandeputt, Sir John Fredericke, Harrington, and others. They talked with Mr. Mills about the meaning of this day, and the good uses of it; and how heretofore, and yet in several places, they do whip a boy at each place they stop at in their procession. I stopped to talk with Mr. Brisband, who gives me an account of the rough usage Sir G. Carteret and his Counsel had the other day before the Commissioners of Accounts, and what I do

believe we shall all of us have in a greater degree than any he hath had yet with them, before their three years are out; which are not yet begun, nor God knows when they will, this being like to be no session of Parliament when they now rise. Thus ends this month; my wife in the country, myself full of pleasure and expence; in some trouble for my friends, and my Lord Sandwich by the Parliament, and more for my eyes, which are daily worse and worse, that I dare not write or read almost any thing. The Parliament going in few days to rise: myself so long without accounting now (for seven or eight months I think, or more,) that I know not what condition almost I am in as to getting or spending for all that time; which troubles me, but I will soon do it. The kingdom in an ill state through poverty: a fleet going out, and no money to maintain it or set it out; seamen yet unpaid, and mutinous when pressed to go out again; our office able to do little, nobody trusting us, nor we desiring any to trust us, and yet have not money for any thing, but only what particularly belongs to this fleet going out, and that but lamely too. The Parliament several months upon an Act for 300,000*l.* but cannot or will not agree upon it, but do keep it back, in spite of the King's desires to hasten it, till they can obtain what they have a mind in revenge upon some men for the late ill managements; and he is forced to submit to what they please, knowing that without it he shall have no money, and they as well that if they give the money the King will suffer them to do little more: and then the business of religion do disquiet every body, the Parliament being vehement against the Nonconformists, while the King seems to be willing to countenance them. So we are all poor and in pieces, God help us! while the peace is like to go on between Spain and France; and then the French may be apprehended able to attack us. So God help us!

May 1st. Met my cosen Thomas Pepys of Deptford, and took some turns with him; and he is mightily troubled for this Act now passed against Conventicles, and in few words and sober do lament the condition we are in by a negligent prince and a mad Parliament. To the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Surprizall;" and a disorder in the pit by its raining in from the cupola at top. I understand how

the Houses of Commons and Lords are like to disagree very much about the business of the East India Company, and one Skinner; to the latter of which the Lords have awarded 5000*l.* from the former, for some wrong done him heretofore; and the former appealing to the Commons, the Lords vote their petition a libell; and so there is like to follow very hot work.

3d. To church, where I saw Sir A. Rickard, though he be under the Black Rod, by order of the Lords' House, upon the quarrel between the East India Company and Skinner; which is like to come to a very great heat between the two Houses. To Old-street, to see Sir Thomas Teddiman, who is very ill in bed of a fever, got, I believe, by the fright the Parliament have put him into of late.

5th. Creed and I to the Duke of York's playhouse; and there coming late, up to the balcony-box, where we find my Lady Castlemaine and several great ladies; and there we sat with them, and I saw "The Impertinents" once more, now three times, and the three only days it hath been acted. And to see the folly how the house do this day cry up the play more than yesterday! and I for that reason like it, I find, the better too. By Sir Positive At-all, I understand is meant Sir Robert Howard. My Lady pretty well pleased with it: but here I sat close to her fine woman, Willson, who indeed is very handsome, but, they say, with child by the King. I asked, and she told me this was the first time her Lady had seen it, I having a mind to say something to her. One thing of familiarity I observed in my Lady Castlemaine: she called to one of her women, another that sat by this, for a little patch off of her face, and put it into her mouth and wetted it, and so clapped it upon her own by the side of her mouth, I suppose she feeling a pimple rising there. Thence with Creed to Westminster Hall, and there met with cosen Roger, who tells me of the great conference this day between the Lords and Commons about the business of the East India Company, as being one of the weightiest conferences that hath been, and maintained as weightily. I am heartily sorry I was not there, it being upon a mighty point of the privileges of the subjects of England in regard to the authority of the House of Lords, and their being condemned by them as the Supreme

Court, which we say ought not to be but by appeal from other Courts. And he tells me that the Commons had much the better of them in reason and history there quoted, and believes the Lords will let it fall.

6th. I understand that my Lord St. John is meant by Mr. Woodcocke in "The Impertinents." Home to put up things against tomorrow's carrier for my wife; and, among others, a very fine salmon-pie sent me by Mr. Steventon, W. Hewer's uncle.

7th. To the King's house; where going in for Knipp, the play being done, I did see Beck Marshall come dressed off of the stage, and look mighty fine and pretty, and noble: and also Nell in her boy's clothes, mighty pretty. But, Lord! their confidence, and how many men do hover about them as soon as they come off the stage, and how confident they are in their talk! Here was also Haynes, the incomparable dancer of the King's house. Then we abroad to Marrowbone, and there walked in the garden, the first time I ever was there; and a pretty place it is.

8th. The Lord's House did sit till eleven o'clock last night about the business of difference between them and the Commons in the matter of the East India Company. To my Lord Crewe's, and there dined; where Mr. Case the minister, a dull fellow in his talk, and all in the Presbyterian manner; a great deal of noise and a kind of religious tone, but very dull. After dinner my Lord and I together. He tells me he hears that there are great disputes like to be at Court between the factions of the two women, my Lady Castlemaine and Mrs. Stewart, who is now well again, (the King having made several public visits to her,) and like to come to Court: the other is to go to Barkeshire-house, which is taken for her, and they say a Privy-seal is passed for 5000*l.* for it. He believes all will come to ruin. Thence I to White Hall; where the Duke of York gone to the Lords' House, where there is to be a conference on the Lords' side with the Commons this afternoon, giving in their Reasons, which I would have been at, but could not; for going by direction to the Prince's chamber, there Brouncker, W. Pen, and Mr. Wren and I met, and did our business with the Duke of York. But, Lord! to see how this play of Sir Positive At-all

in abuse of Sir Robert Howard do take, all the Duke's and every body's talk being of that, and telling more stories of him of the like nature, that it is now the town and country talk, and, they say, is most exactly true. The Duke of York himself said that of his playing at trap-ball is true, and told several other stories of him. Then to Brouncker's house, and there sat and talked, I asking many questions in mathematics to my Lord, which he do me the pleasure to satisfy me in.

9th. I hear that the Queene hath miscarried of a perfect child, being gone about ten weeks; which do shew that she can conceive, though it be unfortunate that she cannot bring forth. We are told also that last night the Duchesse of Monmouth dancing at her lodgings, hath sprained her thigh. We are told also that the House of Commons sat till five o'clock this morning upon the business of the difference between the Lords and them, resolving to do something therein before they rise to assert their privileges. So I at noon by water to Westminster, and there find the King hath waited in the Prince's chamber these two hours, and the Houses are not ready for him. The Commons having sent this morning, after their long debate therein the last night, to the Lords, that they do think the only expedient left to preserve unity between the two Houses is, that they do put a stop to any proceedings upon their late judgement against the East India Company, till their next meeting; to which the Lords returned answer, that they would return answer to them by a messenger of their own; which they not presently doing, they were all inflamed, and thought it was only a trick to keep them in suspense till the King come to adjourne them; and so rather than lose the opportunity of doing themselves right, they presently with great fury come to this vote: "That whoever should assist in the execution of the judgement of the Lords against the Company should be held betrayers of the liberties of the people of England, and of the privileges of that House." This the Lords had notice of, and were mad at it; and so continued debating without any design to yield to the Commons, till the King came in and sent for the Commons: where the Speaker made a short but silly speech about their giving him 300,000*l.*; and then the several Bills their titles were read, and the King's assent

signified in the proper terms, according to the nature of the Bills; of which about three or four were public Bills, and seven or eight private ones, (the additional Bills for the building of the City and the Bill against Conventicles being none of them.) The King did make a short silly speech, which he read, giving them thanks for the money, which now, he said, he did believe would be sufficient, because there was peace between his neighbours; which was a kind of a slur, methought, to the Commons: and that he was sorry for what he heard of difference between the two Houses, but that he hoped their recess would put them into a way of accommodation; and so adjourned them to the 9th of August, and then recollected himself and told them the 11th; so imperfect a speaker he is. So the Commons went to their House, and forthwith adjourned; and the Lords resumed their House, the King being gone, and sat an hour or two after: but what they did, I cannot tell; but every body expected they would commit Sir Andrew Rickard, Sir Samuel Barnardiston*, Mr. Boone, and Mr. Wynne, who were all there, and called in upon their knees to the bar of the House: and Sir John Robinson I left there, endeavouring to prevent their being committed to the Tower, lest he should thereby be forced to deny their order, because of this vote of the Commons, whereof he is one; which is an odde case.

12th. Lord Anglesy, in talk about the late difference between the two Houses, do tell us that he thinks the House of Lords may be in an error, at least it is possible they may, in this matter of Skinner; and did declare his judgement in the House of Lords against their proceedings therein, he having hindered 100 originall causes being brought into their House, notwithstanding that he was put upon defending their proceedings: but that he is confident that the House of Commons are in the wrong, in the method they take to remedy an error of the Lords, for no vote of theirs can do it; but in all like cases the Commons have done it by petition to the King, sent up to the Lords, and by them agreed to and so redressed, as they did in the petition of Right. He says that he did tell them indeed, which is talked

* Wood mentions Sir S. Barnadiston as a leading Fanatic, *circ.* 1683.

of, and which did vex the Commons, that the Lords were "*Judices nati et Conciliarii nati*;" but all other Judges among us are under salary, and the Commons themselves served for wages; and therefore the Lords, in reason, the freer Judges.

13th. To attend the Council about the business of Hemskirke's project of building a ship that sails two feet for one of any other ship; which the Council did agree to be put in practice, the King to give him, if it proves good, 5000*l.* in hand, and 15,000*l.* more in seven years: which for my part I think a piece of folly for them to meddle with, because the secret cannot be long kept. This morning I hear that last night Sir Thomas Teddiman, poor man! did die by a thrush in his mouth: a good man, and stout and able, and much lamented; though people do make a little mirth, and say, as I believe it did in good part, that the business of the Parliament did break his heart, or at least put him into this fever and disorder that caused his death.

15th. To a Committee for Tangier; where God knows how my Lord Bellasses' accounts passed: understood by nobody but my Lord Ashly, who, I believe, was allowed to let them go as he pleased. But here Sir H. Cholmly had his propositions read about a greater price for his work of the Molle, or to do it upon account; which being read, he was bid to withdraw. But, Lord! to see how unlucky a man may be by chance! for, making an unfortunate motion when they were almost tired with the other business, the Duke of York did find fault with it, and that made all the rest, that I believe he had better have given a great deal and had nothing said to it to-day; whereas I have seen other things more extravagant passed at first hearing, without any difficulty. To Loriners'-hall, by Mooregate, (a hall I never heard of before,) to Sir Thomas Teddiman's burial, where most people belonging to the sea were. And here we had rings: and here I do hear that some of the last words that he said were, that he had a very good King, God bless him! but that the Parliament had very ill rewarded him for all the service he had endeavoured to do them and his country: so that for certain this did go far towards his death. But, Lord! to see among the company the young commanders, and Thomas Killigrew and others that came, how unlike a burial this was, O'Brian

taking out some ballads out of his pocket, which I read, and the rest come about me to hear! And there very merry we were all, they being new ballads. By and by the corpse went; and I, with my Lord Brouncker, and Dr. Clerke, and Mr. Pierce, as far as the foot of London-bridge; and there we struck off into Thames-street, the rest going to Redriffe, where he is to be buried. The Duchesse of Monmouth's hip is, I hear, now set again, after much pain. I am told also that the Countesse of Shrewsbury is brought home by the Duke of Buckingham to his house; where his Duchesse saying that it was not for her and the other to live together in a house, he answered, "Why, Madam, I did think so, and therefore have ordered your coach to be ready to carry you to your father's:" which was a devilish speech, but, they say, true; and my Lady Shrewsbury is there, it seems.

16th. To the King's playhouse, and there saw the best part of "The Sea Voyage*," where Knipp did her part of sorrow very well.

17th. Lord's-day. Up, and put on my new stuff-suit, with a shoulder-belt according to the new fashion, and the hands of my vest and tunique laced with silk-lace of the colour of my suit: and so very handsome to church.

18th. To my Lord Bellasses, at his new house by my late Lord Treasurer's; which indeed is mighty noble, and good pictures, indeed not one bad one in it. It being almost twelve o'clock, or little more, to the King's playhouse, where the doors were not then open; but presently they did open; and we in, and find many people already come in by private ways into the pit, it being the first day of Sir Charles Sedley's new play so long expected, "The Mulbery Garden;" of whom, being so reputed a wit, all the world do expect great matters. I having sat here awhile and eat nothing to-day, did slip out, getting a boy to keep my place; and to the Rose Tavern, and there got half a breast of mutton off of the spit, and dined all alone. And so to the play again; where the King and Queene by and by come, and all the Court; and the house infinitely full. But the play, when it come, though there was here and there a pretty saying, and that not very

* A comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

many neither, yet the whole of the play had nothing extraordinary in it all, neither of language nor design; insomuch that the King I did not see laugh nor pleased from the beginning to the end, nor the company; insomuch that I have not been less pleased at a new play in my life, I think.

19th. Pierce tells me that for certain Mr. Vaughan is made Lord Chief Justice; which I am glad of. He tells me too, that since my Lord of Ormond's coming over, the King begins to be mightily reclaimed, and sups every night with great pleasure with the Queene: and yet, it seems, he is mighty hot upon the Duchesse of Richmond; insomuch that, upon Sunday was se'nnight at night, after he had ordered his Guards and coach to be ready to carry him to the Park, he did on a sudden take a pair of oars or sculler, and all alone, or but one with him, go to Somerset House, and there, the garden-door not being open, himself clamber over the wall to make a visit to her; which is a horrid shame.

20th. To the Council-chamber, where the Committee of the Navy sat; and here we discoursed several things, but, Lord! like fools, so as it was a shame to see things of this importance managed by a Council that understand nothing of them. And, among other things, one was about this building of a ship with Hemskirke's secret, to sail a third faster than any other ship; but he hath got Prince Rupert on his side, and by that means, I believe, will get his conditions made better than he would otherwise, or ought indeed. To the Mulberry-garden,* where I never was before; and find it a very silly place, worse than Spring-garden, and but little company, only a wilderness here that is somewhat pretty.

21st. To the office, where meets me Sir Richard Ford; who among other things congratulates me, as one or two did yesterday, on my great purchase; and he advises me rather to forbear, if it be not done, as a thing that the world will envy me in: and what is it but my cosen Tom Pepys's buying of Martin Abbey,† in Surry? All the town is full

* On the scite of which Buckingham-house was erected.

† In 1668 the scite of Merton, *alias* Martin Priory, was conveyed by Ellis Crispe to Thomas Pepys, Esq. of Hatcham Barns, Master of the Jewel-office to Charles II. and James II.

of the talk of a meteor, or some fire, that did on Saturday last fly over the City at night; which do put me in mind that, being then walking in the dark an hour or more myself in the garden after I had done writing, I did see a light before me come from behind me, which made me turn back my head; and I did see a sudden fire or light running in the sky, as it were towards Cheapside-ward, and vanished very quick; which did make me bethink myself what holyday it was, and took it for some rocket, though it was much brighter: and the world do make much discourse of it, their apprehensions being mighty full of the rest of the City to be burned, and the Papists to cut our throats.

22d. I fitted myself for my journey to Brampton to-morrow, which I fear will not be pleasant because of the wet weather, it raining very hard all this day; but the less it troubles me, because the King and Duke of York and Court are at this day at Newmarket at a great horse-race, and proposed great pleasure for two or three days, but are in the same wet.

23d. To the Bull in Bishopsgate-street; and there about six took coach, and so away to Bishop's Stafford*. The ways are mighty full of water, so as hardly to be passed. After dinner to Cambridge, about nine at night; and there I met my father's horses.

24th. We set out by three o'clock to Brampton. Here I saw my brother and sister Jackson. After dinner my Lady Sandwich sending to see whether I was come. I presently took horse, and find her and her family at chapel: and thither I went in to them, and sat out the sermon; where I heard Jervas Fulwood, now their chaplain, preach a very good and civantick kind of sermon, too good for an ordinary congregation. After sermon I with my Lady, and my Lady Hinchingbroke, and Paulina, and Lord Hinchingbroke.

25th. To Cambridge, the waters not being now so high as before. Here lighting, I took my boy and two brothers, and walked to Magdalene College; and there into the butterys as a stranger, and there drank of their beer, which pleased me, as the best I ever drank: and hear by the butler's man, who was son to Goody Mulliner over-against

* Bishop Stortford, in Herts.

the College, that we used to buy stewed prunes of, concerning the College and persons in it; and find very few, only Mr. Hollins* and Pechell, I think, that were of my time.

26th. To the coach; where about six o'clock we set out, and got to Bishopsgate-street before eight o'clock, the waters being now most of them down, and we avoiding the bad way in the forest by a privy way, which brought us to Hodsden; and so to Tibald's that road; which was mighty pleasant.

27th. Met Mr. Sawyer, my old chamber-fellow; and he and I by water together to the Temple, he giving me an account of the base, rude usage, which he and Sir G. Carteret had lately before the Commissioners of Accounts, where he was as Counsel to Sir G. Carteret; which I was sorry to hear, they behaving themselves like most insolent and ill-mannered men. To see Sir W. Pen; whom I find still very ill of the gout, sitting in his great chair, made on purpose for persons sick of that disease for their ease; and this very chair, he tells me, was made for my Lady Lambert.

29th. Received some directions from the Duke of York and the Committee of the Navy about casting up the charge of the present summer's fleet, that so they may come within the bounds of the sum given by the Parliament. But it is pretty to see how Prince Rupert and other mad silly people are for setting out but a little fleet, there being no occasion for it; and say it will be best to save the money for better uses. But Sir G. Carteret did declare that in wisdom it was better to do so; but that, in obedience to the Parliament, he was for setting out the fifty sail talked on, though it spent all the money, and to little purpose; and that this was better than to leave it to the Parliament to make bad constructions of their thrift, if any trouble should happen. Thus wary the world is grown! Thence back again presently home, and did business till noon. And then to Sir G. Carteret's to dinner with much good company, it being the King's birthday, and many healths drunk. And here I did receive another letter from my Lord Sandwich; which troubles me to see how I have neglected him

* John Hollins of Medley, in Yorkshire; admitted a Pensioner of Magdalene College, March 1651.

in not writing, or but once, all this time of his being abroad ; and I see he takes notice, but yet gently, of it.

30th. Up, and put on a new summer black bombazin suit ; and being come now to an agreement with my barber to keep my perriwig in good order at 20s. a-year, I am like to go very spruce, more than I used to do. To the King's playhouse, and there saw "Philaster*;" where it is pretty to see how I could remember almost all along, ever since I was a boy, Arethusa, the part which I was to have acted at Sir Robert Cooke's ; and it was very pleasant to me, but more to think what a ridiculous thing it would have been for me to have acted a beautiful woman. To Fox Hall, and there fell into the company of Harry Killigrew, a rogue newly come back out of France, but still in disgrace at our Court, and young Newport and others, as very rogues as any in the town, who were ready to take hold of every woman that come by them. And so to supper in an arbour : but, Lord ! their mad talk did make my heart ake. And here I first understood by their talk the meaning of the company that lately were called Ballers ; Harris telling how it was by a meeting of some young blades, where he was among them, and my Lady Bennet and her ladies ; and there dancing naked, and all the roguish things in the world. But, Lord ! what loose company was this that I was in to-night, though full of wit ; and worth a man's being in for once to know the nature of it, and their manner of talk and lives.

31st. I hear that Mrs. Davis is quite gone from the Duke of York's house, and Gosnell comes in her room ; which I am glad of. At the play at Court the other night Mrs. Davis was there ; and when she was to come to dance her jigg, the Queene would not stay to see it ; which people do think was out of displeasure at her being the King's mistress, that she could not bear it. My Lady Castlemaine is, it seems, now mightily out of request, the King coming little to her, and then she mighty melancholy and discontented.

June 1st. Alone to Fox Hall, and walked and saw young Newport and two more rogues of the town seize on two ladies, who walked with

* A tragedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

them an hour with their masks on ; (perhaps civil ladies ;) and there I left them.

3d. To White Hall to the Council-chamber, where I did present the Duke of York with an account of the charge of the present fleet to his satisfaction; and this being done, did ask his leave for my going out of town five or six days, which he did give me, saying, that my diligence in the King's business was such that I ought not to be denied when my own business called me any whither. To my Lord Crewe's to visit him ; from whom I learn nothing but that there hath been some controversy at the Council-table about my Lord Sandwich's signing, where some would not have had him, in the treaty with Portugall ; but all, I think, is over in it.

4th. Mr. Clerke the solicitor dined with me and my clerks. After dinner I carried and set him down at the Temple, he observing to me how St. Sepulchre's church steeple is repaired already a good deal, and the Fleet-bridge is contracted for by the City to begin to be built this summer ; which do please me mightily. I to White Hall, and walked through the Park for a little ayre ; and so back to the Council-chamber to the Committee of the Navy, about the business of fitting the present fleet suitable to the money given ; which, as the King orders it and by what appears, will be very little, and so as I perceive the Duke of York will have nothing to command, nor can intend to go abroad. But it is pretty to see how careful these great men are to do every thing so as they may answer it to the Parliament, thinking themselves safe in nothing but where the Judges (with whom they often advise) do say the matter is doubtful ; and so they take upon themselves then to be the chief persons to interpret what is doubtful. Thence home, and all the evening to set matters in order against my going to Brampton to-morrow, being resolved upon my journey, and having the Duke of York's leave again to-day ; though I do plainly see that I can very ill be spared now, there being much business, especially about this which I have attended the Council about, and I the man that am alone consulted with ; and besides, my Lord Brouncker is at this time ill, and Sir W. Pen. So things being put in order at the office, I home to do the like there ; and so to bed.

5th.* Friday. At Barnet for milk, 6*d.* On the highway, to menders of the highway, 6*d.* Dinner at Stevenage, 5*s.* 6*d.*

6th. Saturday. Spent at Huntingdon with Bowles and Appleyard, and Shepley, 2*s.*

7th. Sunday. My father, for money lent, and horse-hire, 1*l.* 11*s.*

8th. Monday. Father's servants (father having in the garden told me bad stories of my wife's ill words), 14*s.*; one that helped at the horses, 1*s.*; menders of the highway, 2*s.* Pleasant country to Bedford; where, while they stay, I rode through the town; and a good country-town; and there drinking, 1*s.* We on to Newport; and there I and W. Hewer to the church, and there give the boy 1*s.* So to Buckingham, a good old town. Here I to see the church; which very good, and the leads, and a school in it: did give the sexton's boy 1*s.* A fair bridge here, with many arches: vexed at my people's making me lose so much time: reckoning, 13*s.* 4*d.* Mightily pleased with the pleasure of the ground all the day. At night to Newport Pagnell; and there a good pleasant country-town, but few people in it. A very fair and like a cathedral-church; and I saw the leads, and a vault that goes far under ground: the town, and so most of this country, well watered. Lay here well, and rose next day by four o'clock: few people in the town: and so away. Reckoning for supper, 19*s.* 6*d.*; poor, 6*d.* Mischance to the coach, but no time lost.

9th. Tuesday. We came to Oxford, a very sweet place: paid our guide 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*; barber, 2*s.* 6*d.*; book, (Stonhenge,) 4*s.*; boy that shewed me the colleges before dinner, 1*s.* To dinner; and then out with my wife and people, and landlord: and to him that shewed us the schools and library, 10*s.*; to him that shewed us All Souls' College and Chichly's picture, 5*s.* So to see Christ Church with my wife, I seeing several others very fine alone before dinner, and did give the boy that went with me 1*s.* Strawberries, 1*s.* 2*d.* Dinner and servants, 1*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.* After coming home from the schools, I out with the landlord to Brazen-nose College to the

* The Journal from this time to the 17th of June is contained on five leaves, inserted in the book; and after them follow several blank pages.

butteries, and in the cellar find the hand* of the child of Hales, long butler, 2s. Thence with coach and people to Physic-garden, 1s. So to Friar Bacon's study: I up and saw it, and gave the man 1s. Bottle of sack for landlord, 2s. Oxford mighty fine place; and well seated, and cheap entertainment. At night came to Abingdon, where had been a fair of custard; and met many people and scholars going home; and there did get some pretty good musick, and sang and danced till supper: 5s.

10th. Wednesday. Up, and walked to the hospitall: very large and fine, and pictures of founders, and the History of the hospitall; and is said to be worth 700*l.* per annum, and that Mr. Foly was here lately to see how their lands were settled. And here, in old English, the story of the occasion of it, and a rebus at the bottom. So did give the poor, which they would not take but in their box, 2*s.* 6*d.* So to the inn, and paid the reckoning and what not, 13*s.* So forth towards Hungerford. Led this good way by our landlord, one Heart, an old but very civil and well-spoken man, more than I ever heard, of his quality. He gone, we forward; and I vexed at my people's not minding the way. So come to Hungerford, where very good trouts, eels, and crayfish. Dinner: a mean town. At dinner there, 12*s.* Thence set out with a guide, who saw us to Newmarket-heath, and then left us, 3*s.* 6*d.* So all over the plain by the sight of the steeple (the plain high and low) to Salisbury by night; but before I came to the town, I saw a great fortification, and there light, and to it and in it; and find it prodigious, so as to fright me to be in it all alone at that time of night, it being dark. I understand since it to be that that is called Old Sarum. Come to the George Inne, where lay in a silk bed; and very good diet. To supper; then to bed.

11th. Thursday. Up, and W. Hewer and I up and down the town, and find it a very brave place. The river goes through every street; and a most capacious market-place. The city great, I think greater than Hereford. But the minster most admirable; as big, I think, and handsomer than Westminster: and a most large close about it, and

* Does this mean "slipped 2*s.* into the child's hand?"

houses for the officers thereof, and a fine palace for the Bishop. So to my lodging back, and took out my wife and people to shew them the town and church; but they being at prayers, we could not be shewn the quire. A very good organ; and I looked in and saw the Bishop, my friend Dr. Ward. Thence to the inne; and there not being able to hire coach-horses, and not willing to use our own, we got saddle-horses, very dear. Boy that went to look for them, 6*d*. So the three women behind W. Hewer, Murford, and our guide, and I single to Stonehenge, over the plain and some great hills, even to fright us. Come thither, and find them as prodigious as any tales I ever heard of them, and worth going this journey to see. God knows what their use was: they are hard to tell, but yet may be told. Gave the shepherd-woman, for leading our horses, 4*d*. So back by Wilton, my Lord Pembroke's house, which we could not see, he being just coming to town; but the situation I do not like, nor the house at present much, it being in a low but rich valley. So back home; and there being light we to the church, and there find them at prayers again, so could not see the quire; but I sent the women home, and I did go in and saw very many fine tombs, and among the rest some very ancient of the Montagus. So home to dinner; and that being done, paid the reckoning, which was so exorbitant, and particularly in rate of my horses, and 7*s*. 6*d*. for bread and beer, that I was mad, and resolve to trouble the mistress about it, and get something for the poor; and come away in that humour: 2*l*. 5*s*. 6*d*. Servants, 1*s*. 6*d*.; poor, 1*s*.; guide to the Stones, 2*s*.; poor woman in the street, 1*s*.; ribbands, 9*d*.; wash-woman, 1*s*.; sempstress for W. Hewer, 3*s*.; lent W. Hewer, 2*s*. Thence about six o'clock, and with a guide went over the smooth plain indeed till night; and then by a happy mistake, and that looked like an adventure, we were carried out of our way to a town where we would lie, since we could not go as far as we would. By and by to bed, glad of this mistake, because it seems, had we gone on as we pretended, we could not have passed with our coach, and must have lain on the plain all night. This day from Salisbury I wrote by the post my excuse for not coming home, which I hope will do, for I am resolved to see the Bath, and, it may be, Bristol.

12th. Friday. Up, finding our beds good, but lousy; which made us merry. We set out, the reckoning and servants coming to 9s. 6d.; my guide thither, 2s.; coachman advanced, 10s. So rode a very good way, led to my great content by our landlord to Philips-Norton, with great pleasure, being now come into Somersetshire; where my wife and Deb. mightily joyed thereat,* I commending the country, as indeed it deserves. And the first town we came to was Brekington; where we stopping for something for the horses, we called two or three little boys to us, and pleased ourselves with their manner of speech. At Philips-Norton I walked to the church, and there saw a very ancient tomb of some Knight Templar, I think; and here saw the tombstone whereon there were only two heads cut, which the story goes, and creditably, were two sisters, called the Fair Maids of Foscott, that had two bodies upward and one belly, and there lie buried. Here is also a very fine ring of six bells, and they mighty tuneable. Having dined very well, 10s., we come before night to the Bath; where I presently stepped out with my landlord, and saw the baths with people in them. They are not so large as I expected, but yet pleasant; and the town most of stone, and clean, though the streets generally narrow. I home, and being weary, went to bed without supper; the rest supping.

13th. Saturday. Up at four o'clock, being by appointment called up to the Cross Bath; where we were carried after one another, myself and wife and Betty Turner, Willet, and W. Hewer. And by and by, though we designed to have done before company come, much company come; very fine ladies; and the manner pretty enough, only methinks it cannot be clean to go so many bodies together in the same water. Good conversation among them that are acquainted here, and stay together. Strange to see how hot the water is; and in some places, though this is the most temperate bath, the springs so hot as the feet not able to endure. But strange to see, when women and men here, that live all the season in these waters, cannot but be parboiled and look like the creatures of the bath! Carried away

* They were natives of that county.

wrapped in a sheet, and in a chair home; and there one after another thus carried (I staying above two hours in the water) home to bed, sweating for an hour. And by and by comes musick to play to me, extraordinary good as ever I heard at London almost any where: 5s. Up to go to Bristoll about eleven o'clock; and paying my landlord that was our guide from Chiltren 10s., and the serjeant of the bath 10s., and the man that carried us in chairs 3s. 6d., set out toward Bristoll, and come thither, the way bad, (in coach hired to spare our own horses,) but country good, about two o'clock; where set down at the Horse-shoe, and there being trimmed by a very handsome fellow, 2s., walked with my wife and people through the city, which is in every respect another London, that one can hardly know it to stand in the country no more than that. No carts, it standing generally on vaults, only dog-carts. So to the Three Crowns Tavern I was directed; but when I came in, the master told me that he had newly given over the selling of wine; it seems grown rich: and so went to the Sun; and there Deb. going with W. Hewer and Betty Turner to see her uncle, and leaving my wife with the mistress of the house, I to see the quay, which is a most large and noble place; and to see the new ship building by Bally, neither he nor Furzer* being in town. It will be a fine ship. Spoke with the foreman, and did give the boys that kept the cabin 2s. Walked back to the Sun, where I find Deb. come back, and with her, her uncle, a sober merchant, very good company, and so like one of our sober wealthy London merchants as pleased me mightily. Here we dined, and much good talk with him, 7s. 6d.: a messenger to Sir John Knight†, who was not at home, 6d. Then walked with him and my wife and company round the quay, and to the ship; and he shewed me the Custom-house, and made me understand many things of the place, and led us through Marsh-street, where our girl was born. But, Lord! the joy that was among the old poor people of the place, to see Mrs. Willet's daughter, it seems her mother being a brave woman and mightily beloved! And so brought us a back way by surprize to his house;

* Daniel Furzer, Surveyor to the Navy.

† Mayor of Bristol 1663, and M. P. for that city.

where a substantial good house, and well furnished; and did give us good entertainment of strawberries, a whole venison-pasty cold, and plenty of brave wine, and above all Bristol milk: where comes in another poor woman, who hearing that Deb. was here did come running hither, and with her eyes so full of tears and heart so full of joy that she could not speak when she come in, that it made me weep too: I protest that I was not able to speak to her, which I would have done, to have diverted her tears. His wife a good woman, and so sober and substantiall as I was never more pleased any where. Servant-maid, 2s. So thence took leave, and he with us through the city; where in walking I find the city pay him great respect, and he the like to the meanest, which pleased me mightily. He shewed us the place where the merchants meet here, and a fine cross yet standing, like Cheapside. And so to the Horse-shoe, where paid the reckoning, 2s. 6d. We back, and by moonshine to the Bath again about ten o'clock: bad way; and giving the coachman 1s. went all of us to bed.

14th. Sunday. Up, and walked up and down the town, and saw a pretty good market-place, and many good streets, and very fair stone-houses. And so to the great church, and there saw Bishop Montagu's tomb; and, when placed, did there see many brave people come, and among others two men brought in litters, and set down in the chancel to hear: but I did not know one face. Here a good organ; but a vain pragmatrical fellow preached a ridiculous, affected sermon, that made me angry, and some gentlemen that sat next me, and sang well. So home, walking round the walls of the City, which are good, and the battlements all whole. To this church again, to see it and look over the monuments; where, among others, Dr. Venner and Pelling, and a lady of Sir W. Waller's*; he lying with his face broken. My landlord did give me a good account of the antiquity of this town and Wells; and of two heads, on two pillars, in Wells church.

15th. Monday. Looked into the baths, and find the King and Queene's full of a mixed sort of good and bad, and the Cross only

* Jane, sole daughter of Sir Richard Reynell.

almost for the gentry. So home with my wife, and did pay my guides, two women, 5s.; one man, 2s. 6d.; poor, 6d.; woman to lay my foot-cloth, 1s. So to our inne, and there eat and paid reckoning, 1l. 8s. 6d.; servants, 3s.; poor, 1s.; lent the coachman, 10s. Before I took coach, I went to make a boy dive in the King's bath, 1s. I paid also for my coach and a horse to Bristoll, 1l. 1s. 6d. Took coach, and away without any of the company of the other stage-coaches that go out of this town to-day; and rode all day with some trouble, for fear of being out of our way, over the Downes, (where the life of the shepherds is, in fair weather only, pretty.) In the afternoon come to Abury; where seeing great stones like those of Stonehenge standing up, I stopped and took a countryman of that town, and he carried me and shewed me a place trenched in, like Old Sarum almost, with great stones pitched in it, some bigger than those at Stonehenge in figure, to my great admiration: and he told me that most people of learning coming by do come and view them, and that the King did so; and the mount cast hard by is called Selbury, from one King Seall buried there, as tradition says. I did give this man 1s. So took coach again, seeing one place with great high stones pitched round, which I believe was once some particular building, in some measure like that of Stonehenge. But, about a mile off, it was prodigious to see how full the Downes are of great stones; and all along the vallies stones of considerable bigness, most of them growing certainly out of the ground, so thick as to cover the ground; which makes me think the less of the wonder of Stonehenge, for hence they might undoubtedly supply themselves with stones, as well as those at Abury. In my way did give to the poor and menders of the highway 3s. Before night come to Marlborough, and lay at the Hart; a good house, and a pretty fair town for a street or two; and what is most singular is, their houses on one side having their pent-houses supported with pillars, which makes it a good walk. All the five coaches that come this day from Bath, as well as we, were gone out of the town before six.

16th. Tuesday. After paying the reckoning, 14s. 4d. and servants 2s., poor 1s., set out; and passing through a good part of this country

of Wiltshire, saw a good house* of Alexander Popham's,† and another of my Lord Craven's,‡ I think, in Barkeshire. Come to Newbery, and there dined; and musick: a song of the old courtier of Queene Elizabeth's, and how he was changed upon the coming in of the King, did please me mightily, and I did cause W. Hewer to write it out. Then comes the reckoning, (forced to change gold,) 8s. 7d.; servants and poor, 1s. 6d. So out, and lost our way, but come into it again; and in the evening betimes come to Reding; and I to walk about the town, which is a very great one, I think bigger than Salisbury: a river runs through it in seven branches, (which unite in one, in one part of the town,) and runs into the Thames half-a-mile off: one odd sign of the Broad Face. Then to my inn, and so to bed.

17th. - Wednesday. Rose, and paying the reckoning, 12s. 6d.; servants and poor, 2s. 6d.; musick, the worst we have had, coming to our chamber-door, but calling us by wrong names; so set out with one coach in company, and through Maydenhead, which I never saw before, to Colebrooke by noon; the way mighty good; and there dined, and fitted ourselves a little to go through London anon. Thence pleasant way to London before night, and find all very well to great content; and saw Sir W. Pen, who is well again. I hear of the ill news by the great fire at Barbadoes.

18th. I did receive a hint or two from my Lord Anglesy, as if he thought much of my taking the ayre as I have done; but I care not: but whatever the matter is, I think he hath some ill-will to me, or at least an opinion that I am more the servant of the Board than I am. To my Lady Peterborough's; who tells me, among other things, her Lord's good words to the Duke of York lately about my Lord Sandwich, and that the Duke of York is kind to my Lord Sandwich; which I am glad to hear.

19th. Between two and three in the morning we were waked with the maids crying out, "Fire, fire, in Marke-lane!" So I rose and looked out, and it was dreadful; and strange apprehensions in me and us all of being presently burnt. So we all rose; and my care pre-

* Littlecote.

† M. P. for Bath.

‡ Hampstead Marshal, since destroyed by fire.

sently was to secure my gold and plate and papers, and could quickly have done it, but I went forth to see where it was; and the whole town was presently in the streets; and I found it in a new-built house that stood alone in Minchin-lane, over-against the Clothworkers'-hall, which burned furiously: the house not yet quite finished; and the benefit of brick was well seen, for it burnt all inward and fell down within itself; so no fear of doing more hurt. Yesterday I heard how my Lord Ashly is like to die, having some imposthume in his breast, that he hath been fain to be cut into the body. To White Hall, where we attended the Duke of York in his closet upon our usual business. And thence out, and did see many of the Knights of the Garter with the King and Duke of York going into the Privy-chamber to elect the Elector of Saxony in that Order; who, I did hear the Duke of York say, was a good drinker: I know not upon what score this compliment is done him.

22d. With Balty to St. James's, and there presented him to Mr. Wren about his being Muster-master this year; which will be done. So up to wait on the Duke of York, and thence with Sir W. Coventry walked to White Hall: good discourse about the Navy, where want of money undoes us. Thence to the Coffee-house in Covent-garden; but met with nobody but Sir Philip Howard, who shamed me before the whole house there in commendation of my speech in Parliament. To the King's playhouse, and saw an act or two of the new play, "Evening Love*," again, but like it not. Calling this day at Herringman's,† he tells me Dryden do himself call it but a fifth-rate play. From thence to my Lord Brouncker's, where a Council of the Royall Society; and there heard Mr. Harry Howard's noble offers about ground for our college, and his intentions of building his own house there, most nobly. My business was to meet Mr. Boyle; which I did, and discoursed about my eyes; and he did give me the best advice he could, but refers me to one Turberville‡ of Salisbury lately come to town, who I will go to. Thence home; where the streets

* "An Evening's Love, or The Mock Astrologer," a comedy by Dryden.

† H. Herringman, a printer and publisher in the New Exchange.

‡ Daubigney Turberville, of Oriel College; created M. D. at Oxford 1660.

full at our end of the town, removing their wine against the Act begins, which will be two days hence, to raise the price.

23d. To Dr. Turberville about my eyes; whom I met with: and he did discourse, I thought, learnedly about them; and takes time, before he did prescribe me any thing, to think of it.

24th. Creed and Colonel Atkins come to me about sending coals to Tangier; and upon that most of the morning.

28th. Much talk of the French setting out their fleet afresh; but I hear nothing that our King is alarmed at it at all, but rather making his fleet less.

29th. To Dr. Turberville's, and there did receive a direction for some physic, and also a glass of something to drop into my eyes: he gives me hopes that I may do well. Then to White Hall; where I find the Duke of York in the Council-chamber; and the officers of the Navy were called in about Navy business, about calling in of more ships; the King of France having, as the Duke of York says, ordered his fleet to come in, notwithstanding what he had lately ordered for their staying abroad. Thence to the chapel, it being St. Peter's day, and did hear an anthem of Silas Taylor's making; a dull, old-fashioned thing of six and seven parts, that nobody could understand: and the Duke of York, when he came out, told me that he was a better storekeeper than anthem-maker, and that was bad enough too. This morning Mr. May shewed me the King's new buildings at White Hall, very fine; and, among other things, his ceilings and his houses of office.

July 1st. To White Hall, and so to St. James's, where we met; and much business with the Duke of York. And I find the Duke of York very hot for regulations in the Navy; and I believe is put on it by Sir W. Coventry; and I am glad of it: and particularly he falls heavy on Chatham-yard, and is vexed that Lord Anglesy did the other day complain at the Council-table of disorders in the Navy, and not to him. So I to White Hall to a Committee of Tangier; and there vexed with the importunity and clamours of Alderman Backewell for my acquittance for money by him supplied to the garrison, before I have any order for paying it. So home, calling at several places, among

others the 'Change, and on Cooper, to know when my wife shall come and sit for her picture.

3d. To Commissioners of Accounts at Brooke-house, the first time I was ever there : and found Sir W. Turner in the chair ; and present, Lord Halifax, Thomas Gregory, Dunster, and Osborne. I long with them, and see them hot set on this matter ; but I did give them proper and safe answers. Halifax, I perceive, was industrious on my side on behalf of his uncle Coventry, it being the business of Sir W. Warren. Vexed only at their denial of a copy of what I set my hand to and swore. To an alehouse : met Mr. Pierce the surgeon, and Dr. Clerke, Waldron,* Turberville my physician for the eyes, and Lowre,† to dissect several eyes of sheep and oxen, with great pleasure and to my great information. But strange that this Turberville should be so great a man, and yet to this day had seen no eyes dissected, or but once, but desired this Dr. Lowre to give him the opportunity to see him dissect some.

4th. Up, and to see Sir W. Coventry, and give him an account of my doings yesterday ; which he well liked of, and was told thereof by my Lord Halifax before ; but I do perceive he is much concerned for this business. Gives me advice to write a smart letter to the Duke of York about the want of money in the Navy, and desire him to communicate it to the Commissioners of the Treasury ; for he tells me he hath hot work sometimes to contend with the rest for the Navy, they being all concerned for some other part of the King's expenses, which they would prefer to this of the Navy. He shewed me his closet, with his round-table for him to sit in the middle, very convenient ; and I borrowed several books of him, to collect things out of the Navy, which I have not.

6th. With Sir W. Coventry ; and we walked in the Park together a good while. He mighty kind to me ; and hear many pretty stories of my Lord Chancellor's being heretofore made sport of by Peter Talbot the priest, in his story of the death of Cardinal Bleau ; by Lord Cot-

* Thomas Waldron, of Balliol College ; created M. D. at Oxford 1653 ; afterwards Physician in Ordinary to Charles II.

† Probably Richard Lower, of Christ Church ; admitted Bachelor of Physic at Oxford 1665.

tington, in his *Dolor de las Tripas*; and Tom Killigrew, in his being bred in Ram-ally, and now bound prentice to Lord Cottington, going to Spain with 1000*l.* and two suits of clothes. Thence to Mr. Cooper's, and there met my wife and W. Hewer and Deb.; and there my wife first sat for her picture: but he is a most admirable workman, and good company. Here comes Harris, and first told us how Betterton is come again upon the stage: whereupon my wife and company to the house to see "Henry the Fifth;" while I to attend the Duke of York at the Committee of the Navy at the Council, where some high dispute between him and W. Coventry about settling pensions upon all flag-officers while unemployed: W. Coventry against it, and, I think, with reason. Great doings at Paris, I hear, with their triumphs for their late conquests. The Duchesse of Richmond sworn last week of the Queene's Bedchamber, and the King minding little else but what he used to do—about his women.

7th. We are fain to go round by Newgate because of Fleet-bridge being under rebuilding.

8th. To Sir W. Coventry, and there discoursed of several things; and I find him much concerned in the present enquiries now on foot of the Commissioners of Accounts, though he reckons himself and the rest very safe, but vexed to see us liable to these troubles in things wherein we have laboured to do best. Thence, he being to go out of town to-morrow to drink Banbury waters, I to the Duke of York to attend him about business of the office; and find him mighty free to me, and how he is concerned to mend things in the Navy himself, and not leave it to other people. So home to dinner; and then with my wife to Cooper's, and there saw her sit; and he do extraordinary things indeed. So to White Hall; and there by and by the Duke of York comes to the Robe-chamber and spent with us three hours till night, in hearing the business of the Masters-attendants of Chatham, and the Store-keeper of Woolwich; and resolves to displace them all; so hot he is of giving proofs of his justice at this time, that it is their great fate now to come to be questioned at such a time as this.

10th. To Cooper's; and there find my wife (and W. Hewer and Deb.) sitting, and painting: and here he do work finely, though I fear it will

not be so like as I expected : but now I understand his great skill in musick, his playing and setting to the French lute most excellently ; and he speaks French, and indeed is an excellent man.

11th. To the King's playhouse to see an old play of Shirly's, called " Hide Parke ; " the first day acted ; where horses are brought upon the stage : but it is but a very moderate play, only an excellent epilogue spoke by Beck Marshall.

13th. To Cooper's, and spent the afternoon with them ; and it will be an excellent picture. This morning I was let blood, and did bleed about fourteen ounces, towards curing my eyes.

14th. This day Bosse finished his copy of my picture, which I confess I do not admire, though my wife prefers him to Browne ; nor do I think it like. He does it for W. Hewer, who hath my wife's also, which I like less.

15th. At noon is brought home the espinette I bought the other day of Haward ; costs me 5*l*. My Lady Duchesse of Monmouth is still lame, and likely always to be so ; which is a sad chance for a young lady to get only by trying of tricks in dancing.

17th. To White Hall, where waited on the Duke of York and then the Council about the business of tickets ; and I did discourse to their liking, only was too high to assert that nothing could be invented to secure the King more in the business of tickets than there is, which the Duke of Buckingham did except against, and I could have answered, but forbore, but all liked very well.

18th. They say the King of France is making a war again in Flanders with the King of Spain ; the King of Spain refusing to give him all that he says was promised him in that treaty.

19th. Come Mr. Cooper, Hales, Harris, Mr. Butler that wrote Hudibras, and Mr. Cooper's cosen Jacke ; and by and by come Mr. Reeves and his wife, whom I never saw before. And there we dined : a good dinner, and company that pleased me mightily, being all eminent men in their way. Spent all the afternoon in talk and mirth, and in the evening parted.

20th. To visit my Lord Crewe, who is very sick, to great danger, by an erisypelas ; the first day I heard of it.

21st. Went to my plate-maker's, and there spent an hour about contriving my little plates for my books of the King's four Yards.

22d. Attending at the Committee of the Navy about the old business of tickets; where the only expedient they have found is to bind the commanders and officers by oaths. The Duke of York told me how the Duke of Buckingham, after the Council the other day, did make mirth at my position about the sufficiency of present rules in the business of tickets; and here I took occasion to desire a private discourse with the Duke of York, and he granted it me on Friday next.

24th. Up, and by water to St. James's, (having by the way shewn Symson Sir W. Coventry's chimney-pieces, in order to the making me one;) and there, after the Duke of York was ready, he called me to his closet; and there I did long and largely shew him the weakness of our office, and did give him advice to call us to account for our duties; which he did take mighty well, and desired me to draw up what I would have him write to the office. I did lay open the whole failings of the office, and how it was his duty to find them and to find fault with them as Admiral, especially at this time; which he agreed to, and seemed much to rely on what I said.

27th. To see my Lord Crewe, whom I find up; and did wait on him; but his face sore, but in hopes to do now very well again. Thence to Cooper's, where my wife's picture almost done, and mighty fine indeed. So over the water with my wife and Deb. and Mercer to Spring-garden, and there eat and walked; and observe how rude some of the young gallants of the town are become, to go into people's arbors where there are not men, and almost force the women; which troubled me, to see the confidence of the vice of the age: and so we away by water with much pleasure home.

30th. To White Hall. There met with Mr. May, who was giving directions about making a close way for people to go dry from the gate up into the House, to prevent their going through the galleries; which will be very good. I staid and talked with him about the state of the King's offices in general, and how ill he is served, and do still find him an excellent person.

31st. With Mr. Ashburnham; and I made him admire my drawing

a thing presently in short-hand ; but, God knows, I have paid dear for it in my eyes. To the King's house, to see the first day of Lacy's "Monsieur Ragou," now new acted. The King and Court all there, and mighty merry : a farce. The month ends mighty sadly with me, my eyes being now past all use almost ; and I am mighty hot upon trying the late printed experiment of paper tubes.

August 5th. To the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw "The Guardian ;" formerly the same, I find, that was called "Cutter of Coleman-street ;" a silly play. And thence to Westminster Hall, where I met Fitzgerald ; and with him to a tavern to consider of the instructions for Sir Thomas Allen, against his going to Algier ; he and I being designed to go down to Portsmouth by the Council's order to-morrow morning. So I away home, and there bespeak a coach ; and so home, and to bed.

6th. Waked betimes, and my wife at an hour's warning is resolved to go with me ; which pleases me, her readiness. But before ready comes a letter from Fitzgerald, that he is seized upon last night by an order of the General's by a file of musqueteers, and kept prisoner in his chamber. The Duke of York did tell me of it to-day : it is about a quarrel between him and Witham, and they fear a challenge. So I to him, and sent my wife by the coach round to Lambeth. I lost my labour going to his lodgings ; and he in bed : and staying a great while for him I at last grew impatient, and would stay no longer ; but to St. James's to Mr. Wren, to bid him "God be with you !" and so over the water to Fox Hall ; and there my wife and Deb. took me up, and we away to Gilford, losing our way for three or four miles about Cobham. At Gilford we dined ; and I shewed them the hospitall there of Bishop Abbot's*, and his tomb in the church ; which, and the rest of the tombs there, are kept mighty clean and neat, with curtains before them. So to coach again, and got to Lippook, late over Hindhead, having an old man a guide in the coach with us ; but got thither with great fear of being out of our way, it being ten at night. Here good, honest people ; and after supper to bed.

* George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury. Ob. 1633.

7th. To coach, and with a guide to Petersfield, where I find Sir Thomas Allen and Mr. Tippetts* come; the first about the business, the latter only in respect to me; as also Fitzgerald, who came post all last night, and newly arrived here. We four sat down presently to our business, and in an hour dispatched all our talk; and did inform Sir Thomas Allen well in it, who, I perceive, in serious matters is a serious man: and tells me he wishes all we are told be true, in our defence; for he finds by all that the Turkes have to this day been very civil to our merchantmen every where; and if they would have broke with us, they never had such an opportunity over our rich merchantmen as lately coming out of the Streights. Then to dinner; and pretty merry: and here was Mr. Martin the purser, who dined with us, and wrote some things for us. And so took coach again back: Fitzgerald with us, whom I was pleased with all the day, with his discourse of his observations abroad, as being a great soldier and of long standing abroad; and knows all things and persons abroad very well,—I mean the great soldiers of France and Spain and Germany; and talks very well. Came at night to Gilford; where the Red Lyon so full of people, and a wedding, that the master of the house did get us a lodging over the way, at a private house, his landlord's, mighty neat and fine: and there supped; and so to bed.

8th. I hear that Colbert the French Ambassador is come, and hath been at Court *incognito*. When he hath his audience, I know not.

9th. Waited on the Duke of York; and both by him and several of the Privy-council, beyond expectation, I find that my going to Sir Thomas Allen was looked upon as a thing necessary; and I have got some advantage by it among them.

10th. To my Lord Arlington's house, the first time since he came thither, at Goring-house, a very fine, noble place; and there he received me in sight of several Lords with great respect. I did give him an account of my journey. And here, while I waited for him a

* John Tippet, a Surveyor of the Navy; afterwards knighted.

little, my Lord Orrery took notice of me, and begun discourse of hangings, and of the improvement of shipping; I not thinking that he knew me, but did then discover it with a mighty compliment of my abilities and ingenuity; which I am mighty proud of; and he do speak most excellently. To Cooper's, where I spent all the afternoon with my wife and girl, seeing him make an end of her picture; which he did to my great content, though not so great as I confess I expected, being not satisfied in the greatness of the resemblance, nor in the blue garment; but it is most certainly a most rare piece of work as to the painting. He hath 30*l.* for his work, and the chrystal and case and gold case comes to 8*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*; and which I sent him this night, that I might be out of his debt.

11th. The Parliament met enough to adjourne to the 10th of November next. At the office all the afternoon till night, being mightily pleased with a trial I have made of the use of a tube-spectacall of paper, tried with my right eye. This day I hear that, to the great joy of the Nonconformists, the time is out of the Act against them; so that they may meet: and they have declared that they will have a morning lecture up again, which is pretty strange; and they are connived at by the King every where, I hear, in the City and country. This afternoon my wife and Mercer and Deb. went with Pelling to see the gypsies at Lambeth, and have their fortunes told; but what they did, I did not enquire.

12th. Captain Cocke tells me that he hears for certain the Duke of York will lose the authority of an Admirall, and be governed by a Committee: and all our office changed; only they are in dispute whether I shall continue or no; which puts new thoughts in me, but I know not whether to be glad or sorry.

14th. I with Mr. Wren, by invitation, to Sir Stephen Fox's to dinner; where the Cofferer and Sir Edward Savage; where many good stories of the antiquity and estates of many families at this day in Cheshire, and that part of the kingdom, more than what is on this side near London. My Lady dining with us; a very good lady, and a family governed so nobly and neatly as do me good to see it. Thence the Cofferer, Sir Stephen, and I to the Commis-

sioners of the Treasury about business: and so I up to the Duke of York, who enquired for what I had promised him, about my observations of the miscarriages of our office; and I told him he should have it next week, being glad he called for it; for I find he is concerned to do something, and to secure himself thereby, I believe: for the world is labouring to eclipse him, I doubt; I mean the factious part of the Parliament. The office met this afternoon as usual, and waited on him; where, among other things, he talked a great while of his intentions of going to Dover soon, to be sworn as Lord Warden; which is a matter of great ceremony and state.

16th. All the morning at my office with W. Hewer; there drawing up my Report to the Duke of York, as I have promised, about the faults of this office.

17th. To Hamstead, to speak with the Atturmy-generall; whom we met in the fields, by his old rout and house. And after a little talk about our business of Ackeworth, went and saw the Lord Wotton's* house† and garden, which is wonderfull fine: too good for the house the gardens are, being indeed the most noble that ever I saw, and brave orange and lemon-trees. Thence to Mr. Chichly's by invitation, and there dined with Sir John, his father not coming home. And while at dinner comes by the French Ambassador Colbert's mules (the first I ever saw), with their sumpter-clothes mighty rich, and his coaches, he being to have his entry to-day: but his things, though rich, are not new; supposed to be the same his brother had the other day at the treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle, in Flanders.

18th. Alone to the Park; but there were few coaches: among the few there were our two great beauties, my Lady Castlemaine and Richmond; the first time I saw the latter since she had the small-pox. I had much pleasure to see them, but I thought they were strange one to another.

* Henry de Kirkhoven, Lord of Denfleet in Holland, married Katherine widow of Henry Lord Stanhope, and daughter of Lord Wotton; and her second husband, the person here mentioned, was created Lord Wotton, of Wotton in Kent, 1651.

† Belsize House, pulled down long ago.

20th. To work till past twelve at night, that I might get my great letter to the Duke of York ready against to-morrow; which I shall do, to my great content.

21st. Up betimes, and with my people again to work, and finished all before noon: and then I by water to White Hall, and there did tell the Duke of York that I had done; and he hath desired me to come to him at Sunday next in the afternoon, to read it over; by which I have more time to consider and correct it. To St. James's; and by and by comes Monsieur Colbert the French Ambassador, to make his first visit to the Duke of York, and then to the Duchesse. And I saw it: a silly piece of ceremony, he saying only a few formal words. A comely man, and in a black suit and cloak of silk; which is a strange fashion now it hath been so long left off. This day I did first see the Duke of York's room of pictures of some Maids of Honour, done by Lilly: good, but not like.

22d. To the 'Change, and thence home, and took London-bridge in my way; walking down Fish-street and Gracious-street, to see how very fine a descent they have now made down the hill, that it is become very easy and pleasant.

23d. To church, and heard a good sermon of Mr. Gifford's at our church, upon "Seek ye first the kingdom of Heaven and its righteousness, and all things shall be added to you." A very excellent and persuasive, good and moral sermon. He shewed, like a wise man, that righteousness is a surer moral way of being rich, than sin and villany. After dinner to the office, Mr. Gibson and I, to examine my letter to the Duke of York; which, to my great joy, I did very well by my paper tube, without pain to my eyes. And I do mightily like what I have therein done; and did according to the Duke of York's order make haste to St. James's, and about four o'clock got thither: and there the Duke of York was ready expecting me, and did hear it all over with extraordinary content; and did give me many and hearty thanks, and in words the most expressive tell me his sense of my good endeavours, and that he would have a care of me on all occasions; and did with much inwardness tell me what was doing, suitable almost to what Captain Cocke tells me, of designs

to make alterations in the Navy; and is most open to me in them, and with utmost confidence desires my further advice on all occasions: and he resolves to have my letter transcribed and sent forthwith to the office. So with as much satisfaction as I could possibly or did hope for, and obligation on the Duke of York's side professed to me, I away.

25th. Up, and by water to St. James's; and there with Mr. Wren did discourse about my great letter, which the Duke of York hath given him; and he hath set it to be transcribed by Billings his man, whom, as he tells me, he can most confide in for secresy; and is much pleased with it, and earnest to have it be: and he and I are like to be much together in the considering how to reform the office, and that by the Duke of York's command. Thence I, mightily pleased with this success, away to the office; where all the morning, my head full of this business. And it is pretty how Lord Brouncker this day did tell me how he hears that a design is on foot to remove us out of the office; and proposes that we two do agree to draw up a form of a new constitution of the office, there to provide remedies for the evils we are now under, that so we may be beforehand with the world; which I agreed to, saying nothing of my design: and the truth is, he is the best man of them all, and I would be glad next myself to save him; for as he deserves best, so I doubt he needs his place most.

26th. It is strange to see with what speed the people employed do pull down Paul's steeple, and with what ease: it is said that it and the quire are to be taken down this year, and another church begun in the room thereof the next. Home by coach with Sir D. Gauden; who by the way tells me how the City do go on in several things towards the building of the public places, which I am glad to hear; and gives hope that in a few years it will be a glorious place. But we met with several stops and troubles in the way in the streets, so as makes it bad to travel in the dark now through the City. So I to Mr. Batelier's by appointment, where I find my wife and Deb. and Mercer; Mrs. Pierce and her husband, son, and daughter; and Knipp and Harris, and W. Batelier and his sister Mary and cosen Gumbleton, a good-humoured fat young gentleman, son to the Jeweller, that dances well. And here

danced all night long, with a noble supper; and about two in the morning the table spread again for a noble breakfast beyond all moderation; and then broke up.

27th. To St. James's; and there with Mr. Wren did correct his copy of my letter, which the Duke of York hath signed in my very words, without alteration of a syllable. And so, pleased therewith, I to my Lord Brouncker, who I find within, but hath business, and so comes not to the office to-day. And so I by water to the office, where we sat all the morning: and just as the Board rises comes the Duke of York's letter; which I knowing, and the Board not being full, and desiring rather to have the Duke of York deliver it himself to us, I suppressed it for this day, my heart beginning to falsify in this business, as being doubtful of the trouble it may give me by provoking them; but, however, I am resolved to go through it, and it is too late to help it now. At noon to dinner to Captain Cocke's, where I met with Mr. Wren; my going being to tell him what I have done, which he likes, and to confer with Cocke about our office; who tells me that he is confident the design of removing our officers do hold, but that he is sure that I am safe enough. So away home; and there met at Sir Richard Ford's with the Duke of York's Commissioners about our prizes, with whom we shall have some trouble before we make an end with them.

28th. To White Hall; where the Duke of York did call me aside, and told me that he must speak with me in the afternoon and with Mr. Wren, for that now he hath got the paper from my Lord Keeper about the exceptions taken against the management of the Navy; and so we are to debate upon answering them. At noon I home with Sir W. Coventry to his house; and there dined with him, and talked freely with him; and did acquaint him with what I have done, which he is well pleased with and glad of: and do tell me that there are endeavours on foot to bring the Navy into new, but, he fears, worse hands. The Duke of York fell to work with us (the Committee being gone) in the Council-chamber; and there with his own hand did give us his long letter, telling us that he had received several from us, and now did give us one from him,

taking notice of our several doubts and failures, and desired answer to it as he therein desired: this pleased me well. And so fell to other business, and then parted. And the Duke of York and Wren and I, it being now candle-light, into the Duke of York's closet in White Hall; and there read over this paper of my Lord Keeper's, wherein are laid down the faults of the Navy, so silly, and the remedies so ridiculous, or else the same that are now already provided, that we thought it not to need any answer, the Duke of York being able himself to do it: that so it makes us admire the confidence of these men to offer things so silly in a business of such moment. But it is a most perfect instance of the complexion of the times! And so the Duke of York said himself; who, I perceive, is mightily concerned in it, and do again and again recommend it to Mr. Wren and me together, to consider upon remedies fit to provide for him to propound to the King, before the rest of the world, and particularly the Commissioners of Accounts, who are men of understanding and order, to find our faults, and offer remedies of their own; which I am glad of, and will endeavour to do something in it. So parted, and with much difficulty by candle-light walked over the Matted Gallery, as it is now with the mats and boards all taken up, so that we walked over the rafters. But strange to see how hard matter the plaister of Paris is that is there taken up, as hard as stone! And pity to see Holben's work in the ceiling blotted on and only whited over! My wife this day with Hales, to sit for her hand to be mended in her picture.

29th. Up, and all the morning at the office; where the Duke of York's long letter was read to their great trouble, and their suspecting me to have been the writer of it. And at noon comes by appointment Harris to dine with me: and after dinner he and I to Chyrurgeons'-hall, where they are building it new, very fine; and there to see their theatre, which stood all the fire, and (which was our business) their great picture of Holben's, thinking to have bought it by the help of Mr. Pierce for a little money: I did think to give 200*l.* for it, it being said to be worth 1000*l.*; but it is so spoiled that I have no mind to it, and is not a pleasant though a good picture. Thence carried Harris

to his playhouse; where, though four o'clock, so few people there at "The Impertinents," as I went out; and do believe they did not act, though there was my Lord Arlington and his company there. So I out, and met my wife in a coach, and stopped her going thither to meet me; and took her and Mercer and Deb. to Bartholomew-fair, and there did see a ridiculous, obscene little stage-play called "Marry Andrey;" a foolish thing, but seen by every body: and so to Jacob Hall's* dancing of the ropes; a thing worth seeing, and mightily followed.

30th. Lord's-day. Walked to St. James's and Pell-Mell, and read over with Sir W. Coventry my long letter to the Duke of York, and which the Duke of York hath from mine wrote to the Board, wherein he is mightily pleased, and I perceive do put great value upon me, and did talk very openly on all matters of State, and how some people have got the Bill into their mouths (meaning the Duke of Buckingham and his party) and would likely run away with all. But what pleased me mightily was to hear the good character he did give of my Lord Falmouth for his generosity, good-nature, desire of public good, and low thoughts of his own wisdom; his employing his interest in the King to do good offices to all people, without any other fault than the freedom he do learn in France of thinking himself obliged to serve his King in his pleasures: and was Sir W. Coventry's particular friend; and Sir W. Coventry do tell me very odde circumstances about the fatality of his death, which are very strange†. Thence to White Hall to chapel, and heard the anthem, and did dine with the Duke of Albemarle in a dirty manner as ever. All the afternoon I sauntered up and down the house and Park. And there was a Committee for Tangier met; wherein Lord Middleton would, I think, have found fault with me for want of coles; but I slighted it, and he made nothing of it, but was thought to be drunk; and I see that he hath a mind to find fault with me and Creed, neither of us having yet applied our-

* Jacob Hall, the famous rope-dancer, was said to have received a salary from Lady Castlemaine, who had become enamoured of him.

† I have read the particulars of this prediction in a MS. in the Pepysian Collection, but the reference to it is unfortunately mislaid.

selves to him about any thing: but do talk of his profits and perquisites taken from him, and garrison reduced, and that it must be increased, and such things as I fear he will be just such another as my Lord Tiviott and the rest to ruin that place. So I to the Park, and there walk an hour or two; and in the King's garden, and saw the Queene and ladies walk; and I did steal some apples off the trees; and here did see my Lady Richmond, who is of a noble person as ever I did see, but her face worse than it was considerably by the small-pox: her sister is also very handsome. So to White Hall in the evening to the Queene's side, and there met the Duke of York; and he did tell me and Sir W. Coventry, who was with me, how the Lord Anglesy did take notice of our reading his long and sharp letter to the Board; but that it was the better, at least he said so. The Duke of York, I perceive, is earnest in it, and will have good effects of it; telling Sir W. Coventry that it was a letter that might have come from the Commissioners of Accounts, but it was better it should come first from him. I met Lord Brouncker; who, I perceive, and the rest, do smell that it comes from me, but dare not find fault with; and I am glad of it, it being my glory and defence that I did occasion and write it. So by water home; and did spend the evening with W. Hewer, telling him how we are all like to be turned out, Lord Brouncker telling me this evening that the Duke of Buckingham did within few hours say that he had enough to turn us all out: which I am not sorry for at all, for I know the world will judge me to go for company; and my eyes are such as I am not able to do the business of my office as I used, and would desire to do while I am in it.

31st. To the Duke of York's playhouse, and saw "Hamlet," which we have not seen this year before, or more; and mightily pleased with it, but above all with Betterton, the best part, I believe, that ever man acted.

September 1st. To the fair, and there saw several sights; among others, the mare that tells money and many things to admiration.

2d. Fast-day for the burning of London strictly observed.

3d. To my bookseller's for "Hobbs's Leviathan," which is now mightily called for; and what was heretofore sold for 8s. I now give

24s. at the second hand, and is sold for 30s. it being a book the Bishops will not let be printed again.

4th. To the fair to see the play "Bartholomew-fair," with puppets. And it is an excellent play; the more I see it, the more I love the wit of it; only the business of abusing the Puritans begins to grow stale and of no use, they being the people that at last will be found the wisest. This night Knipp tells us that there is a Spanish woman lately come over that pretends to sing as well as Mrs. Knight*; both of whom I must endeavour to hear.

5th. To Mr. Hales's new house, where I find he hath finished my wife's hand, which is better than the other. And here I find Harris's picture done in his habit of "Henry the Fifth;" mighty like a player, but I do not think the picture near so good as any yet he hath made for me: however, it is pretty well.

7th. With Lord Brouncker (who was this day in an unusual manner merry, I believe with drink), J. Minnes, and W. Pen to Bartholomew-fair; and there saw the dancing-mare again (which to-day I find to act much worse than the other day, she forgetting many things, which her master beat her for, and was mightily vexed), and then the dancing of the ropes, and also the little stage-play, which is very ridiculous.

8th. This day I received so earnest an invitation again from Roger Pepys to come to Stourbridge-fair, that I resolve to let my wife go; which she shall do the next week.

9th. To the Duke of Richmond's lodgings by his desire by letter yesterday. I find him at his lodgings in the little building in the bowling-green, at White Hall, that was begun to be built by Captain Rolt. They are fine rooms. I did hope to see his lady; but she, I hear, is in the country. His business was about his yacht; and he seems a mighty good-natured man, and did presently write me a warrant for a doe from Cobham, when the season comes, buck season being past. I shall make much of this acquaintance, that I may live to see his lady near. Thence to Westminster, to Sir

* A celebrated singer and favourite of Charles II. Her portrait was engraved in 1749 by Faber, after Kneller. There is in Waller's Poems a song, sung by Mrs. Knight to the Queen on her birthday.

R. Long's office ; and going, met Mr. George Montagu, who talked and complimented me mightily ; and long discourse I had with him : who, for news, tells me for certain that Trevor do come to be Secretary at Michaelmas, and that Morrice goes out, and, he believes, without any compensation. He tells me that now Buckingham do rule all ; and the other day, in the King's journey he is now in, at Bagshot and that way, he caused Prince Rupert's horses to be turned out of an inne, and caused his own to be kept there ; which the Prince complained of to the King, and the Duke of York seconded the complaint ; but the King did over-rule it for Buckingham, by which there are high displeasures among them : and Buckingham and Arlington rule all. To White Hall ; where Brouncker, W. Pen, and I attended the Commissioners of the Treasury about the victualling-contract ; where high words between Sir Thomas Clifford and us, and myself more particularly, who told him that something, that he said was told him about this business, was a flat untruth. However, we went on to our business in the examination of the draught, and so parted, and I vexed at what happened.

13th. Lord's-day. By coach to St. James's, and met, to my wish, the Duke of York and Mr. Wren ; and understand the Duke of York hath received answers from Brouncker, W. Pen, and J. Minnes ; and as soon as he saw me, he bid Mr. Wren read them over with me. So having no opportunity of talk with the Duke of York, and Mr. Wren some business to do, he put them into my hands like an idle companion, to take home with me before himself had read them ; which do give me great opportunity of altering my answer, if there was cause. After supper made my wife to read them all over, wherein she is mighty useful to me : and I find them all evasions, and in many things false, and in few to the full purpose. Little said reflective on me ; though W. Pen and J. Minnes do mean me in one or two places, and J. Minnes a little more plainly would lead the Duke of York to question the exactness of my keeping my records ; but all to no purpose. My mind is mightily pleased by this, if I can but get time to have a copy taken of them for my future use ; but I must return them to-morrow. So to bed.

14th. Up betimes, and walked to the Temple, and stopped, viewing the Exchange and Paul's and St. Fayth's; where strange how the very sight of the stones falling from the top of the steeple do make me sea-sick! But no hurt, I hear, hath yet happened in all this work of the steeple; which is very much. So from the Temple I by coach to St. James's; where I find Sir W. Pen and Lord Anglesy, who delivered this morning his answer to the Duke of York, but I could not see it. But after being above with the Duke of York, I down with Mr. Wren; and he and I read all over that I had, and I expounded them to him, and did so order it that I had them home with me, so that I shall to my heart's wish be able to take a copy of them. After dinner I by water to White Hall; and there, with the Cofferer and Sir Stephen Fox, attended the Commissioners of the Treasury about bettering our fund; and are promised it speedily.

15th. To the King's playhouse to see a new play, acted but yesterday, a translation out of French by Dryden, called "The Ladys à la Mode:" so mean a thing as, when they came to say it would be acted again to-morrow, both he that said it (Beeson*) and the pit fell a-laughing.

16th. Walking it to the Temple, and in my way observe that the stockes are now pulled quite down; and it will make the coming into Cornhill and Lumber-street mighty noble. I stopped too at Paul's, and there did go into St. Fayth's church, and also in the body of the west part of the church; and do see a hideous sight of the walls of the church ready to fall, that I was in fear as long as I was in it: and here I saw the great vaults underneath the body of the church. No hurt, I hear, is done yet, since their going to pull down the church and steeple; but one man, one Mound, this week fell from the top of the roof of the east end that stands next the steeple, and there broke himself all to pieces. It is pretty here to see how the late church was but a case wrought over the old church; for you may see the very old pillars standing whole within the wall of this. When I come to St. James's,

* Probably Beeston, who had been Manager of the Cockpit Theatre.

I find the Duke of York gone with the King to see the muster of the Guards in Hide Park; and their Colonell, the Duke of Monmouth, to take his command this day of the King's Life-guard, by surrender of my Lord Gerard. So I took a hackney-coach and saw it all: and indeed it was mighty noble, and their firing mighty fine, and the Duke of Monmouth in mighty rich clothes; but the well-ordering of the men I understand not. Here, among a thousand coaches that were there, I saw and spoke to Mrs. Pierce: and by and by Mr. Wren hunts me out and gives me my Lord Anglesy's answer to the Duke of York's letter; where, I perceive, he do do what he can to hurt me, by bidding the Duke of York call for my books: but this will do me all the right in the world, and yet I am troubled at it. So away out of the Park, and home; and there Mr. Gibson and I to dinner: and all the afternoon with him writing over anew and a little altering my answer to the Duke of York, which I have not yet delivered, and so have the opportunity of doing it after seeing all their answers, though this do give me occasion to alter very little. This done, he to write it over, and I to the office; where late, and then home; and he had finished it. And then he to read to me the Life of Archbishop Laud, wrote by Dr. Heylin; which is a shrewd book, but that which I believe will do the Bishops in general no great good, but hurt, it pleads so much for Popery.

18th. To St. James's, and there took a turn or two in the Park; and then up to the Duke of York, and there had opportunity of delivering my answer to his late letter, which he did not read, but give to Mr. Wren, as looking on it as a thing I needed not have done, but only that I might not give occasion to the rest to suspect my communication with the Duke of York against them. So now I am at rest in that matter, and shall be more when my copies are finished of their answers.

19th. To the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Silent Woman;" the best comedy, I think, that ever was wrote: and sitting by Shadwell* the poet, he was big with admiration of it. Here was my Lord

* Thomas Shadwell, the dramatic writer. Ob. 1692.

Brouncker and W. Pen and their ladies in the box, being grown mighty kind of a sudden; but, God knows, it will last but a little while, I dare swear. Knipp did her part mighty well. All the news now is that Mr. Trevor is for certain to be Secretary in Morrice's place, which the Duke of York did himself tell me yesterday; and also that Parliament is to be adjourned to the 1st of March, which do please me well, hoping thereby to get my things in a little better order than I should have done; and the less attendances at that end of the town in winter.

20th. To church, and thence home to dinner, staying till past one o'clock for Harris, whom I invited, and to bring Shadwell the poet with him; but they came not, and so a good dinner lost through my own folly. And so to dinner alone, having since church heard the boy read over Dryden's Reply to Sir R. Howard's Answer about his Essay of Poesy, and a Letter in answer to that; the last whereof is mighty silly, in behalf of Howard. The Duchesse of Monmouth is at this time in great trouble of the shortness of her lame leg, which is likely to grow shorter and shorter, that she will never recover it.

21st. To St. James's, and there the Duke of York did of his own accord come to me and tell me that he had read and do like of my answers to the objections which he did give me the other day about the Navy; and so did Sir W. Coventry too, who told me that the Duke of York had shewn him them. To Southwarke-fair, very dirty, and there saw the puppet-shew of Whittington, which was pretty to see; and how that idle thing do work upon people that see it, and even myself too! And thence to Jacob Hall's dancing on the ropes, where I saw such action as I never saw before, and mightily worth seeing; and here took acquaintance with a fellow that carried me to a tavern, whither come the musick of this booth, and by and by Jacob Hall himself, with whom I had a mind to speak, to hear whether he had ever any mischief by falls in his time. He told me, "Yes, many, but never to the breaking of a limb." He seems a mighty strong man. So giving them a bottle or two of wine, I away. So by water by link-light through the bridge, it being mighty dark, but still weather; and so home. This day came out first the new five-pieces in gold, coined by the Guiny Company; and I did get two pieces of Mr. Holder.

22d. This day Mr. Wren did give me at the Board Commissioner Middleton's answer to the Duke of York's great letter; so that now I have all of them.

23d. At noon comes Mr. Evelyn to me about some business with the office, and there in discourse tells me of his loss to the value of 500*l.* which he hath met with in a late attempt of making of bricks upon an adventure with others, by which he presumed to have got a great deal of money: so that I see the most ingenious men may sometimes be mistaken.

27th. In the Park, where I met Mr. Wren; and he and I walked together in the Pell-Mell, it being most summer weather that ever was seen. And here talking of several things; of the corruption of the Court, and how unfit it is for ingenuous men, and himself particularly, to live in it, where a man cannot live but he must spend, and cannot get suitably without breach of his honour: and he did thereupon tell me of the basest thing of my Lord Barkeley that ever was heard of any man—which was this:—how the Duke of York's Commissioners do let his wine-licenses at a bad rate, and being offered a better, they did persuade the Duke of York to give some satisfaction to the former to quit it, and let it to the latter; which being done, my Lord Barkeley did make the bargain for the former to have 1500*l.* a-year to quit it; whereof since it is come to light that they were to have but 800*l.* and himself 700*l.*, which the Duke of York hath ever since for some years paid, though this second bargain hath been broken, and the Duke of York lost by it half of what the first was. He told me that there had been a seeming accommodation between the Duke of York and the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington, the two latter desiring it; but yet that there is not true agreement between them, but they do labour to bring in all new creatures into play, and the Duke of York do oppose it. Thence, he gone, I to the Queene's chapel, and there heard some good singing; and so to White Hall, and saw the King and Queene at dinner: and thence with Sir Stephen Fox to dinner; and the Cofferer with us; and there mighty kind usage, and good discourse. Thence spent all the afternoon walking in the Park, and then in the evening at Court on the Queene's side; and there met Mr. Godolphin, who tells me that the news is true we heard yesterday of my Lord Sandwich's

being come to Mount's-bay, in Cornwall. This night, in the Queene's drawing-room, my Lord Brouncker told me the difference that is now between the three Embassadors here, the Venetian, French, and Spaniard; the third not being willing to make a visit to the first, because he would not receive him at the door; who is willing to give him as much respect as he did to the French, who was used no otherwise, and who refuses now to take more of him, upon being desired thereto in order to the making an accommodation in this matter.

28th. Knipp's maid comes to me to tell me that the women's day at the playhouse is to-day, and that therefore I must be there to encrease their profit. By water to St. James's, and there had good opportunity of speaking with the Duke of York; who desires me again, talking on that matter, to prepare something for him to do for the better managing of our office; telling me that my Lord Keeper and he talking about it yesterday, my Lord Keeper did advise him to do so, it being better to come from him than otherwise; which I have promised to do. Thence to my Lord Burlington's house, the first time I ever was there, it being the house built by Sir John Denham, next to Clarendon-house. And here I visited my Lord Hinchingbroke and his lady; Mr. Sidney Montagu being last night come to town unexpectedly from Mount's-bay, where he left my Lord well eight days since, so as we now hourly expect to hear of his arrivall at Portsmouth. Sidney is mighty grown; and I am glad I am here to see him at his first coming, though it cost me dear, for here I come to be necessitated to supply them with 500*l.* for my Lord.* He sent him up with a declaration to his friends, of the necessity of his being presently supplied with 2000*l.*; but I do not think he will get 1000*l.*: however, I think it becomes my duty to my Lord to do something extraordinary in this, and the rather because I have been remiss in writing to him during this voyage, more than ever I did in my life, and more indeed than was fit for me. By and by comes Sir W. Godolphin to see Mr. Sidney, who, I perceive, is much dissatisfied that he should come to town last night, and not yet be with my Lord Arlington; who, and all the town, hear of his being come, and he did, it seems, take notice of it to Godolphin this morning. So that I perceive this remissness in affairs do continue

* *Vide* Mr. Pepys's letter to Lord Sandwich on this subject in the Appendix.

in my Lord's managements still : which I am sorry for ; but, above all, to see in what a condition my Lord is for money, that I dare swear he do not know where to take up 500*l.* of any man in England at this time upon his word but of myself, as I believe by the sequel hereof it will appear. Here I first saw and saluted my Lady Burlington,* a very fine-speaking lady, and a good woman, but old and not handsome; but a brave woman. Here I also, standing by a candle that was brought for sealing a letter, do set my periwigg a-fire; which made such an odd noise nobody could tell what it was till they saw the flame, my back being to the candle. To the King's playhouse, and there saw "The City Match,"† not acted these thirty years, and but a silly play: the King and Court there; the house for the women's sake mighty full. So I to White Hall, and there all the evening on the Queene's side; and it being a most summer-like day, and a fine warm evening, the Italians came in a barge under the leads before the Queene's drawing-room; and so the Queene and ladies went out and heard them for almost an hour: and the singing was indeed very good together; but yet there was but one voice that alone did appear considerable, and that was Signior Joanni. This done, by and by they went in: and here I saw Mr. Sidney Montagu kiss the Queene's hand, who was mighty kind to him, and the ladies looked mightily on him; and the King came by and by, and did talk to him. So I away by coach with Alderman Backewell home, who is mighty kind to me, more than ordinary, in his expressions. But I do hear this day what troubles me, that Sir W. Coventry is quite out of play, the King seldom speaking to him; and that there is a design of making a Lord Treasurer, and that my Lord Arlington shall be the man; but I cannot believe it. But yet the Duke of Buckingham hath it in his mind, and those with him, to make a thorough alteration in things; and, among the rest, Coventry to be out.

October 12th.‡ To White Hall to enquire when the Duke of York

* Elizabeth, sole daughter and heir to Henry Earl of Cumberland, wife of Richard first Earl of Burlington.

† A comedy, by Jasper Mayne, D. D.

‡ A *hiatus* occurs in the Diary at this period for thirteen days; during which Mr. Pepys went into the country, as he subsequently alludes to his having been at Saxham whilst the King was there. He had probably been to Impington to fetch his wife, and perhaps omitted copying his rough notes into the blank pages evidently left for them in the Journal.

will be in town, in order to Mr. Turner's going down to Audley End about his place; and here I met in St. James's Park with one that told me that the Duke of York would be in town to-morrow. Home, where I find Sir H. Cholmly come to town; and is come hither to see me: and he is a man that I love mightily, as being of a gentleman the most industrious that ever I saw. He staid with me awhile talking and telling me his obligations to my Lord Sandwich, which I was glad of; and that the Duke of Buckingham is now chief of all men in this kingdom, which I knew before; and that he do think the Parliament will hardly ever meet again; which is a great many men's thoughts, and I shall not be sorry for it. Read a ridiculous nonsensical book set out by Will. Pen for the Quakers; but so full of nothing but nonsense, that I was ashamed to read in it.

13th. With my Lord Brouncker, and did get his ready assent to T. Hater's having of Mr. Turner's place, and so Sir J. Minnes's also: but when we come to sit down at the Board comes to us Mr. Wren this day to town, and tells me that James Southern do petition the Duke of York for the Store-keeper's place of Deptford; which did trouble me much, and also the Board; though upon discourse after he was gone we did resolve to move hard for our Clerks, and that places of preferment may go according to seniority and merit. At my Lord Middleton's; and I did this day find by discourse with somebody that this gentleman was the great Major-general Middleton that was of the Scots army in the beginning of the late war against the King.

14th. To White Hall, and there walked to St. James's, where I find the Court mighty full, it being the Duke of York's birthday; and he mighty fine, and all the musick, one after another, to my great content. Here I met with Sir H. Cholmly; and he and I to walk, and to my Lord Barkeley's new house, there to see a new experiment of a cart, which, by having two little wheeles fastened to the axle-tree, is said to make it go with half the ease and more than another cart; but we did not see the trial made. To the King's playhouse, and saw "The Faithful Shepherdess*," that I might hear the French eunuch sing; which I did to

* A dramatic pastoral, by J. Fletcher.

my great content; though I do admire his action as much as his singing, being both beyond all I ever saw or heard.

15th. This day at the Board came unexpected the warrants from the Duke of York for Mr. Turner and Hater, for the places they desire; which contents me mightily.

17th. Mr. Moore and Seamour were with me this afternoon; who tell me that my Lord Sandwich was received mighty kindly by the King, and is in exceeding great esteem with him and the rest about him; but I doubt it will be hard for him to please both the King and the Duke of York, which I shall be sorry for. Mr. Moore tells me the sad condition my Lord is in in his estate and debts; and the way he now lives in so high, and so many vain servants about him, that he must be ruined if he do not take up; which, by the grace of God, I will put him upon when I come to see him.

18th. With Lord Brouncker to Lincolne's Inn, and Mr. Ball, to visit Dr. Wilkins, now newly Bishop of Chester: and he received us mighty kindly; and had most excellent discourse from him about his book of Reall Character. And so I with Lord Brouncker to White Hall, and there saw the Queene and some ladies.

19th. To the Duke of York's playhouse; and there saw, the first time acted, "The Queene of Arragon*," an old Blackfriars' play, but an admirable one, so good that I am astonished at it, and wonder where it hath lain asleep all this while that I have never heard of it before.

20th. At this time my wife and I mighty busy laying out money in dressing up our best chamber, and thinking of a coach and coachman and horses, &c.; and the more because of Creed's being now married to Mrs. Pickering†; a thing I could never have expected, but it is done about seven or ten days since. I walked out to look for a coach, and saw many; and did light on one for which I bid 50*l.* which do please me mightily.

* A tragi-comedy, by William Habington. Upon its revival, the prologue and epilogue were written by Butler, the author of *Hudibras*.

† Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bart. became the wife of John Creed, Esq. of Oundle, and had issue by him Major Richard Creed, killed at the battle of Blenheim.

21st. Dining with Mr. Batelier, I rose from table before the rest, because under an obligation to go to my Lord Brouncker's, where to meet several gentlemen of the Royal Society, to go and make a visit to the French Ambassador Colbert at Leicester-house, he having endeavoured to make one or two to my Lord Brouncker as our President: but he was not within, but I came too late. To my Lord Sandwich's lodgings; who came to town the last night, and is come thither to lie: and met with him within: and among others my new cosen Creed, who looks mighty soberly; and he and I saluted one another with mighty gravity, till we came to a little more freedom of talk about it. But here I hear that Sir Gilbert Pickering is lately dead, about three days since; which makes some sorrow there, though not much, because of his being long expected to die, having been in a lethargy long. So waited on my Lord to Court, and there staid and saw the ladies awhile: and thence to my wife, and took them up; and so home, and to supper and bed.

23d. To my Lord Sandwich's, where I find my Lord within, but busy private; and so I staid a little talking with the young gentlemen. And so away with Mr. Pierce the surgeon towards Tyburne, to see the people executed; but came too late, it being done: two men and a woman hanged. Pierce do tell me, among other news, the late frolick and debauchery of Sir Charles Sedley and Buckhurst running up and down all the night, almost naked, through the streets; and at last fighting, and being beat by the watch and clapped up all night; and how the King takes their parts; and my Lord Chief Justice Keeling hath laid the constable by the heels to answer it next Sessions: which is a horrid shame. How the King and these gentlemen did make the fiddlers of Thetford this last progress to sing them all the obscene songs they could think of. How Sir W. Coventry was brought the other day to the Duchesse of York by the Duke of York, to kiss her hand; who did acknowledge his unhappiness to occasion her so much sorrow, declaring his intentions in it, and praying her pardon; which she did give him upon his promise to make good his pretences of innocence to her family by his faithfulness to his master the Duke of York. That the Duke of Buckingham is now all in all, and will ruin Coventry

if he can: and that W. Coventry do now rest wholly upon the Duke of York for his standing; which is a great turn. He tells me that my Lady Castlemaine, however, is a mortal enemy to the Duke of Buckingham: which I understand not, but it seems she is disgusted with his greatness and his ill usage of her. That the King was drunk at Saxam* with Sedley, Buckhurst, &c. the night that my Lord Arlington came thither, and would not give him audience, or could not: which is true, for it was the night that I was there and saw the King go up to his chamber, and was told that the King had been drinking. He tells me too that the Duke of York did the next day chide Bab. May for his occasioning the King's giving himself up to these gentlemen, to the neglecting of my Lord Arlington: to which he answered merrily, that there was no man in England that had a head to lose durst do what they do every day with the King, and asked the Duke of York's pardon: which is a sign of a mad world; God bless us out of it!

24th. This morning comes to me the coachmaker, and agreed with me for 53*l*. and to stand to the courtesy of what more I should give him upon the finishing of it. He is likely also to fit me with a coachman.

26th. I was obliged to attend the Duke of York, thinking to have had a meeting of Tangier to-day, but had not: but he did take me and Mr. Wren into his closet, and there did press me to prepare what I had to say upon the answers of my fellow-officers to his great letter; which I promised to do against his coming to town again the next week: and so to other discourse, finding plainly that he is in trouble and apprehensions of the Reformers, and would be found to do what he can towards reforming himself. And so thence to my Lord Sandwich's; where after long stay, he being in talk with others privately, I to him; and there, he taking physic and keeping his chamber, I had an hour's talk with him about the ill posture of things at this time, while the King gives countenance to Sir Charles Sedley and Lord Buckhurst. He tells me that he thinks his matters do stand well with

* Saxham, near Newmarket, in Suffolk, a seat of William Baron Crofts, long since pulled down.

the King, and hopes to have dispatch to his mind ; but I doubt it, and do see that he do fear it too. He told me of my Lady Carteret's trouble about my writing of that letter of the Duke of York's lately to the office ; which I did not own, but declared to be of no injury to G. Carteret, and that I would write a letter to him to satisfy him therein. But this I am in pain how to do without doing myself wrong, and the end I had of preparing a justification to myself hereafter, when the faults of the Navy come to be found out : however, I will do it in the best manner I can.

29th. Mr. Wren first tells us of the order from the King, come last night to the Duke of York, for signifying his pleasure to the Solicitor-generall for drawing up a Commission for suspending of my Lord Anglesy, and putting in Sir Thomas Littleton and Sir Thomas Osborne* (the former a creature of Arlington's, and the latter of the Duke of Buckingham's) during the suspension. The Duke of York was forced to obey, and did grant it, he being to go to Newmarket this day with the King, and so the King pressed for it. But Mr. Wren do own that the Duke of York is the most wounded in this in the world, for it is done and concluded without his privity, after his appearing for him ; and that it is plain that they do ayme to bring the Admiralty into Commission too, and lessen the Duke of York. This do put strange apprehensions into all our Board ; only I think I am the least troubled at it, for I care not at all for it : but my Lord Brouncker and Pen do seem to think much of it.

30th. Up betimes ; and Mr. Povy comes to even accounts with me ; which we did, and then fell to other talk. He tells me, in short, how the King is made a child of by Buckingham and Arlington, to the lessening of the Duke of York, whom they cannot suffer to be great, for fear of my Lord Chancellor's return, which therefore they make the King violent against. That he believes it is impossible these two great men can hold together long ; or, at least, that the ambition of

* Eldest son of Sir Edward Osborne, Bart. ; made a Privy-counsellor 1672, and the following year constituted Lord High Treasurer, and elected K. G. in 1677. He was created Baron Kiveton and Viscount Latimer 1673, Earl of Danby 1674, Marquis of Caermarthen 1689, and Duke of Leeds 1694. Ob. 1712, æt. suæ 81.

the former is so great that he will endeavour to master all, and bring into play as many as he can. That Anglesy will not lose his place easily, but will contend in law with whoever comes to execute it. That the Duke of York, in all things but in his amours, is led by the nose by his wife. That Sir W. Coventry is now by the Duke of York made friends with the Duchesse; and that he is often there, and waits on her. That he do believe that these present great men will break in time, and that Sir W. Coventry will be a great man again; for he do labour to have nothing to do in matters of the State, and is so usefull to the side that he is on, that he will stand, though at present he is quite out of play. That my Lady Castlemaine hates the Duke of Buckingham. That the Duke of York hath expressed himself very kind to my Lord Sandwich; which I am mighty glad of. That we are to expect more changes if these men stand.

31st. This day my Lord Anglesy was at the office, and do seem to make nothing of this business of his suspension, resolving to bring it into Council; where he seems not to doubt to have right, he standing upon his defence and patent; and hath put in his caveats to the several offices: so as soon as the King comes back again, which will be on Tuesday next, he will bring it into the Council.

November 2d. To Mr. Povy's; and there I find my Lords Sandwich, Peterborough, and Hinchinbroke, Charles Harbord, and Sidney Montagu; and there I was stopped, and dined mighty nobly at a good table with one little dish at a time upon it; but mighty merry. I was glad to see it; but sorry, methought, to see my Lord have so little reason to be merry, and yet glad for his sake to have him cheerful. After dinner up, and looked up and down the house, and so to the cellar; and thence I slipt away without taking leave.

4th. To White Hall; and there I find the King and Duke of York came the last night, and every body's mouth full of my Lord Anglesy's suspension being sealed, which it was, it seems, yesterday; so that he is prevented in his remedy at the Council. And, it seems, the two new Treasurers did kiss the King's hand this morning, brought in by my Lord Arlington. They walked up and down together in the

Court this day, and several people joyed them ; but I avoided it, that I might not be seen to look either way. This day also I hear that my Lord Ormond is to be declared in Council no more Deputy Governor of Ireland, his commission being expired : and the King is prevailed with to take it out of his hands ; which people do mightily admire, saying that he is the greatest subject of any prince in Christendome, and hath more acres of land than any, and hath done more for his Prince than ever any yet did. But all will not do ; he must down, it seems, the Duke of Buckingham carrying all before him. But that that troubles me most is, that they begin to talk that the Duke of York's regiment is ordered to be disbanded ; and more, that undoubtedly his Admiralty will follow : which do shake me mightily, and I fear will have ill consequences in the nation, for these counsels are very mad. The Duke of York do, by all men's report, carry himself wonderfull submissive to the King, in the most humble manner in the world ; but yet, it seems, nothing must be spared that tends to the keeping out the Chancellor ; and that is the reason of all this. The great discourse now is, that the Parliament shall be dissolved and another called, which shall give the King the Dean and Chapter's lands ; and that will put him out of debt. And it is said that Buckingham do knowingly meet daily with Wildman and other Commonwealth-men ; and that when he is with them he makes the King believe that he is with his wenches. And something looks like the Parliament's being dissolved, by Harry Brouncker's being now come back, and appearing this day the first day at White Hall ; but he hath not been yet with the King, but is secure that he shall be well received, I hear. God bless us when such men as he shall be restored ! But that that pleases me most is, that several do tell me that Pen is to be removed ; and others, that he hath resigned his place ; and particularly Spragg tells me for certain that he hath resigned it, and is become a partner with Gauden in the Victualling : in which I think he hath done a very cunning thing ; but I am sure I am glad of it ; and it will be well for the King to have him out of this office. Sir John Talbot talks mighty high for my Lord of Ormond : and I perceive this family of the Talbots hath been raised by my Lord.

5th. The Duke of York did call me and Mr. Wren ; and my paper that I have lately taken pains to draw up was read, and the Duke of York pleased therewith ; and we did all along conclude upon answers to my mind for the Board, and that that, if put in execution, will do the King's business. But I do now more and more perceive the Duke of York's trouble, and that he do lie under great weight of mind from the Duke of Buckingham's carrying things against him ; and particularly when I advised that he would use his interest that a seaman might come into the room of Sir W. Pen, who is now declared to be gone from us to that of the Victualling, and did shew how the office would now be left without one seaman in it but the Surveyor and the Controller, who is so old as to be able to do nothing. He told me plainly that I knew his mind well enough as to seamen, but that it must be as others will. And Wren did tell it me as a secret, that when the Duke of York did first tell the King about Sir W. Pen's leaving of the place, and that when the Duke of York did move the King that either Captain Cox or Sir Jer. Smith might succeed him, the King did tell him that that was a matter fit to be considered of, and would not agree to either presently : and so the Duke of York could not prevail for either, nor knows who it shall be. The Duke of York did tell me himself, that if he had not carried it privately when first he mentioned Pen's leaving his place to the King, it had not been done ; for the Duke of Buckingham and those of his party do cry out upon it as a strange thing to trust such a thing into the hands of one that stands accused in Parliament : and that they have so far prevailed upon the King that he would not have him named in Council, but only take his name to the Board ; but I think he said that only D. Gauden's name shall go in the patent ; at least, at the time when Sir Richard Browne asked the King the names of D. Gauden's security, the King told him it was not yet necessary for him to declare them. And by and by, when the Duke of York and we had done, Wren brought into the closet Captain Cox and James Temple about business of the Guinea Company ; and talking something of the Duke of Buckingham's concernment therein, says the Duke of York, " I shall give the Devil his due," as they say the Duke of Buckingham hath paid in his money

to the Company, or something of that kind, wherein he would do right to him. The Duke of York told me how these people do begin to cast dirt upon the business that passed the Council lately touching Supernumeraries, as passed by virtue of his authority there, there being not liberty for any man to withstand what the Duke of York advises there; which, he told me, they bring only as an argument to insinuate the putting of the Admiralty into Commission, which by all men's discourse is now designed, and I perceive the same by him. This being done, and going from him, I up and down the house to hear news: and there every body's mouth full of changes; and, among others, the Duke of York's regiment of Guards that was raised during the late war at sea is to be disbanded: and also, that this day the King do intend to declare that the Duke of Ormond is no more Deputy of Ireland, but that he will put it into Commission. This day our new Treasurers did kiss the King's hand; who complimented them, as they say, very highly,—that he had for a long time been abused in his Treasurer, and that he was now safe in their hands. I saw them walk up and down the Court together all this morning; the first time I ever saw Osborne, who is a comely gentleman. This day I was told that my Lord Anglesy did deliver a petition on Wednesday in Council to the King, laying open, that whereas he had heard that his Majesty had made such a disposal of his place, which he had formerly granted him for life upon a valuable consideration, and that without any thing laid to his charge, and during a Parliament's sessions, he prayed that his Majesty would be pleased to let his case be heard before the Council and the Judges of the land, who were his proper Counsel in all matters of right: to which, I am told, the King, after my Lord's being withdrawn, concluded upon his giving him an answer some few days hence; and so he was called in and told so. At the Treasurer's, Sir Thomas Clifford, where I did eat some oysters; which while we were at, in comes my Lord Keeper and much company; and so I thought it best to withdraw. And so away, and to the Swedes Agent's, and there met Mr. Povy; where the Agent would have me stay and dine, there being only them and Joseph Williamson, and Sir

Thomas Clayton*; but what he is I know not. Here much extraordinary noble discourse of foreign princes, and particularly the greatness of the King of France, and of his being fallen into the right way of making the kingdom great. I was mightily pleased with this company and their discourse.

6th. To see Roger Pepys at his lodgings next door to Arundell-house, a barber's. And there I did see a book, which my Lord Sandwich hath promised one to me of, "A Description of the Escoriall in Spain;" which I have a great desire to have, though I took it for a finer book when he promised it me.

9th. The Duke of York told me that Sir W. Pen had been with him this morning to ask whether it would be fit for him to sit at the office now, because of his resolution to be gone and to become concerned in the Victualling. The Duke of York answered, Yes, till his contract was signed. Thence I to Lord Sandwich's, and there to see him; but was made to stay very long, as his best friends are, and when I came to him had little pleasure, his head being full of his own business, I think. Thence to White Hall with him to a Committee of Tangier; a day appointed for him to give an account of Tangier, and what he did and found there; which, though he had admirable matter for it, and his doings there were good, and would have afforded a noble account, yet he did it with a mind so low and mean, and delivered in so poor a manner, that it appeared nothing at all, nor any body seemed to value it; whereas he might have shewn himself to have merited extraordinary thanks, and been held to have done a very great service: whereas now, all that cost the King hath been at for his journey through Spain thither, seems to be almost lost. After we were up, Creed and I walked together, and did talk a good while of the weak Report my Lord made, and were troubled for it; I fearing that either his mind and judgment are depressed, or that he do it out of his great neglect, and so that he do all the rest of his affairs accordingly.

* Thomas Clayton, M. D. Professor of Physic, and Anatomy Lecturer at Oxford, for which University he was chosen Member 1660, and afterwards knighted and made Warden of Merton College.

11th. To the office; where by a special desire the new Treasurers came, and there did shew their Patent and the Great Seal for the suspension of my Lord Anglesy: and here did sit and discourse of the business of the office; and brought Mr. Hutchinson with them, who, I hear, is to be their Paymaster, in the room of Mr. Waith. For it seems they do turn out every servant that belongs to the present Treasurer; and so for Fenn do bring in Mr. Lyttleton, Sir Thomas's brother, and oust all the rest. But Mr. Hutchinson do already see that his work now will be another kind of thing than before, as to the trouble of it.

13th. Up, and with Sir W. Pen by coach to White Hall; where to the Duke of York, and there did our usual business. And thence I to the Commissioners of the Treasury; where I staid and heard an excellent case argued between my Lord Gerard and the town of Newcastle, about a piece of ground which that Lord hath got a grant of under the Exchequer Seal, which they were endeavouring to get of the King under the Great Seal. I liked mightily the Counsel for the town, Shaftow their Recorder, and Mr. Offly. But I was troubled, and so were the Lords,* to hear my Lord fly out against their† great pretence of merit from the King for their sufferings and loyalty; telling them that they might thank him for that repute which they have for their loyalty, for that it was he that forced them to be so against their wills, when he was there: and, moreover, did offer a paper to the Lords to read from the town, sent in 1648; but the Lords would not read it; but I believe it was something about bringing the King to trial, or some such thing, in that year. Thence I to the Three Tuns Tavern by Charing Cross, and there dined with W. Pen, Sir J. Minnes, and Commissioner Middleton; and as merry as my mind could be, that hath so much trouble upon it at home. And thence to White Hall, and there staid in Mr. Wren's chamber with him reading over my draught of a letter, which Mr. Gibson then attended me with; and there he did like all, but doubted whether it would be necessary for the Duke to write in so sharp a style to the office as I had drawn it in: which I yield to him,

* The Lords Commissioners.

† The inhabitants of Newcastle.

to consider the present posture of the times and the Duke of York, and whether it were not better to err on that hand than the other. He told me that he did not think it was necessary for the Duke of York to do, and that it would not suit so well with his nature nor greatness; which last perhaps is true, but then do too truly shew the effects of having princes in places where order and discipline should be. I left it to him to do as the Duke of York pleases; and so fell to other talk, and with great freedom, of public things. And he told me, upon my several inquiries to that purpose, that he did believe it was not yet resolved whether the Parliament should ever meet more or no, the three great rulers of things now standing thus:—The Duke of Buckingham is absolutely against their meeting, as moved thereto by his people that he advises with, the people of the late times, who do never expect to have any thing done by this Parliament for their religion, and who do propose that, by the sale of the Church-lands, they shall be able to put the King out of debt: my Lord Keeper is utterly against putting away this and choosing another Parliament, lest they prove worse than this, and will make all the King's friends, and the King himself, in a desperate condition: my Lord Arlington knows not which is best for him, being to seek whether this or the next will use him worst. He tells me that he believes that it is intended to call this Parliament, and try them with a sum of money; and if they do not like it, then to send them going, and call another who will, at the ruin of the Church perhaps, please the King with what he will have for a time. And he tells me, therefore, that he do believe that this policy will be endeavoured by the Church and their friends,—to seem to promise the King money when it shall be propounded, but make the King and these great men buy it dear before they have it. He tells me that he is really persuaded that the design of the Duke of Buckingham is, by bringing the State into such a condition as, if the King do die without issue, it shall upon his death break into pieces again; and so put by the Duke of York, whom they have disobliged, they know, to that degree as to despair of his pardon. He tells me that there is no way to rule the King but by brisknesse, which the Duke of Buckingham hath above all men; and that the Duke of York having it not,

his best way is what he practices, that is to say, a good temper, which will support him till the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington fall out, which cannot be long first, the former knowing that the latter did, in the time of the Chancellor, endeavour with the Chancellor to hang him at that time, when he was proclaimed against. And here, by the by, he told me that the Duke of Buckingham did by his friends treat with my Lord Chancellor, by the mediation of Matt. Wren and Clifford, to fall in with my Lord Chancellor; which, he tells me, he did advise my Lord Chancellor to accept of, as that, that with his own interest and the Duke of York's, would undoubtedly have secured all to him and his family; but that my Lord Chancellor was a man not to be advised, thinking himself too high to be counselled: and so all is come to nothing; for by that means the Duke of Buckingham became desperate, and was forced to fall in with Arlington, to his ruin. This morning at the Treasury-chamber I did meet Jack Fenn, and there he did shew me my Lord Anglesy's petition and the King's answer: the former good and stout, as I before did hear it; but the latter short and weak, saying that he was not by what the King had done hindered from taking the benefit of his laws, and that the reason he had to suspect his mismanagement of his money in Ireland did make him think it unfit to trust him with his Treasury in England till he was satisfied in the former.

15th. After dinner, W. How to tell me what hath happened between him and the Commissioners of late, who are hot again, more than ever, about my Lord Sandwich's business of prizes; which I am troubled for, and the more because of the great security and neglect with which I think my Lord do look upon this matter, that may yet, for aught I know, undo him.

17th. To the office all the morning, where the new Treasurers come their second time, and before they sat down did discourse with the Board, and particularly my Lord Brouncker, about their place, which they challenge as having been heretofore due and given to their predecessor; which, at last, my Lord did own hath been given him only out of courtesy to his quality, and that he did not take it as of right at the Board: so they, for the present, sat down and did give

him the place, but I think with an intent to have the Duke of York's directions about it.

20th. This evening comes Mr. Billup to me, to read over Mr. Wren's alterations of my draught of a letter for the Duke of York to sign to the Board; which I like mighty well, they being not considerable, only in mollifying some hard terms which I had thought fit to put in. From this to other discourse; and do find that the Duke of York and his master, Mr. Wren, do look upon this service of mine as a very seasonable service to the Duke of York, as that which he will have to shew to his enemies in his own justification of his care of the King's business: and I am sure I am heartily glad of it, both for the King's sake and the Duke of York's, and my own also; for if I continue, my work by this means will be the less, and my share in the blame also.

22d. This day my boy's livery is come home, the first I ever had, of greene lined with red; and it likes me well enough.

23d. To visit my Lord Sandwich, who is now so reserved, or moped rather I think with his own business, that he bids welcome to no man, I think, to his satisfaction. I met with Mr. Povy; who tells me that this discourse which I told him of, of the Duke of Monmouth being made Prince of Wales, hath nothing in it; though he thinks there are all the endeavours used in the world to overthrow the Duke of York. He would not have me doubt of my safety in the Navy, which I am doubtful of, from the reports of a general removal; but he will endeavour to inform me what he can gather from my Lord Arlington. That he do think that the Duke of Buckingham hath a mind rather to overthrow all the kingdom, and bring in a Commonwealth, wherein he may think to be General of their Army, or to make himself King; which, he believes, he may be led to by some advice he hath had with conjurors, which he do affect.

25th. Mr. Wren and I to his chamber, and there talked: and he seems to hope that these people, the Duke of Buckingham and Arlington, will run themselves off of their legs; they being forced to be always putting the King upon one idle thing or other, against the easiness of his nature, which he will never be able to bear, nor they

to keep him to, and so will lose themselves. And, for instance of their little progress, he tells me that my Lord of Ormond is like yet to carry it, and to continue in his command in Ireland; at least, they cannot get the better of him yet. But he tells me that the Keeper is wrought upon, as they say, to give his opinion for the dissolving of the Parliament; which, he thinks, will undo him in the eyes of the people. He do not seem to own the hearing or fearing of any thing to be done in the Admiralty to the lessening of the Duke of York, though he hears how the town-talk is full of it.

26th. Troubled at W. Hewer's losing of a tally of 1000*l.*, which I sent him this day to receive of the Commissioners of Excise.

27th. Comes Mr. Povy by appointment to dine with me; and much pleasant discourse with him, and some serious: and he tells me that he would by all means have me get to be a Parliament-man the next Parliament. By and by comes my cosen Roger, and dines with us; and, after dinner, did seal his mortgage, wherein I do wholly rely on his honesty, not having so much as read over what he hath given me for it, nor minded it, but do trust to his integrity therein.

28th. This day presented to the Board the Duke of York's letter; which, I perceive, troubled Sir W. Pen, he declaring himself meant in that part that concerned excuse by sickness; but I do not care, but am mightily glad that it is done, and now I shall begin to be at pretty good ease in the office. This morning, to my great content, W. Hewer tells me that a porter is come who found my tally in Holborne, and brings it him, for which he gives him 20*s.*

29th. My wife lately frightened me about her being a Catholique; and I dare not, therefore, move her to go to church, for fear she should deny me. But this morning, of her own accord, she spoke of going to church the next Sunday; which pleases me mightily.

30th. My wife after dinner went the first time abroad in her coach, calling on Roger Pepys, and visiting Mrs. Creed and my cosen Turner. Thus ended this month with very good content, but most expensive to my purse on things of pleasure, having furnished my wife's closet, and the best chamber, and a coach and horses, that ever I knew in the world; and I am put into the greatest condition of outward state that ever I was in, or hoped ever to be, or desired:

and this at a time when we do daily expect great changes in this office; and by all reports we must all of us turn out. But my eyes are come to that condition that I am not able to work; and therefore that and my wife's desire make me have no manner of trouble in my thoughts about it. So God do his will in it!

December 2d. Abroad with my wife, the first time that ever I rode in my own coach, which do make my heart rejoice and praise God, and pray him to bless it to me and continue it. So she and I to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Usurper*;" a pretty good play in all but what is designed to resemble Cromwell and Hugh Peters, which is mighty silly. The play done, we to White Hall; where my wife staid while I up to the Duchesse and Queene's side, to speak with the Duke of York: and here saw all the ladies, and heard the silly discourse of the King with his people about him, telling a story of my Lord Rochester's having of his clothes stole while he was with a wench; and his gold all gone, but his clothes found afterwards stuffed into a feather-bed by the wench that stole them. I spoke with the Duke of York, just as he was set down to supper with the King, about our sending of victuals to Sir Thomas Allen's fleet hence to Cales, to meet him.

3d. Sir Jer. Smith with me; who is a silly, prating, talking man; but he tells me what he hears,—that Holmes and Spragg now rule all with the Duke of Buckingham as to sea-business, and will be great men: but he do prophecy what will be the fruit of it; so I do. So to the office, where we sat all the morning; and at noon home to dinner, and then abroad again with my wife to the Duke of York's playhouse, and saw "The Unfortunate Lovers†;" a mean play I think, but some parts very good, and excellently acted. We sat under the boxes, and saw the fine ladies; among others, my Lady Kerneguy, who is most devilishly painted. And so home, it being mighty pleasure to go alone with my poor wife in a coach of our own to a play, and makes us appear mighty great, I think, in the world; at least, greater than ever I could, or my friends for me, have once expected; or, I think, than ever any of my family ever yet lived in my memory, but my cosen Pepys in Salisbury Court.

* A tragedy, by Edward Howard.

† A tragedy, by Sir Wm. Davenant.

4th. Did wait as usual upon the Duke of York; where, upon discoursing something touching the Ticket-office, which by letter the Board did give the Duke of York their advice to be put upon Lord Brouncker, Sir J. Minnes did foolishly rise up and complain of the office, and his being made nothing of; and this before Sir Thomas Littleton, who would be glad of this difference among us: which did trouble me mightily; and therefore I did forbear to say what I otherwise would have thought fit for me to say on this occasion, upon so impertinent a speech as this doating fool made—but, I say, I let it alone, and contented myself that it went as I advised, as to the Duke of York's judgment in the thing disputed. Mr. Pickering, who meets me at Smithfield, and I, and W. Hewer, and a friend (a jockey) of his, did go about to see several pairs of horses for my coach; but it was late, and we agreed on none, but left it to another time: but here I do see instances of a piece of craft and cunning that I never dreamed of, concerning the buying and choosing of horses. To the office, where vexed to see how ill all the Controller's business is likely to go, as long as ever Sir J. Minnes lives; and so troubled I was that I thought it a good occasion for me to give my thoughts of it in writing, and therefore wrote a letter at the Board, by the help of a tube, to Lord Brouncker, and did give it him, which I kept a copy of, and it may be of use to me hereafter to shew in this matter. This being done, I home to my aunt, who supped with us, and my uncle also: and a good-humoured woman she is, so that I think we shall keep her acquaintance; but mighty proud she is of her wedding-ring, being lately set with diamonds; cost her about 12*l.*: and I did commend it mightily to her, but do not think it very suitable for one of our quality.

5th. No news stirring, but that my Lord of Ormond is likely to go to Ireland again, which do shew that the Duke of Buckingham do not rule all so absolutely; and that, however, we shall speedily have more changes in the Navy: and it is certain that the Nonconformists do now preach openly in houses in many places, and among others the house that was heretofore Sir G. Carteret's, in Leadenhall-streete, and have ready access to the King. And now the great dispute is, whether this Parliament or another; and my great design, if I continue in the Navy, is to get myself to be a Parliament-man.

6th. Lord's-day. Up, and with my wife to church; which pleases me mightily, I being full of fear that she would never go to church again, after she had declared to me that she was a Roman Catholique. But though I do verily think she fears God, and is truly and sincerely righteous, yet I do see she is not so strictly a Catholique as not to go to church with me; which pleases me mightily.

7th. Sir W. Coventry says that he hath no more mind to be found meddling with the Navy, lest it should do it hurt as well as him. So to talk of general things: and telling him that with all these doings he, I thanked God, stood yet; he told me, Yes, but that he thought his continuing in did arise from his enemies my Lord of Buckingham and Arlington's seeing that he cared so little if he was out; and he do protest to me that he is as weary of the Treasury as ever he was of the Navy. He tells me that he do believe that their heat is over almost as to the Navy, there being now none left of the old stock but my Lord Brouncker, J. Minnes (who is ready to leave the world), and myself. But he tells me that he do foresee very great wants and great disorders by reason thereof; insomuch, as he is represented to the King by his enemies as a melancholy man, and one that is still prophecying ill events, so as the King called him Visionaire; which being told him, he said he answered the party, that, whatever he foresaw, he was not afraid as to himself of any thing, nor particularly of my Lord Arlington so much as the Duke of Buckingham hath been, nor of the Duke of Buckingham so much as my Lord Arlington at this time is. But he tells me that he hath been always looked upon as a melancholy man; whereas others that would please the King do make him believe that all is safe: and so he hath heard my Lord Chancellor openly say to the King, that he was now a glorious prince, and in a glorious condition, because of some one accident that hath happened, or some one rut that hath been removed; "when," says Sir W. Coventry, "they reckoned their one good meal, without considering that there was nothing left in the cupboard for to-morrow." After this discourse to my Lord Sandwich's, and took a quarter of an hour's walk in the garden with him, which I have not done for so much time with him since his coming into England; and talking of his own condition, and particularly of the world's talk of his going to Tangier. I find if his conditions can be made profitable

and safe as to money, he would go, but not else; but, however, will seem not averse to it, because of facilitating his other accounts now depending; which he finds hard to get through, but yet hath some hopes, the King, he says, speaking very kindly to him.

8th. Up, and Sir H. Cholmly betimes with me, about some accounts and monies due to him: and he gone, I to the office, where sat all the morning. And here, among other things, breaks out the storm W. Hewer and I have long expected from the Surveyor, about W. Hewer's conspiring to get a contract to the burdening of the stores with kerseys and cottons, of which he hath often complained, and lately more than ever, and now he did by a most scandalous letter to the Board reflecting on my office: and by discourse it fell to such high words between him and me as can hardly ever be forgot; I declaring I would believe W. Hewer as soon as him, and laying the fault, if there be any, upon himself; he, on the other hand, vilifying of my word and W. Hewer's, calling him knave, and that if he were his clerk he should lose his ears. At last I closed the business for this morning with making the thing ridiculous, as it is, and he swearing that the King should have right in it, or he would lose his place. The office was cleared of all but ourselves and W. Hewer; but, however, the world did by the beginning see what it meant, and it will, I believe, come to high terms between us; which I am sorry for, to have any blemish laid upon me or mine at this time, though never so unjustly, for fear of giving occasion to my real discredit: and therefore I was not only all the rest of the morning vexed, but so went home to dinner; where my wife tells me of my Lord Orrery's new play "Tryphon*," at the Duke of York's house, which, however, I would see, and therefore put a bit of meat in our mouths and went thither; where, with much ado, at half-past one, we got into a blind hole in the 18^d. place above stairs, where we could not hear well. The house infinite full, but the prologue most silly, and the play, though admirable, yet no pleasure almost in it, because just the very same design, and words, and sense, and plot, as every one of his plays have, any one of which alone would

* A tragedy, taken from the first book of Maccabees, and performed with great success.

be held admirable, whereas so many of the same design and fancy do but dull one another; and this, I perceive, is the sense of every body else as well as myself, who therefore shewed but little pleasure in it. So home mighty hot, and my mind mightily out of order, so as I could not eat my supper, or sleep almost all night; though I spent till twelve at night with W. Hewer to consider of our business: and we find it not only most free from any blame of our side, but so horrid scandalous on the other, to make so groundless a complaint, and one so shameful to him, that it could not but let me see that there is no need of my being troubled; but such is the weakness of my nature that I could not help it, which vexes me, shewing me how unable I am to live with difficulties.

10th. Up, and to the office, where busy all the morning: Middleton not there, so no words or looks of him. At noon home to dinner; and so to the office, and there all the afternoon busy. And at night W. Hewer home with me; and we think we have got matter enough to make Middleton appear a coxcomb. But it troubled me to have Sir W. Warren meet me at night going out of the office home, and tell me that Middleton do intend to complain to the Duke of York: but, upon consideration of the business, I did go to bed satisfied that it was best for me that he should; and so my trouble was over, and to bed and slept well.

11th. Up, and with W. Hewer by water to Somerset-house; and there I to my Lord Brouncker before he went forth to the Duke of York, and there told him my confidence that I should make Middleton appear a fool, and that it was, I thought, best for me to complain of the wrong he hath done; but brought it about that my Lord desired me I would forbear, and promised that he would prevent Middleton till I had given in my answer to the Board, which I desired. And so away to White Hall, and there did our usual attendance: and no word spoke before the Duke of York by Middleton at all; at which I was glad to my heart, because by this means I have time to draw up my answer to my mind. Concluded upon giving 50*l.* for a fine pair of black horses we saw this day se'nnight; and so set Mr. Pickering down near his house (whom I am much beholden to for his care herein,

and he hath admirable skill, I perceive, in this business), and so home.

12th. I hear this day that there is fallen down a new house not quite finished in Lumberd-street, and that there have been several so, they making use of bad mortar and bricks; but no hurt yet, as God hath ordered it. This day was brought home my pair of black coach-horses, the first I ever was master of, a fine pair.

14th. This day I hear, and am glad, that the King hath prorogued the Parliament to October next; and, among other reasons, it will give me time to go to France, I hope.

15th. Up, and to the office, where sat all the morning, and the new Treasurers there; and, for my life, I cannot keep Sir J. Minnes and others of the Board from shewing our weakness, to the dishonour of the Board, though I am not concerned; but it do vex me to the heart to have it before these people, that would be glad to find out all our weaknesses.

18th. To Lord Brouncker, and got him to read over my paper, who owns most absolute content in it, and the advantage I have in it, and the folly of the Surveyor. At noon home to dinner; and then to Brooke-house, and there spoke with Colonell Thomson, I by order carrying them our Contract-books, from the beginning to the end of the late war. I found him finding of errors in a ship's book, where he shewed me many; which must end in the ruin, I doubt, of the Controller, who found them not out in the pay of the ship, or the whole office. To the office, and after some other business done we fell to mine. The Surveyor began to be a little brisk at the beginning; but when I came to the point to touch him, which I had all the advantages in the world to do, he became as calm as a lamb, and owned, as the whole Board did, their satisfaction, and cried excuse: and so all made friends; and their acknowledgment put into writing and delivered into Sir J. Minnes's hand, to be kept there for the use of the Board or me, when I shall call for it; they desiring it might be so, that I might not make use of it to the prejudice of the Surveyor, whom I had an advantage over by his extraordinary folly in this matter. So Middleton desiring to be friends, I forgave him; and all mighty quiet, and fell to

talk of other stories, and there staid all of us till nine or ten at night (more than ever we did in our lives before together).

19th. My wife and I by Hackney to the King's playhouse, and there, the pit being full, sat in a box above, and saw "Catiline's Conspiracy," yesterday being the first day: a play of much good sense and words to read, but that do appear the worst upon the stage, I mean the least diverting, that ever I saw any, though most fine in clothes; and a fine scene of the Senate and of a fight as ever I saw in my life. We sat next to Betty Hall, that did belong to this house, and was Sir Philip Howard's mistress; a mighty pretty wench.

20th. The Duke of York in good humour did fall to tell us many fine stories of the wars in Flanders, and how the Spaniards are the best disciplined foot in the world; will refuse no extraordinary service if commanded, but scorn to be paid for it as in other countries, though at the same time they will beg in the streets: not a soldier will carry you a cloak-bag for money for the world, though he will beg a penny, and will do the thing if commanded by his commander. That in the citadel of Antwerp a soldier hath not a liberty of begging till he hath served three years. They will cry out against their King and commanders and generals, none like them in the world, and yet will not hear a stranger say a word of them but they will cut his throat. That upon a time some of the commanders of their army exclaiming against their generals, and particularly the Marquis de Caranen, the Confessor of the Marquis coming by and hearing them, he stops and gravely tells them that the three great trades of the world are, the lawyers, who govern the world; the churchmen, who enjoy the world; and a sort of fellows whom they call soldiers, who make it their work to defend the world. He told us too, that Turenne being now become a Catholique, he is likely to get over the head of Colbert, their interests being contrary; the latter to promote trade and the sea (which, says the Duke of York, is that we have most cause to fear), and Turenne to employ the King and his forces by land to encrease his conquests. W. Hewer tells me to-day that he hears that the King of France hath declared in print, that he do intend this next summer to forbid his commanders to strike to us, but that both we and the Dutch

shall strike to him; and that he hath made his captains swear it already that they will observe it: which is a great thing if he do it, as I know nothing to hinder him.

21st. Went into Holborne, and there saw the woman that is to be seen with a beard. She is a little plain woman, a Dane; her name, Ursula Dyan; about forty years old; her voice like a little girl's; with a beard as much as any man I ever saw, black almost and grizly: it began to grow at about seven years old, and was shaved not above seven months ago, and is now so big as any man's almost that ever I saw; I say, bushy and thick. It was a strange sight to me, I confess, and what pleased me mightily. Thence to the Duke's playhouse, and saw "Macbeth." The King and Court there; and we sat just under them and my Lady Castlemaine, and close to a woman that comes into the pit, a kind of a loose gossip, that pretends to be like her, and is so something. And my wife, by my troth, appeared, I think, as pretty as any of them; I never thought so much before; and so did Talbot and W. Hewer, as they said, I heard, to one another. The King and Duke of York minded me, and smiled upon me, at the handsome woman near me: but it vexed me to see Moll Davis, in the box over the King's and my Lady Castlemaine, look down upon the King, and he up to her; and so did my Lady Castlemaine once, to see who it was; but when she saw Moll Davis, she looked like fire; which troubled me.

23d. Discoursed with Sir John Bankes; who thinks this prorogation will please all but the Parliament itself, which will, if ever they meet, be vexed at Buckingham, who yet governs all. He says the Nonconformists are glad of it, and, he believes, will get the upperhand in a little time, for the King must trust to them or nobody; and he thinks the King will be forced to it. He says that Sir D. Gauden is mightily troubled at Pen's being put upon him by the Duke of York, and that he believes he will get clear of it; which, though it will trouble me to have Pen still at the office, yet I shall think D. Gauden do well in it, and what I would advise him to, because I love him. I up to my Lord Brouncker at his lodgings; and sat with him an hour on purpose to talk over the wretched state of this office at present,

according to the present hands it is made up of; wherein he do fully concur with me, and that it is our part not only to prepare for defending it and ourselves against the consequences of it, but to take the best ways we can to make it known to the Duke of York; for, till Sir J. Minnes be removed, and a sufficient man brought into W. Pen's place when he is gone, it is impossible for this office ever to support itself.

25th. Christmas-day. To dinner alone with my wife, who, poor wretch! sat undressed all day till ten at night, altering and lacing of a noble petticoat; while I by her making the boy read to me the Life of Julius Cæsar, and Des Cartes' book of Musick.

27th. Lord's-day. Saw the King at chapel; but staid not to hear any thing, but went to walk in the Park with W. Hewer; and there, among others, met with Sir G. Downing, and walked with him an hour talking of business, and how the late war was managed, there being nobody to take care of it: and he telling, when he was in Holland, what he offered the King to do if he might have power, and then upon the least word, perhaps of a woman, to the King, he was contradicted again, and particularly to the loss of all that we lost in Guinny. He told me that he had so good spies, that he hath had the keys taken out of De Witt's pocket when he was a-bed, and his closet opened and papers brought to him and left in his hands for an hour, and carried back and laid in the place again, and the keys put into his pocket again. He says he hath always had their most private debates, that have been but between two or three of the chief of them, brought to him in an hour after, and an hour after that hath sent word thereof to the King, but nobody here regarded them. But he tells me the sad news that he is out of all expectations that ever the debts of the Navy will be paid, if the Parliament do not enable the King to do it by money; all they can hope for to do out of the King's revenue being but to keep our wheels a-going on present services, and, if they can, to cut off the growing interest: which is a sad story, and grieves me to the heart.

28th. Called up by drums and trumpets; these things and boxes having cost me much money this Christmas already, and will do more.

1668-9. January 1st. Presented from Captain Beckford with a noble silver warming-pan.

4th. W. Hewer and I went and saw the great tall woman that is to be seen, who is but twenty-one years old, and I do easily stand under her arms. To White Hall, where a Committee of Tangier met; and I did receive an instance of the Duke of York's kindness to me, and the whole Committee, that they would not order any thing about the Treasurer for the Corporation now in establishing, without my assent and considering whether it would be to my wrong or no. Thence up and down the house, and to the Duke of York's side, and there in the Duchesse's presence; and was mightily complimented by my Lady Peterborough in my Lord Sandwich's presence, whom she engaged to thank me for my kindness to her and her Lord. We also declared our minds together to the Duke of York about Sir John Minnes's incapacity to do any service in the office: he promised to speak to the King about it.

7th. My wife and I to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Island Princesse*," the first time I ever saw it; and it is a pretty good play, many good things being in it, and a good scene of a town on fire. We sat in an upper box, and the jade Nell came and sat in the next box; a bold merry slut, who lay laughing there upon people; and with a comrade of hers, of the Duke's house, that came in to see the play.

11th. Abroad with my wife to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Joviall Crew;" but ill acted to what it was heretofore in Clun's time, and when Lacy could dance. Thence to the New Exchange, to buy some things; and, among others, my wife did give me my pair of gloves, which by contract she is to give me in her 30*l.* a-year. Here Mrs. Smith tells us of the great murder thereabouts on Saturday last, of one Captain Bumbridge, by one Symons, both of her acquaintance; and hectors that were at play, and in drink: the former is killed, and is kinsman to my Lord of Ormond, which made him speak of it with so much passion.

* A tragi-comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

12th. Mr. Pierce, I asking him whither he was going, told me as a great secret that he was going to his master's mistress, Mrs. Churchill*, with some physic; meaning, I suppose, that she is with child.

15th. To Sir W. Coventry; where with him a good while in his chamber, talking of the great factions at Court at this day, even to the sober engaging of great persons, and differences, and making the King cheap and ridiculous. It is about my Lady Harvy's being offended at Doll Common's acting of Sempronia to imitate her; for which she got my Lord Chamberlain, her kinsman, to imprison Doll: upon which my Lady Castlemaine made the King to release her, and to order her to act it again worse than ever, the other day, where the King himself was; and since it was acted again, and my Lady Harvy provided people to hiss her and fling oranges at her: but it seems the heat is come to a great height, and real troubles at Court about it. Through the Park, where I met the King and the Duke of York, and so walked with them; and I did give the Duke of York thanks for his favour to me yesterday, at the Committee of Tangier, in my absence, (where some business was brought forward which the Duke of York would not suffer to go on without my presence at the debate.) And he answered me just thus: that he ought to have a care of him that do the King's business in the manner that I do, and words of more force than that. Then down with Lord Brouncker to Sir R. Murray, into the King's little elaboratory under his closet; a pretty place; and there saw a great many chymical glasses and things, but understood none of them.

16th. Mr. Wren thinks that the Parliament is likely to meet again, the King being frightened with what the Speaker hath put him in mind of,—his promise not to prorogue, but only to adjourne them. They speak mighty freely of the folly of the King in this foolish woman's business of my Lady Harvy. Povy tells me that Sir W. Coventry was with the King alone an hour this day; and that my Lady Castlemaine is

* Arabella Churchill, sister to John Duke of Marlborough, one of the Maids of Honour to the Duchess of York. James Duke of Berwick and three other children were the fruits of this intrigue. She married subsequently Colonel Godfrey, Comptroller of the Household, and died 1730, aged 82.

now in a higher command over the King than ever,—not as a mistress, for she scorns him, but as a tyrant, to command him: and says that the Duchesse of York and the Duke of York are mighty great with her, which is a great interest to my Lord Chancellor's family; and that they do agree to hinder all they can the proceedings of the Duke of Buckingham and Arlington. And so we are in the old mad condition, or rather worse than any; no man knowing what the French intend to do the next summer.

17th. Spoke with my Lords Bellasses and Peterborough about the business now in dispute, about my deputing a Treasurer to pay the garrison at Tangier; which I would avoid and not be accountable, and they will serve me therein. Here I met Hugh May, and he brings me to the knowledge of Sir Harry Capell*, a member of Parliament and brother of my Lord of Essex†, who hath a great value it seems for me; and they appoint a day to come and dine with me, and see my books and papers of the office; which I shall be glad to shew them, and have opportunity to satisfy them therein. Here all the discourse is, that now the King is of opinion to have the Parliament called, notwithstanding his late resolutions for proroguing them; so unstable are his councils and those about him.

18th. To Sir W. Coventry's, and there discourse the business of my Treasurer's place at Tangier; wherein he consents to my desire, and concurs therein: which I am glad of, that I may not be accountable for a man so far off. And so I to my Lord Sandwich's, and there walk with him through the garden to White Hall; where he tells me what he hath done about this Treasurer's place, (and I perceive the whole thing did proceed from him:) that finding it would be best to have the Governor have nothing to do with the pay of the garrison, he did propose to the Duke of York alone that a paymaster should be there; and that being desirous to do a courtesy to Sir Charles Harbord‡, and to prevent the Duke of York's looking

* Made K. B. at the Coronation of Charles II. and created Lord Capel 1692; died at Dublin, while Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1696.

† Arthur Capel, created Earl of Essex 1661, found dead in the Tower 1683.

‡ Sir Charles Harbord, M. P. for Launceston.

out for any body else, he did name him to the Duke of York. That when he came the other day to move this to the Board of Tangier, the Duke of York it seems did readily reply, that it was fit to have Mr. Pepys satisfied therein first, and that it was not good to make places for persons. This my Lord in great confidence tells me that he do take very ill from the Duke of York, though nobody knew the meaning of these words but him; and that he did take no notice of them, but bit his lip, being satisfied that the Duke of York's care of me was as desireable to him as it could be to have Sir Charles Harbord: and did seem industrious to let me see that he was glad that the Duke of York and he might come to contend who shall be the kindest to me; which I owned as his great love, and so I hope and believe it is; though my Lord did go a little too far in this business, to move it so far without consulting me. But I took no notice of that, but was glad to see this competition come about, that my Lord Sandwich is apparently jealous of my thinking that the Duke of York do mean me more kindness than him. So we walked together, and I took this occasion to invite him to dinner to my house, and he readily appointed Friday next; which I shall be glad to have over to his content, he having never yet eat a bit of my bread. Thence to the Duke of York on the King's side, and meeting Mr. Sidney Montagu and Sheres, a small invitation served their turn to carry them to London, where I paid Sheres his 100*l.*, given him for his pains in drawing the plate of Tangier fortifications. At White Hall, and there in the Queene's withdrawing-room invited my Lord Peterborough to dine with me with my Lord Sandwich, who readily accepted it.

19th. To the King's house, to see "Horace*;" this the third day of its acting: a silly tragedy, but Lacy hath made a farce of several dances—between each act one: but his words are but silly, and invention not extraordinary as to the dances; only some Dutchmen come out of the mouth and tail of a Hamburgh sow.

* There were two translations about this period of the "Horace" of P. Corneille; one by Charles Cotton, the other (which was performed at Court) by Catherine Phillips, the fifth act being added by Sir John Denham.

20th. Heard at the Council-board the City, by their single Counsel Symson, and the Company of Strangers Merchants, debate the business of water-baylage; a tax demanded upon all goods, by the City, imported and exported: which these Merchants oppose; and demanding leave to try the justice of the City's demand by a Quo Warranto, which the City opposed, the Merchants did quite lay the City on their backs with great triumph, the City's cause being apparently too weak: but here I observed Mr. Gold, the merchant, to speak very well and very sharply against the City. This afternoon before the play I called with my wife at Dancre's*, the great landscape-painter, by Mr. Povy's advice; and have bespoke him to come to take measure of my dining-room panels.

22d. At the 'Change I met with Mr. Dancre, with whom I was on Wednesday; and he took measure of my panels in my dining-room, where, in the four, I intend to have the four houses of the King, White Hall, Hampton Court, Greenwich, and Windsor. Mightily pleased with the fellow that came to lay the cloth and fold the napkins; which I like so well as that I am resolved to give him 40s. to teach my wife to do it.

23d. To the office till noon, when word brought me that my Lord Sandwich was come; so I presently rose, and there I found my Lords Sandwich, Peterborough, and Sir Charles Harbord; and presently after them comes my Lord Hinchingbroke, Mr. Sidney, and Sir William Godolphin. And after greeting them and some time spent in talk, dinner was brought up, one dish after another, but a dish at a time; but all so good: but, above all things, the variety of wines and excellent of their kind I had for them, and all in so good order, that they were mightily pleased, and myself full of content at it: and indeed it was, of a dinner of about six or eight dishes, as noble as any man need to have, I think; at least, all was done in the noblest manner that ever I had any, and I have rarely seen in my life better any where else, even at the Court. After dinner my Lords to cards, and the rest of us sitting about them and talking, and looking on my

* Henry Dankers, born at the Hague, employed by Charles II. to paint views of his sea-ports and palaces. He followed his profession for some years in London.

books and pictures, and my wife's drawings, which they commended mightily: and mighty merry all day long with exceeding great content, and so till seven at night; and so took their leaves, it being dark and foul weather. Thus was this entertainment over, the best of its kind and the fullest of honour and content to me that ever I had in my life; and I shall not easily have so good again.

24th. Lord's-day. An order brought me in bed, for the principal officers to attend the King at my Lord Keeper's this afternoon, it being resolved late the last night; and by the warrant I find my Lord Keeper did not then know the cause of it, the messenger being ordered to call upon him to tell it him by the way, as he came to us. I to White Hall; and here I met Will. Batelier, newly come post from France, his boots all dirty. He brought letters to the King; and I glad to see him, it having been reported that he was drowned for some days past. By and by the King comes out, and so I took coach and followed his coaches to my Lord Keeper's at Essex-house, where I never was before, since I saw my old Lord Essex lie in state when he was dead. A large, but ugly house. Here all the officers of the Navy attended, and by and by were called in to the King and Cabinet, where my Lord, who was ill, did lie upon the bed, as my old Lord Treasurer or Chancellor heretofore used to do. And the business was to know in what time all the King's ships might be repaired fit for service. The Surveyor answered, in two years, and not sooner. I did give them hopes that, with supplies of money suitable, we might have them all fit for sea some part of the summer after this. Then they demanded in what time we could set out forty ships. It was answered, as they might be chosen of the newest and most ready, we could with money get forty ready against May. The King seemed mighty full that we should have money to do all that we desired, and satisfied that without it nothing could be done: and so without determining any thing we were dismissed; and I doubt all will end in some little fleet this year, and that of hired merchant-men, which would indeed be cheaper to the King and have many conveniences attending it, more than to fit out the King's own. And this, I perceive, is designed, springing from Sir W. Coventry's counsel; and the King and most of the Lords, I per-

ceive, full of it, to get the King's fleet all at once in condition for service. Thence with Mr. Wren in his coach, for discourse' sake: and he told me how the business of the Parliament is wholly laid aside, it being over-ruled now that they shall not meet, but must be prorogued, upon this argument chiefly: that all the differences between the two Houses, and things on foot that were matters of difference and discontent, may be laid aside, and must begin again if ever the House shall have a mind to pursue them.

25th. My wife shewed me many excellent prints of Nantueil's and others, which W. Batelier hath at my desire brought me out of France, of the King's and Colbert's and others, most excellent, to my great content.

26th. To the office, and then to White Hall, leaving my wife at Unthanke's; and I to the Secretary's chamber, where I was by particular order this day summonsed to attend, as I find Sir D. Gauden also was. And here was the King and the Cabinet met; and being called in, among the rest I find my Lord Privy Seale, whom I never before knew to be in so much play as to be of the Cabinet. The business is that the Algerines have broke the peace with us by taking out some Spaniards and goods out of an English ship which had the Duke of York's pass, of which advice came this day; and the King is resolved to stop Sir Thomas Allen's fleet from coming home till he hath amends made him for this affront, and therefore sent for us to advise about victuals to be sent to that fleet, and some more ships: wherein I answered them to what they demanded of me, which was but some few mean things; but I see that on all these occasions they seem to rely most upon me.

27th. To the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw "The Five Hours' Adventure," which hath not been acted a good while before, but once, and is a most excellent play I must confess.

28th. Going home to supper with my wife, and to get her to read to me, I did find that Mr. Sheres hath beyond his promise not only got me a candlestick made me, after a form he remembers to have seen in Spain, for keeping the light from one's eyes, but hath got it done

in silver very neat, and designs to give it me in thanks for my paying him his 100*l.* in money for his service at Tangier, which was ordered him; but I do intend to force him to make me pay for it. But I yet, without his direction, cannot tell how it is to be made use of.

29th. To the Duke of York, where I did give a severe account of our proceedings, and what we found in the business of Sir W. Jenings's demand of Supernumeraries. I thought it a good occasion to make an example of him, for he is a proud, idle fellow; and it did meet with the Duke of York's acceptance and well-liking; and he did call him in after I had done, and did not only give him a soft rebuke, but condemns him to pay both their victuals and wages, or right himself of the purser. This I was glad of, and so were all the rest of us; though I know I have made myself an immortal enemy by it.

31st. Lord's-day. To church, and there did hear the Doctor that is lately turned Divine, Dr. Waterhouse. He preaches in a devout manner, not elegant nor very persuasive, but seems to mean well, and that he would preach holily; and was mighty passionate against people that make a scoff of religion.

February 1st. Meeting Mr. Povy, he and I away to Dancre's to speak something touching the pictures I am getting him to make for me. And thence he carried me to Mr. Streeter's* the famous history-painter over the way, whom I have often heard of, but did never see him before; and there I found him and Dr. Wren and several virtuosos looking upon the paintings which he is making for the new Theatre at Oxford: and indeed they look as if they would be very fine, and the rest think better than those of Rubens in the Banqueting-house at White Hall, but I do not so fully think so. But they will certainly be very noble; and I am mightily pleased to have the fortune to see this man and his work, which is very famous. And he a very civil little man, and lame, but lives very handsomely. So thence to my Lord Bellasses, and met him within: my business only to see a chimney-piece of Dancre's doing in distemper, with egg to keep off the

* Robert Streeter, appointed Serjeant Painter at the Restoration. His principal performances were in the Theatre at Oxford, and All Souls' Chapel. Ob. 1680.

glaring of the light, which I must have done for my room : and indeed it is pretty, but I must confess I do think it is not altogether so beautiful as the oyle pictures; but I will have some of one and some of another. So to the King's playhouse, thinking to have seen "The Heyresse," first acted on Saturday last: but when we come thither we find no play there; Kinaston, that did act a part therein in abuse to Sir Charles Sedley, being last night exceedingly beaten with sticks by two or three that saluted him, so as he is mightily bruised and forced to keep his bed.

2d. To dinner at noon, where I find Mr. Sheres; and there made a short dinner, and carried him with us to the King's playhouse, where "The Heyresse," notwithstanding Kinaston's being beaten, is acted: and they say the King is very angry with Sir Charles Sedley for his being beaten, but he do deny it. But his part is done by Beeston, who is fain to read it out of a book all the while, and thereby spoils the part, and almost the play, it being one of the best parts in it: and though the design is in the first conception of it pretty good, yet it is but an indifferent play; wrote, they say, by my Lord Newcastle*. But it was pleasant to see Beeston come in with others, supposing it to be dark, and yet he is forced to read his part by the light of the candles: and this I observing to a gentleman that sat by me, he was mightily pleased therewith, and spread it up and down. But that that pleased me most in the play is the first song that Knipp sings (she singing three or four); and indeed it was very finely sung, so as to make the whole house clap her.

5th. Betimes to Sir W. Coventry's, meaning by my visit to keep fresh my interest in him. And he tells me how it hath been talked that he was to go one of the Commissioners to Ireland, which he was resolved never to do unless directly commanded: for that to go thither while the Chief Secretary of State was his professed enemy, was to undo himself; and therefore it were better for him to venture being unhappy here, than to go further off to be undone by some obscure

* "The Heiress" does not appear in the list of the Duke of Newcastle's works, nor can I find any mention of it elsewhere.

instructions, or whatever other way of mischief his enemy should cut out for him. He mighty kind to me; and so parted.

6th. To the King's playhouse, and there in an upper box (where come in Colonell Poynton and Doll Stacy, who is very fine, and by her wedding-ring I suppose he hath married her at last,) did see "The Moor of Venice:" but ill acted in most parts, Moone (which did a little surprize me) not acting Iago's part by much so well as Clun used to do; nor another Hart's, which was Cassio's; nor indeed Burt doing the Moor's so well as I once thought he did. Thence home; and just at Holborne-conduit the bolt broke that holds the fore-wheels to the perch, and so the horses went away with them and left the coachman and us: but being near our coach-maker's, and we staying in a little ironmonger's shop, we were presently supplied with another.

8th. To visit my Lord Sandwich; and there, while my Lord was dressing himself, did see a young Spaniard that he hath brought over with him dance, which he is admired for as the best dancer in Spain, and indeed he do with mighty mastery; but I do not like his dancing as well as the English, though my Lord commends it mightily. But I will have him to my house, and shew it my wife. Here I met with Mr. Moore, who tells me the state of my Lord's accounts of his embassy, which I find not so good as I thought: for though it be passed the King and his Caball (the Committee for Foreign Affairs, as they are called), yet they have cut off from 19,000*l.* full 8000*l.* and have now sent it to the Lords of the Treasury, who, though the Committee have allowed the rest, yet they are not obliged to abide by it. So that I do fear this account may yet be long ere it be passed,—much more ere that sum be paid. I am sorry for the family.

9th. To the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Island Princesse," which I like mighty well as an excellent play: and here we find Kinaston to be well enough to act again; which he do very well, after his beating by Sir Charles Sedley's appointment.

10th. To the plaisterer's at Charing Cross that casts heads and bodies in plaister: and there I had my whole face done; but I was vexed first to be forced to daub all my face over with pomatum. Thus

was the mold made ; but when it came off there was little pleasure in it as it looks in the mold, nor any resemblance whatever there will be in the figure when I come to see it cast off. To White Hall, where I staid till the Duke of York came from hunting, which he did by and by, and when dressed did come out to dinner ; and there I waited. And he did mightily magnify his sauce, which he did then eat with every thing, and said it was the best universal sauce in the world, it being taught him by the Spanish Ambassador ; made of some parsley and a dry toast, beat in a mortar together with vinegar, salt, and a little pepper : he eats it with flesh, or fowl, or fish. And then he did now mightily commend some new sort of wine lately found out, called Navarr wine ; which I tasted, and is, I think, good wine : but I did like better the notion of the sauce, and by and by did taste it, and liked it mightily. After dinner I did what I went for ; which was to get his consent that Balty might hold his Muster-master's place by deputy in his new employment which I design for him, about the Store-keeper's accounts ; which the Duke of York did grant me, and I was mightily glad of it.

12th. To wait on the Duke of York with the rest of us at the Robes ; where the Duke of York did tell us that the King would have us prepare a draught of the present administration of the Navy, and what it was in the late times, in order to his being able to distinguish between the good and the bad ; which I shall do, but to do it well will give me a great deal of trouble. Here we shewed him Sir J. Minnes's propositions about balancing Store-keeper's accounts ; and I did shew him Hosier's, which did please him mightily, and he will have it shewed the Council and King anon to be put in practice. Thence to the Treasurer's ; and I and Sir J. Minnes and Mr. Tippetts down to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and there had a hot debate from Sir Thomas Clifford and my Lord Ashly (the latter of whom, I hear, is turning about as fast as he can to the Duke of Buckingham's side, being in danger, it seems, of being otherwise out of play, which would not be convenient for him,) against Sir W. Coventry and Sir J. Duncomb ; who did uphold our office against an accusation of our Treasurers, who told the Lords that they found that we had run the

King in debt 50,000*l.* or more, more than the money appointed for the year would defray; which they declared like fools, and with design to hurt us, though the thing is in itself ridiculous. But my Lord Ashly and Clifford did most horribly cry out against the want of method in the office. At last it came that it should be put in writing what they had to object; but I was devilish mad at it, to see us thus wounded by our own members. Attended with Lord Brouncker the King and Council about the proposition of balancing Store-keeper's accounts; and there presented Hosier's book, and it was mighty well resented* and approved of. So the Council being up, we to the Queene's side with the King and Duke of York: and the Duke of York did take me out to talk of our Treasurers, whom he is mighty angry with; and I perceive he is mighty desirous to bring in as many good motions of profit and reformation in the Navy as he can before the Treasurers do light upon them, they being desirous, it seems, to be thought the great reformers: and the Duke of York do well. But to my great joy he is mighty open to me in every thing; and by this means I know his whole mind, and shall be able to secure myself if he stands. Here to-night I understand by my Lord Brouncker, that at last it is concluded on by the King and Buckingham that my Lord of Ormond shall not hold his government of Ireland; which is a great stroke to shew the power of Buckingham and the poor spirit of the King, and little hold that any man can have of him. Home, and there Pelling hath got W. Pen's book against the Trinity. I got my wife to read it to me; and I find it so well writ as, I think, it is too good for him ever to have writ it; and it is a serious sort of book, and not fit for every body to read.

14th. Lord's-day. Up, and by coach to Sir W. Coventry; and there he tells me he takes no more care for any thing more than in the Treasury; and that that being done, he goes to cards and other delights, as plays, and in the summer-time to bowles. But here he did shew me two or three old books of the Navy of my Lord Northumberland's† times, which he hath taken many good notes out of, for

* Resent, to take *well* or *ill*.—*Johnson*.

† Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland, made Lord High Admiral 1635.

justifying the Duke of York and us in many things, wherein perhaps precedent will be necessary to produce. Thence to White Hall, where the Duke of York expected me; and in his closet Wren and I. He did tell me how the King hath been acquainted with the Treasurers' discourse at the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury the other day, and is dissatisfied with our running him in debt; which I removed. And he did carry me to the King, and I did satisfy him also: but his satisfaction is nothing worth, it being easily got and easily removed. But I do purpose to put it in writing, that shall make the Treasurers ashamed. But the Duke of York is horrid angry against them; and he hath cause, for they do work all they can to bring dishonour upon his management, as do plainly appear in all they do. Having done with the Duke of York, who do repose all in me, I with Mr. Wren to his chamber to talk; where he observed, that these people are all of them a broken sort of people that have not much to lose, and therefore will venture all to make their fortunes better: that Sir Thomas Osborne is a beggar, having 11 or 1200*l.* a-year, but owes above 10,000*l.* The Duke of Buckingham's condition is shortly this: that he hath about 19,600*l.* a-year, of which he pays away about 7000*l.* a-year in interest, about 2000*l.* in fee-farm rents to the King, about 6000*l.* in wages and pensions, and the rest to live upon and pay taxes for the whole. Wren says, that for the Duke of York to stir in this matter, as his quality might justify, would but make all things worse, and that therefore he must bend and suffer all till time works it out: that he fears they will sacrifice the Church, and that the King will take any thing (and so he holds up his head a little longer), and then break in pieces. But Sir W. Coventry did to-day mightily magnify my late Lord Treasurer for a wise and solid, though infirm man: and, among other things, that when he hath said it was impossible in nature to find this or that sum of money, and my Lord Chancellor hath made sport of it, and told the King that when my Lord hath said it was impossible yet he hath made shift to find it, and that was by Sir G. Carteret's getting credit, my Lord did once in his hearing say thus, which he magnifies as a great saying—that impossible would be found impossible at last; meaning that the King

would run himself out beyond all his credit and funds, and then we should too late find it impossible; which is, he says, now come to pass.

15th. To the plaisterer's, and there saw the figure of my face taken from the mould; and it is most admirably like, and I will have another made before I take it away. At the 'Change I did at my bookseller's shop accidentally fall into talk with Sir Samuel Tuke* about trees and Mr. Evelyn's garden; and I do find him, I think, a little conceited, but a man of very fine discourse as any I ever heard almost; which I was mighty glad of. In Suffolk-street lives Moll Davies; and we did see her coach come for her to her door, a mighty pretty fine coach. To White Hall; and there, by means of Mr. Cooling, did get in to the play, the only one we have seen this winter; it was "The Five Hours' Adventure:" but I sat so far I could not hear well, nor was there any pretty woman that I did see but my wife, who sat in my Lady Fox's pew with her. The house very full; and late before done, so that it was past eleven before we got home.

17th. The King dining yesterday at the Dutch Ambassador's, after dinner they drank and were pretty merry; and among the rest of the King's company there was that worthy fellow my Lord of Rochester, and Tom Killigrew, whose mirth and raillery offended the former so much, that he did give Tom Killigrew a box on the ear in the King's presence; which do give much offence to the people here at Court to see how cheap the King makes himself, and the more, for that the King hath not only passed by the thing and pardoned it to Rochester already, but this very morning the King did publicly walk up and down, and Rochester I saw with him as free as ever, to the King's everlasting shame to have so idle a rogue his companion. How Tom Killigrew takes it, I do not hear. I do also this day hear that my Lord Privy-Seale do accept to go Lieutenant into Ireland; but whether it be true or no, I cannot tell. To Colonel Middleton's to the burial of his wife, where we were all invited, and much more company, and had each of us a ring. At church there was my Lord Brouncker

* Sir Samuel Tuke, of Cressing Temple, Essex, Bart. was a Colonel in Charles the First's army, and cousin to Mr. Evelyn. He died at Somerset-house, January 1673.

and Mrs. Williams in our pew, the first time they were ever there, or that I knew that either of them would go to church.

19th. This morning, among other things, talking with Sir W. Coventry, I did propose to him my putting in to serve in Parliament, if there should, as the world begins to expect, be a new one chose. He likes it mightily, both for the King's and service's sake, and the Duke of York's, and will propound it to the Duke of York: and I confess, if there be one, I would be glad to be in.

22d. In the evening to White Hall, and there did without much trouble get into the playhouse, finding a good place among the Ladies of Honour, and all of us sitting in the pit; and then by and by came the King and Queene, and they began "Bartholomew-fair." But I like no play here so well as at the common playhouse; besides that, my eyes being very ill since last Sunday and this day se'nnight, I was in mighty pain to defend myself now from the light of the candles. After the play done, we met with W. Batelier and W. Hewer and Talbot Pepys*, and they followed us in a hackney-coach: and we all stopped at Hercules' Pillars; and there I did give them the best supper I could, and pretty merry; and so home between eleven and twelve at night.

23d. To Westminster Abbey, and there did see all the tombs very finely, having one with us alone (there being other company this day to see the tombs, it being Shrove-Tuesday): and here we did see, by particular favour, the body of Queen Katherine of Valois; and I had the upper part of her body in my hands, and I did kiss her mouth, reflecting upon it that I did kiss a queene, and that this was my birthday, thirty-six years old, that I did kiss a queene. But here this man, who seems to understand well, tells me that the saying is not true that she was never buried, for she was buried; only when Henry the Seventh built his chapel, she was taken up and laid in this wooden coffin; but I did there see that in it the body was buried in a leaden one, which remains under the body to this day.

25th. To the Duke of York's house, and there before one, but

* Of Impington. Ob. 1681, æt. suæ 35.

the house infinite full; where by and by the King and Court come, it being a new play, or an old one new vamped by Shadwell, called "The Royall Shepherdess*;" but the silliest for words and design, and every thing, that ever I saw in my whole life, there being nothing in the world pleasing in it, but a good martiall dance of pikemen, where Harris and another do handle their pikes in a dance to admiration; but never less satisfied with a play in my life.

26th. To the King's playhouse, and saw "The Faithfull Shepherdess." But, Lord! what an empty house, there not being, as I could tell the people, so many as to make up above 10*l*. in the whole house! But I plainly discern the musick is the better, by how much the house the emptier.

March 1st. I do hear that my Lady Paulina Montagu did die yesterday; at which I went to my Lord's lodgings, but he is shut up with sorrow, and so not to be spoken with: and therefore I returned, and to Westminster Hall, where I have not been, I think, in some months. And here the Hall was very full, the King having by Commission to some Lords this day prorogued the Parliament till the 19th of October next; at which I am glad, hoping to have time to go over to France this year. But I was most of all surprised this morning by my Lord Bellasses, who by appointment met me at Auditor Wood's at the Temple, and tells me of a duell designed between the Duke of Buckingham and my Lord Halifax, or Sir W. Coventry; the challenge being carried by Harry Saville, but prevented by my Lord Arlington, and the King told of it: and this was all the discourse at Court this day. But I meeting Sir W. Coventry in the Duke of York's chamber, he would not own it to me, but told me that he was a man of too much peace to meddle with fighting; and so it rested: but the talk is full in the town of the business. Thence, having walked some turns with my cosen Pepys, and most people by their discourse believing that this Parliament will never sit more, I away. I did bring home a piece of my face cast in plaister, for to make a vizard upon for my eyes.

* A tragi-comedy, altered by Thomas Shadwell from a comedy written by Mr. Fountain, called "The Rewards of Virtue."

2d. My wife this day put on first her French gown, called a Sac, which becomes her very well.

3d. To White Hall, where W. Hewer met me; and he and I took a turn in St. James's Park, and in the Mall did meet Sir W. Coventry and Sir J. Duncomb, and did speak with them about some business, before the Lords of the Treasury: but I did find them more than usually busy, though I knew not then the reason of it, though I guessed it by what followed next day. Thence to Dancre's the painter's, and there saw my picture of Greenwich, finished to my very good content, though this manner of distemper do make the figures not so pleasing as in oyle. To the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw an old play, the first time acted these forty years, called "The Lady's Tryall *," acted only by the young people of the house; but the house very full. To the New Exchange, and so called at my cousin Turner's; and there meeting Mr. Bellwood, did hear how my Lord Mayor being invited this day to dinner at the Reader's at the Temple, and endeavouring to carry his sword up, the students did pull it down, and forced him to go and stay all the day in a private Counsellor's chamber, until the Reader himself could get the young gentlemen to dinner; and then my Lord Mayor did retreat out of the Temple by stealth, with his sword up. This do make great heat among the students; and my Lord Mayor did send to the King, and also I hear that Sir Richard Browne did cause the drums to beat for the Train-bands; but all is over, only I hear that the students do resolve to try the Charter of the City. So we home, and betimes to bed, and slept well all night.

4th. To White Hall, where in the first Court I did meet Sir Jeremy Smith, who did tell me that Sir W. Coventry was just now sent to the Tower, about the business of his challenging the Duke of Buckingham, and so was also Harry Saville to the Gate-house; which, as he is a gentleman, and of the Duke of York's Bedchamber, I heard afterwards that the Duke of York is mightily incensed at, and do appear very high to the King that he might not be sent thither,

* A tragedy, by John Ford.

but to the Tower, this being done only in contempt to him. This news of Sir W. Coventry did strike me to the heart, and with reason, for by this and my Lord of Ormond's business I do doubt that the Duke of Buckingham will be so flushed that he will not stop at any thing, but be forced to do any thing now, as thinking it not safe to end here; and, Sir W. Coventry being gone, the King will have no good Counsellor left, nor the Duke of York any sure friend to stick to him; nor any good man will remain to advise what is good. This, therefore, do heartily trouble me, as any thing that ever I heard. So up into the House, and met with several people; but the Committee did not meet. And the whole House I find full of this business of Sir W. Coventry's, and most men very sensible of the cause and effects of it. So, meeting with my Lord Bellasses, he told me the particulars of this matter; that it arises about a quarrel which Sir W. Coventry had with the Duke of Buckingham, about a design between him and Sir Robert Howard to bring him into a play at the King's house; which W. Coventry not enduring, did by H. Saville send a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, that he had a desire to speak with him. Upon which, the Duke of Buckingham did bid Holmes (his champion ever since my Lord Shrewsbury's business) go to him to do the business; but H. Saville would not tell it to any but himself, and therefore did go presently to the Duke of Buckingham, and told him that his uncle Coventry was a person of honour, and was sensible of his Grace's liberty taken of abusing him, and that he had a desire of satisfaction, and would fight with him. But that here they were interrupted by my Lord Chamberlain's coming in, who was commanded to go to bid the Duke of Buckingham to come to the King, Holmes having discovered it. He told me that the King did last night at the Council ask the Duke of Buckingham, upon his honour, whether he received any challenge from W. Coventry? which he confessed that he had; and then the King asking W. Coventry, he told him that he did not owne what the Duke of Buckingham had said, though it was not fit for him to give him a direct contradiction. But, being by the King put upon declaring the truth upon his honour, he answered that he had understood that many hard questions had upon

this business been moved to some lawyers, and that therefore he was unwilling to declare any thing that might from his own mouth render him obnoxious to his Majesty's displeasure, and therefore prayed to be excused: which the King did think fit to interpret to be a confession, and so gave warrant that night for his commitment to the Tower. Being very much troubled at this, I away by coach homewards, and directly to the Tower, where I find him in one Mr. Bennet's house, son to Major Bayly, one of the Officers of the Ordnance, in the Bricke Tower: where I find him busy with my Lord Halifax and his brother; so I would not stay to interrupt them, but only to give him comfort and offer my service to him, which he kindly and cheerfully received, only owning his being troubled for the King his master's displeasure, which I suppose is the ordinary form and will of persons in this condition. And so I parted with great content that I had so early seen him there; and so, going out, did meet Sir Jer. Smith going to meet me, who had newly been with Sir W. Coventry. And so he and I by water to Redriffe, and so walked to Deptford, where I have not been, I think, these twelve months: and there to the Treasurer's house, where the Duke of York is, and his Duchesse; and there we find them at dinner in the great room, unhung; and there was with them my Lady Duchesse of Monmouth, the Countess of Falmouth, Castlemaine, Henrietta Hide*, my Lady Hinchingbroke's sister, and my Lady Peterborough. And after dinner Sir Jer. Smith and I were invited down to dinner with some of the Maids of Honour, namely, Mrs. Ogle†, Blake‡, and Howard§, (which did me good to have the honour to dine with and look on; and the mother of the Maids, and Mrs. Howard, the mother of the Maid of Honour of that name, and the Duke's housekeeper here. Here was also Monsieur Blancfort, Sir Richard Powell, Colonel Villers, Sir Jonathan Trelawny||,

* Henrietta fifth daughter to the Earl of Burlington, married Laurence Hyde, afterwards Earl of Rochester.

† Anne Ogle.

‡ Mary daughter of Colonel Blague, married Sir Thomas Yarborough. *Vide "Mémoires de Grammont."*

§ Dorothy Howard.

|| Eldest son of Sir John Trelawny, who was created a Baronet 1628. He served with credit in 1672 under Marshal Turenne, and was afterwards made Governor of Plymouth by King William, for his good conduct in Ireland.

and others. And here drank most excellent, and great variety, and plenty of wines, more than I have drank at once these seven years, but yet did me no great hurt. Having dined very merrily, and understanding by Blancfort how angry the Duke of York was about their offering to send Saville to the Gate-house among the rogues; and then, observing how this company, both the ladies and all, are of a gang, and did drink a health to the union of the two brothers, and talking of others as their enemies, they parted, and so we up: and there I did find the Duke of York and Duchesse with all the great ladies sitting upon a carpet on the ground, there being no chairs, playing at "I love my love with an A, because he is so and so; and I hate him with an A, because of this and that:" and some of them, but particularly the Duchesse herself and my Lady Castlemaine, were very witty. This done, they took barge, and I with Sir J. Smith to Captain Cox's; and there to talk, and left them.

5th. After dinner I to the Tower, where I find Sir W. Coventry with abundance of company with him; and after sitting awhile and hearing some merry discourse, and, among others, of Mr. Brouncker's being this day summoned to Sir William Morton*, one of the Judges, to give in security for his good behaviour upon his words the other day to Sir John Morton†, a Parliament-man, at White Hall, who had heretofore spoke very highly against Brouncker in the House, I away, and to Aldgate.

6th. Before the office I stepped to Sir W. Coventry at the Tower, and there had a great deal of discourse with him; among others, of the King's putting him out of the Council yesterday, with which he is well contented, as with what else they can strip him of, he telling me, and so hath long, that he is weary and surfeited of business. But he joins with me in his fears that all will go to naught, as matters are now managed. He told me the matter of the play that was intended for his abuse, wherein they foolishly and sillily bring in two tables like that which he hath made with a round hole in the middle in his closet to turn himself in; ‡ and he is to be in one of them as master, and Sir

* Made a Justice of the King's Bench 1665. Ob. 1672.

† M. P. for Weymouth in 1680.

‡ *Vide* page 246, where Sir W. C.'s round table is described.

J. Duncomb in the other, as his man or imitator: and their discourse in those tables about the disposing of their books and papers very foolish. But that that he is offended with, is his being made so contemptible, as that any should dare to make a gentleman a subject for the mirth of the world: and that therefore he had told Tom Killigrew that he should tell his actors, whoever they were, that did offer at any thing like representing him, that he would not complain to my Lord Chamberlain, which was too weak, nor get him beaten, as Sir Charles Sedley is said to have done; but that he would cause his nose to be cut. He told me how that the Duke of Buckingham did himself some time since desire to join with him, of all men in England, and did bid him propound to himself to be Chief Minister of State, saying that he would bring it about, but that he refused to have any thing to do with any faction; and that the Duke of Buckingham did, within these few days, say that, of all men in England, he would have chosen Sir W. Coventry to have joined entire with. He tells me that he fears their prevailing against the Duke of York; and that their violence will force them to it, as being already beyond his pardon. He repeated to me many examples of challengings of Privy-counsellors and others; but never any proceeded against with that severity which he is, it never amounting with others to more than a little confinement. He tells me of his being weary of the Treasury, and of the folly, ambition, and desire of popularity of Sir Thomas Clifford; and yet the rudeness of his tongue and passions, when angry.

7th. Lord's-day. To the Tower to see Sir W. Coventry, who had H. Jermin and a great many more with him, and more while I was there came in; so that I do hear that there was not less than sixty coaches there yesterday and the other day; which I hear also that there is great exception taken at by the King, and the Duke of Buckingham, but it cannot be helped. I to White Hall, and there hear that there are letters come from Sir Thomas Allen, that he hath made some kind of peace with Argier; upon which the King and Duke of York, being to go out of town to-morrow, are met at my Lord Arlington's: so I there, and by Mr. Wren was desired to stay to see if there were occasion for their speaking with me, which I did, walking without, with

Charles Porter, talking of a great many things: and I perceive all the world is against the Duke of Buckingham's acting thus high, and do prophecy nothing but ruin from it. But he do well observe that the Church lands cannot certainly come to much, if the King shall be persuaded to take them, they being leased out for long leases. By and by after two hours' stay they rose, having, as Wren tells me, resolved upon sending six ships to the Streights forthwith, not being contented with the peace upon the terms they demand; which are, that all our ships, where any Turks or Moores shall be found slaves, shall be prizes; which will imply that they must be searched. I hear that to-morrow the King and Duke of York set out for Newmarket, by three in the morning, to some foot and horse-races; to be abroad ten or twelve days. So I without seeing the Duke of York; but Mr. Wren shewed me the Order of Council about the balancing Store-keeper's accounts, passed the Council in the very terms I drew it, only I did put in my name as he that presented the book of Hosier's preparing, and that is left out, I mean my name; which is no great matter.

8th. To White Hall, from whence the King and the Duke of York went by three in the morning, and had the misfortune to be overset with the Duke of York, the Duke of Monmouth, and the Prince*, at the King's gate in Holborne; and the King all dirty, but no hurt. How it came to pass I know not, but only it was dark, and the torches did not, they say, light the coach as they should do. I thought this morning to have seen my Lord Sandwich before he went out of town, but I came half an hour too late; which troubles me, I having not seen him since my Lady Pall died. And so to the Privy-Seal office, to examine what records I could find there for my help in the great business I am put upon of defending the present constitution of the Navy; but there could not have liberty without order from him that is in present waiting, Mr. Bickerstaffe, who is out of town.

9th. Up, and to the Tower; and there find Sir W. Coventry alone writing down his journall, which, he tells me, he now keeps of the material things; upon which I told him, (and he is the only man I ever

* Rupert.

told it to, I think,) that I kept it most strictly these eight or ten years ; and I am sorry almost that I told it him, it not being necessary, nor maybe convenient, to have it known. Here he shewed me the petition he had sent to the King by my Lord Keeper; which was not to desire any admittance to employment, but submitting himself therein humbly to his Majesty; but prayed the removal of his displeasure, and that he might be set free. He tells me that my Lord Keeper did acquaint the King with the substance of it, not shewing him the petition; who answered, that he was disposing of his employments, and when that was done he might be led to discharge him: and this is what he expects, and what he seems to desire. But by this discourse he was pleased to take occasion to shew me and read to me his account, which he hath kept by him under his own hand, of all his discourse and the King's answers to him upon the great business of my Lord Clarendon, and how he had first moved the Duke of York with it twice at good distance, one after another, but without success; shewing me thereby the simplicity and reasons of his so doing, and the manner of it; and the King's accepting it, telling him that he was not satisfied in his management, and did discover some dissatisfaction against him for his opposing the laying aside of my Lord Treasurer at Oxford, which was a secret the King had not discovered. And really I was mighty proud to be privy to this great transaction, it giving me great conviction of the noble nature and ends of Sir W. Coventry in it, and considerations in general of the consequences of great men's actions, and the uncertainty of their estates, and other very serious considerations.

11th. Up, and to Sir W. Coventry to the Tower; who tells me that he hears that the Commission is gone down to the King with a blank to fill for his place in the Treasury: and he believes it will be filled with one of our Treasurers of the Navy, but which he knows not, but he believes it will be Osborne. We walked down to the stonewalk, which is called, it seems, my Lord of Northumberland's walk, being paved by some one of that title that was prisoner there; and at the end of it there is a piece of iron upon the wall with his armes upon it, and holes to put in a peg for every turn they make upon that walk.

12th. With great content spent all the morning looking over the

Navy accounts of several years, and the several patents of the Treasurers. W. Hewer carried me to Nott's, the famous book-binder that bound for my Lord Chancellor's library : and here I did take occasion for curiosity to bespeak a book to be bound, only that I might have one of his binding.

13th. That which put me in good humour both at noon and night, is the fancy that I am this day made a captain of one of the King's ships, Mr. Wren having this day sent me the Duke of York's commission to be captain of "The Jerzy," in order to my being of a Court-martiall for examining the loss of "The Defyance," and other things; which do give me occasion of much mirth, and may be of some use to me, at least I shall get a little money for the time I have it; it being designed that I must really be a captain to be able to sit in this Court.

15th. Up, and by water with W. Hewer to the Temple; and thence to the Rolls, where I made enquiry for several rolls, and was soon informed in the manner of it: and so spent the whole morning with W. Hewer, he taking little notes in short-hand, while I hired a clerk there to read to me about twelve or more several rolls which I did call for. And it was great pleasure to me to see the method wherein their rolls are kept; that when the master of the office, one Mr. Case, do call for them, (who is a man that I have heretofore known by coming to my Lord Sandwich's,) he did most readily turn to them. At noon they shut up; and W. Hewer and I did walk to the Cocke, at the end of Suffolke-street, where I never was, a great ordinary mightily cried up, and there bespoke a pullet; which while dressing, he and I walked into St. James's Park, and thence back and dined very handsome with a good soup and a pullet for 4s. 6d. the whole. Thence back to the Rolls, and did a little more business: and so by water to White Hall, whither I went to speak with Mr. Williamson (that if he hath any papers relating to the Navy I might see them, which he promises me). And so by water home with great content for what I have this day found, having got almost as much as I desire of the history of the Navy, from 1618 to 1642, when the King and Parliament fell out.

16th. Comes to me Mr. Evelyn of Deptford, a worthy good man,

and dined with me (but a bad dinner); who is grieved for and speaks openly to me his thoughts of the times, and our ruin approaching; and all by the folly of the King. His business to me was about some ground of his at Deptford, next to the King's Yard: and after dinner we parted. To Woolwich, where I saw, but did not go on board, my ship "The Jerzy," she lying at the wharf under repair. But my business was to speak with Ackworth about some old things and passages in the Navy, for my information therein, in order to my great business now of stating the history of the Navy. This I did; and upon the whole do find that the late times, in all their management, were not more husbandly than we; and other things of good content to me. Thence to Greenwich by water, and there landed at the King's house, which goes on slow, but is very pretty. I to the Park, there to see the prospect of the hill, to judge of Dancre's picture which he hath made thereof for me; and I do like it very well: and it is a very pretty place. Thence to Deptford, but staid not, Unthwayte being out of the way. And so home, and then to the King's Tavern (Morrice's) and staid till W. Hewer fetched his uncle Blackburne by appointment to me, to discourse of the business of the Navy in the late times; and he did do it by giving me a most exact account in writing of the several turns in the Admiralty and Navy of the persons employed therein, from the beginning of the King's leaving the Parliament to his son's coming in, to my great content; and now I am fully informed in all I at present desire. We fell to other talk; and I find by him that the Bishops must certainly fall, and their hierarchy; these people have got so much ground upon the King and kingdom as is not to be got again from them: and the Bishops do well deserve it. But it is all the talk, I find, that Dr. Wilkins, my friend, Bishop of Chester, shall be removed to Winchester and be Lord Treasurer. Though this be foolish talk, yet I do gather that he is a mighty rising man, as being a Latitudinarian, and the Duke of Buckingham his great friend.

18th. Up, and to see Sir W. Coventry, and walked with him a good while in the stone-walk: and brave discourse about my Lord Chancellor and his ill managements and mistakes, and several things of the Navy.

19th. Sir Thomas Clifford did speak to me, as desirous that I would some time come and confer with him about the Navy; which I am glad of, but will take the direction of the Duke of York before I do it, though I would be glad to do something to secure myself, if I could, in my employment. Thence to the plaisterer's, and took my face and my Lord Duke of Albemarle's home with me by coach, they being done to my mind; and mighty glad I am of understanding this way of having the pictures of any friends. After dinner with Commissioner Middleton and Kempthorne to a Court-martial, to which, by virtue of my late captainship, I am called, the first I was ever at; where many commanders, and Kempthorne president. Here was tried a difference between Sir L. Van Hemskirke, the Dutch captain who commands "The Nonsuch," built by his direction, and his lieutenant; a drunken kind of silly business. We ordered the lieutenant to ask him pardon, and have resolved to lay before the Duke of York what concerns the captain, which was striking of his lieutenant and challenging him to fight, which comes not within any article of the laws martiall. But upon discourse the other day with Sir W. Coventry I did advise Middleton, and he and I did forbear to give judgment, but after the debate did withdraw into another cabin, (the Court being held in one of the yachts, which was on purpose brought up over against St. Katharine's,) it being to be feared that this precedent of our being made captains in order to the trying of the loss of "The Defyance," wherein we are the proper persons to enquire into the want of instructions while ships do lie in harbour, might be hereafter made of evil use, by putting the Duke of Buckingham, or any of these rude fellows that now are uppermost, to make packed Courts by captains made on purpose to serve their turns. The other cause was of the loss of the Providence at Tangier, where the captain's being by chance on shore may prove very inconvenient to him, for example's sake, though the man be a good man, and one whom for Norwood's sake I would be kind to; but I will not offer any thing to the excusing such a miscarriage. He is at present confined till he can bring better proofs on his behalf of the reasons of his being on shore. So Middleton and I away to the office; and there I late busy, making

my people, as I have done lately, to read Mr. Holland's Discourse of the Navy, and what other things I can get to inform me fully in all. And here late, about eight at night, comes Mr. Wren to me, who had been at the Tower to visit Sir W. Coventry. He came only to see how matters go, and tells me as a secret, that the last night the Duke of York's closet was broken open, and his cabinets, and shut again one of them: that the rogue that did it hath left plate and a watch behind him, and therefore they fear that it was only for papers, which looks like a very malicious business in design to hurt the Duke of York; but they cannot know that, till the Duke of York comes to town about the papers, and therefore make no words of it. He gone, I to work again, and then to supper at home, and to bed.

20th. Up, and to the Tower to Sir W. Coventry, and there walked with him alone on the stone-walk till company came to him; and there about the business of the Navy discoursed with him, and about my Lord Chancellor and Treasurer; that they were against the war at first, declaring, as wise men and statesmen, at first to the King, that they thought it fit to have a war with them at some time or other, but that it ought not to be till we found the Crowns of Spain and France together by the eares, the want of which did ruin our war. But then he told me that a great while before the war my Lord Chancellor did speak of a war with some heat as a thing to be desired, and did it upon a belief that he could with his own speeches make the Parliament give what money he pleased, and do what he would, or would make the King desire; but he found himself soon deceived of the Parliament, they having a long time before his removal been cloyed with his speeches and good words, and being come to hate him. Sir W. Coventry did tell me it as the wisest thing that ever was said to the King by any statesman of his time, and it was by my Lord Treasurer that is dead, whom, I find, he takes for a very great statesman,—that when the King did shew himself forward for passing the Act of Indemnity, he did advise the King that he would hold his hand in doing it till he had got his power restored that had been diminished by the late times, and his revenue settled in such a manner as he might depend on himself without resting upon

Parliaments, and then pass it. But my Lord Chancellor, who thought he could have the command of Parliaments for ever, because for the King's sake they were awhile willing to grant all the King desired, did press for its being done; and so it was, and the King from that time able to do nothing with the Parliament almost. Mightily pleased with the news brought me to-night that the King and Duke of York are come back this afternoon, and no sooner come but a warrant was sent to the Tower for the releasing Sir W. Coventry; which do put me in some hopes that there may be in this absence some accommodation made between the Duke of York and the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington.

21st. To White Hall, in a scull; where to the Duke of York's dressing-room, and there met Harry Saville, and do understand that Sir W. Coventry is come to his house last night. I understand by Mr. Wren that his friends having by Secretary Trevor and my Lord Keeper applied to the King upon his first coming home, and a promise made that he should be discharged this day, my Lord Arlington did anticipate them by sending a warrant presently for his discharge; which looks a little like kindness, or a desire of it; which God send! though I fear the contrary. However, my heart is glad that he is out. Thence up and down the House. Met Mr. May, who tells me the story of his being put by Sir John Denham's place (of Surveyor of the King's Works, who, it seems, is lately dead) by the unkindness of the Duke of Buckingham, who hath brought in Dr. Wren. Though, he tells me, he hath been his servant for twenty years together in all his wants and dangers, saving him from want of bread by his care and management, and with a promise of having his help in his advancement, and an engagement under his hand for 1000*l.* not yet paid, and yet the Duke of Buckingham is so ungrateful as to put him by: which is an ill thing, though Dr. Wren is a worthy man. But he tells me that the King is kind to him, and hath promised him a pension of 300*l.* a-year out of the Works; which will be of more content to him than the place, which under their present wants of money is a place that disobliges most people, being not able to do what they desire to their lodgings. Here meeting with Sir H. Cholmly and

Povy, they tell me that my Lord Middleton is resolved in the caball that he shall not go to Tangier; and that Sir Edward Harlow, whom I know not, is propounded to go, who was Governor of Dunkirke, and, they say, a most worthy brave man; which I shall be very glad of. News lately come of the Algerines taking 13,000*l.* in money out of one of our Company's East India ships outward-bound, which will certainly make the war last; which I am sorry for, being so poor as we are, and broken in pieces.

22d. Up, and by water with W. Hewer to White Hall, there to attend the Lords of the Treasury; but before they sat, I did make a step to see Sir W. Coventry at his house, where, I bless God, he is come again; but in my way I met him, and so he took me into his coach and carried me to White Hall, and there set me down, where he ought not, at least he hath not yet leave to come, nor hath thought fit yet to ask it, hearing that Harry Saville is not only denied to kiss the King's hand, but the King being asked it by the Duke of York, the King did deny it, and directed that he shall not receive him to wait upon him in his chamber till further orders. Sir W. Coventry told me that he was going to visit Sir John Trevor, who hath been kind to him; and he shewed me a long list of all his friends that he must this week make visits to, that came to visit him in the Tower: and seems mighty well satisfied with his being out of business, but I hope he will not long be so; at least, I do believe that all must go to rack if the King do not come to see the want of such a servant. Thence to the Treasury-chamber, and there all the morning to my great grief put to do Sir G. Downing's work of dividing the Customes for this year between the Navy, the Ordnance, and Tangier: but it did so trouble my eyes, that I had rather have given 20*l.* than have had it to do; but I did thereby oblige Sir Thomas Clifford and Sir J. Duncomb, and so am glad of the opportunity to recommend myself to the former, for the latter I need not, he loving me well already. At it till noon, here being several of my brethren with me, but doing nothing, but I all. But this day I did also represent to our Treasurers, which was read here, a state of the charge of the Navy, and what the ex-

pence of it this year would likely be; which is done so as will appear well done and to my honour, for so the Lords did take it; and I oblige the Treasurers by doing it at their request. I to look over my papers for the East India Company against the afternoon: which done, I with them to White Hall, and there to the Treasury-chamber, where the East India Company and three Counsellors pleaded against me alone for three or four hours, till seven at night, before the Lords; and the Lords did give me the conquest on behalf of the King, but could not come to any conclusion, the Company being stiff; and so I think we shall go to law with them. This done, and my eyes mighty bad with this day's work, I to Mr. Wren's, and then up to the Duke of York, and there with Mr. Wren did propound to him my going to Chatham to-morrow with Commissioner Middleton, and so this week to make the pay there, and examine the business of "The Defyance" being lost.

23d. I took coach with Commissioner Middleton, Captain Tinker, and Mr. Huchinson, and out towards Chatham, and dined at Dartford, where we staid an hour or two, it being a cold day; and so on, and got to Chatham just at night, with very good discourse by the way, but mostly of matters of religion, wherein Huchinson his vein lies.

24th. To the Hill-house, and there did give order for a coach to be made ready; and got Mr. Gibson, whom I carried with me, to go with me and Mr. Coney, the surgeon, towards Maydstone; which I had a mighty mind to see. A mighty cold and windy, but clear day; and had the pleasure of seeing the Medway running winding up and down mightily, and a very fine country: and I went a little out of the way to have visited Sir John Bankes, but he at London; but here I had a sight of his seat and house*, the outside, which is an old abbey just like Hinchinbroke, and as good at least, and mightily finely placed by the river; and he keeps the grounds about it, and walls and the house, very handsome: I was mightily pleased with the sight of it. Thence to Maydstone, which I had a mighty mind to see, having never been there; and walked all up and down the town,

* The Friary in Aylesford parish, now the property of the Earl of Aylesford, whose ancestor Heneage Finch married the eldest daughter and coheiress of Sir John Bankes.

and up to the top of the steeple and had a noble view, and then down again: and in the town did see an old man beating of flax, and did step into the barn and give him money, and saw that piece of husbandry, which I never saw; and it is very pretty. In the street also I did buy and send to our inne, the Bell, a dish of fresh fish. And so having walked all round the town, and found it very pretty as most towns I ever saw, though not very big, and people of good fashion in it, we to our inne and had a good dinner; and a barber came to me and there trimmed me, that I might be clean against night to go to Mrs. Allen. And so staying till four o'clock we set out, I alone in the coach going and coming: and in our way back I light out of the way to see a Saxon monument, as they say, of a King, which is of three stones standing upright, and a great round one lying on them, of great bigness, although not so big as those on Salisbury Plain. But certainly it is a thing of great antiquity, and I am mightily glad to see it: it is near to Alesford, where Sir John Bankes lives. So homeward to Chatham, Captain Allen's, and there light.

25th. Up, and by and by, about eight o'clock, came Rear-Admirall Kempthorne and seven captains more, by the Duke of York's order, as we expected, to hold the Court-martiall about the loss of "The Defyance." And so presently we by boat to "The Charles," which lies over-against Upner Castle; and there I did manage the business, the Duke of York having by special order directed them to take the assistance of Commissioner Middleton and me, forasmuch as there might be need of advice in what relates to the government of the ships in harbour. And so I did lay the law open to them, and rattle the master-attendants out of their wits almost; and made the trial last till seven at night, not eating a bit all the day; only when we had done examination, and I given my thoughts that the neglect of the gunner of the ship was as great as I thought any neglect could be, which might by the law deserve death, but Commissioner Middleton did declare that he was against giving the sentence of death, we withdrew, as not being of the Court, and so left them to do what they pleased: and while they were debating it, the boatswain of the ship did bring us out of the kettle a piece of hot salt beef, and some brown bread and brandy; and there we did make a little meal, but so

good as I never would desire to eat better meat while I live, only I would have cleaner dishes. By and by they had done, and called us down from the quarter-deck; and there we find they do sentence that the gunner of "The Defyance" should stand upon "The Charles" three hours with his fault writ upon his breast, and with a halter about his neck, and so be made incapable of any service. The truth is, the man do seem, and is, I believe, a good man; but his neglect, in trusting a girl to carry fire into his cabin, is not to be pardoned. This being done, we took boat and home; and there a good supper was ready for us, which should have been our dinner. The captains, desirous to be at London, went away presently for Gravesend, to get thither by this night's tide. And so we to supper, it having been a great snowy and mighty cold, foul day; and so after supper to bed.

26th. Up, and with Middleton all the morning at the Docke, looking over the store-houses and Commissioner Pett's house, in order to Captain Cox's coming to live there in his stead as Commissioner. But it is a mighty pretty house; and pretty to see how every thing is said to be out of repair for this new man, though 10*l.* would put it into as good condition in every thing as it ever was in, so free every body is of the King's money! And so to dinner at the Hill-house; and after dinner till eight at night close, Middleton and I, examining the business of Mr. Pett about selling a boat; and we find him a very knave; and some other quarrels of his, wherein to justify himself he hath made complaints of others. This being done, we to supper, and so to talk, Commissioner Middleton being mighty good company upon a journey; and so to bed.

27th. We took coach again, and got home about six at night.

29th. Up, and by water to White Hall; and there to the Duke of York to shew myself after my journey to Chatham, but did no business to-day with him: only after gone from him, I to Sir T. Clifford's; and there, after an hour's waiting, he being alone in his closet, I did speak with him, and give him the account he gave me to draw up, and he did like it very well: and then fell to talk of the business of the Navy; and giving me good words, did fall foul of the constitution, and did then discover his thoughts, that Sir J. Minnes was too old, and so was Colonell Middleton, and that my

Lord Brouncker did mind his mathematics too much. I did not give much encouragement to that of finding fault with my fellow-officers; but did stand up for the constitution, and did say that what faults there were in our office would be found not to arise from the constitution, but from the failures of the officers in whose hands it was. This he did seem to give good ear to; but did give me of myself very good words, which pleased me well, though I shall not build upon them any thing. Thence home; and after dinner by water with Tom down to Greenwich, he reading to me all the way coming and going my collections out of the Duke of York's old manuscript of the Navy, which I have bound up, and do please me mightily. At Greenwich I came to Captain Cocke's, where the house full of company at the burial of James Temple, who it seems hath been dead these five days. Here I had a very good ring, which I did give my wife as soon as I came home. I spent my time there walking in the garden talking with James Pierce; who tells me that he is certain that the Duke of Buckingham had been with his wenches all the time that he was absent, which was all the last week, nobody knowing where he was. The great talk is of the King's being hot of late against Conventicles, and to see whether the Duke of Buckingham's being returned will turn the King, which will make him very popular; and some think it is his plot to make the King thus, to shew his power in the making him change his mind. But Pierce did tell me that the King did certainly say, that he that took one stone from the Church did take two from his Crown. By and by the corpse came out; and I with Sir Richard Browne and Mr. Evelyn in their coach to the church, where Mr. Plume* preached.

30th. Up, and to Sir W. Coventry, to see and discourse with him; and he tells me that he hath lately been with my Lord Keeper, and had much discourse about the Navy: and particularly he tells me that he finds they are divided touching me and my Lord Brouncker; some are for removing, and some for keeping us. He told my Lord Keeper that it should cost the King 10,000*l.* before he had made another as

* Thomas Plume, D. D., Vicar of Greenwich 1662, and installed Archdeacon of Rochester 1679. Ob. 1704.

fit to serve him in the Navy as I am; which though I believe it is true, yet I am much pleased to have that character given me by Sir W. Coventry, whatever be the success of it. But I perceive they do think that I know too much, and shall impose upon whomever shall come next, and therefore must be removed; though he tells me that Sir T. Clifford is inclined well enough to me, and Sir T. Osborne, by what I have lately done, I suppose. This news is but what I ought not to be much troubled for, considering my incapacity, in regard to my eyes, to continue long at this work.

31st. Up, and by water to Sir W. Coventry's, there to talk with him about business of the Navy, and received from him direction what to advise the Duke of York at this time; which was, to submit and give way to the King's naming a man or two that the people about him have a mind should be brought into the Navy, and perhaps that may stop their fury in running further against the whole; and this, he believes, will do it. After much discourse with him, I walked out with him into St. James's Park; where, being afraid to be seen with him, (he having not leave yet to kiss the King's hand, but notice taken, as I hear, of all that go to him,) I did take the pretence of my attending the Tangier Committee to take my leave, though to serve him I should, I think, stick at nothing. At the Committee this morning my Lord Middleton declares at last his being ready to go, as soon as ever money can be made ready to pay the garrison: and so I have orders to get money, but how soon I know not. Thence to Dancre's, and there saw our pictures which are in doing; and I did choose a view of Rome instead of Hampton Court; and mightily pleased I shall be in them. Here were Sir Charles Cotterell and his son bespeaking something; both ingenious men, I hear. Thence my wife and I to the Park; and pretty store of company; and so home with great content. And so ends the month, my mind in pretty good content for all things but the designs on foot to bring alterations in the office, which trouble me.

April 1st. Up, and with Colonell Middleton (at the desire of Rear-Admirall Kempthorne the president, for our assisting them) to the Court-martiall on board a yacht in the River here to try the business of the purser's complaints, (Baker against Trevanion, his commander,

of "The Dartmouth.") But, Lord! to see what wretched doings there were among all the commanders to ruin the purser, and defend the captain in all his rogueries, be it to the prejudice of the King or purser, no good man could bear! I confess I was pretty high, which the young gentlemen commanders did not like; and Middleton did the same. But could not bring it to any issue this day, sitting till two o'clock; and therefore we, being sent for, went to Sir W. Pen's by invitation to dine. At my cosen Turner's, and there we staid awhile and talked: and particularly here we met with Dr. Ball, the parson of the Temple, who did tell me a great many pretty stories about the manner of the parsons being paid for their preaching at Paul's heretofore and now, and the ground of the lecture; and heretofore for the names of the founders thereof, which were many, at some 5s. some 6s. per annum towards it; and had their names read in the pulpit every sermon among those holy persons that the Church do order a collect for giving God thanks for.

2d. To White Hall, and there to the Duke of York's lodgings; whither he, by and by, by his appointment came: and alone with him an hour in his closet, telling him mine and Sir W. Coventry's advice touching the present posture of the Navy, as the Duke of Buckingham and the rest do now labour to make changes therein; and that it were best for him to suffer the King to be satisfied with the bringing in of a man or two whom they desire. I did also give the Duke of York a short account of the history of the Navy as to our office, wherewith he was very well satisfied: but I do find that he is pretty stiff against their bringing in of men against his mind, as the Treasurers were, and particularly against Child's coming in, because he is a merchant. After much discourse with him we parted; and the Council sat while I staid waiting for his telling me when I should be ready to give him a written account of the administration of the Navy, which caused me to wait the whole afternoon, till night. In the mean time, stepping to the Duchesse of York's side to speak with Lady Peterborough, I did see the young Duchesse, a little child in hanging sleeves, dance most finely, so as almost to ravish me, her ears were so good. Taught by a Frenchman that did heretofore teach the King, and all the King's children, and the Queene-Mother herself, who do still dance well.

3d. Up, and to the Council of War again with Middleton: but the proceedings of the commanders so devilishly bad, and so professedly partial to the captain, that I could endure it no longer, but took occasion to pretend business at the office, and away, and Colonell Middleton with me, who was of the same mind, and resolved to declare our minds freely to the Duke of York about it.

4th. After dinner with Sir J. Minnes and T. Middleton to White Hall, by appointment; and at my Lord Arlington's the office did attend the King and caball, to discourse of the further quantity of victuals fit to be declared for, which was 2000 men for six months; and so without more ado or stay there, hearing no news but that Sir Thomas Allen is to be expected every hour at home with his fleet, or news of his being gone back to Algier. The Queene-Mother hath been of late mighty ill, and some fears of her death.

5th. Went five or six miles towards Branford, where the Prince of Tuscany*, who comes into England only to spend money and see our country, comes into the town to-day, and is much expected; and we met him, but the coach passing by apace we could not see much of him, but he seems a very jolly and good comely man.

6th. Middleton and I did in plain terms acquaint the Duke of York what we thought and had observed in the late Court-martiall; which the Duke of York did give ear to, and though he thinks not fit to revoke what is already done in this case by a Court-martiall, yet it shall bring forth some good laws in the behaviour of captains to their under-officers for the time to come.

7th. To the Lords of the Treasury, where all the morning, and settled matters to their liking about the assignments on the Customs between the Navy-office and Victualler, and to that end spent most of the morning there with D. Gauden. I to the Council-chamber, and there heard the great complaint of the City, tried against the gentlemen of the Temple for the late riot, as they would have it, when my Lord Mayor was there. But, upon hearing the whole business, the City was certainly to blame to charge them in this

* Cosmo de' Medici, who succeeded his father Ferdinand in the dukedom of Tuscany 1670. His Tour in England has been recently published.

manner as with a riot ; but the King and Council did forbear to determine any thing in it, till the other business of the title and privilege be decided, which is now under dispute at law between them,—whether the Temple be within the liberty of the City, or no. But I was sorry to see the City so ill advised as to complain in a thing where their proofs were so weak.

8th. Up, and to White Hall to the King's side to find Sir T. Clifford, where the Duke of York came and found me ; which I was sorry for, for fear he should think I was making friends on that side. But I did put it off the best I could, my being there ; and so by and by had opportunity alone to shew Sir T. Clifford the fair account I had drawn up of the Customes, which he liked, and seemed mightily pleased with me : and so away to the Excise-office to do a little business there ; and so to the office, where all the morning.

9th. Up, and by water to White Hall, and there with the Board attended the Duke of York, and Sir Thomas Allen with us (who came to town yesterday) ; and it is resolved another fleet shall go to the Streights forthwith, and he command it. But his coming home is mighty hardly talked on by the merchants, for leaving their ships there to the mercy of the Turks : but of this more in my White-book. To the Excise-office, and to several places ; among others to Mr. Faythorne's, to have seen an instrument which he was said to have of drawing perspectives, but he had it not ; but here I did see his workhouse, and the best things of his doing he had by him.

10th. After dinner comes Mr. Seamour to visit me, a talking fellow : but I hear by him that Captain Trevanion do give it out every where that I did over-rule the whole Court-martiall against him, so long as I was there. And perhaps I may receive at this time some wrong by it ; but I care not, for what I did was out of my desire to do justice.

11th. To Loton the landscape-drawer, a Dutchman, living in St. James's Market ; but there saw no good pictures. But by accident he did direct us to a painter that was then in the house with him, a Dutchman, newly come over, one Evereest*, who took us to his

* Probably Simon Varelst, a Dutch flower-painter, who practised his art with much success in England about this time.

lodging close by, and did shew us a little flower-pot of his drawing, the finest thing that ever, I think, I saw in my life ; the drops of dew hanging on the leaves, so as I was forced again and again to put my finger to it, to feel whether my eyes were deceived or no. He do ask 70*l.* for it : I had the vanity to bid him 20*l.* But a better picture I never saw in my whole life ; and it is worth going twenty miles to see it. Thence, leaving Balty there, I took my wife to St. James's, and there carried her to the Queene's chapel, the first time I ever did it ; and heard excellent musick, but not so good as by accident I did hear there yesterday as I went through the Park from White Hall to see Sir W. Coventry, which I have forgot to set down in my Journal yesterday. And going out of the chapel I did see the Prince of Tuscany come out, a comely black fat man, in a mourning-suit ; and my wife and I did see him this afternoon through a window in this chapel. All that Sir W. Coventry yesterday did tell me new was, that the King would not yet give him leave to come to kiss his hand ; and he do believe that he will not in a great while do it, till those about him shall see fit ; which I am sorry for. Thence to the Park, my wife and I : and here Sir W. Coventry did first see me and my wife in a coach of our own ; and so did also this night the Duke of York, who did eye my wife mightily. But I begin to doubt that my being so much seen in my own coach at this time may be observed to my prejudice ; but I must venture it now. So home, and so set down my Journal, with the help of my left eye through my tube, for fourteen days past ; which is so much as I hope I shall not run in arrear again, but the badness of my eyes do force me to it.

12th. The whole office attended the Duke of York at his meeting with Sir Thomas Allen and several flag-officers, to consider of the manner of managing the war with Algier ; and it being a thing I was wholly silent in, I did only observe ; and find that their manner of discourse on this weighty affair was very mean and disorderly, the Duke of York himself being the man that I thought spoke most to the purpose. By water to the Bear-garden, and there happened to sit by Sir Fretcheville Hollis, who is still full of his vain-glorious and prophane talk. Here we saw a prize fought between a soldier and a

country-fellow, one Warrell, who promised the least in his looks, and performed the most of valour in his boldness and evenness of mind, and smiles in all he did, that ever I saw; and we were all both deceived and infinitely taken with him. He did soundly beat the soldier, and cut him over the head. Thence back to White Hall, mightily pleased all of us with this sight, and particularly this fellow, as a most extraordinary man for his temper and evenness in fighting. This evening coming home we overtook Alderman Backewell's coach and his lady, and followed them to their house, and there made them the first visit, where they received us with extraordinary civility, and owning the obligation. But I do, contrary to my expectation, find her something a proud and vain-glorious woman, in telling the number of her servants and family and expences. He is also so, but he was ever of that strain. But here he shewed me the model of his houses that he is going to build in Cornhill and Lombard-street; but he hath purchased so much there that it looks like a little town, and must have cost him a great deal of money.

13th. I by hackney-coach to the Spittle, and heard a piece of a dull sermon to my Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and thence saw them all take horse and ride away, which I have not seen together many a day: their wives also went in their coaches. And indeed the sight was mighty pleasing. Thence took occasion to go back to a milliner's in Fenchurch-street, whose name I understand to be Clerke; and there her husband inviting me up to the balcony to see the show go by to dinner at Clothworkers'-hall, I did go up, and there saw it go by.

14th. To the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw "The Impertinents," a play which pleases me well still; but it is with great trouble that I now see a play because of my eyes, the light of the candles making it very troublesome to me. After the play to Creed's. They do here talk mightily of my Lady Paulina's making a very good end, and being mighty religious in her life-time; and she hath left many good notes of sermons and religion wrote with her own hand, which nobody ever knew of: which I am glad of; but she was always a peevish lady.

17th. To Sir W. Coventry's, reading over first my draught of the

Administration of the Navy, which he do like very well ; and so fell to talk of his late disgrace, and how basely and in what a mean manner the Duke of Buckingham hath proceeded against him,—not like a man of honour. He tells me that the King will not give other answer, about his coming to kiss his hands, than “Not yet.” But he says that this that he desires of kissing the King’s hand is only to shew to the world that he is not a discontent, and not in any desire to come again into play, though I do perceive that he speaks this with less earnestness than heretofore : and this it may be is, from what he told me lately, that the King is offended at what is talked, that he hath declared himself desirous not to have to do with any employment more. But he do tell me that the leisure he hath yet had do not at all begin to be burdensome to him, he knowing how to spend his time with content to himself ; and that he hopes shortly to contract his expence, so as that he shall not be under any straits in that respect neither ; and so seems to be in very good condition of content. Thence I away over the Park, it being now night, to White Hall : and there in the Duchesse’s chamber do find the Duke of York ; and upon my offer to speak with him, he did come to me and withdrew to his closet, and there did hear and approve my paper of the Administration of the Navy, only did bid me alter these words, “upon the rupture between the late King and the Parliament,” to these, “the beginning of the late Rebellion ;” giving it me as but reason to shew that it was with the Rebellion that the Navy was put by out of its old good course into that of a Commission. Having done this, we fell to other talk ; he with great confidence telling me how matters go among our adversaries, in reference to the Navy, and that he thinks they do begin to flag : but then beginning to talk in general of the excellency of old constitutions, he did bring out of his cabinet, and made me read it, an extract out of a book of my late Lord of Northumberland’s, so prophetic of the business of Chatham as is almost miraculous. I did desire, and he did give it me to copy out ; which pleased me mightily.

18th. To my office again to examine the fair draught ; and so borrowing Sir J. Minnes’s coach, he going with Colonell Middleton, I to White Hall, where we all met and did sign it. And then to my Lord

Arlington's, where the King and the Duke of York and Prince Rupert, as also Ormond and the two Secretaries, with my Lord Ashly and Sir T. Clifford, were. And there by and by being called in, Mr. Williamson did read over our paper, which was in a letter to the Duke of York, bound up in a book with the Duke of York's Book of Instructions. He read it well; and after read, we were bid to withdraw, nothing being at all said to it. And by and by we were called in again, and nothing said to that business; but another begun about the state of this year's action and our wants of money, as I had stated the same lately to our Treasurers; which I was bid, and did largely and with great content open. And having so done, we all withdrew, and left them to debate our supply of money; to which being called in, and referred to attend on the Lords of the Treasury, we all departed. And I only staid in the House till the Council rose; and then to the Duke of York in the Duchesse's chamber, where he told me that the book was there left with my Lord Arlington for any of the Lords to view that had a mind, and to prepare and present to the King what they had to say in writing to any part of it; which is all we can desire, and so that rested. The Duke of York then went to other talk; and by and by comes the Prince of Tuscany to visit him and the Duchesse; and I find that he do still remain *incognito*, and so intends to do all the time he stays here, for avoiding trouble to the King and himself, and expence also to both.

20th. At noon comes my guest Mr. Hugh May, and with him Sir Henry Capell, my old Lord Capell's son, and Mr. Parker. And I had a pretty dinner for them; and both before and after dinner had excellent discourse; and shewed them my closet and my office, and the method of it, to their great content: and more extraordinary manly discourse and opportunity of shewing myself, and learning from others, I have not in ordinary discourse had in my life, they being all persons of worth, but especially Sir H. Capell, whose being a Parliament-man, and hearing my discourse in the Parliament-house, hath, as May tells me, given him a long desire to know and discourse with me. In the afternoon we walked to the Old Artillery-ground near the Spital-fields, where I never was before, but now by Captain Deane's invita-

tion did go to see his new gun tryed, this being the place where the officers of the Ordnance do try all their great guns; and when we came, did find that the trial had been made, and they going away, with extraordinary report of the proof of his gun, which, from the shortness and bigness, they do call Punchinello. But I desired Colonell Legg to stay and give us a sight of her performance; which he did, and there, in short, against a gun more than as long and as heavy again, and charged with as much powder again, she carried the same bullet as strong to the mark, and nearer and above the mark at a point blank than theirs, and is more easily managed, and recoyles no more than that; which is a thing so extraordinary as to be admired for the happiness of his invention, and to the great regret of the old gunners and officers of the Ordnance that were there, only Colonell Legg did do her much right in his report of her. And so having seen this great and first experiment we all parted, I seeing my guests into a hackney-coach, and myself, with Captain Deane, taking a hackney-coach, did go out towards Bow, and went as far as Stratford, and all the way talking of this invention, and he offering me a third of the profit of it; which, for aught I know, or do at present think, may prove matter considerable to us; for either the King will give him a reward for it if he keeps it to himself, or he will give us a patent to make our profit of it; and no doubt but it will be of profit to merchantmen and others to have guns of the same force at half the charge. This was our talk; and then to talk of other things, of the Navy in general: and, among other things, he did tell me that he do hear how the Duke of Buckingham hath a spite at me, which I knew before, but value it not; and he tells me that Sir T. Allen is not my friend: but for all this I am not much troubled, for I know myself so usefull that, as I believe, they will not part with me; so I thank God my condition is such that I can retire and be able to live with comfort, though not with abundance.

21st. To Auditor Wood's, and met my Lord Bellasses upon some business of his accounts. Attended the Duke of York a little, being the first time of my waiting on him at St. James's this summer, whither he is now newly gone. And thence walked to White Hall;

and so by and by to the Council-chamber, and heard a remarkable cause pleaded between the Farmers of the Excise of Wiltshire, in complaint against the Justices of Peace of Salisbury: and Sir H. Finch was for the former. But, Lord! to see how he did with his admirable eloquence order the matter, is not to be conceived almost: so pleasant a thing it is to hear him plead! After dinner by water to White Hall, where the Duke of York did meet our office, and went with us to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury: and there we did go over all the business of the state I had drawn up of this year's action and expence; which I did do to their satisfaction, and convincing them of the necessity of providing more money, if possible, for us. Thence the Duke of York being gone, I did there stay walking with Sir H. Cholmly in the Court, talking of news; where he told me that now the great design of the Duke of Buckingham is to prevent the meeting, since he cannot bring about with the King the dissolving of this Parliament, that the King may not need it; and therefore my Lord St. Alban's is hourly expected with great offers of a million of money to buy our breach with the Dutch; and this, they do think, may tempt the King to take the money, and thereby be out of a necessity of calling the Parliament again, which these people dare not suffer to meet again: but this he doubts, and so do I, that it will be the ruin of the nation if we fall out with Holland.

22d. Up, and to the office, where all the morning. At noon home to dinner, and Captain Deane with us; and very good discourse, and particularly about my getting a book for him to draw up his whole theory of shipping; which at my desire he hath gone far in, and hath shewn me what he hath done therein to admiration. I did give him a parallelogram, which he is mightily taken with. And so after dinner to the office, where all the afternoon till night late, and then home.

23d. To the Council-chamber, and heard two or three causes; among others that of the complaint of Sir Philip Howard and Watson, the inventors, as they pretend, of the business of varnishing and lackerworke, against the Company of Painters, who take upon them to do the same thing; where I saw a great instance of the weakness of a young Counsel they used to such an audience, against the Soli-

citor-generall and two more able Counsel used to it. Though he had the right of his side, and did prevail for what he pretended to against the rest, yet it was with much disadvantage and hazard. Here I also heard Mr. Papillion make his defence to the King against some complaints of the Farmers of Excise; but it was so weak, and done only by his own seeking, that it was to his injury more than profit, and made his case the worse, being ill-managed, and in a cause against the King.

25th. Lord's-day. Up, and to my office awhile; and thither comes Lead with my vizard, with a tube fastened within both eyes; which, with the help which he prompts me to, of a glass in the tube, do content me mightily. W. How came and dined with us; and then I to my office, he being gone, to write down my Journal for the last twelve days; and did it with the help of my vizard and tube fixed to it, and do find it mighty manageable, but how helpfull to my eyes this trial will shew me. So abroad with my wife in the afternoon to the Park, where very much company, and the weather very pleasant. I carried my wife to the Lodge, the first time this year, and there in our coach eat a cheesecake and drank a tankard of milk. I shewed her this day also first the Prince of Tuscany, who was in the Park, and many very fine ladies.

26th. After dinner comes Colonell Macknachan, one that I see often at Court, a Scotchman, but know him not; only he brings me a letter from my Lord Middleton, who, he says, is in great distress for 500*l.* to relieve my Lord Morton* with (but upon what account I know not); and he would have me advance it without order upon his pay for Tangier; which I was astonished at, but had the grace to deny him with an excuse. And so he went away, leaving me a little troubled that I was thus driven on a sudden to do any thing herein: but Creed coming just now to see me, he approves of what I have done. A great fire happened in Durham-yard last night, burning the house of one Lady Hungerford, who was to come to town to it this night; and so the house is burned, new furnished, by carelessness

* William ninth Earl of Morton, who had married Lord Middleton's daughter Grizel.

of the girl sent to take off a candle from a bunch of candles, which she did by burning it off, and left the rest, as is supposed, on fire. The King and Court were here, it seems, and stopped the fire by blowing up of the next house. The King and Court went out of town to Newmarket this morning betimes, for a week.

28th. Up, and was called upon by Sir H. Cholmly to discourse about some accounts of his of Tangier: and then to other talk. And I find by him that it is brought almost to effect, the late endeavours of the Duke of York and Duchesse, the Queene-Mother, and my Lord St. Alban's, together with some of the contrary faction, as my Lord Arlington, that for a sum of money we shall enter into a league with the King of France, wherein, he says, my Lord Chancellor is also concerned; and that he believes that in the doing hereof it is meant that he shall come in again, and that this sum of money will so help the King as that he will not need the Parliament; and that in that regard it will be forwarded by the Duke of Buckingham and his faction, who dread the Parliament. But hereby we must leave the Dutch, and that I doubt will undo us; and Sir H. Cholmly says he finds W. Coventry do think the like. My Lady Castlemaine is instrumental in this matter, and, he says, never more great with the King than she is now. But this is a thing that will make the Parliament and kingdom mad, and will turn to our ruine; for with this money the King shall wanton away his time in pleasures, and think nothing of the main till it be too late. This morning Mr. Sheres sent me in two volumes, Marian his History of Spaine in Spanish, an excellent book; and I am much obliged to him for it.

30th. Up, and by coach to the coachmaker's; and there I do find a great many ladies sitting in the body of a coach that must be ended by to-morrow, (they were my Lady Marquess of Winchester*, Bellasses†, and other great ladies,) eating of bread and butter, and

* Isabella, daughter of William Viscount Stafford, third wife to James fifth Marquis of Winchester.

† John Lord Bellassis was thrice married: first, to Jane daughter of Sir Robert Boteler of Woodhall, Knt.; secondly, to Anne daughter of Sir Robert Crane, of Chilton, Suffolk; thirdly, to Lady Anne Powlet, daughter of John fourth Marquis of Winchester. The lady here mentioned was the second or third wife; probably the latter.

drinking ale. I to my coach, which is silvered over, but no varnish yet laid on, so I put it in a way of doing; and myself about other business, and particularly to see Sir W. Coventry, with whom I talked a good while to my great content: and so to other places, among others, to my tailor's; and then to the belt-maker's, where my belt cost me 55s. of the colour of my new suit; and here understanding that the mistress of the house, an oldish woman in a hat, hath some water good for the eyes, she did dress me, making my eyes smart most horribly, and did give me a little glass of it, which I will use, and hope it will do me good. So to the cutler's, and there did give Tom, who was with me all day, a sword cost me 12s. and a belt of my owne; and set my own silver-hilt sword agilding against to-morrow. This morning I did visit Mr. Oldenburgh, and did see the instrument for perspective made by Dr. Wren, of which I have one making by Browne; and the sight of this do please me mightily. At noon my wife came to me at my tailor's, and I sent her home, and myself and Tom dined at Hercules' Pillars; and so about our business again, and particularly to Lilly's, the varnisher, about my prints, whereof some of them are pasted upon the boards, and to my full content. Thence to the frame-maker's, one Norris, in Long Acre; who shewed me several forms of frames, which were pretty, in little bits of mouldings to choose patterns by. This done, I to my coachmaker's, and there vexed to see nothing yet done to my coach, at three in the afternoon; but I set it in doing, and stood by till eight at night, and saw the painter varnish it, which is pretty to see how every doing it over do make it more and more yellow: and it dries as fast in the sun as it can be laid on almost; and most coaches are now-a-days done so, and it is very pretty when laid on well, and not too pale as some are, even to shew the silver. Here I did make the workmen drink, and saw my coach cleaned and oyled; and staying among poor people there in the ally, did hear them call their fat child Punch, which pleased me mightily, that word being become a word of common use for all that is thick and short.

May 1st. Up betimes. My wife extraordinary fine with her flowered tabby gown that she made two years ago, now laced exceeding

pretty; and indeed was fine all over. And mighty earnest to go, though the day was very lowering; and she would have me put on my fine suit, which I did. And so anon we went alone through the town with our new liveries of serge, and the horses' manes and tails tied with red ribbons, and the standards thus gilt with varnish, and all clean, and green reines, that people did mightily look upon us; and the truth is, I did not see any coach more pretty, though more gay, than ours all the day; the day being displeasing, though the Park full of coaches, but dusty, and windy, and cold, and now and then a little dribbling of rain; and what made it worse, there were so many hackney coaches as spoiled the sight of the gentlemen's; and so we had little pleasure.

2d. Lord's-day. Up, and by water to White Hall, and there visited my Lord Sandwich, who, after about two months' absence at Hinchingbroke, came to town last night. I saw him; and he was very kind: and I am glad he is so, I having not wrote to him all the time, my eyes indeed not letting me. Here with Sir Charles Harbord and my Lord Hinchingbroke and Sidney, and we looked upon the picture of Tangier, designed by Charles Harbord and drawn by Dancre, which my Lord Sandwich admires, as being the truest picture that ever he saw in his life: and it is indeed very pretty, and I will be at the cost of having one of them. Thence with them to White Hall, and there walked out the sermon with one or other; and then saw the Duke of York, and he talked to me a little; and so away back by water home.

3d. Up, and by coach to my Lord Brouncker's, where Sir G. Carteret did meet Sir J. Minnes and me, to discourse upon Mr. Deering's business, who was directed in the time of the war to provide provisions at Hamburgh, by Sir G. Carteret's direction; and now Sir G. Carteret is afraid to own it, it being done without written order. But by our meeting we do all begin to recollect enough to preserve Mr. Deering, which, I think, poor silly man! I shall be glad of, it being too much he should suffer for endeavouring to serve us. Thence to St James's, where the Duke of York was playing in the Pell Mell; and so he called me to him most part of the time that he played, which was an hour, and talked alone to me; and, among other things, tells me how the

King will not yet be got to name any body in the room of Pen, but puts it off for three or four days: from whence he do collect that they are brewing something for the Navy, but what he knows not; but I perceive is vexed that things should go so, and he hath reason; for he told me that it is likely they will do in this as in other things—resolve first, and consider it and the fitness of it afterwards. Thence to White Hall, and met with Creed, and discoursed of matters; and I perceive by him that he makes no doubt but that all will turn to the old religion, for these people cannot hold things in their hands, nor prevent its coming to that; and by his discourse he fits himself for it, and would have my Lord Sandwich do so too, and me. After a little talk with him, and particularly about the ruinous condition of Tangier, which I have a great mind to lay before the Duke of York, but dare not because of his great kindness to Lord Middleton, before it be too late, we parted, and I homeward; but called at Povy's, and there he stopped me to dinner, there being Mr. Williamson, the Lieutenant of the Tower, Mr. Child, and several others. And after dinner Povy and I together to talk of Tangier; and he would have me move the Duke of York in it, for it concerns him particularly more than any, as being the head of us; and I do think to do it.

5th. To St. James's, and thence with the Duke of York to White Hall, where the Board waited on him all the morning; and so at noon with Sir Thomas Allen, and Sir Edward Scott* and Lord Carlingford, to the Spanish Ambassador's, where I dined the first time. The olio not so good as Shere's. There was at the table himself and a Spanish Countess, a good, comely, and witty lady; three Fathers, and us. Discourse good and pleasant. And here was an Oxford scholar in a Doctor of Laws' gowne, sent from the College where the Ambassador lay when the Court was there, to salute him before his return to Spain. This man, though a gentle sort of scholar, yet sat like a fool for want of French or Spanish, but knew only Latin, which he spoke like an Englishman, to one of the Fathers. And by and by he and I to talk; and the company very merry at my defending Cambridge against Oxford; and I

* Sir Edward Scott, made LL.D. at Oxford 1677.

made much use of my French and Spanish here, to my great content. But the dinner not extraordinary at all, either for quantity or quality.

7th. Up, and by coach to Sir W. Coventry's; and there to talk with him a great deal with great content. And so to the Duke of York, having a great mind to speak to him about Tangier; but when I came to it, his interest for my Lord Middleton is such that I dared not.

8th. After dinner all the afternoon within, with Mr. Hater, Gibson, and W. Hewer, reading over and drawing up new things in the Instructions of Commanders, which will be good, and I hope to get them confirmed by the Duke of York; though I perceive nothing will effectually perfect them but to look over the whole body of the Instructions of all the officers of a ship, and make them all perfect together. This being done, comes my bookseller, and brings me home bound my collection of papers, about my Adresse to the Duke of York in August, which makes me glad, it being that which shall do me more right many years hence than perhaps all I ever did in my life; and therefore I do, both for my own and the King's sake, value it much. By and by also comes Browne, the mathematical instrument-maker, and brings me home my instrument for perspective, made according to the description of Dr. Wren's in the late Transactions; and he hath made it, I think, very well, and that that I believe will do the thing, and therein gives me great content; but I have, I fear, all the content that must be received by my eyes, which are almost lost.

10th. To White Hall, where the Duke of York met the office, and there discoursed of several things, particularly the Instructions of Commanders of ships. But here happened by chance a discourse of the Council of Trade, against which the Duke of York is mightily displeased, and particularly Mr. Child, against whom he speaking hardly, Captain Cox did second the Duke of York, by saying that he was talked on for an unfayre dealer with masters of ships about freight: to which Sir T. Littleton very hotly and foolishly replied presently, that he never heard any honest man speak ill of Child; to which the Duke of York did make a smart reply, and was angry: so as I was sorry to hear it come so far, and that I, by seeming to assent to Cox, might be observed too much by Littleton,

though I said nothing aloud, for this must breed great heart-burnings. After this meeting done, the Duke of York took the Treasurers into his closet to chide them, as Mr. Wren tells me; for that my Lord Keeper did last night at the Council say, when nobody was ready to say any thing against the constitution of the Navy, that he did believe the Treasurers of the Navy had something to say; which was very foul on their part, to be parties against us. They being gone, Mr. Wren took boat, thinking to dine with my Lord of Canterbury*; but when we came to Lambeth, the gate was shut, which is strictly done at twelve o'clock, and nobody comes in afterwards; so we lost our labour, and therefore back to White Hall, and thence walked to my Lord Crewe, whom I have not seen since he was sick, which is eight months ago, I think; and there dined with him. He is mightily broke. A stranger, a country gentleman, was with him; and he pleased with my discourse accidentally about the decay of gentlemen's families in the country, telling us that the old rule was, that a family might remain fifty miles from London one hundred years, one hundred miles from London two hundred years, and so farther or nearer London more or less years. He also told us that he hath heard his father say, that in his time it was so rare for a country gentleman to come to London, that when he did come, he used to make his will before he set out. Thence to St. James's, and there met the Duke of York; who told me with great content that he did now think he should master our adversaries, for that the King did tell him that he was satisfied in the constitution of the Navy, but that it was well to give these people leave to object against it, which they having not done, he did give order to give warrant to the Duke of York to direct Sir Jeremy Smith to be a Commissioner of the Navy in the room of Pen; which, though he be an impertinent fellow, yet I am glad of it, it shewing that the other side is not so strong as it was: and so in plain terms the Duke of York did tell me, that they were every day losing ground; and particularly that he would take care to keep out Child: at all which I am glad, though yet I dare not think myself secure; but the King may yet be wrought

* Gilbert Sheldon.

upon by these people to bring changes in our office, and remove us ere it be long. To White Hall to a Committee of Tangier, where I see all things going to rack in the business of the Corporation, and consequently in the place, by Middleton's going. Thence walked a little with Creed, who tells me he hears how fine my horses and coach are, and advises me to avoid being noted for it; which I was vexed to hear taken notice of, being what I feared: and Povy told me of my gold-lace sleeves in the Park yesterday, which vexed me also, so as to resolve never to appear in Court with them, but presently to have them taken off, as it is fit I should.

11th. My wife up by four o'clock, to go to gather May-dew. Some trouble at Court for fear of the Queene's miscarrying; she being, as they all conclude, far gone with child.

12th. My brother John tells me the first news that my sister Jackson is with child, and far gone.

13th. At noon comes my Lord Hinchingbroke, and Sidney, and Sir Charles Harbord, and Roger Pepys, and dined with me; and had a good dinner, and very merry with us all the afternoon, it being a farewell to Sidney.

14th. At noon to dinner with Mr. Wren to Lambeth, with the Archbishop of Canterbury; the first time I was ever there, and I have long longed for it. Where a noble house, and well furnished with good pictures and furniture, and noble attendance in good order, and a great deal of company though an ordinary day; and exceeding great cheer, no where better, or so much, that ever I think I saw for an ordinary table: and the Bishop mighty kind to me particularly, desiring my company another time when less company there. Most of the company gone, and I going, I heard by a gentleman of a sermon that was to be there; and so I staid to hear it, thinking it serious, till by and by the gentleman told me it was a mockery by one Cornet Bolton, a very gentleman-like man, that behind a chair did pray and preach like a Presbyter Scot, with all the possible imitation in grimaces and voice. And his text about the hanging up their harps upon the willows: and a serious good sermon too, exclaiming against Bishops, and crying up of my good Lord Eglington, till it

made us all burst; but I did wonder to have the Bishop at this time to make himself sport with things of this kind, but I perceive it was shewn him as a rarity. And he took care to have the room-door shut, but there were about twenty gentlemen there: and myself infinitely pleased with the novelty. So over to White Hall to a little Committee of Tangier; and thence walking in the Gallery, I met Sir Thomas Osborne, who, to my great content, did of his own accord fall into discourse with me, with such professions of value and respect, placing the whole virtue of the office of the Navy upon me, and that for the Controller's place no man in England was fit for it but me, when Sir J. Minnes, as he says it is necessary, is removed: but then knows not what to do for a man in my place; and in discourse, though I have no mind to the other, did bring in Tom Hater to be the fittest man in the world for it, which he took good notice of. But in the whole I was mightily pleased, reckoning myself fifty per cent. securer in my place than I did before think myself to be. By water with my brother as high as Fulham, talking and singing, and playing the rogue with the Western bargemen about the women of Woolwich; which mads them.

16th. I all the afternoon drawing up a foul draught of my petition to the Duke of York about my eyes, for leave to spend three or four months out of the office, drawing it so as to give occasion to a voyage abroad; which I did to my pretty good liking. And then with my wife to Hyde Park, where a good deal of company and good weather.

17th. Great news now of the French taking St. Domingo, in Spaniola, from the Spaniards; which troubles us, that they should have got it, and have the honour of taking it, when we could not.

19th. With my coach to St. James's; and there finding the Duke of York gone to muster his men in Hyde Park, I alone with my boy thither, and there saw more, walking out of my coach as other gentlemen did, of a soldier's trade than ever I did in my life: the men being mighty fine, and their Commanders, particularly the Duke of Monmouth; but methought their trade but very easy as to the mustering of their men, and the men but indifferently ready to perform what was commanded in the handling their arms. Here the

news was first talked of Harry Killigrew's being wounded in nine places last night by footmen in the highway, going from the Park in a hackney-coach towards Hammersmith, to his house at Turnham Greene: they being supposed to be my Lady Shrewsbury's men, she being by in her coach with six horses; upon an old grudge of his saying openly that he had intrigued with her. Thence by and by to White Hall, and there I waited upon the King and Queene all dinner-time in the Queene's lodgings, she being in her white pinner, and appearing like a woman with child; and she seemed handsomer plain so than dressed. And by and by dinner done, I out and to walk in the Gallery, for the Duke of York's coming out; and there meeting Mr. May, he took me down about four o'clock to Mr. Chevin's lodgings, and all alone did get me a dish of cold chickens, and good wine; and I dined like a prince, being before very hungry and empty. By and by the Duke of York comes, and readily took me to his closet, and received my petition, and discoursed about my eyes, and pitied me, and with much kindness did give me his consent to be absent, and approved of my proposition to go into Holland to observe things there of the Navy; but would first ask the King's leave, which he anon did, and did tell me that the King would be a good master to me, (these were his words about my eyes), and do like of my going into Holland, but do advise that nobody should know of my going thither, and that I should pretend to go into the country somewhere; which I liked well. In discourse this afternoon, the Duke of York did tell me that he was the most amazed at one thing just now that ever he was in his life; which was, that the Duke of Buckingham did just now come into the Queene's bed-chamber, where the King was, with much mixed company, and, among others, Tom Killigrew, the father of Harry, who was last night wounded so as to be in danger of death, and his man is quite dead; and there did say that he had spoke with some one that was by, (which person all the world must know must be his mistress, my Lady Shrewsbury), who says that they did not mean to hurt, but beat him, and that he did run first at them with his sword; so that he do hereby clearly discover that he knows who did it, and is of conspiracy with them, being of known conspiracy with her; which the Duke of York

did seem to be pleased with, and said it might perhaps cost him his life in the House of Lords; and I find was mightily pleased with it, saying it was the most impudent thing, as well as the most foolish, that ever he knew man do in all his life.

20th. With my eyes mighty weary, and my head full of care how to get my accounts and business settled against my journey, home to supper, and to bed.

24th. To White Hall, where I attended the Duke of York, and was by him led to the King, who expressed great sense of my misfortune in my eyes, and concernment for their recovery; and accordingly signified, not only his assent to my desire therein, but commanded me to give them rest this summer, according to my late petition to the Duke of York.

26th. To White Hall, where all the morning. Dined with Mr. Chevins, with Alderman Backewell, and Spragg. The Court full of the news from Captain Hubbert of "The Milford," touching his being affronted in the Streights, shot at, and having eight men killed him by a French man-of-war, calling him "English dog," and commanding him to strike; which he refused, and, as knowing himself much too weak for him, made away from him. The Queen, as being supposed with child, fell ill, so as to call for Madam Nun, Mr. Chevins's sister, and one of her women, from dinner from us; this being the last day of their doubtfulness touching her being with child, and they were therein well confirmed by her Majesty's being well again before night. One Sir Edmund Bury Godfry,* a woodmonger and Justice of Peace in Westminster, having two days since arrested Sir Alexander Frazier for about 30*l.* in firing, the bailiffs were apprehended, committed to the porter's lodge, and there, by the King's command, the last night severely whipped; from which the Justice himself very hardly escaped, (to such an unusual degree was the King moved therein.) But he lies now in the lodge, justifying his act, as grounded upon the opinion of several of the Judges, and, among others, my Lord Chief-Justice; which makes the King very angry with the Chief-Justice,

* Supposed to have been murdered by the Papists, October 17th, 1678, when he was found pierced with his own sword, and with several marks of violence on his body.

as they say ; and the Justice do lie and justify his act, and says he will suffer in the cause for the people, and do refuse to receive almost any nutriment. The effects of it may be bad to the Court.

28th. To St. James's, where the King's being with the Duke of York prevented a meeting of the Tangier Commission. But, Lord ! what a deal of sorry discourse did I hear between the King and several Lords about him here ! but very mean, methought. So with Creed to the Excise-office, and back to White Hall ; where, in the Park, Sir G. Carteret did give an account of his discourse lately with the Commissioners of Accounts, who except against many things, but none that I find considerable ; among others, that of the officers of the Navy selling of the King's goods, and particularly my providing him with calico flags ; which having been by order, and but once, when necessity and the King's apparent profit justified it as conformable to my particular duty, it will prove to my advantage that it be enquired into. Nevertheless, having this morning received from them a demand of an account of all monies within their cognizance received and issued by me, I was willing upon this hint to give myself rest, by knowing whether their meaning therein might reach only to my Treasurership for Tangier, or the monies employed on this occasion. I went therefore to them this afternoon to understand what monies they meant ; where they answered me by saying, " The eleven months' tax, customs, and prize-money," without mentioning (any more or than I demanding) the service they respected therein : and so without further discourse we parted upon very good terms of respect, and with few words, but my mind not fully satisfied about the monies they mean.

29th. The King's birth-day. To White Hall, where all very gay ; and particularly the Prince of Tuscany very fine, and is the first day of his appearing out of mourning since he came. I heard the Bishop of Peterborough* preach but dully ; but a good anthem of Pelham's. Home to dinner, and then with my wife to Hyde Park, where all the evening : great store of company, and great preparations

* Joseph Henshaw. Ob. 1678.

by the Prince of Tuscany to celebrate the night with fire-works, for the King's birth-day. And so home.

30th. Whitsunday. By water to White Hall, and thence to Sir W. Coventry, where all the morning by his bed-side, he being indisposed. Our discourse was upon the notes I have lately prepared for Commanders' Instructions; but concluded that nothing will render them effectual without an amendment in the choice of them, that they be seamen, and not gentlemen above the command of the Admiral, by the greatness of their relations at Court. Thence to White Hall, and dined with Mr. Chevins and his sister: whither by and by came in Mr. Progers and Sir Thomas Allen, and by and by fine Mrs. Wells, who is a great beauty; and there I had my full gaze upon her, to my great content, she being a woman of pretty conversation. Thence to the Duke of York, who, with the officers of the Navy, made a good entrance on my draught of my new Instructions to Commanders, as well expressing his Generals of a reformation among them, as liking of my humble offers towards it. Thence being called by my wife, we to the Park; whence the rain sent us suddenly home.

31st. Up very betimes, and continued all the morning with W. Hewer, upon examining and stating my accounts, in order to the fitting myself to go abroad beyond sea, which the ill condition of my eyes and my neglect for a year or two hath kept me behind-hand in, and so as to render it very difficult now and troublesome to my mind to do it; but I this day made a satisfactory entrance therein. Had another meeting with the Duke of York at White Hall on yesterday's work, and made a good advance: and so being called by my wife, we to the Park, Mary Batelier, and a Dutch gentleman, a friend of hers, being with us. Thence to "The World's End," a drinking-house by the Park; and there merry, and so home late. And thus ends all that I doubt I shall ever be able to do with my own eyes in the keeping of my Journall, I being not able to do it any longer, having done now so long as to undo my eyes almost every time that I take a pen in my hand; and therefore, whatever comes of it, I must forbear: and therefore resolve from this time forward to have it kept by my people in long-hand, and must be contented to set down no more than is fit for them

and all the world to know ; or if there be any thing, I must endeavour to keep a margin in my book open, to add here and there a note in short-hand with my own hand. And so I betake myself to that course, which is almost as much as to see myself go into my grave : for which, and all the discomforts that will accompany my being blind, the good God prepare me !

May 31, 1669.

S. P.

END OF THE DIARY.

A

SELECTION

FROM THE

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

OF

SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ.

SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY,

&c. &c.

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[The Letters marked C. were kindly contributed by SAMUEL PEPYS COCKERELL, Esq. from Family Papers in his possession. Those numbered U. are from the Collection of Mr. W. UPCOTT of the London Institution ; and the remainder, to which B. L. or P. L. are prefixed, were obtained from the Bodleian or Pepysian Libraries.]

B. L. *orig.*

SIR J. LAWSON TO _____

(Transmitted to Mr. Pepys.)

SIR,

March 4, 1664.

PLEASE to mynde M^r Pepys to prepare a bill against the next meeting, upon M^r Treasurer of His Majesty's Navy, for two thousand pounds to me, my heirs, executors, administrators, or assignes, according to His Gracious Majesty's and his Royal Highness warrants, out of the fower penses defalked for Ministers remaining in his hand, or that shall come to his hand by reason of the want of ministers in divers of His Majesty's ships. I pray bee carefull it bee ready and signed att the next meeting, and that those words be inserted in it, that is in his hand, or that shall come to his hand. Butt if those words be nott thought fitt to be putt, then these and of such monneyes as is in his hand, or so arising, which is exactly the words of the warrants, &c.

JO. LAWSON.

B. L. *orig.*

THE EARL OF SANDWICH TO M^R PEPYS.

M^R PEPYS,

Off Harwich, May 29, 1665.

I THINKE I am to returne you thanks for 2 letters, one concerning Sir Jo. Lawson's affaire, concerninge which I pray suffer mee to add this entreaty, That you effect what he desires as much as possible. I shall receive greate content when I find by him that you doe soe.

I thanke you for your care in providinge the thinges I wrott for ; I have the same prospect of affaires you have, and perhaps yet more disadvantageous. Yet what God brings upon us must be runn through with as much indifference and industry as we can, and I trust he will make the successes better then wee looke for. Wee daily expect to meete the Dutch, beinge now liftinge up our ancors to be under sayle early in the morninge, bound for Sould Bay; and after a little stop there, to get our men and necessaryes from Harwich, then into the sea to looke the enemye out. God send the next account you have, may be to all our comforts. I am, &c.

SANDWICH.

B. L. *orig.*

THE EARL OF SANDWICH TO M^R PEPYS.

M^R PEPYS,

August 30, 1665.

Under sayle, wind at West.

(Excuse my haste, the Duke of Albemarle hath a list of the fleete.)

HAVINGE not heard from you of divers dayes, it was very good newes to me to receive your letters, for I was in feare for you of the infection.

Wee have hastily hurried in what provisions wee had by us, and without stayinge for more, or for any other supply of men, wee are now got under sayle. I beleeeve wee have neer 15 dayes drinke in

the fleete, and our actuall condition will be much as it is stated in the account you sent me, but not soe if wee had continued at whole allowance and beene full manned.

I have written largely of all particulars to none but my brother, Sir Geo. Carteret, with whom I wish you to correspond. There be many thinges necessarye for present care against the fleet's returne ; I pray use your best care for them.

God send you good newes of us, and that at my returne I may find your family and my other friends in health and prosperity ! I am, &c.

SANDWICH.

B. L. *orig.*

* THE EARL OF SANDWICH TO THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

(Transmitted to Mr. Pepys.)

On board the Prince, 30 leagues N.N.W.
from the Texell, Sepr. 5, 1665.

MAY ITT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

SINCE I putt last to sea on Thursday last, wee had a storme of winde att N.W., which, God be thanked, did us noe other damage then spoiling the masts of the Diamond (sent in to Harwich), and 40 barrells of the Soveraigne's powder. Separated very few of us ; though the same upon the coast of Norway much dispersed the Dutch, some of which were light uppon on the 3rd of Sept'. Tooke 2 of their East India men, a Straights man, a Malaga man, and 4 men of warre ; 3 of them of 50 guns and one of 40 guns, and some other small vessells. I have intelligence the greatest parte of their fleet is about the Walbanck, whither I am now plying, and hope to see them shortly. I thought requisite to send a vessell to informe the King and Duke thus much of us, and your Grace, noe person in the world being a truer and thankfuller servant of your Grace's than, &c. &c.

SANDWICH.

The Hector is unfortunately sunke, and the Capt. and most of her men drowned ; only 25 saved. The Capt. carried himself exceeding

* *Vide* Diary, vol. i. p. 368.

well; helped to take the Vice-admirall of the East Indies, and only putt some men on board her, and went on to engage the men of warre. Capt. Con (Capt. of the Mary) is hurt ill in the foote with a great shott.*

B. L.

MR PEPYS TO LADY CARTERET.

DEAR MADAM,

Woolwich, Sept. 4, 1665.

YOUR Ladyship will not (I hope) imagine I expected to be provoked by letters from you to think of the duty I ought and should long since have paid your Ladyship by mine, had it been fit for me (during my

* Prizes taken on the 3rd & 4th of September.

Surprizers.	Men of warre 4, viz.	Men.	Guns.
Assurance	West Frezeland—Capt. Peter Clawson	220	50
Anthelope	The 7 Oakes	250	54
Adventure	A man of warre of	220	50
Mary	A man of warre of	190	40
		880	

Of 3 East India men and 7 other merchants.

		Tons.	Men.
Adventure } . .	The Phoenix, an East India merchant, being the	. .	150
Hector } . .	V. Adm ^l , burthen		
Plymouth } . .	The Slotheny, another E. India mercht., being the	. .	150
Mitford } . .	R. Admirall, burthen		
Ruby { . .	Another Streights mercht. soe engaged that they sett her on fire		
Adventure	A mercht. man from Lisbon		40
Guinea	A mercht. man from the Straights		40
Mars	A mercht. man from Malaga		24
Dover { . .	The William and Mary of Rotterdam. In her 150 barrells of powder, shott, paper, &c. for De Ruyter	. . .	15
	Fountaine of Schedam, a busse, laden with clawboards, bound for Malaga		
Colchester	A small vessell		12
Pembroke	A vessell laden with clawboards, bound for Bourdeaux		8
			447
			880
			1327

indispensable attendance alone in the city) to have ventured the affrighting you with any thing from thence. But now that by the dispatch of the fleet I am at liberty to retire wholly to Woolwich, where I have been purging my inkhorn and papers these six days, your Ladyship shall find no further cause to reproach me my silence. And in amends for what's past let me conjure you (Madam) to believe that no day hath passed since my last kissing your hands without my most interested wishes for your health and uninterrupted prosperity of your Ladyship and family.

I took care for the present disposal of what were enclosed in your Ladyship's to me; and in answer to that to Dagenham's return these from my Lady Wright, who in hers to myself gives assurance of my Lord Hinchbrook's being got up, and the health of the rest of her family.

My Lord Sandwich is gone to sea with a noble fleet, in want of nothing but a certainty of meeting the enemy.

My best Lady Sandwich with the flock at Hinchbrook was by my last letters very well.

The absence of the Court and emptiness of the city takes away all occasion of news, save only such melancholy stories as would rather sadden than find your Ladyship any divertisement in the hearing; I having stayed in the city till above 7400 died in one week, and of them above 6000 of the plague, and little noise heard day nor night but tolling of bells; till I could walk Lumber-street, and not meet twenty persons from one end to the other, and not 50 upon the Exchange; till whole families (10 and 12 together) have been swept away; till my very physician (Dr. Burnet), who undertook to secure me against any infection (having survived the month of his own being shut up), died himself of the plague; till the nights (though much lengthened) are grown too short to conceal the burials of those that died the day before, people being thereby constrained to borrow daylight for that service: lastly, till I could find neither meat nor drink safe, the bucheries being every where visited, my brewer's house shut up, and my baker with his whole family dead of the plague.

Yet (Madam) through God's blessing, and the good humours begot in my attendance upon our late Amours,* your poor servant is in a perfect state of health, as well as resolution of employing it as your Ladyship and family shall find work for it.

How Deptford stands your Ladyship is, I doubt not, informed from nearer hands.

Greenwich begins apace to be sickly; but we are, by the command of the King, taking all the care we can to prevent its growth; and meeting to that purpose yesterday after sermon with the town officers, many doleful informations were brought us, and among others this, which I shall trouble your Ladyship with the telling.—Complaint was brought us against one in the town for receiving into his house a child newly brought from an infected house in London. Upon inquiry we found that it was the child of a very able citizen in Gracious Street, who having lost already all the rest of his children, and himself and wife being shut up and in despair of escaping, implored only the liberty of using the means for the saving of this only babe, which with difficulty was allowed, and they suffered to deliver it, stripped naked, out at a window into the arms of a friend, who, shifting it into fresh cloathes, conveyed it thus to Greenwich, where upon this information from Alderman Hooker we suffer it to remain.

This I tell your Ladyship as one instance of the miserable streights our poor neighbours are reduced to.

But (Madam) I'll go no further in this disagreeable discourse, hoping (from the coolness of the last 7 or 8 days) my next may bring you a more welcome accompt of the lessening of the disease, which God say Amen to.

Dear Madam, do me right to my good Lady Slaning in telling her that I have sent and sent again to Mr. Porter's lodging (who is in the country) for an answer to my letter about her Ladyship's business, but am yet unable to give her any accompt of it.

My wife joins with me in ten thousand happy wishes to the young Couple, and as many humble services to your Ladyship and them, my Lady Slaning, Lady Scott, and Mr. Sidny, whose return to Scotts-

* The marriage of Lady Carteret's son, and Lord Sandwich's daughter.—*Vide* Diary, vol. i. p. 356.

hall (if not burthensome to your Ladyship) will, I am sure, be as full of content to him as it will ever be of joy and honour to me to be esteemed,

Dearest Madam,

Your Ladyship's most affectionate and
obedient Servant,

SAMUELL PEPYS.

B. L. *orig.*

EARL OF SANDWICH TO M^R PEPYS.

M^R PEPYS,

October 14th, 1665.

YOUR letter of soe late a date as the 12th instant, makes mee somewhat wonder that before that time order was not given to cleere all that was disposed by my direction. The Kinge hath confirmed it, and given mee order to distribute these very proportions to the flagg officers, soe that you are to owne the possession of them with confidence; and if any body have taken security for them upon seisure, remand the security in my name, and returne theire answere. Carry it high, and owne nothinge of basenesse or dishonor, but rather intimate that I shall know who have done mee indignities. Thanke my Lord Brouncker and Sir Jo. Mennes for civilities, and tell them I expect noe lesse in realitye, for I have befreinded them, and that I shall very ungratefully heare of newes of base examinations upon any action of myne. What is more to be said in this matter is better reserved to a fitt occasion. I am,

Your affectionate freind and servant,

SANDWICH.

B. L. *orig.*

SIR W^M COVENTRY TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

Oxford, Nov. 7, 1665.

YOURS of 4th I have receaved with the enclosed, for which I return you thanks. Some recompences I well remember in the Dutch warre which much exceeded those sett downe, as to Captⁿ Ball 1200^l., and others in the same booke and folio. If I were at S^t James's, my

notes would referre mee to it; but these may bee more proper for the ordinary rewards, which God send the King may goe through with: for the extraordinary, hee may doe as hee pleaseth upon emergencies.

I am glad Rear Admiral Harman has sailed: if God send him good lucke, I hope our reputation may out goe the Dutch yet. For the close of the yeare I thinke such a Committee of Commanders as my Lord Sandwich mentions may bee very good, if well chosen: pray desire my Lord he propose some fitt men for it. I did send to tempt the Commanders in the fleet to enquire into the vast and extravagant expence of victualls, but could gett noe returne of it. Something Sir W^m Penn hath sent me, a draught for a supplimentall Instruction to Commanders, of which either by this or the next conveyance you shall have a copy. It is not hard to make good rules, but to gett them executed is the difficulty, especially when there is soe much worke to doe, and that commanders and all sort of officers know their owne value enough to beleieve that the King would not easily part with a good fighting captain for a neglect of keeping a good checque upon his purser. However, pray lett us try what can bee done in it: possibly when the rule comes recommended from the Commanders themselves, it will bee better observed. I will alsoe write to my Lord Sandwich about it.

My last gave you my reasons against your coming hither: because Sir G. Carteret was gone to London to gett money, and at the time of his being there I held your presence necessary there.

For God's sake hasten some clothes to Portsmouth. If the Board be satisfied in the need of a Boatswain of the yard at Harwich as yett, I shall be ready to procure the warrant for any man whoe shall bee well certified for it. For the matter of hempe, all I can say is, *oportet haberi*; and then, *redime te captum quam queas minimo*.

If money bee not speedily procured, I expect every day shall produce worse and worse effects: but I hope Mr. Vice Chamberlaine* will cure all that mischeife.

I am sorry Sir W^m Batten hath bin soe rudely handeled, and that the office hath lost its security. I hope a supply of money will

* Sir G. Carteret.

sett it all right; and could heartily wish the Court were neerer London to bee ready both to advise and execute better then at this distance wee can doe. I hope a little more decrease of the plague will make some body valiant enough to advise it; though, it concerneing his Majesty's and his Royal Highneses safety, I am not soe corragious, at least as yett, though I confesse I wish it.

The expedient you offer of buying the seamen's ticketts, if it were certaine that it would bee exactly and sacredly executed, were an excellent one, and worthy the King's paying the abatement, that soe the seamen might receave the whole, which is above all to bee endeavoured: but though I have a good opinion of the person you named, yet I cannot say I am sure noe more profitt should bee made, and nothing abated, unlesse there were a place appointed, and a sett hire for it; when a clarke, or some trusty person, might attend to see it done. What shall be approved for one man in this matter will soone bee altered for others alsoe, and at last it will fall into hands to make ill use of it. Why might not the money be as well paid to the Treasurer, and then issued only for ticketts? but I suppose the answer may bee, money will thus issue only by small summes, and soe easier compassed. To that I can reply nothing, but that if it can bee done noe otherwise to take off the reproach to the King's service and abuse to the seamen, I am of opinion there ought to bee a checque upon it. If you thinke fitt to speake with Sir G. Carteret upon it, perhaps some good may come of it: if any thing bee done, pray lett mee heare. I am cleare of opinion the King had better beare twice the losse of 12*d.* per T. then lett the seamen bear itt.

It is most necessary the men to the westward should bee then supplied with clothes: it is well if the slopsellers can furnish the rest of the ships. If Sir John Skelton or any else will furnish them, hee shall doe a good service. If the price were greater and the clothes better, the seaman would bee a gainer.

I shall, the first Councill Day, propose Mr. Furiers complaint of the Justice.

I doubt I have burned Captain Reynolds his letter of his brave retreate from the Dutch fleet: if I find it I will send it to you, but

I thinke it will not conduce to your purpose, hee having bin only at Hull, as I conceive, and not at Newcastle, where I suppose M^r Deerings ships are.

I am,

Your affectionate humble Servant,

W. COVENTRYE.

According to the hopes there may be of having the ships ready, which are building at or neere Bristoll, so must there be provision made of victualls for them at Bristoll, and not at Milford; that soe noe time may bee lost to run from one port to another for victualls. Pray know by what time each contract ship building may bee ready, and send mee word how many ships we expect to bee built in all, for I thinke some were ordered and others forbid after I went to sea.

Sir W^m Penn hath sent mee reasons which seeme to me of good force, for paying the Sovereigne by ticketts, rather then by a pay at Chatham. I hope the Board will think so.

B. L. *orig.*

SIR W. COVENTRYE TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

June 5th, (66.)

SINCE S^r Tho. Harvey went hence this morning, whoe will tell you some of my thoughts, I call to mind that wee have bin told the Generall came to an anchor in the time of fight; if soe, doubtlesse hee cut when hee had brought his sailers to the Yard, soe there is an anchor wanting for the Charles; and what case wee are in to supply her, I am very fearfull; but if time have bin lost already, it is not good to loose more in preparing for her and other great ships. Pray propose it to the Board, and take some order in it. I am, &c.

W. COVENTRYE.

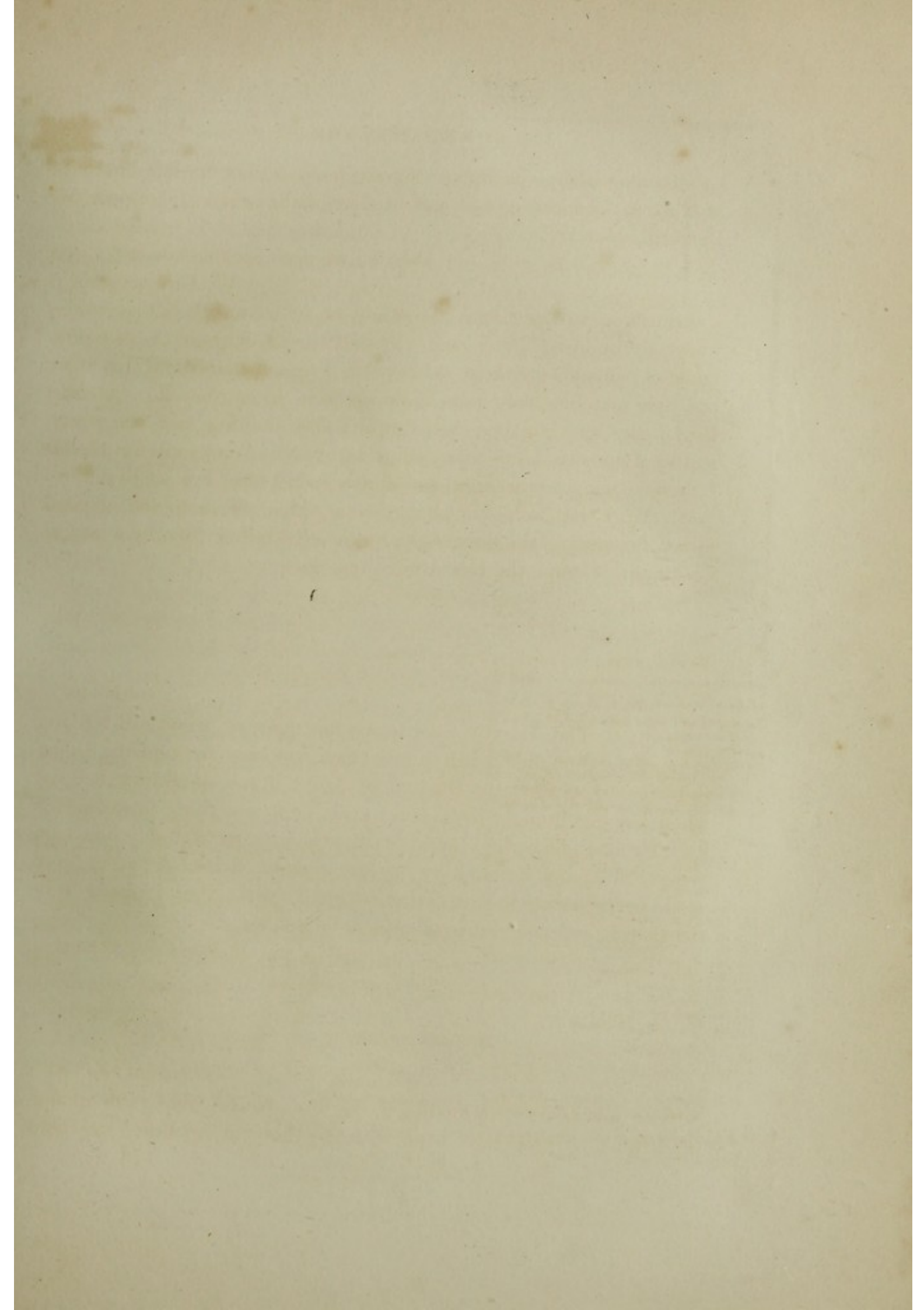
B. L. *orig.*

LORD BOUNCKER TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

Chatham, 3rd July, 1667.

Not only in my own opinion is the chain broke, but in the opinion of, I think, all who have been with me there at any time, and have

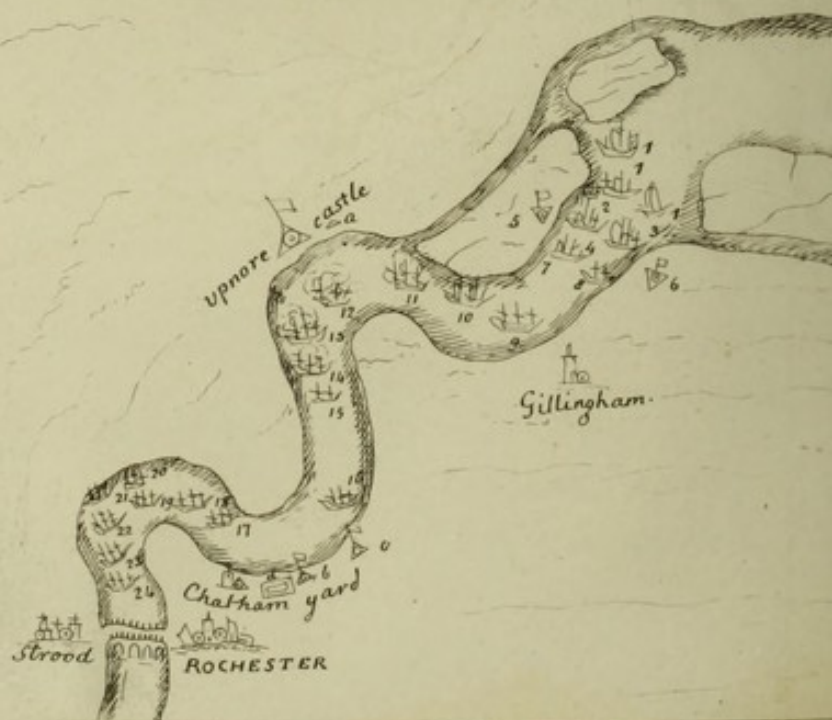
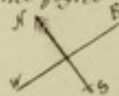


A Scheme of the Posture of the
at There-nepe and Chatham
taken upon the place by J. B.

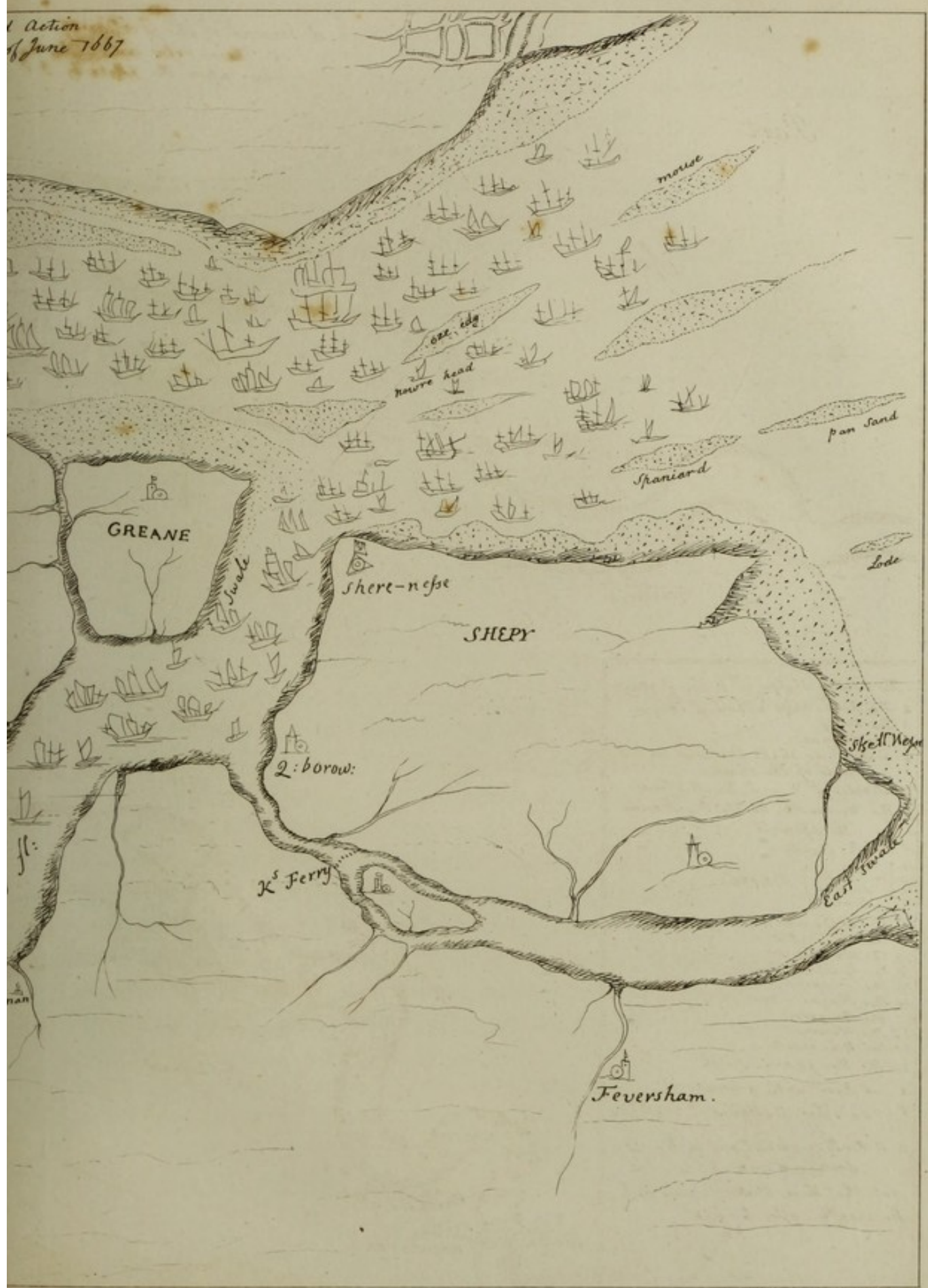
Part of Essex



1. The 3 Dutch ships wth brake y^e chayne
 2. Two sunk-ships without y^e chayne
 3. The Unity
 4. The Chayne
 5. 6. Two very slight Batteries at both ends of the Chayne
 7. Charles y^e V. & The Mathias
 9. The Monmoth, as she lay during the assault
 10. The R. Charles
 11. Mary
 12. The R. Duke
 13. London
 14. James
15. The Catharine, sunk
16. The Princeps
17. The Old James
18. The Guilden Roiter
19. The Triumph
20. The Raine-bow
21. The Unicorn
22. The Henry
23. The Helverson
24. The Vanguard sunk
- a. A Fort with 8 Guns
- b. } Two other Batteries wth 21 & 16 Guns
- c. }
- d. A Battery of 60 Guns in the old dock; not mounted.
- Note that these Batteries were not finished til after the fight

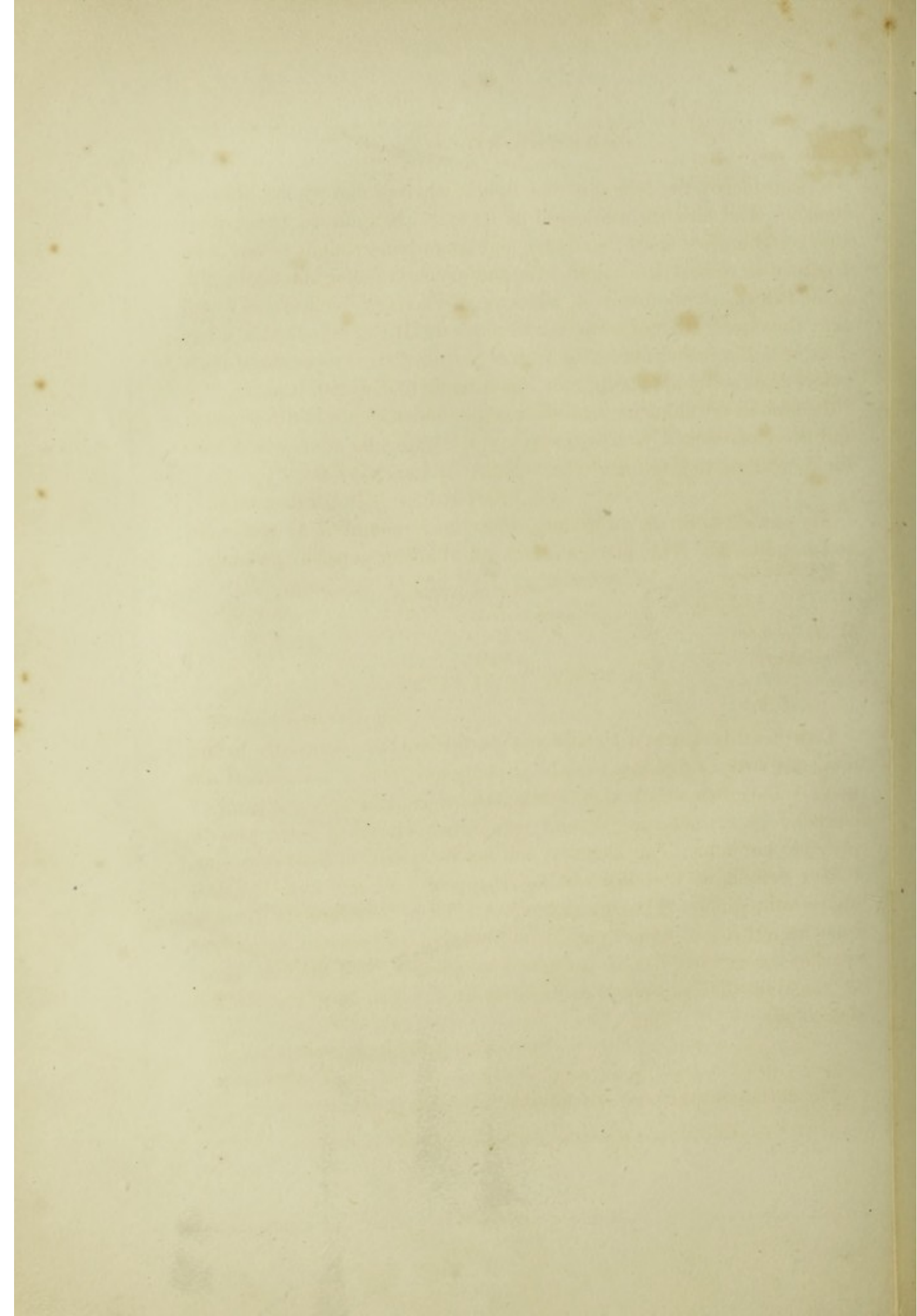


1 Action
 of June 1667



Engraved by Sil: Hall, River St: Blackwell

London: St: Mar: 1667



well considered the lyeing of the floots, whereof but three at most remain. And hitherto wee could do no more than guesse, because yet wee could nether spare hands nor lighter to underrunn it : but now I entend to remove it as high as the battery next below the castle, and place before, that is below it, a boome of masts ; which done, I will trye the force thereof with the Guilder de Ruse, which was never done at Gillingham ; nor was it laid, as is said, above two or three dayes before the enemy appear'd ; nor was it made of Spanish iron.

I found in my chamber an Indian staffe, which I suppos'd was yours, and therefore sent it you yesterday by M^r Williams, who came hither the day before to give me a visit. Adieu ! I am, &c. &c.

BROUNCKER.

My service to Sir John Mennes, if he be in condition to receive it, as I hope he is. This place will not afford better paper at present.

B. L. *orig.*

M^r EVELYN TO M^r PEPYS.

SIR,

Sayes-Court, 26th Jan.—67-8.

I AM heartily asham'd I could not performe your commands before now. It was Friday 'ere I could possibly get home ; and since I am here, I have ben so ill, that I was not able to bestow the paines I intended on the scheme* I send you, which will onely serve you to preserve our reproch in memory, and my little skill in designing : but I have done it as I could, and as it appear'd to me from the hill above Gillingham. The draught, which I follow for Chatham River, is from an old paper lying by me, and not from any printed map ; and some of the flexures I have presumed to reforme (as I think at least) as the river then presented itself to my eye. You must excuse the defects of,

Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

J. EVELYN.

The extreame whiteness of my inke also deceived me.

* *Vide* the plate taken from the original sketch in the Bodleian Library.

C.

MR PEPYS TO MR EVELYN.

SIR,

8th February, 1667-8.

You will not wonder at the backwardness of my thanks for the present you made me, so many days since, of the Prospect of Medway, while the Hollander rode master in it, when I have seriously told you that the sight of it hath led me to such reflections on my particular interest (by my employment) in the reproach due to that miscarriage, as have given me little less disquiet than he is fancied to have, who found his face in Michael Angelo's Hell. The same should serve me, also, in excuse for my silence in the celebrating your mastery shewn in the design and draught, did not indignation rather than courtship urge me so far to commend them, as to wish the furniture of our House of Lords changed from the story of 88 to that of 67, (of Evelyn's designing,) till the pravity of this were reformed to the temper of that age, wherein God Almighty found his blessing more operative, than (I fear) he doth in our's, his judgments. Adieu!

Your most affectionate and most humble Servant,

Esq. EVELYN.

S. P.

C.

MR PEPYS TO THE EARL OF SANDWICH.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

29th September, 1668.

JUST now are arrived the tidings of your Lordship's safe arrival at Portsmouth, which I beg your Lordship to believe me to receive with that welcomeness which is due to whatever, by the greatest obligations of duty and gratitude, I ought most to be concerned for. I am not without hopes of getting leave to wait upon your Lordship before you reach London, therefore shall spare the troubling your Lordship with any other present matters, than that being yesterday made acquainted by my Lord of Hinchingbroke, and Mr. Sidney Montague, with the straights they found themselves under of providing a sum of money for the answering your Lordship's present oc-

casions; and being unwilling your Lordship should want what part thereof I could by any shift supply, I undertook, for the present, furnishing your Lordship with 500*l.*; and not knowing what present use thereof your Lordship might have at Portsmouth, nor what conveniencies my Lord of Hinchinbroke might have of a speedy remitting any thither, I acquainted his Lordship this night, that I would take care for your Lordship's being furnished with 200*l.* there; which I have done by the enclosed bill to Mr. Salisbury, not only for that sum, but (that your Lordship might be the less straightened) for the whole 500*l.*: though the more your Lordship leaves to receive here, the better it would suit with my occasions to comply therewith.

I shall need not to say any thing particularly touching the healthful state of your Lordship's family, believing that that will be abundantly told your Lordship by others. The freshest Court news is, that Sir John Trevor was this day sworn Secretary of State in the room of Sir Wm. Morrice, and Prince Rupert invested in the Constablenesship of Windsor Castle; both purchased: the former for 8000*l.*, and latter for 3500*l.*

The King and Queen are at this time at supper at my Lady Carteret's. To-morrow morning his Majesty and the Duke of York set out for a month's progress towards Norfolk and Suffolk.

I have written to Mr. Deane, his Majesty's shipwright at Portsmouth, (an ingenious as well as a sober man,) to attend your Lordship, for the receiving your commands in any thing wherein he may be serviceable to your Lordship during your stay there, who I know will readily embrace them. So, with the tenders of my most humble duty to your Lordship, I take my leave.

May it please your Lordship,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and faithful Servant,

S. P.

The ill state of my eyes has not allowed me to read or write thus much for several months, but by the help of another's; which, I hope, will excuse me to your Lordship, in my not appearing with my own hand here.

C.

MR PEPYS TO CAPTAIN THOMAS ELLIOTT,

One of the Bailiffs at Aldborough.

CAPT. ELLIOTT,

July 1, 1669.

UPON the late arrival of the news of Sir Robert Brookes's death, who served as one of the Burgesses for the town of Alborough, his R. H. was pleased, upon considerations of his own, to command me to endeavour after the procurement of the election of myself into this vacancy,—an honour which I should not of myself have pretended to, as among other reasons, so in particular from my being wholly a stranger to that corporation. But his R. H. having been thus pleased to think upon me, with a resolution of engaging his whole interest in the accomplishing of it, I think it my duty to obey him therein; and, in order thereto, to direct my first applications to yourself, whom his R. H. is pleased to pitch upon, as one of whose endeavours in the promoting of all his desire his Highness rests most assured; and in an especial manner relies upon your capacity and influence for doing the same in this particular. The enclosed will deliver you his Highness's mind under his own hand; and more particularly by another from Mr. Wren, to which I must be referred, having never yet had the good fortune of serving you in any thing that might oblige you to the exercise of your interest and kindness in my behalf. But as your favour herein will be very acceptable to his R. H., so will it engage, not only myself singly, but the whole body of this office, upon all future occasions, to express their sense of your kindness shewn to one of its members. Besides, that if his Highness's desire herein do succeed, I do not despair of having opportunity of shewing myself a faithful and useful servant to the corporation. I shall not think it needful to offer you any advice touching the method of your proceedings, but submit the whole to your prudence: and I pray you to believe, that I will see you fully and thankfully reimbursed for what charges shall attend the same; and pray that you will please to give me a speedy account of your thoughts and advice how his R. H.'s influence, or any other recommendation, may

be most advantageously employed and directed for the obtaining of these our desires.

This is all the trouble you shall at present receive from

Your most affect. friend

And humble Servt.

S. P.

C.

THE DUKE OF YORK TO LORD HENRY HOWARD.

MY LORD HOWARD,

July 10, 1669.

I RECEIVE with very great kindness your answer to my late request about Mr. Pepys, it being such as gives me not only assurance of your respects to me in general, but grounds of expecting a good issue to my desire, by the assistance of your interest in this particular; though Mr. Duke is not likely to contribute any thing to it. I shall make such use of the blank you intrust me with to the town, as you shall be well satisfied with; and, being very sensible of the readiness with which you have obliged me in this matter,

Remain,

Your affectionate friend,

For my Lord Howard.

JAMES.

C.

THE DUKE OF YORK TO THE TOWN OF ALDBOROUGH IN SUFFOLK.

GENTLEMEN,

July 16, 1669.

BEING informed of the death of Sir Robert Brookes, who served in Parliament as one of the Burgesses of your Corporation, I recommend to your favour, in your future election, Samuel Pepys, Esq. one of the Commissioners of the Navy, who, besides his general qualifications for that trust, will, I assure myself, be found on all occasions a useful servant to your town: and what kindness he shall receive from you in this matter I shall esteem as a testimony of your respect to me.

I am,

Your loving friend,

JAMES.

P. L. orig.

MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Sayes-Court, 21 Aug. 1669.

I SEND you my Rhapsodies; but know, that as soon as I had set pen to paper, I was diverted by a thousand accidents; then I follow'd Mr. Cowley's funeral, but I sneaked from church, and when I came home (which was near five o'clock), an army of workmen (yo' wall-builders) and others besieged me for money, and to reckon with them; so as what I send you is snatches and night-work, and unconnected, which you must pardon, and if you judge it worthy, cause to be transcrib'd; for my running hand is an Arabic not to be endured: but yours is a running voyage and desultory, and therefore you will the easier pardon me. There may be likewise diverse gross omissions, which you will best judge of when you come to Paris, and begin to traverse the town; so as it is from you I shall expect to be pay'd with fresh and more material observations. I could have set you down catalogues of many rare pictures and collections to be seen in that city, but you will every day meet with fresher intelligence. It is now many years since I was there, *et mutantur tempora, et mores, et homines*. Pray forget not to visit y^e Taille-douce shops, and make collection of what they have excellent, especially the draughts of their palaces, churches, and gardens, and y^e particulars you will have seen. They will greatly refresh you in your study, and by y^e fire side, when you are many years return'd. Israel, Sylvestre, Morin, Chaveau, are great masters both for things of y^e kind extant, and inventions extreamly pleasant. You will easily be acquainted with y^e best painters, especially Le Brun, who is the chief of them; and it would not be amiss to be present at their Academie, in which Monsieur Du Bosse (a principal member) will conduct you. For the rest, I recommend you to God Almighty's protection; augure you a good journey, and kissing yo' ladies hands, remain,

S^r,

Yo' most humble and obedient Servant,

J. EVELYN.

These three letters I enclose to be presented according to y^e directions ; wth many more I could burthen you, but yo^r short stay at Paris will not require it ; and besides, being persons of great quality, much of your time would be consum'd in making and repaying but impertinent visits, in which I believe you would not willingly engage. I send you y^e letters open for you to seal when you please.

P. S.

S^r,—When you are arriv'd at Paris, the best service which can be done you, will be to address you where you may immediately repose yo^rself till you are provided and settled in a lodging suitable to yo^r company. Therefore, you may please to enquire for one Hughs, an Englishman, who lives à la Rue la Boucherie, au Fauxbourg St. Germain, a friend of S^r S. Tuke's, who will send for Dr. Fitz Gerald, (to whom you have a letter) and he will assist you both to find out a fit lodging, and whatever else you shall require.

U. orig.

MR PEPYS TO MR EVELYN.

SIR,

Navy Office, November 2, 1669.

I BEG you to believe that I would not have been ten days returned into England without waiting on you, had it not pleased God to afflict mee by the sickness of my wife, who, from the first day of her coming back to London, hath layn under a fever so severe as at this hour to render her recoverie desperate ; which affliction hath very much unfitted me for those acts of civilitie and respect which, amongst the first of my friends, I should have paid to yourselfe, as he to whom singly I owe y^e much greater part of y^e satisfaction I have met with in my late voyage. Next to you, I have my acknowledgem^{ts} to make to S^r Samuel Tuke, to whom (when in a condition of doing it) I shall beg your introducing me, for y^e owning of my obligations to him on the like behalfe. But, S^r, I beg you heartilie to despence with the cere-

monie, till I am better qualified for paying it; and in y^e meane time receive the enclosed, which I should with much more satisfaction have delivered with my owne hand.

I am, Sir,

Your most obliged and obedient Serv^t,

S. PEPYS.

I most humbly kiss your ladies hands, and pray my service may be presented to S^r Rich^d Browne.

C.

MR PEPYS TO CAPTAIN ELLIOTT, AT ALDBOROUGH.

CAPTAIN ELLIOTT,

March 3d, 1669—70.

I beg you earnestly to believe that nothing but the sorrow and distraction I have been in by the death of my wife, increased by the suddenness with which it pleased God to surprise me therewith, after a voyage so full of health and content, could have forced me to so long a neglect of my private concernments; this being, I do assure you, the very first day that my affliction, together with my daily attendance on other public occasions of his Majesty's, has suffered me to apply myself to the considering any part of my private concernments; among which, that of my doing right to you is no small particular: and therefore, as your charity will, I hope, excuse me for my not doing it sooner, so I pray you to accept now (as late as it is) my hearty thanks for your multiplied kindness in my late affair at Aldborough*; and in particular your courteous providing of your own house for my reception, had I come down; the entertainment you were also pleased to prepare for me, together with your other great pains and charges in the preserving that interest which you had gained, in reference to his Royal Highness's and my Lord Howard's desire on my behalf: in all which I can give you good assurance, that not only his Royal

* His unsuccessful election contest.

Highness retains a thankful memory of your endeavours to serve him, but I shall take upon me the preserving it so with him that it may be useful to you when you shall have any occasion of asking his favour. The like I dare promise you from my Lord Howard, when he shall return; and both from them and myself make this kindness of yours, and the rest of those gentlemen of the town who were pleased to concur with you, as advantageous both to yourself and them, and to the Corporation also, as if the business had succeeded to the best of our wishes: and this I assure you, whether I shall ever hereafter have the honour of serving them in Parliament or not, having no reason to receive any thing with dissatisfaction in this whole matter, saving the particular disrespect which our noble master, the Duke of York, suffered from the beginning to the end, from Mr. Duke and Captain Shippman, who, I doubt not, may meet with a time of seeing their error therein. But I am extremely ashamed to find myself so much out-done by you in kindness, by your not suffering me to know the expense which this business has occasioned you; which I again entreat you to let me do, esteeming your pains (without that of your charge) an obligation greater than I can foresee opportunity of requiting, though I shall by no means omit to endeavour it. So with a repetition of my hearty acknowledgments of all your kindness, with my service to yourself and lady, and all my worthy friends about you,

I remain,

Your obliged friend and humble Servant,

S. P.

U. orig.

MR PEPYS TO SIR R. BROWN.

HONOURED S^R,

Navy Office, March 26, 1670.

I HAVE a suddaine occasion offered me of askeing your friendship, as well as a full assurance that I shalle not want it. Tis this: M^r Ascew, Clerk of Trinity-house, is dead. I have a brother of my own

(John Pepys) whose relation to me could not tempt me to this motion, were it not that his sobriety, diligence, and education, (being a scholer, and I think in every respect qualified for the employment in a very different proportion to what Mr. Ascew's education could render him,) doth leade me to think it a service to y^e Corporation to offer him to them. I ayme not soe much at y^e sallarie for him, as the opportunitie, by this meanes, of introducing him to that sort of business for which I have for some time designed him. He is about thirty years of age, unmarried; his life that of a Scholers, as, having resided in the Universitie till, having past three or four yeares Master of Arts, I called him thence some time since to my owne tuition, and that acquaintance with business which my trade could leade him to. Now, S^r, knowing your influence upon the Society of Trinity-house, I pray you soe far to trust my report in this matter, as to thinke it worthy of your countenance by a word or two betweene this and Wednesday next, either to the body of that house, or such members of it as you thinke may be most operative, in conjunction with that assistance which your recommendation shall receive from my Lord Sandwich, Lord Craven, and my brethren of this office, who have promised me to concern themselves thorowly in y^{is} matter, besides a lt^r which his Royal Highness was pleased to give mee on y^e same behalfe.

Your particular favour herein shall be owned with all possible expressions of thankfulness by

Your obedient Servant,

S. PEPYS.

B. L. *orig.*

MR WREN TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

November 9th, 1670.

HIS Majesty, having accidentally heard of some dispute between you and the Resident of Sweden, to prevent any further inconvenience that may happen, has, by my Lord Arlington, Principal Secretary of State, signified his pleasure to me to require you neither to send any

challenge to the said Resident of Sweden, nor to accept of any from him ; but that as soon as you receive this you immediately attend the Lord Arlington.

I am,

Your most humble Servant,

M. WREN.

B. L. orig.

SIR W. COVENTRYE TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Wensday Morning, halfe an hour past five,
(June 4, 1672.)

You may reasonably suppose, when you see my hand in the superscription of a letter to you, that it brings you the execution of what I promised yesterday, upon the discourse betwixt us. I beleeve you expect nothing lesse then a retracting it, which I confesse the nature of the thing (nor I hope my owne genius nor character in the world) would not lead you to expect, nor could I bee capable of it, without circumstances somewhat extraordinary.

Last night, after ten of the clocke, I receaved a letter which tells mee that M^r Wren, in consideration of his health, had left the fleet, and that H. Savile was his deputy, whoe (by his facility in the French language) I understand hath for some time bin usefull on board, in the affaires of that office ; and now M^r Wren's sicknesse hath brought him into the execution of the other post alsoe. What hopes a deputy, executing a place by the permission of a master, may give himselfe of obtaining it in case of survivance, I know not ; which, though it should bee without any intention on his R. H. part, however, if I should, after the knowledge of the case, endeavor to engage a sollicitor for another, the consequences would bee, my sollicitor would faile mee (the circumstances considered), and I should disoblige not only one of my nearest relations, (and one whome I once did run into an inconvenience,) but a great many. This being the state of the case, I presume soe much upon your justice (and somewhat upon your kindnesse to mee) that I cannot doubt of your pardon that I omitt what should

else have infallibly accompanied this. Next to the executing what I promised, I conceive the best discharge I can give mysele is the hastening to give you this account of mysele, which I hope (and persuade mysele) will not lessen your opinion of that sincerity with which I professe to bee

Your most aff. humble Servant,
W. COVENTRYE.

B. L. *orig.*

MR SAVILE TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Burlington Bay, Prince, Aug. 14, 1672.

HIS Royal Highness has commanded me to write to you to send away with all possible dispatch, to Southwold Bay, the chaloupe that hee ordered should bee made for Mons^r le Comte d'Estrées, that hee may have it ready for him when wee are there, which wee shall bee in a very little time, if his Highnesses resolutions are not prevented by ill weather, or some other unavoideable accidents.

Hee has farther ordered mee to acquaint you that, upon a report wee have heer, that Sir Rob. Paston is to bee called to the House of Lords, hee spoake to my Lord Harry Howard that you might be Burgesse of Rising, which his Lordship has very willingly consented to, both out of obedience to the Duke's commands, and out of kindnesse to you; and therefore it will bee your part to watche Sir Robert's promotion, and inquire into the truth of it, and acquaint my Lord H. Howard with it. I hope you have receaved the letter I sent you by the Duke's command, to assure you of the care hee will take in your owne private affayre, which hee mentioned to you the last time you were with him. I heartily wishe that during the short time of my being in office some opportunity would happen of shewing you with how much truth I am

Your most faithful humble Servant,

HEN. SAVILE.

B. L. orig.

MR ST MITCHEL TO MR PEPYS.

HON^D SIR,

Deale, August 14, 1672.

You dayly and howerly soe comble me with (not only expresions but allsoe) deeds of your worthyness and goodness, as well to my selfe as the rest of your most devoted humble creaturs heare, that I am as well as my poor drooping mother, (whoose continuall illness since the death of my father gives me but litell hopes shee will survive him longe,) only but to be something longer a living wittness of your dearness to her poore childe, your late deare consort, my beloved sister, by that your noble, worthy, and kinde expresions and promices to be still her benefactor ; for which shee hath only (saith shee) the capacity left her to bless God for your prosperity, and to continue still her prayers to the Almighty God to power upon you and yours multitude of heavenly blessings : these, Sir, are her owne expresions, and I am sure from the very botome of her harte and sowe. I am then, Sir, as I said, confuted in my selfe how I may ever strive to deserve the least of those your manyfould, gracious, good, kinde, fatherly, and deare (not only expresions) but efects, which I for ever shall owne.

Well, Sir, since I fear it will never lye in my power to serve you as I ought, (without devoteing my life and fortunes at your feete,) be pleased to accept and comande both upon all occasions, which you will finde with soe much zeale still, for you and your cause, that never man living will ever be named more gratefull (as I am in duty bounde) to your favours, and more zealous for your consernes and interest, then him who is proude to be, Sir,

Your most faithfull and obedient humble serv^t,

B. S^T MICHEL.

Litell Samuel (whoe speakes now very pretely) desiers to have his most humble duty presented to his most honrd Uncle and Godfather, which please to accept from your most humble litell disiple.

This day the Dragon is come into the Downes, which, to-moroe,

God willing, I intend to muster. Pray present my most kinde and humble service to my cosen John Pepys.

B. S^r M.

B. L. *orig.*

MR POVY TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

August 31, 1672.

I HAD this morning full discourse with the Lord Howard, who was telling mee how hee finds himself oppressed with his prerogative of recommending on elections; and how hee stands engaged to the King for Sir Francis North, to the Duchess of Cleveland for Sir John Trevor (hir councill and feoffee), and to the Duke for you; telling me by what circumstances the Duke attacked him: and I find not that hee hath any hesitation in the complying with the Duke on your behalf; though hee bee in much distraction how hee shall accommodate the other 2 persons. The present expedient is the putting what interests and force hee can for the getting the Sollicitor elected at Lyn. Yet in that particular hee conflicts with a great dilemma; because Cook, a youth of the principall estate in Norfolk, stands at Lyn, and his Lordship is tender of giving him an opposition there, because the gent. of the cuntry doe already murmur at his disposing those places upon which hee hath a full and perticular influence upon strangers and courtiers, neglecting gentlemen of the cuntry, who hold themselves disobliged thereby; and are more reasonably, perhaps, dissatisfied, that hee concernes himself at Lyn alsoe, where hee ought to leave them to a free competition, without concerning himself.

I took noe notice, that I had heard any thing of his concession to the Duke: but my advice is, that you goe on Monday to give him visitt at Arundell House, where I am sure you will not find him; but you are to see the porter, to write down your name, and not forget the acquainting his Lordship that you were to waite on him. Hee goes on Monday into Surrey, to return on Tuesday; and perhaps to goe with the King on Wensday to the Fleet, where he will receive your

letter. It is not doubted but Sir Robert* will have his promised title, though I cannot yet heare that any thing is yet don in it. I shall enquire somewhat more closely, and you shall receive what can bee collected by

Sir,

T. Povy.

B. L. orig.

SIR WILLIAM COVENTRY TO M^R PEPYS.

S^R

Minster Lovell, June 25, 73.

You may reasonably imagine, when you see a letter from mee, that it is to congratulate your new employment, which I perswade my selfe you will as easily beleieve mee to rejoyce at, as any man whatsoever; and should have acquiesced in that perswasion, without giving you the trouble of telling you soe, had I not bin sollicitd by a servant of mine to entreat y^r favour to a brother of his, whose name is Robert Krewstub: my servant tells mee hee hath, during this and the last warre, bin employed as steward in the Navy; his ambition is to become a purser, of which hee doubts not to make his capacity evident, and to give good security. I know you, and the place you execute, too well to thinke it fitt for mee to recommend an unfitt man to you; but if hee appeare fitt for it, I doe very seriously entreat your favour to him. I am very unlikely ever to make you a returne, unlesse you have occasion to keepe a running horse at Burford, in which case I offer you my diligence to overlooke him; therefore you have it in your power to lay an obligation upon mee, without the least prospect of interest to sully it. I wish all you oblige may bee, as much as my selfe, (and if soe you will bee happier then some of your predecessors),

Sir,

Your aff. humble Servant,

W. COVENTRYE.

* Sir Robert Paston.

B. L. *orig.*

DR H. BURTON TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Magdalene Coll. April 9, 1677.

THE foundation of that building in our College to which you are pleasd to contribute is now laid, and they begin to want moneys to go on with it. I have said enough to tell you my busines, which is to desire you wil send yours to M^r William Pots, an apothecary, who lives at the Elephant and Castle, near St. Antholin's Church, in Queen-street, London, who is appointed Receiver in the city.

Sir, I would not have put you to so much trouble, but the indis- pensible busines has forced mee.

Sir, I am

Your most obliged and humble Servant,

HEZE. BURTON.

C.

MR PEPYS TO EDWARD, SECOND EARL OF SANDWICH.

MY LORD,

Derby House, 16 July, 1677.

MR. TURNER having done me the favour of acquainting me with his purpose of making your Lordship a visit in France, I did not think it would stand with my duty to let pass such an opportunity of letting your Lordship know that, as none owes so much, so, as few shall pay more, either of affection, honour, or endeavours of service to you and your honourable family, than myself; and that therefore, if, in any of the circumstances under which it has pleased God to place me, I may be in any sort useful to your Lordship, or it, I beg you will not either overlook your own right of commanding, or deny me the honour and satisfaction of discharging myself towards your Lordship, as becomes,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most bounden and most obedient Servant,

S. P.

B. L. orig.

SERJEANT BERNARD TO M^R PEPYS.S^R,

Sept. 4th, 77. Brampton.

I FINDE M^r Pepys your father soe earnest in having his desyres and hopes accomplished, by a settlement of your lands in these parts upon M^r Jackson; and knowing your great concernednesse to minister all the delight and ease you possibly can to the good old man, I thought fitt, upon the account of that true respect I beare to you both, to give you this short intimation how acceptable the hastning to perfect that worke would be to him. You have formerly expressed to me the only rubb in the way, which seemes to be fully answered by the charges you have beene att, and payments you have made vpon the account of the estate, which, sett forth by a bill in Chancery, will prevent all possible future reflections upon you, att least in my opinion, which is submitted to a much better, and your pardon begged for this trouble, occasioned only by the affections I have to M^r Pepys, my exceeding kind neighbour, and that great esteeme which is due to yourselfe from,

S^r,

Your most humble Servant,

J. BERNARD.

B. L. orig.

LAWRENCE HYDE* (then Ambassador) TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

Nimêguen, No. y^e 19, 1677.

THO I know you are a persone of so great and important employments as to have been well contented to spare the addition of trouble I am now giveing you, it may be not to have minded whether I had given it you or noe, I could not forgive myselfe for receiving so much kindnesse and favour from you in the sending my goods safe to me, without which I might very well have lost those small conveniencys

* Afterwards Earl of Rochester.

my freinds had been getting for me. And haveing endeavoured to pay my respects and gratitude to you upon this occasion, I will not prolong your trouble, further then by assuring you, that whenever it is in my power I will deserve this advance of obligation you have layd upon me, and shall ever hold myselfe bound to be very entirely,

Sir,

Your most faithfull humble Servant,

L. HYDE.

C.

MR PEPYS TO GEORGE LORD BERKELEY.

MY LORD,

Derby House, 22d February, 1677-8.

I AM greatly owing to your Lordship for your last favour at St. John's, and did (till now) reckon myself under no less a debt to my Ladies for the honour at the same time done me, in their commands touching Mr. Bonithan. But, my Lord, I have lately had the misfortune of being undeceived in the latter, by coming to know the severity with which some of my Ladies are pleased to discourse of me in relation thereto. I assure your Lordship I was so big with the satisfaction of having an opportunity given me by my Ladies at once of obliging them, paying a small respect to you, and doing a good office to a deserving gentleman, that I did not let one day pass before I had bespoke and obtained his Majesty's and Royal Highness's promise of favour in Mr. Bonithan's behalf: and was so far afterwards from failing him in my further assistances with Captain Trevanion and others, that I took early care to secure him a lieutenancy (by a commission actually signed for him by the King) in the ship *Stave-reene*, relying upon the character Captain Trevanion had given me of his capacity to abide the examination, established by the King, upon the promotion of lieutenants; which was not only the most I should have done in the case of a brother, but more than ever I did in any man's case before, or (for his sake) do think I shall ever do again. True it is, my Lord, that when, upon his examination by the officers of the Navy, he was found not so fully qualified for the office of lieute-

nant as was requisite, I did with all respect (and to his seeming satisfaction) advise him to pass a little longer time in the condition he was then in, under a stricter application of himself to the practice of navigation. And (in pursuance of my duty to the King) I did acquaint him also with Mr. Bonithan's present unreadiness; and had thereupon a command given me for confirming the commission prepared for him upon another, who (upon examination at the same time with Mr. Bonithan) was found better qualified for it*. As to what I understand my Ladies are pleased to entertain themselves and others with, to my reproach, as if money had been wanting in the case, it is a reproach lost upon me, my Lord, who am known to be so far from needing any purgation in the point of selling places, as never to have taken so much as my fee for a commission or warrant to any one officer in the navy, within the whole time (now near twenty years) that I have had the honour of serving His Majesty therein,—a self-denial at this day so little in fashion, and yet so chargeable to maintain, that I take no pride, and as little pleasure, in the mentioning it, further than as it happily falls in here to my defence against the mistake the Ladies seem disposed to arraign me by on this occasion. Besides that, in the particular case of this gentleman, Lieut. Beele, who enjoys the commission designed for Mr. Bonithan, he is one whose face I never saw either before or since the time of his receiving it, nor know one friend he has in the world to whom he owes this benefit, other than the King's justice and his own modest merit: which having said, it remains only that I assure your Lordship what I have so said is not calculated with any regard to, much less any repining at, the usage the Ladies are pleased to shew me in this affair, (for 'tis fit I bear it), but to acquit myself to your Lordship in my demeanour towards them, as becomes their and,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

S. P.

* The Report of the Navy Commissioners, certifying Mr. Bonithan's insufficiency and Mr. Beele's competency to manage a ship, was enclosed in the letter.

C.

LORD BERKELEY TO MR PEPYS.

GOOD MR. PEPYS,

Berkeley House, February 23, 1677-8.

THOUGH I thank you for the favour of your letter, yet I confess myself both much surprised and troubled to receive a letter from you upon such an occasion: so is my wife, who professes herself wholly innocent of any crime of charging you in thought, word, or deed, and hopes you will do her that right to believe so of her. My daughter* Berkeley says she expressed some trouble that the friend she recommended had not success, and that she was told the Commissioners of the Navy did report they had given the same recommendations of the person she proposed, as they did of him that was accepted, for the lieutenant's place; which my daughter supposing to be true, wondered the more he lost the preferment: but by the copies enclosed in your's, it appears her Ladyship was very much misinformed. As for Mrs. Henrietta†, she is extremely troubled in saying any thing that gave you offence; and though she did not in the least intend it, yet she begs your pardon. And now, my good friend, though I am not under any accusation, and therefore need not say any thing to vindicate myself, yet give me leave upon this occasion to assure you, that there is no person has a better opinion of you than myself, nor is more sensible of your particular civilities to me; which I should be very glad to make a return of when in my power to serve you: and give me leave to add further, without flattery to you, and with great sincerity, that I believe our gracious master, His Majesty, is so fortunate in employing you in his service, that if he should lose you, it would be very difficult for his Majesty to find a successor so well qualified in all respects for his service, if we consider both your integrity, vast abilities, industry, and zealous affections for his service; and if his Majesty were asked the question, I will hold ten to one His

* Probably Elizabeth, daughter of Baptist Noel, Viscount Campden, married to Sir Charles Berkeley, K. B., Lord B.'s eldest son.

† Lord Berkeley's youngest daughter, who afterwards eloped with her brother-in-law, Ford Lord Grey.

Majesty declares himself of my opinion; so will I believe all that know you, more especially our fellow-traders, that are so conversant with you and obliged by you.

This is asserted as a great truth by

Sir,

Your very affectionate and hearty friend and Servant,

BERKELEY.

C.

MR PEPYS TO MR THOMAS PEPYS,

Of Lynn Regis.

GOOD COUSIN,

February 1, 1678-9.

I DO kindly thank you for your letter of yesterday, assuring you that I am not surprised, much less under any disappointment, from the contents of it; I knowing the world too well to expect more than is to be found in it: and I think mine to you did enough shew you what I asked was rather out of respect to the town of Castle Rising, as having once been their servant*, than from any such advantage I propose to myself by it, as would suffer me to give way to your entering upon any expense for it; I having the good fortune of being so much better understood elsewhere, as to have at this time invitations from the magistracy of no less than three† several Corporations (of somewhat greater names, though not more in my esteem than that of theirs) to accept of their elections. Therefore pray be under no further care on my behalf in this matter; the satisfaction of having discharged my duty to the gentlemen of Castle Rising being all I aim at, without troubling myself to reflect upon any forgetfulness on their parts towards me. As for those two worthy persons who now stand for their favours, Sir Robert Howard and Sir John Baber, they are

* In the preceding Parliament.

† The three Corporations were Portsmouth; one of the Isle of Wight boroughs, of which Sir Robert Holmes was patron; and Harwich, for which Mr. P. was returned.

both my honoured friends, and as far as any interest of mine can bestead them, I do readily resign it to them.

And for the kindness I have received on this occasion from yourself, I shall always most thankfully own it by whatever testimony thereof I may be able to give, by suitable services to you and your family, remaining

Your truly affectionate kinsman and humble Servant,

S. P.

C.

M^r PEPYS TO COL. LEGGE AT PORTSMOUTH.

SIR,

13th February, 1678-9, at night.

SINCE I wrote to you by express, His R. H. being then abroad a-hunting, I have had opportunities to attend him with an account of yours to me this morning, and mine since to you, with His Majesty's and my Lord Treasurer's commands touching Sir John Ernle*, who I now understand from His R. H. is in town, and has spoken to His R. H. concerning this matter; and received for answer, what by the Duke's command I have now to acquaint you with; which is, that Colonel Norton having, as you write, finally declined standing for the town†, resolving to apply himself for Knight of the Shire, His R. H. does think it of great moment to His Majesty that Sir John Ernle be provided for, and that therefore all endeavours be used by Sir John Kempthorne, declining it; and otherwise that Sir John Ernle be chosen, in company with you, for that place. Which leaving with you by the Duke's command,

I remain

Your most humble Servant,

S. P.

* He was Chancellor of the Exchequer.

† Of Portsmouth.

C.

THE EARL OF DANBY TO COL. LEGGE.

(Transmitted through Mr. Pepys.)

SIR,

London, 13th February, 1678-9.

MR. PEPYS being returned to town, His Majesty has commanded him to do all he can for the election of Sir John Ernle at Portsmouth; and hearing that Sir John Kempthorne designs to stand, the King has enjoined Mr. Pepys to let him know, in his name, that he would have him to decline it himself, and to assist Mr. Chancellor, who is likely to be so necessary to His Majesty this Parliament, that he cannot want his service in the House. As he has laid his commands himself upon Mr. Pepys in this manner, so His Majesty has ordered me to signify this his pleasure to you, and to let you know that his service is so much concerned in it, that he would have you leave nothing undone that is in your power, for the obtaining that election for him*.

I, am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

DANBY.

To Col. Legge, Portsmouth.

B. L. orig.

SIR LIONEL JENKINS TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

Feb^r 24, 167⁸/₉.

Nothing in the world could be more kind nor more generous than your letter of the 13th, by the yacht. The prospect that you and I had of embracing one another is now vanished; but no distance of time or place shall in the least diminish that faithfull cordiall respect I have for your person, and that very high esteem I have for your merits. If there was any honour or new employment designed for me, when I was so suddenly called home, I'll take leave to tell it in your bosome, that I bless God with all my soule that it is otherwise dis-

* In spite of this interference Sir John Kempthorne was returned.

posed of; for I have had enough of this world: God give me grace to prepare for another. 'Tis true I am now putt upon a new commission, which, God knows, is a grief to me; and should never be my choice, if it were in my power. However, his Royal Highness may render it as easy as 'tis, in the present circumstances, capable of being to an honest man, that cannot but be (at such a time as this) full of anguishes for his King and his Country. I beg your favor in delivering the enclosed to His Royal Highness: 'tis to petition him to that effect. I pray pardon me this boldnesse, and be pleas'd to believe, that I am with perfect truth,

Sir,

Your most humble and most faithful Servant,

L. JENKINS.

C.

MR PEPYS TO CAPTAIN LANGLEY, AT HARWICH.

SIR,

Derby House, March 6, 1678-9.

YOUR late journey into Suffolk for the assisting of Mr. Allen's election, and mine into Kent on a similar occasion, have prevented my earlier acknowledging to you, both the kindness I received from you when I was at Harwich, and the letters you have sent me since my return thence. For the former of which, as well as those which concerned my election in general, as what respect you shewed me in your particular house, I return both you and Mrs. Langley my most hearty thanks; assuring you of my taking all occasions of answering the same, by whatever service I shall be able to do you and your family. Nor shall I be less solicitous to acquit myself as I ought to do to the whole body of the Corporation, and every member of it, in return for the extraordinary expressions of their good will which I have so lately received the benefit of from them. And this I entreat you to communicate, with my most humble services to Mr. Mayor and the rest of my worthy friends, the gentlemen of the town, as you shall have opportunity for it.

For what you write touching the discourses you have met with in your neighbourhood, about the election Harwich has made in their choice of Sir Anthony Deane and me, as if he were an Atheist, and myself a Papist, I take the suggestions which any shall make of that kind to be so foolish and malicious, that I shall not give myself the trouble to say, or you to read, more in answer thereto than this: viz. that as to Sir A. Deane, whoever knows him as well as our friends at Harwich, and I do, knows that he hath too much wit to be an Atheist; it being the fool only that Solomon tells us says in his heart, "There is no God." And as for my being a Papist, let them but examine the entries in the Parliament-books, upon occasion of a controversy some time happening between a great Lord and myself upon that subject; and they shall find such a trial and proof of my Protestancy, as I doubt no private man in England can shew but myself upon record in Parliament. And this, I say, is all I shall think now necessary to urge between you and me, in defence of my partner and myself, and justification of Harwich's choice of us for their servants. But if you do in the least apprehend that what has been said on this occasion, to our prejudice, has made any impressions upon any other of our friends in the Corporation, to the shaking them in the good opinion they had conceived of us in this particular of religion, as well as in other things, I do hold it a point so considerable, that though we are already possessed of the benefit of the Corporation's kindness in the choice of us, yet I am of opinion, and believe Sir A. Deane will be of the same mind with me, that we ought to be as much concerned in giving the Corporation satisfaction therein now, as we should have done had the doubt been raised before our election; and therefore, I entreat you, in your next, to be very open with me, whether you think there be any in the whole number of Electors, from Mr. Mayor downwards, who has the least scruple remaining with him touching our devotion towards God Almighty; for if so, I shall, in the absence of Sir A. Deane, undertake for both, that we will remove it by such evidences of our faith and devotion, conformable to the true Protestant doctrine and worship of the Church of England, as shall leave no ground for

any Corporation in England (in comparing elections with respect to religion) to reproach Harwich with the choice of her Burgesses.

Your most faithful Friend to serve you,

S. P.

C.

THE DUKE OF YORK TO MR PEPYS.

Hague, April 24, 1679.

THE place that I came from afforded so little news, that it was not at all necessary for me to write to you, only to let you know I had received yours, in which you gave me an account of the loss of the Marigold prize at Tangier. I hope we shall now soon hear of the arrival of Sir J. Narborough; for then we shall have some more strength at home, though not so much as I think ought to be at sea, considering the ships they say the French are fitting out. This goes to you by my page, Mr. Hickman, who I desire may go a volunteer in one of the convoys for Newfoundland; and if Captain Lloyd be one, that he may go with him: which is all I shall now say, but that you shall always find me the same to you.

JAMES.

C.

THE DUKE OF YORK TO MR PEPYS.

Hague, April 25, 1679.

I WOULD not let this bearer, Captain Sanders, go, without writing to you by him, to let you know that I stopped him when he came to Antwerp, intending to have come hither in him; but, by the negligence of our pilot, we came on ground near Bergen-up-Zoom, so that I was forced to go on board the Dutch yatch; but did not stir from thence till we got him off. She is now at Helveotsluys; and, if this

wind continue, will soon be at Greenwich. I do intend to go tomorrow to Amsterdam: my chief business is to see the ships and magazines there. I design to be back on Friday, and the next week to return to Brussels. I long to hear of Sir J. Narborough's being arrived with you, for one does not know what may happen as to France. I wish things may go, where you are, as they ought; and be assured you shall find me as kind to you as ever.

JAMES.

C.

MR PEPYS TO THE DUKE OF YORK.

Derby-House, May 6, 1679.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

I ACKNOWLEDGE, with all humility and thankfulness, the honour of your Highness's letters of the 24th and 25th of the last; and do, with equal shame and grief, observe how much your Highness's solicitude (even at this distance) for the security of this kingdom against the power of France, does exceed all that we ourselves have yet expressed upon that subject, otherwise than by a general but inactive restlessness under our apprehensions of the danger; but without any alteration made, since your Royal Highness's departure, in the state of our ships or coasts, other than what is consequential to their having lain so much longer neglected. Sir John Narborough's last letters were of the 7th and 17th of March, from Alicant, where, having newly met with his Majesty's orders for his coming home, (after a short visit to Algier,) he therein told me he would accordingly proceed forthwith to Port Mahon, for the settling some matters in that place, and from thence to Algier; so as to be at Tangier (in his way homeward) about the 7th of April. Since which, though we have wanted advice from him wholly, yet, by a letter I have seen from a slave at Algier, of the 1st of April, it appears that he came

before that town the 25th, and departed the 29th of March, after having sent two of his captains ashore to treat of a peace, but without effect. This only is added by the slave, that had Sir John Narborough staid one day more in the road, those of Algier had certainly made a peace with him, that Government having, it seems, afterward expressed some trouble that it was not done; by which calculation of time we may now, from day to day, expect his being here. I have remembered your Highness's command in reference to Captain Lloyd's being appointed one of the Newfoundland convoys, (which his Majesty has been pleased to agree to,) in company with Captain Talbot in the *Mary Rose*, Captain Priestman in the *Antelope*, and Captain Kempthorne in the *Dover*, and will take care that Mr. Hickman be entertained as a volunteer with Captain Lloyd. How his Majesty has been pleased (among his other great changes) to dispose of the Admiralty, by a new Commission to these gentlemen, viz. Sir Henry Capel, Mr. Dan. Finch, Sir Tho. Ley, Sir Thomas Meres, Mr. Vaughan, Sir Hum. Winch, and Mr. Hales of Kent, your Highness (I doubt not) has many days since known; nor shall I think it becoming me to interpose any thoughts of mine touching his Majesty's choice therein, more than for his, and his service's sake, I could wish his naval arrangements to be such as for a time might allow these worthy gentlemen opportunity of being informed in the work of their great office, before they be urged to much execution in it. And this I am the bolder in wishing, since they have taken upon themselves the performance of that branch of the Admiral's task which his Majesty was pleased, for the ease of his last Commissioners, to reserve the trouble of to himself, namely, the issuing all sailing instructions to his fleet and ships; his Majesty having, at the instance of these gentlemen, put that part also in their hands, together with the granting of all officers in the navy, in the same manner as it has at any time been exercised by the Lords Admirals of England. For what concerns my own particular, your Highness was pleased to foretell me, at your going hence, what I was soon after to look for; and it is come to pass. For whether I will or no, a Papist I must be, because favoured by your Royal Highness, and found endeavouring, on all fitting occasions,

to express, in the best manner I can, the duty and gratitude due to your Highness from me. But how injuriously soever some would make those just endeavours of mine towards your Highness inconsistent with Protestancy, neither they, nor any ill usage I can receive from them, shall (by the grace of God) make me any more quit the one, than I suspect your Royal Highness will ever take offence at my perseverance in the other. His Majesty is, indeed, pleased to express a much more favourable opinion of me, and my slender qualifications for his service, than I dare own my right to; and (as an instance thereof) has not spared to tell me how much weight he is pleased to place upon my experience in the Navy, for supplying, by my Secretaryship, what his present choice of Commissioners may possibly be found less perfect in: nor shall I think it becoming me to dispute the giving His Majesty my service on whatever terms he shall think fit to require it from me. But as your Royal Highness well knows how far I had, not long since, made it my humble motion, and pressed it upon your favour, that after almost twenty years' continued drudgery in the Navy, to the rendering myself almost blind, and otherwise disabled in health to support it much longer, His Majesty would be pleased to take the residue of my small service by admitting me into the Commission of the Admiralty: so truly, Sir, I have now, upon other considerations purely relative to his service, made the same motion to the King, upon occasion of this change. For if I was truly conscious of being become less able to bear the fatigue of my office any longer, under a Commission that had many members of it competently furnished for its execution, besides the easy and helpful recourse I had at all times had to His Majesty himself, and your Royal Highness, in matters needing it, (and those, as old a Navyman as I am, not a few,) how much less fit ought I to think myself to go through this task, when, not only stripped of all those helps, but (to say no worse) charged with a new piece of duty, and that not a little one, of informing those who should inform and are to command me; and I to remain accountable for all the ill success that should attend my obeying those commands, though probably differing from my own advice. Besides, however fairly some of these gentlemen seemed disposed towards my

continuance in this Secretaryship, yet that compliance of theirs I well know to be grounded upon some opinion they have of the necessary-ness of my service to them till they have obtained a stock of knowledge of their own; and then farewell! But others there be, with whom your Royal Highness knows (what converts soever they are now to be thought!) I have for many years lived in a constant state of war, they censuring, and I defending, the management of the navy; and with such success on the navy's side, as to have always met with too great an appearance of His Majesty's well accepting my humble endeavours therein, that, however our conjunction may now succeed in reference to His Majesty's service, I should not promise myself any satisfaction from them, especially upon terms so unequal, as my being brought down to be a servant to them, when the dignity of the trust I have so long had the honour of serving His Majesty in, might, I hope, be thought to have set me upon a level with them. Whereto I have humbly to add, what some have not spared publicly to let fly in opposition to my continuance in this office, namely, that so long as Mr. Pepys should be there his Royal Highness remains in effect Admiral. In which, though they do me a much greater honour than either I deserve, or their malignity intends me, yet, Sir, I cannot but so far consider the importance of having all rubs removed, which may be either of impediment to the happy going on of this great part of the King's service, or give any unnecessary occasion of keeping alive the jealousies touching your Royal Highness, that if His Majesty may as well secure to himself the full use of my service, and your Royal Highness receive no less content from my being in the Commission than in my present post, (which you were pleased, upon my former motion to that purpose, to express your well-liking of,) I see no inconvenience (but to myself) likely to arise from His Majesty's giving them the satisfaction of his withdrawing me from this odious Secretaryship; I being for these reasons not only contented to submit to, but desire it, and shall be most ready to give my assistance in this Commission with the same faithfulness and industry (though not with the same private satisfaction) wherewith I ought, and should, were your Royal Highness at the head of it. Which having said, I make

it my humble prayer to your Royal Highness to interpret with your usual justice my deliberation upon this subject, pardoning ought that shall happen not to find your full liking, as being designed most entirely for the benefit of His Majesty's service. But if it shall be my better fortune to meet with your Royal Highness's approbation in what I have here humbly offered, I then make it my suit to your Royal Highness, that you will be pleased to consider how far it may be fit for your Royal Highness to enforce from yourself this my humble proposal to His Majesty, for my being transferred from the Secretaryship into the Commission; your Royal Highness well knowing, that, however bounteous you have always been to me in your frequent callings on me, to the improvement of your favours to my benefit with His Majesty, I have never to this day done it to the obtaining sixpence from the Crown by any boon extraordinary beyond the plain allowance of my office, and not that neither; yet by much more than all I have else reserved in the world to depend upon, as your Highness was pleased to be informed from me by particulars, (and from you the King,) just before your going. So as, while the sincerity of my wishes for the weal of his service prompts me to this voluntary divesting myself of my present employment, I should be in very ill condition to bear its not being made up to me by His Majesty granting, for his service's sake, (as well as in justice to your Royal Highness's mediation, and his own promises in my favour,) the latter part of my motion for his placing me in the Commission, or at least making some other provision for me as one superannuated in his service.

Wherein, nevertheless, submitting myself still to your Royal Highness's disposal, and beseeching Almighty God to put some timely bounds to your misfortunes, whatever becomes of mine, I, in all humility, remain,

May it please your Royal Highness,
Your Royal Highness's most obedient
and most dutiful Servant,

S. P.

C.

THE DUKE OF YORK TO M^R PEPYS.

Bruxelles, May 23, 1679.

YOURS, by Captain Sanders, I received yesterday morning, and look on what you propose as so reasonable, that I send you here enclosed a letter to His Majesty as you desired, and send it with a flying seal, that you may read it before you deliver it to see how you like it; and truly I hope His Majesty will do it: I am sure he ought, and it will do more good to reward one old servant than to take off twenty mutineers. I have not time to say more, but that you shall always find me firm to you.

JAMES.

C.

THE DUKE OF YORK TO THE KING.

Bruxelles, May 22, 1679.

I HOPE your Majesty will pardon me for writing to you in behalf of an old servant of yours in the Navy, that has long and faithfully served you. It is Mr. Pepys, who now, upon this change in the Admiralty, is like to suffer, without your Majesty's favour; and truly I think, should he be quite laid aside, I believe the service there would not be so well carried on, and those who are named to be Commissioners of the Admiralty, though in other affairs they are very able men, yet must needs be very raw in that, and will want one amongst them that understands it; therefore, what I have humbly to offer to your Majesty in Mr. Pepys's behalf is, that you will be pleased to add him to that Commission, and let him be one of their number. Sure none can find fault with your Majesty's doing it for him, when they consider his long service in the Navy, and that you do it for him as a recompence to him for all his services. And besides, I think it very necessary for your service always, and the easiest and less chargeable way of doing something for him that can be thought on; for give me leave to say, your Majesty is bound to do something for him that has spent so many years in your service to your satisfaction. Pray, Sir,

pardon me for being earnest in this affair; I can never help being so where I think your honour concerned, and I wish all your subjects were as true Englishmen, and as dutiful and loyal as I am and shall ever be.

JAMES.

C.

MR PEPYS TO THE DUKE OF YORK.

Tower, June 9, 1679.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

I SHOULD not have thought it in any wise becoming me to trouble your Royal Highness with the notice of any thing relating to the present difficulties I lie under, otherwise than as they serve for the necessary excuse of my no earlier owning the favour of your Royal Highness's by Captain Sanders, which found me in the custody under which I, with Sir Anthony Deane, do now remain, upon no less suggestions than those of popery, felony, piracy, and treason, but so grounded as to render it hard for me to tell your Royal Highness which of the two enjoys the greater pleasure; whether Mr. Harbord in public, from the contemplation of the conquest his malice has obtained over me, or I in private, from what my innocence tells me I shall some time or other (if any justice may be hoped for) obtain against him. Hardships, however, I do and shall suffer contentedly, and the more in that I had the honour of having my duty to your Royal Highness assigned for the real cause of what my adversaries are pleased artificially to pretend, of Popery and other like chimeras: for, begging your Royal Highness to believe that, as your Royal Highness shall never receive any dishonour from the favour you have been observed to incline towards me, so neither shall any of the hard usages which the malignity of some, or want of information in others, can subject me to, render me either less zealous in my duty and allegiance to my Royal Master, or less forward in the payment of that gratitude, which even that Protestancy of mine the world would be thought so doubtful of, exacts from me towards your Highness, and shall have it to the last point of my fortune and life. For what con-

cerns your Royal Highness's particular goodness to me in your late letter to His Majesty, the condition I am in puts it out of my power to apply it to my benefit, but not so as to make me any thing doubtful of the fruits of it in His Majesty's justice, so soon as the justice I am waiting for from lower hands shall put me into a capacity of asking it. Towards which, referring your Royal Highness in all humility to Sir John Werden for some particulars, wherein your present aid and direction may be of instant benefit to me under my present misfortune,

I pray God protect Your and Her Royal Highness, and am,

May it please Your Royal Highness,

Your R. H.'s most obedient and ever most dutiful Servant,

S. P.

B. L. orig.

MR MAULYVERER TO MR PEPYS.

HONRD SIR,

(Magd. Coll. Camb.) Nov. xxix, 1679.

THIS is to return the humble thanks of our whole Society, and particularly myne owne, for the great favour and kindenes with which you have been pleas'd to oblige us. The money, indeed, was (by the bond) payable the last Michaelmas was twelve-moneths, so that you might justly have expected to have heard from us about it before this time. We do beg your pardon for this neglect, and shall allwayes acknowledge ourselves endebted to you for this and all your other charitable remembrances of Magdalene College. We hope to be able to pay you in a short time, and therefore desire to know when you wil be pleas'd to call for it in. We had made a tender of it before this time, had not some of our benefactours been very slow in paying their subscriptions. We have not yet finished the inside, and I know not when we shall; however, we will rather let it stand unfinished than suffer our just debts to be unpay'd. Humble service from the Master and Fellows concludes this, from,

Sir,

Yours, &c.

JOH. MAULYVERER.

B. L. *orig.*

DR PEACHELL* TO MR PEPYS.

Magdalene Coll. Cambridge,

Jan. 11th, 80⁸¹.

HONOUR'D SIR,

AFTER I bid you good night in Cheap-side, y^e 13th day of 10^{ber}, I staid in London a fortnight, but was so tender, and had so much adoe to preserve my health, that I was prevented in some measure in the pursuit of my businesse; and particularly in taking that decent and respectful leave of my friends which I thought was requisite, which makes me give you the trouble of this missive, on purpose to acknowledge my own and the Colledge's great obligations to you. I hope to have some good view of our concerne by next Easter Terme; and if the Parliament give His Majesty money, I doubt not but our friends will be the more free to supply us. Although it be counted even Popery, yet I cannot but pray God to preserve us from the tumults, confusions, and rebellion of 1641 & 42, which seeme to threaten us on one hand, as much as Popery on the other. I feare God hath a controversy still with the land: but I will not preach, onely pray for your health and happinesse, and rest,

S^r, your much obliged Serv^t,

J. PEACHELL.

B. L.

MR PEPYS TO HIS COUSIN ROGER PEPYS.

HONOURED COUSIN,

March 26, 1681.

THIS comes to kiss your hands, and my cousin your Lady's, with many thanks for her and your last favours at Impington: since which

* John Peachell, S. T. P., Vicar of Stanwick, and Prebendary of Carlisle, made Master of Magdalene Coll. 1679; from which office, as well as that of Vice-Chancellor, he was suspended by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, May 7, 1687, for disobeying the Royal Mandate. He was, however, restored by King James II.'s Letter to the Headship, October 24, 1688, and died 1690. Lord Dartmouth, in a MS. note to Burnet's History, mentions that Dr. Peachell starved himself to death: Archbishop Sancroft having rebuked him for setting an ill example in the University by drunkenness and other loose conduct, he did penance by four days' abstinence; after which he would have eaten, but could not.

it hath pleased God, by a continued sickness of my Sister's, to prevent my coming to any determination touching my house at Brampton; for that my thoughts therein would be much governed by my having or not having her to reside there for the better looking after my small affairs, as well as her own, about that place, my dependencies here being still such as will not, I doubt, for some time give me leisure to retire thither myself; which (as public matters go, without any hopes in my view of their bettering) is the first thing I could wish to compass. But my Sister's illness being become such as our best physicians here (where she has for some months been) can give me no assurance of any speedy recovery, I find it inconvenient for me to delay any longer my taking some resolutions in that matter; and, therefore, remembering (though imperfectly) a motion you were pleased to make to me about this house, when I last waited on you, I thought it becoming me to advertise you so far of it, as may give me the satisfaction of knowing whether, in my proceeding herein, I can have any opportunity of serving you.

I remember also the little things you were pleased to bespeak of me,—I mean my model and two pictures: which, however I may happen to dispose of the house, I shall with great pleasure make good to you my promise of, by preferring them to a place with you at Impington, whenever a convenience shall offer itself for their conveyance thither. So, with my desires also of understanding how it fares with you in your health and my cousin's,

I remain both her and your

Most affectionate Kinsman and humble Servant,
S. P.

B. L. *orig.*

CESARE MORELLI* TO MR PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

The 11 April, 1681.

I DID receive your last letter, dated the 9th of these month, with much grief, haveing an account of your painfull feaver: I pray God it

* He appears to have been a Music-master. Many of his compositions are preserved in the Pepysian Library.

will not vex your body to much ; and if by chance it should vex you longer, there is here a man that can cure it with simpatherical power, if you please to send me down the pearinghs of the nailes of both your hands and your foots, and three locks of hair of the top of your crown. I hope, with the grace of God, it will cure you.

As for the compositions of them two masters, in my jugement (though weak) I like better Baptist's works than Pedro's, becace Baptist work masterly, as you shall perceiv betwixt their bases. All Baptist's bases are singable, where many of Pedro's are not so. Here-with my humble respects remaine,

Honoured Sir,

Your most faithfull Serv^t,

CESARE MORELLI.

C.

MR PEPYS TO THE DUKE OF YORK.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS, Sat. May 14, 1681.

As I forbear offering your Royal Highness interruptions, where there is nothing extraordinary requiring the contrary, so am I no less ready to give your Highness the earliest advice I can of ought falling within my notice, wherein either His Majesty's name or yours are interested, as they appear to be in the enclosed paper, which is a copy of an Address intended to be presented to His Majesty by the body of the Trinity House, conducted by their Master the Earl of Berkeley; in which, though your Royal Highness will find more occasion of observing how little than how much your servants (and particularly myself) are yet able to do in discharge of their duties to the King and yourself, yet such as it is, and such as the suddenness of the opportunity offered us for doing it would suffer it to be, I trust your Royal Highness will take it in good part, as coming from hands that will not fail of paying both His Majesty and your Royal Highness fuller proofs of their duty than this, whenever God Almighty shall

administer occasion for it. And could I tell how far your Royal Highness would take it for one, to have a like application made to His Majesty from the commanders and officers of the Fleet, I should not (with the King's approval) let that also lie long unattempted, or (I hope) uneffected.

With restless prayers to Heaven for a further degree of quiet to His Majesty, and satisfaction to your Royal Highness,

I, in all humility, am,

May it please your Royal Highness,

Your Royal Highness's ever most obedient
and dutiful Servant,

S. P.

C.

THE DUKE OF YORK TO M^R PEPYS.

Edinburgh, May 21, 1681.

By the last post I had yours of the 14th, with the copy of the Address which was to be presented by the Trinity House, and never doubted but they would always do their parts as became loyal subjects : and I am sure it will not be your fault if all, where you have any thing to do, do not what becomes them. As for what you propose, for the commanders and officers of the Fleet to present such an Address to His Majesty, I do not think it necessary, nor indeed proper, since there can be no doubt of their loyalty ; and that it is not necessary or usual for people to doubt of such as have such immediate dependance, or are in pay ; and I think what has been done by the Trinity House is sufficient for the seamen : I wish all the landmen would do their parts as well. I shall say no more to you now, but to assure you, you shall always find me ready to shew you what kindness I can.

Pray send me a copy of the Relation of His Majesty's escape from Worcester ; 'tis only for my own satisfaction, and I shall let no copies be taken of it.

JAMES.

C.

MR PEPYS TO THE DUKE OF YORK.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

June 4, 1681.

I HAVE had the honour of your Royal Highness's of the 21st of May, and do most humbly and readily acquiesce in your Royal Highness's reasonings, upon what (from the encouragements I found given to that which was then on foot of the like kind in the Lieutenancy here, and some temporizings, which more than myself have noted, in persons whose past benefits and present dependencies would least have suffered me to expect them from) I was lately led to the presumption of mentioning to your Royal Highness about sea commanders, &c. But it was barely mentioned, and shall have no further place from me: for what your Royal Highness is pleased to command from me touching the Worcester paper, my covetousness of rendering it as perfect as the memory of any of the survivors (interested in any part of that memorable story) can enable me to make it, has led me into so many distant inquiries relating thereto, as have kept me out of a capacity of putting it together as I would, and it ought, and shall be, as soon as ever I can possess myself of all the memorials I am in expectation of towards it: which I shall also, for your Royal Highness's satisfaction, use my utmost endeavours in the hastening; begging your Royal Highness in the mean time to receive this transcript of what I took from His Majesty's own mouth, with a considerable addition I have since obtained to it in writing from Colonel Philips, suitable to what I am promised, and daily look for from Father Hurleston.* Which humbly tendering to your Royal Highness, I do in all humility remain,

May it please your Royal Highness,

Your Royal Highness's most dutiful,

Faithful, and obedient Servant,

S. P.

* Query, Huddleston.

B. L. *orig.*

DUCHESS OF NORFOLK * TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

Waybreg, July 15, 81.

I AM encoreged to geve you thes trubell, and beg a favor of you, knoing the regard you ever had for my Lord Duke desest, and his obligations to you ; which is, that you well own, as for yourself, a parsell of Scottch plad of ten or a leven peses, or geve me leve to order them to be derected to you, that I may with les trubell com by them ; becaus now in my abcenc I have letell entreist in town, which is the resen I entrett thes of you : but if it be the lest enconvenanc to you, I also beg you frely ancer me so, and when it coms in my way to serve you, notwithstanding, I shall to my power lett you se I redely wold obleg you to my uttmost power, as

Your Servant,

NORFOLKE.

S^r Mills Cooks sonn has promised me to geve thes to your hands.

C. *orig.*

M^R EVELYN TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

Sayes Court, Dec^r 6, 1681.

IN consequence of your commands, &c. I have sent you already two large sea-charts, and now, with a third, I transmit the sheets I have long since blotted about the late Dutch war ; for which I should yet make another apology, besides its preface, were it not that you well understand the prejudices I lay under at that time, by the inspection of my Lord Treasurer Clifford, who would not endure I should moderate my style when the difference with Holland was to be the subject, nor with much patience suffer that France should be suspected, though in justice to truth, evident as the day, I neither would nor could conceal what all the world must see ; how subdolosly

* Lady Mary Mordaunt, daughter and sole heir of Henry Earl of Peterborough, married in 1677 to Henry, seventh Duke of Norfolk, from whom she was divorced in 1700, and soon afterwards became the wife of Sir John Germain. Ob. 1705.

they dealt, and made us their property all along. The interception of
 * letter to his master, p. 260, is abundantly pregnant of
 this, and ought to open our eyes, unless it be that we design to
 truckle under that power, and seek our ruin with industry. Sir, you
 will pardon this severe reflection, since I cannot think of it without
 emotion. Now, as to the compiler's province, it is not easily to be
 imagined the sea and ocean of papers, treaties, declarations, relations,
 letters, and other pieces that I have been obliged to rail through, read
 over, note, and digest, before I set pen to paper: I confess to you the
 fatigue was insufferable, and for the more part did rather oppress and
 confound me, than enlighten; so much trash there was to sift and lay
 by: and I was obliged to peruse all that came to hand, and a better
 judgment than mine had been requisite to elect and dispose the ma-
 terials that were then apt for use. This, Sir, I dare pronounce you
 will find before you have prepared all your *materiam abstractam* for the
 noble and useful work you are meditating.† Nor did I desist here, but
 had likewise made provision for that which was to follow the Treaty of
 Breda; though I honestly restored every scrip that had been furnished
 me from the cabinets of the Secretaries, and other persons, which were
 originals; yet blame myself for returning those letters and pieces I
 received from my Lord Treasurer, because I think I might have
 retained them with better confidence than he to carry them away with
 him into Devonshire, *unde nulli retrorsum*. That I did not proceed
 with the rest is accountable to his successor,‡ who, cutting me short of
 some honest pretensions I had to his kindness more than ordinary, (if
 you knew all,) I cared not to oblige an ungrateful age, and perhaps
 the world is delivered from a fardle of impertinencies. Clifford, his
 predecessor, was, abating his other imperfections, a generous man,
 friendly to me, and I verily believe of clean hands: I am sure I was
 obliged to him; the other had been so to me and mine. A haughty
 spirit is seldom accompanied with generosity; but that is all past. I
 know it has been wondered upon what pretence I should have sought
 to sit at the Navy Board; and I have been as much astonished why

* Illegible in the MS.

† The History of the English Navy.

‡ Thomas Viscount Dunblaine, afterwards Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds.

some Honoraries, who sat long there, were no more industrious or useful than haply I should have been, whilst, to commute for my ignorance of wear and tear, I might yet perhaps have been subservient to such a genius as Mr. Pepys, and, by his direction and converse, not altogether an unprofitable member. Something, you see, I should have been digging for my wages and serving the master builders, though I were myself no architect. But let that go also.

Your most humble and faithful Servant,

J. EVELYN.

B. L.

MR PEPYS TO SIR THOMAS BECKFORD,

Alderman of London.

SIR,

Feb. 17, 1681-2.

You were lately pleased to tell me you would do me the favour to accommodate me with your scarlet gown, for Signior Vario, the King's painter, to make use of in the picture he is preparing for Christ's Hospital. I intreat you to send it me in its bag by the bearer, and will be accountable to you for its speedy return without injury. I kiss your hands, and am, &c.

S. P.

B. L.

MR PEPYS TO THE LORD VISCOUNT BROUNCKER.

MY LORD,

Newmarket, March 13th, 1681-2.

THE King received the Duke at his coming with all expressions of kindness; and though the Duke was pleased to tell me last night that the King (whose commands should ever be his guide) had not yet declared any thing of his pleasure touching his stay here, and remove hence with him to London, yet I find every body concluding, and all things in appearance concurring, that he shall do both. So that I believe your Lordship will be eased of a journey hither, which truly

would be found very troublesome to you, and your accommodation here very uneasy, the town being already very full, and hourly filling. Besides that, I have to tell you from the Duke, (upon my delivering Behim the message intrusted me with) that he is most sensible of your particular duty and goodwill to him, (they are his own words), and that he wants not, and therefore would by no means have you think of giving him so inconvenient a proof of it, as he apprehends your visiting him here might prove to you in your health; rather desiring you (for that reason) to respite it till he can meet you at Whitehall. Mr. Pearce, however, I find mighty thoughtful and inquisitive after accommodations for your Lordship; but I doubt not but a day or two more will put you and us out of all fear of needing it: for I am already satisfied that the Duke will not return to Scotland without seeing London, nor then (I hope) but to fetch the Duchess; our Ministers being in all appearance very respectful and obsequious to him, and that squabble about the inn adjusted, my Lord Conway most readily rectifying the mistakes his servants had made, at his first coming, in that matter.

I have not yet been at Mrs. Nelly's,* but I hear Mrs. Knight is better, and the King takes his repose there once or twice daily.

Your brother Hales is all the Representative your Board yet has here, but more (I hear) are expected, and of the Navy a whole host.

I kiss your Lordship's hand, and my Lady Williams's, and am,

My Lord, &c.

S. P.

C. orig.

MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

April 28, 1682.

CONSIDERING how far your laudable zeal still extends to all things that any way concern the actions of this nation at sea, and that you despise not the least things that may possibly be of use, I make no scruple of sending you all my blotted fragments, which yet with no small pains you will find I had collected, in order to a further pro-

* Nell Gwynn.

gress in the History of the Dutch War. I should be perfectly ashamed of the farrago, when I reflect upon the more precious materials you have amassed; but you know where Virgil found gold, and you will consider that these were only minutes and tumultuary hints relating to ampler pieces, infirm and unfit to be put into the building, but prepared to work on. It is not imaginable to those who have not tried, what labours an historian that would be exact is condemned to; he must read all, good and bad, and remove a world of rubbish before he can lay the foundation. So far I had gone, and it was well for me I went no farther, and better for the reader on many accounts, as I am sure you find by what I have already been so weak as to shew you; and yet I cannot forbear. You will find among the rest, in a little Essay, how what I have written in English would shew in Latin, ashamed as I was to see the history of that war published in that universal and learned language, and that in just and specious volumes, whilst we only told our tale to ourselves, and suffered the indignities of those who prepossessed the world to our prejudice; and you know how difficult a thing it is to play an after-game, when men's minds are perverted and their judgments prepossessed. Our sloth and silence in this diffusive age, greedy of intelligence and public affairs, is a great fault, and I wonder our politicians that are at the helm take no more care of it, since we see what advantages reputation alone carries with it in Holland, Genoa, Venice, and even our East India Commission; whereas all wise men know they are neither so rich, wise, or powerful, intrinsically, and that it is the credit and estimation the vulgar has of them which renders them considerable. It was on this account I chose the action at Bergen; not that I thought it to be the most glorious or discreet, (for in truth I think much otherwise), but for that the exploit was entire, and because I had seen what the Dane had published in Latin much to our dishonour. How close I have kept to my text you will find by collation, and whether nervous and sound, none can better judge. That I did not proceed need not be told you. The peace was concluded; my patron resigned his staff: his successor was unkind and unjust to me. The Dutch Ambassador complained of my Treatise of Commerce

and Navigation, which was intended but for a prolusion, and published by His Ma^{ty's} encouragement before the peace was quite ratified, though not publicly till afterwards. In sum, I had no thanks for what I had done, and have been accounted since, I suppose, an useless fop, and fit only to plant coleworts, and I cannot bend to mean submissions; and this, Sir, is the history of the Historian. I confess to you, I had once the vanity to hope, had my patron continued in his station, for some (at least) honorary title that might have animated my progress, as seeing then some amongst them whose talents I did not envy: but it was not my fortune to succeed. If I were a young man, and had the vanity to believe any industry of mine might recommend me to the friendship and esteem of M^r Pepys, as I take him to be of a more enlarged and generous soul, so I should not doubt but he would promote this ambition of mine, and not think one that would labour for the honour of his country, in my way, unworthy some regard. This almost prompts me to say the same to him that Joseph did to Pharaoh's exauctorated butler, whose restoration to grace he predicted,—

“Tantum memento mei cum bene tibi fuerit.”

And so farewell.

Dear Sir,

Raptim.

J. E.

B. L.

M^R PEPYS TO M^R HEWER.

MR. HEWER,

Edinburgh, Monday May 8, 1682.

AFTER having told you that the Duke is well, and (then) myself, I may safely take notice to you of what will, I know, soon become the talk of the town, and be very differently entertained by it; but be their constructions of it what the worst part of them please, our solace must be that the Duke is well arrived here, though with a greater loss in his train than we can yet make any just computation of, by reason of the Kitchen yacht not being yet coming; which (of all the yachts) had most opportunity of saving men, as lying nearest and longest

about the wreck of the Gloucester, which struck upon the edge of the (Well, say some; Lemmon, say others;) about 5 in the morning, on Friday last, from an obstinate over-winning of the pilot, in opposition to all the contrary opinions of Sir J. Berry, his master, mates, Col. Legg, the Duke himself, and several others, concurring unanimously in our not being yet clear of the sands, and therefore advising for his standing longer out to sea. The pilot is one Ayres, a man that has heretofore served the Duke as pilot in the war, and in his voyage hither, and one greatly valued as such by him: but this, however, has fallen out, and will (as it ought) be strictly inquired into, the man being (as is said) saved, and (could it be regularly done) would be tried and hanged here, for the nearer satisfaction of those great families of this kingdom, who (it is feared) would be found the greatest sufferers in this calamity; and among others, my Lord Roxbrough, (one of the flowers of this nobility) not yet heard of, nor Mr. Hyde, my Lord Hyde's brother, and lieutenant of the ship; though Sir J. Berry is, and is very well spoken of by his Royal Highness, for his comportment in this business, though unfortunate.

I told you in a line by Mr. Froud, that though I had abundant invitation to have gone on board the Duke, I chose rather, for room's sake and accommodation, to keep my yacht, where I had nobody but Sir Christopher Musgrove and our servants with me; the Master of the Ordnance being obliged, by his indispensable attendance on his Highness, to leave us.

Our fortune was, and the rest of the yachts, to be near the Gloucester when she struck; between which and her final sinking, there passed not (I believe) a full hour; the Duke and all about him being in bed, and (to shew his security) the pilot himself, till waking by her knocks.

The Duke himself, by the single care of Col. Legg, was first sent off in a boat, with none but Mr. Churchill* in her, to prevent his being oppressed with men labouring their escapes: some two or three, however, did fling themselves after him into her, and my Lord President†

* Afterwards Duke of Marlborough.

† James Marquis of Montrose.

of Scotland, by the Duke's advice, endeavoured it, but falling short, was taken up out of the water by him.

Mr. Legg (then) looking after his own safety, got into a boat, and was received on board us with Capt. Macdonell, Mr. Fortry, one of the Duke's bedchamber, and some poor men unknown: we had also the good fortune to take up Sir Charles Scarborough, almost dead, and others spent with struggling in the water and cold; but were prevented in our doing so much good as we would, by our own boat's being easily sunk by our side, and her men with much difficulty saved.

Had this fallen out but two hours sooner in the morning, or the yachts at the usual distance they had all the time before been, the Duke himself and every soul had perished; nor ought I to be less sensible of God's immediate mercy to myself, in directing me (contrary to my purpose at my first coming out, and the Duke's kind welcome to me when on board him in the River) to keep to the yacht; for many will (I doubt) be found lost, as well or better qualified for saving themselves, by swimming and otherwise, than I might have been.

Capt. Wyborne, in the *Happy Return*, was the only frigate near us, and she, indeed, in no less danger than the *Gloucester*; but taking quick notice of the other's mishaps, dropped presently her anchor, and is this morning, with the *Kitchin* yacht, come safe in harbour; and by her we now know that very many are lost; I judge about 200 men: but particulars are not yet fully known, only my Lord Roxbrough and Lord Hopton are certainly gone, and our young English Lord O'Brian.

The haste the express is going away in will not allow me to write to my Lord Brouncker now; but pray give him my most humble services, and communicate this to his Lordship, and the like to Crutched Friars, Winchester Street, and Portugal Row, as soon as you conveniently can, to remove any causeless care concerning me, giving my Lord Brouncker a hint, and my thinking it very expedient in itself and regardful in him towards the Duke, that some yearly inquiry be made into the care the Navy Office will be found to have used in pro-

viding for his safety and ship, with respect to the appointment of good and a sufficient number of pilots on this occasion; for I hear something muttered here about it, and it will not (I doubt) be judged enough for them to leave it to the Duke to take whom he pleased, or might possibly be otherwise advised to, without interposing some immediate care of their own in it, as I am sure was heretofore done in my time, upon his going to sea. I do privately think it will be very well received by His Highness, to hear of his Lordship's interesting himself of his own accord in this inquiry.

The Duchess is very well, and (saving the abatement given her in it by this disaster) under much joy from the Duke's kindness, and the errand he comes upon of fetching her home.

So, with my service to Clapham and every where else, I wish your family and self continuance of health, and am ever, &c. &c.

S. P.

MR HEWER TO MR PEPYS.

B. L. *orig.*

HON^D SIR,

Yorke Buildings, 13 May, 1682.

THE welcomest newes I ever received in my life, was what you were pleased to honour me with, by yours of the 8th inst. from Edinburgh, after the late misfortune to the Gloucester, concerning which we had some imperfect account on Wednesday morning, about 11 of the clock; it comeing from my Lord Conway, at Windsor, to Sir Lyon' Jenkins's office, at Whitehall, where I was then waiting at the Treasury Chambers, and was not a little surprized at the reporte, which in less then an houres time ran through the whole citty, and was variously discoursed of as people were affected and inclined: some would have it that the Duke and all were lost—others, that all were saved, and the shipp only lost; but all generally concluded it to be a very unfortunate and unkinde disaster: but the thoughts of the Duke's

safety, and our friends, does very much ease our mindes, and gives us great satisfaction.

You can't imagine in what consternation all your friends in generall were, upon the reporte of your being cast away, but more especially those at Crutched Fryars, Winchester Street, and Portugal Rowe, to whom I communicated your letter, which was matter of noe small joy and satisfaction to them: they all joyne with me in returning God Almighty thanks for his great mercy in directing you in your passage as he did.

My Lord Brouncker, to whome I communicated your letter and command, was not a little glad to heare of your safety, returning you very kinde thanks for your hints, which he will make use of.

The commission omitted to be given Sir John Berry, for holding a court martiall at his going out, is sent last night express, as I am inform'd.

They have been so disordered in Winchester Street, that I am commanded to tell you they shall not be themselves till they see you, and the enclosed from Portugal Rowe will let you know how they doe; all your friends in generall giving you their very humble service, and heartily wish your safe returne.

One accident has happen'd here the last week, near in towne, to be lamented, viz^t. *our friend Collon*ⁿ Scott's* being fledd for killing a coachman, the Coroner having found it wilful murther: meanes are using to buy off the widow, who has three small children; but we are considering what to doe to prevent it, Sir A. Deane being come to towne.

The officers of the Navy were directed by the Admiralty to goe downe this day to Chatham, to make some further enquirys concerning the business of the wett dock, that matter not being yet adjusted; my Lord Finch having been very severe on S^r Ph. Pett, who beares upe and thinks nothing has been yet sayd to the prejudice of the reasons he gave against it.

Sir John Banks took very kindly my waiting on him with the account you gave, he having not met with any that was soe particular;

* He had accused Mr. Pepys of popery and treason.

and being to dine with my Lord Chancellor to day, where M^r Seymoure was to be, he did very much press me to give him an extract of your letter relateing to the loss of the Gloucester, and the circumstances thereof, which I did doe, leaving out all that related to yourselfe, and the hints to my Lord Brouncker.

Pray present my very humble service to M^r Legg, whose great prudence and regard towards the Duke's safety is very much spoken of, to his great honour, by all that wish well to the Duke. I shall not offer att the giving you any further trouble at present, hoping my letter under cover to my Lady Peterb^orow mett you at Edinburgh, but with all due respects and service remaine

Your ever faithfull and most obedient Servant,

W^m HEWER.

B. L.

MR PEPYS TO MR HEWER.

MR. HEWER,

Newcastle, Friday, May 26th, 82.

HAVING, by a former letter from Berwick, owned and thanked for yours by my Lady Peterborough, this comes to do the like for another of the 13th instant, which I met at my arrival here, three days since, and was most welcome to me, as bringing me both the satisfaction of understanding your healths, and the kind resentments you had upon the notice of mine; for which (after what is first due to God Almighty) I give all our friends, and particularly yourself, my most affectionate thanks.

Since my coming hither, Mr. Legg and I have made a step to Durham, (where the Bishop seems to live more like a prince of this, than a preacher of the other world,) and shall, to day, set out for Scarborough, where, if I find none from you, pray let me meet a line or two at Hull, which is the last port we are to touch at in our way home; where I hope we shall, in ten days, have a safe meeting.

I am infinitely bound to my friends in Portugal Row and Winchester Street for their thoughts of me, and the favour of their letters,

which I will acknowledge to them myself from Scarborough, where we shall (God permitting it) be to-morrow. Sir Ralph Delavall just now coming in, and forcing us away to a seat of his, some few miles from this place, (where he will have us eat with him before we sail,) interrupting me in my letter to them this post; pray tell them, therefore, in the mean time (to stay their kind stomachs) that I thank them, love them, long to see them, and (having thus escaped* will not now despair of living to serve them.

And this leads me to the tidings you give me of *our friend* Scott, whom God is pleased to take out of our hands into his own for justice; for should he prevail with the widow for her forgiveness, (which yet, in some respects, I could wish might be prevented), there is the King's pardon behind, which I suppose he will not easily compass, unless by some confessions, which I am confident he is able to make, relating to the state as well as us, that might enough atone for this his last villainy; nor do I doubt, but to save his own life, he will forget his trade and tell truth, though to the hazard of the best friends he has; which pray let Sir Anto. Deane think of, and of putting in a caveat against his getting any pardon from Court (if he should attempt it) till we are first heard, which (upon advising) I believe he and you will find the thing regular enough for us to do.

We daily long to hear of the Duke's arrival in the River.

Mr. Legg gives you his service, which pray distribute from me also among all our friends, and to yourself my most serious wishes of health and all that is good.—Adieu!

S. P.

B. L. orig.

LORD DARTMOUTH TO MR PEPYS.

DEARE SIR,

Tangier, Jan. 11th, 1683.

YOU will easily imagine the condition we have beene in here, by the ill weather you have beene witness of where you have beene; but yet, God be thanked, we have struggled in it so farr, that the Mole is

* Illegible.

totally destroyed; neye, much more then you will immagine, till you see it, which I hope will be as soone as conveniently you can; for when the Alcade and I come to treate of slaves, I shall want both your advice and assistance, (for which I must ever acknowledge myselfe already sufficiently indebted,) and Mr. Hewer for paying and accounting the mony. Pray make no scruple of taking any man of warr (that is, of His Majesties fleete) to bring you hither when you thinke fitt to command her; and I send you inclosed an order, that you may please to put in the commander's name when you can come to me; for nothing they can pretend (if the shipp be in condicon) can be of more service to His Majesty than bringing you hither, whose judgment and kindness I have an intire confidence in, being, from my heart,

Your most obliged and

Faithfull friend,

And humble Servant,

DARTMOUTH.

As Atkins has drawne the order, no commander's name need now be added, so that you may apply it to whom and when you please.

But remember Harry Williams is my old friend, and since he is in hopes of making his fortune, I would not injure him,

B. L. *orig.*

WILL. HOWE* TO M^R PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

Barbadoes, May 2d, 1683.

I MAKE use of this opportunity by Sir Rich^d Dutton, from whome, at his arrivall here, I received an account of your good health by word of mouth, with an assurance that you were very much my friend; the influence of which I have reason to beleieve hath procured

* Vide Diary, *passim*.

mee many and great civilities from Sir Richard, who, I must assure you, is a true friend to the Kinge, and all his prerogatives; which is rare to finde among the old planters of this island, there being but very few that love the Kinge or his prerogative as they should doe, being very factious in the originall settlement, and being most of them sectaries and men of very mean beginnings; but they being now very rich and purse proud, they neither feare God, nor reverence the Kinge and his authoritie, as they ought to doe: and were not monarchie now in fashion, (which God grant may always be!) there would be fewer proselytes than ever, and did not the greatnesse of their estates keepe them in awe, I know not what extreames they would venture upon; and whosoever is Governour of this place, will finde enough to doe to discover the subtleties of these people, and keep them in true and loyall subjection, though indeed there are a great many gentlemen that are later settlers that have purchased, who are very loyall and good subjects to His Majestie and Government. And upon elections to Parliament (called Governor, Counsell, and Assembly of this Island,) there is as much industry used by the factious sort of people, in every precinct here, to thrust out the good subjects from being elected, as in many places in England; and Sir Richard Dutton, findeing many gentlemen in great places and power, to be very factious, I presume, thought it his dutie to displace severall, and commit their trusts into the hands of such as would be more faithfull to the Kinge and his prerogative. It is a common position among these factious sectaries, that there is noe medium betweene a true Churchman of England and a Roman Catholic; soe that those that are for strict monarchy and arbitrary government must needs be Roman Catholicks, or well wishers to them, which is brand enough to prevent elections of such men, and is alsoe a colour for their other disobediences to their Prince and his lawfull succession.

I wish heartily that the prevalence of these factious rich men, and their interest at home, be not insinuated by secondary means to the prejudice of Sir Richard: the occasion of his goeing for England soe soone is a kinde of surprise to many; but those that are the King's friends

will wish him (if the Kinge pleases) back again, or one of his constitution as to Government.

I perceiveth that the Lords Commissioners for Foraine Plantacions have a great direction in the affairs of this island, and others in the West Indies; pray let mee intreat you (as you have opportunity,) to adde to the rest of your favours, that I may receive such encouragement as my character here will permit of, by any Governour that hath beene here since my comeing hither, or any of the Councell here.

I wish I had taken noe leave of the Mayor and Court of Aldermen, which I did upon your advice the second time; for when they had got us into Court, (Sir William Turner not being there,) they, haveing fined mee arbitrarily five hundred pounds when wee were at Court before, instead of remitting any of the fine, did then, by menaces and threats of imprisonment, compell me to enter into a bond for the payment of five hundred pounds, which fine was contrary to their custome and charter; and Sir John Kinge, that was commended by Sir William Turner for our Councell, was then with us in Court, and when hee saw that nothing would serve but goeing to prison, or bond for the fine, (it being a long vacation, and noe Habeas Corpus to be had for three months time, the Judges being just gone the circuit,) hee advised mee to give the bond up, on their menace, rather than goe to goale, haveing noe estate reall or personall in their hands, assuring mee that hee never knew any of those bonds, so obtained, to be sued, but that they were usually taken off by petition, which I should have done mysele if my occasions had not called mee hither; but I wrot to M^r Gooding severall times, who made light of it, telling mee the Court would never sue a bond obtained against their custome, and when they knew there was noe reall consideration in it; since which time M^r Henchman, merchant, my correspondent, and M^r Gooding writes mee word, that the Sword-bearer hath got the bond, and that it is sued to an outlawry. I shall humbly intreat you to informe yoursele, by Sir William Turner, or some other of the Court, whether they have given any such direction to the Recorder, (to whome the bond and all recognizances are given, for the use of the

Citie,) to prosecute the bond, or how it comes to be done; and be pleased to intimate it to M^r Tho. Hinchman, merchant, or M^r Gooding, whome I shall direct to wait upon you, for your favour in this matter. M^r Gooding has exhibited a Bill to stop it in Equitie, and I have ordered them to reverse the outlawry, and alsoe to observe the best methods they can to take it up from the Court; but if nothing can prevaile there, that you will be pleased to give your countenance to it by your selfe or some of your acquaintance, truely to represent it to my Lord Keeper, my Lord Chiefe Justice North that was; or, that if it shall come to the Kinge and Councell, that you will be pleased to assist them in what applications they shall be advised by Councell to make there in our behalfe, if it cannot be determined otherways: but for the presumption, I should humbly intreat my Lord Sandwich, and my Lord Chiefe Baron Montagu, which families had always a strict acquaintance and influence with my Lord North's family, to speake a word to my Lord Keeper North in my behalfe, it lying before his Lordshipp in Equitie; and that if we shall be advised to make our addresse to the Kinge and Councell, that (if you thinke fit) application may be made to my Lord Bishop of Durham, if hee be in at Court, to speake a word in my behalfe—it being indeed a case of soe much equitie, and therefore the more fit for the consideration of soe great a prelate, who formerly used to be Chancellor: which favor I doe not presume to obtaine upon my owne account, but only in memory of my noble Lord and patron, the old Lord of Sandwich, who gave mee my first foundation and beginnings. But among the rest of those noble gentlemen I should not forget my noble Lord Thomas Crew, who I found had always an inclination to doe good and generous actions. Sir, I humbly conclude with my dutie and service to those honourable persons, with my humble service to your selfe, and remain,

Your most dutifull Sonne and Servant,

WILL. HOWE.

Pray doe mee favour to let the inclosed be sent my Lord Sandwich.

B. L. *orig.*

SIR CLOWDESLEY SHOVEL TO SIR MARTIN WESCOMB.

(Transmitted to Mr. Pepys.)

June the 22, 1683, from aboard the James
Galley, att 11 a clocke at night.

SIR,

YOURS I have rec^d, and give your honour thanks for your advice and councell. Sir, my orders call me from this place a Sunday next, therefor I think to saile tomorrow for the Bay of Bulls, if the weather permite; and on Sunday I shall proceed according to my orders, which I shall ever be carefull in keeping, especially my Royal orders, which positively command me to salute neither garison nor flagg of any forrainer, except I am certine to receave gunne for gunne. Pray, Sir, doe me the favour to gett my two trumpeters: their names are Walter Ashley and William Quinte, the former about 21 yeares old, the latter about 17: they are aboard the Starr, one of the Armada shippes that was built in Holland. Not else to trouble your honour at present, I remaine,

Honoured Sir,

Your most humble Serv^t to command,

CLOW. SHOVELL.

U. *orig.*

MR PEPYS TO MR EVELYN.

SIR,

Portsmouth, Aug. 7, 1683.

YOUR kinde sumons of y^e 2^d instant has overtaken me here, where it cannot be more suprising to you to finde me, than it is to me to find myself; the King's comānd (without any account of y^e reason of it) requiring my repayre hither at lesse than eight and forty hours warning: not but that I now not only know, but am well pleased

with y^e errand; it being to accompany my L^d of Dartmouth (and therewth to have some service assigned me for His Ma^y) in his present expedition, wth a very fayre squadron of ships, to Tangier.

What our work nevertheless is, I am not sollicitous to learn, nor forward to make griefes at, it being handled by our masters as a secret. This only I am sure of, that over and above y^e satisfaction of being thought fitt for some use or other, (tis no matter what,) I shall go in a good ship, with a good fleet, under a very worthy leader, in a conversation as delightfull as companions of y^e first forme in divinity, law, physick, and y^e usefullest parts of mathematics can render it, namely, Dr. Ken, Dr. Trumbull, Dr. Lawrence, and Mr. Shere; w^h y^e additionall pleasure of concerts (much above y^e ordinary) of voices, flutes, and violins; and to fill up all (if any thing can do't where Mr. Evelyn is wanting), good humour, good cheere, some good books, y^e company of my nearest friend Mr. Hewer, and a reasonable prospect of being home againe in lesse than two months. But, after all, Mr. Evelyn is not here, who alone would have beene all this, and without whom all this would be much lesse than it is, were it not that, leaving him behind, I have something in reserve (and safe) to returne to, wherewith to make up whatever my best enquirys and gatherings from abroad, without his guidance, shall (as I am sure they must) prove defective in; with which, comitting myselfe to your good wishes, as I do you and your excellent family to God Almighty's protection, I rest,

Dear Sir,

Your most faythf^{ull} and most obed^t Ser^t,

S. PEPYS.

If you have not already done it at my last request, pray let me repete y^e necessity I am under of using your authority wth my Lady Tuke, in getting my not wayting on her excused; her favors to me (for your sake) haveing long since challenged those thanks from me w^{ch} now must be respited till my return, unless you 'l give me credit, and pay them in my absence.

B. L. *orig.*

MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Sayes Court, 10 Aug. 83.

I FIND mysele surpriz'd and over-joy'd together: the one, by so unexpected an occasion of your absence from us; the other, for abundance of reasons, and that you are come into the publique againe, and do not wholly resigne yoursele to speculation, nor withdraw your industrious and steady hand from the helme of that greate vessel in which we are all imbarked with you. Methinke I respire againe, and (tir'd as I am) hope to see the good effects of God Almightyes late providences. 'Tis a faire omen, Sir, and an illustrious marke of His Majesties discernement, that he recalls and makes choice of such worthy instruments; and no small blessing, that he has faculty (at last) to govern and dispose as he does, after all the hardships and contradictions of a wanton and giddy people through which he struggles. For the rest, I dive not into secrets, but infinitely congratulate your felicitie, and the greate satisfaction you must needes derive from such a union as you describe. Methinke when you recount to me all the circumstances of your voyage, your noble and choyce companie, such usefull as well as delightfull conversation, you leave us so naked at home, that 'till your returne from *Barbarie* we are in danger of becoming barbarians. The heroes are all embarkd with my Lord Dartmouth and Mr. Pepys; nay, they seem to carry along with them not a colonie only, but a college, nay, an whole universitie—all the sciences, all the arts, and all the professors of them too. What shall I say! You seeme to be in the ship that Athenæus speakes of, was so furnished with all that the land afforded, as it more resembled an imperial city than the floating and artificial fabric of a carpenter. May you be blessed, Sir, with as prosperous a voyage and expedition, as the possessors of so much real vertue, and an assembly of so many ex-

cellent and worthy persons, highly merite; and may I allwayes be numbered amongst the many who greatly honour you, and who remaines,

Sir,

Your most humble

And faithfull Servant,

J. EVELYN.

Sir, amongst so many worthy persons, particular obligations call for the presentment of my most humble service to my Lord Dartmouth, Dr. Trumball, Mr. Hewer, and Mr. Sheeres, &c.

I have not forgotten to make your complement to my Lady Tuke some time since, and I shall let her know how worthily you have her in your thoughts.

I am sure you cannot but be curious (among other things) to enquire of *medals* and *inscriptions*, especially what may be found about old Tangier, &c. Mr. Sheeres will remember also *the poor Gardener*, if he happen on any kernels or seeds of such trees and plants (especially ever-greenes) as grow about those precincts. Were it not possible to discover whither any of those *Citrine-trees* are yet to be found, that of old grew about the foote of *Mount Atlas*, not far from *Tingis*; and were here-to-fore in *delicijs* for their politure and natural maculations, to that degree, as to be sold for their weight in gold? *Cicero* had a table that cost him ten-thousand sesterces, and another, which I have read of, that was valued at 140000 H. S., which at 3^d H. S. amounted to a pretty sum; and one of the *Ptolomies* had yet another of far greater price, insomuch as when they used to reproach their wives for their luxury and excesse in pearle and paint, they would retort, and *turn the tables* on their husbands. Now, for that some copies in Pliny reade *cedria*, others *citria*, 'twould be enquired what sort of *cedar* (if any) grows about that mountaine. But, Sir, you see I am growing very impertinent, and humbly beg your pardon for this hasty scribble, fearing, or rather hoping, you are in a propitious gale.

The inconvenient circumstances Cap. Fowler has ben forc'd to leave his wife in here, makes me beg he may partake of your favour upon occasion. I thinke him an honest, loyal, and sturdy sea-man.

B. L. *orig.*

M^{RS} URSULA PEPYS* TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

Sept. 13, [1683.]

THE civilitys I have receivd from you gives mee a beleife that itt will not be disagreeable to you, to lett you know wee are well settled at Edmondthorp, in a very prety seat, and good old house; and, which is best of all, with a fine gentleman who is a kind good husband. Wee should all think our selvs very hapy to see you here; and I hope, if any occation draw you this way, you will be so kind as to rest your selfe here a while; and I am sure my daughter and her husband would make you a very hearty wellcome. I beg your pardon for the troble I gave you last, and intreat you to beleive I have a respect and esteem of your meritt, which accompanys me in all places whear dwells,

Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient Servant,

UR. PEPYS.

C. *orig.*

M^R EVELYN TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

Sayes Court, June 8, 1684.

WITH your excellent book,† I return you likewise my most humble thanks for your inducement of me to read it over again, finding in it, as

* Ursula, daughter of Bryan Stapylton, Esq. married Thomas Pepys; Esq. of Merton Abbey, Surrey, Master of the Jewel Office to Charles II. Their only child, Olivia, had just been united to Edward, eldest son of Sir Edward Smith, of Edmundthorpe in Leicestershire, the place mentioned in the letter.

† Burnet's Theory of the Earth.

you told me, several things omitted in the Latin (which I had formerly read with great delight), still new, still surprising, and the whole hypothesis so ingenious and so rational, that I both admire and believe it at once. I am infinitely pleased with his thoughts concerning the universe, intellectual and material, in relation to the despicable mole-hill on which we mortals crawl and keep such a stir, as if the *To Παῦ* (this all) were created for us little vermin: it was ever my thought since I had the use almost of reason. I know nothing of the author's person or circumstances; but he has a great genius, and bravely enlarges the empire of our narrow speculations, and repent spirits, whose contemplations extend no further than their sense. In the mean while I cannot but wonder any man should imagine that this theorie does in the least derogate from the Holy Scriptures, as some peevish and odd men I have met with pretend. Was ever any thing better said to convince the Atheist, than what he has written concerning matter and motion, and the universal Providence, to the reproach of chance, and our contingent fops? There needs no more than his 10th and 11th chapters to confound those unthinking wretches. In a word, Sir, the gentleman has doubtless a noble and large soul, and one would wish to be acquainted with him; for one that is so bright and happy in his own thoughts, cannot but influence and illuminate all that converse with him with that generous and becoming candour, which is due to so much reason and so great delight.

I am, Sir, for this, and innumerable civilities,

Y^r most humble

And faithful Servant,

J. E.

Mr. Flamstead has lately advertised me of an eclipse of the moon, which will happen the 17th of this month, about 3 in the morning; and wished I would give you notice of it, that if your leisure permitted he might have the honor of your company, and I should readily wait upon you.

B. L. *orig.*

MR ABRAHAM TILGHMAN TO MR PEPYS.

HONO^{BLE} SIR,

Deptford, Feb^r 9th, 86, 4 o'clock.

WHILEST Comiss^r S^t Michell* is drowned in tears, and his spirit sinking under the sence of so heavy a loss, I am by him commanded to acquaint your Honour that this afternoone, about one, his lady fell in travell, and was, about two, delivered of a son; but the birth of the child became the death of the mother, for within a quarter of an houre after her soul expired, and hath left a husband and numerous family bleeding under (I think) the saddest accents of sorrow I ever saw.

I most humbly beg leave to subscribe,

Hon^{ble} Sir,

Your Honours most obedient and

Most humble Servant,

ABRA. TILGHMAN.

B. L. *orig.*

SIR PHILIP CARTERET TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Jersey, Novemb. the 3rd, 1686.

THOUGH nether nature nor fortune have plasd mee in a poste, where I might repay by my services those great favors and kindnesses I have receavd from you, yet I think I cannot be dispensed from endeavoring to show that I have a gratefull sense of them; and that if my power was suitable to my desiers, I should seek other ways of expressing my acknowledgements than by these few lines, or the inconsiderable present of three brâse of partridges, and a small barel of carpes—the onely things this poor island can affoord, wich are not in greater

* Mrs. Pepys's Brother.

plenty in England, wick I make bold to send to you by the Captain of the Kingfisher, and wick I beg of you to accept. If I could be servisable to you here, in informing you of what naval preparations are made upon our naibouring coast of Normandy and Britanny, the continual concourse betwik our marchants and thers may give me an oportunity of doing it; and my zeal for His Majesty's and your service will make me carefull and diligent in it. This is all I can propose to myself in my desire of showing my gratitude, for I am, with all the respect imaginable,

Your most humble Servant,

PH. CARTERET.

My wife allsoe thanks you for your last favor, and presents her service to you.

Docketted—With a present of red-legged partridges.

B. L. orig.

CESARE MORELLI TO M^R PEPYS.

Bruxelles, ce 23 Novembre,
stile de Flandre, 1686.

MONSIEUR ET MON UNIQUE BIENFAICTEUR,

Je vous demande mille pardons de ce que je vous n'ay pas escrit plustôt; mais la cause fut, que ayant trouvé ma mere et ma soeur mort, j'ay esté obligé d'aller au pays d'Hainault pour voir l'estat des peu d'heritage qui estoit resté; mais ayant veue, je les ay trouvé tout ruiné, et les maisons abattues, par les dernieres gueres de l'Espagne avec la France, tellement qu'il m'est resté que les semples terres, et ces la encor en mauvais état: je 'les ay voulu vendre, mais on m'at offert si peu que rien. Si j'aurois scu avant mon depart de Londres le mechant de mes affaires en Flandre, je n'aurois pas m'esloigné de vostre protection.

Le bruit s'etende par tout que Sa Majeste Britannique va former sa Chapelle de Musiciens; vous m'avez fait esperer par vostre puissant

appuy que j'en serois un du nombre, si vous avez encor les mesmes bontez pour vostre creature [je vous supplie de me faire scavoir par cet mien Amy Le Sieur Hiestin, porteur de la presente lettre], je me transporteray avec joye pour jouir les effets de voz graces, et en mesme temps vous donner des preuves et marque de ma gratitude par mes continuellés soins de vous plaire en ce que vous m'honorerez de vos commandement : entretemps je prie Dieu pour la prosperité de vostre tres chere personne, estant eternellement,

Monsieur et mon unique Bienfacteur,

Vostre tres humble et tres oblige Serviteur,

CESARE MORELLI.

B. L. *orig.*

SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL TO MR PEPYS.

DEAR SIR,

King's Weston, 15 Jan. 1686-7.

I HAD by my son your most obliging letter of the 18th past, and if country wishes and country gratitude could doe you any good, the young man and I will be answerable for your welfare. He is going to Oxford till Michaelmas next, having mett a tutour to our mind, who then meanes to leave the place : tis one D' Lane of Merton College, who intends to follow the Civill Law, and in the interim to poure in logick as fast as his disciple can swallow. From thence I intend him for Lincolnes Inn, and to take his fortune in the law.

I had thoughts of travell and preparations for the like scene his father trod; but the ground being growne too slippery for every bungler, lett us venture him into Westminster Hall, where the cats fall alwayes on their legs.

I was at Mr. Blathwayts wedding when your letter came to hand, and I shew'd him your kind thoughts of his case, which I can assure you added not a little to his comfortable importance.

All I will add shall be to wish you a most happy new yeare, and to

assure you that if I were good for any thing, I would offer you my service. I pay all duty to my Lord Dartmouth, and am ever,

Sir,

Your most affect. and

Faithfull humble Servant,

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

B. L. orig.

SIR SAM. MORLAND TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Satur. 19 Feb. 1686-7.

I WENT about 3 or 4 days since to see what the Commissioners of the Navy had done upon the order you sent them relating to the new gun carriages, &c. but mett none but S^r Jo. Narborough, who told me your order expres^t a tryal of shooting to be made like that at Portsmouth, which was impracticable at Deptford; because shooting with powder only was no tryall, and shooting with bullets too dangerous. And therefore his opinion (which he did believe would be the opinion of the whole Board) was, that to each new carriage should be the addition of a windless, and also the false truck at the end of the carriages; and that all other things, as eybolts, tackles, &c. should be left as they are in the old carriages, till such time as a full tryall be made of the new way, both at sea and in a fight; and then what shall prove to be useless in the old way, may bee wholly left off, and layd aside.

I would have wayted on you with this account myself, but I presume you have ere this time heard what an unfortunate and fatall accident has lately befallen me, of which I shall give you an abbreviat.

About 3 weeks or a month since, being in very great perplexities, and almost distracted for want of moneys, my private creditors tormenting me from morning to night, and some of them threatning me with a prison, and having no positive answer from His Majesty about the 1300*l*. which the late Lord Treasurer cutt off from my pension so severely, which left a debt upon mee which I was utterly unable to pay,

there came a certain person to me, whom I had relieved in a starving condition, and for whom I had done a thousand kindnesses; who pretended in gratitude to help me to a wife, who was a very vertuous, pious, and sweet disposition'd lady, and an heiress who had 500*l.* per ann. in land of inheritance, and 4000*l.* in ready money, with the interest since nine years, besides a mortgage upon 300*l.* p' an. more, with plate, jewels, &c. The Devil himself could not contrive more probable circumstances than were layd before me; and when I had often a mind to enquire into the truth, I had no power, believing, for certain reasons, that there were some charms or witchcraft used upon me: and with-all believing it utterly impossible that a person so obliged should ever be guilty of so black a deed, as to betray me in so barbarous a manner. Besides that, I really believ'd it a blessing from Heaven for my charity to that person, and I was, about a fortnight since, led as a fool to the stocks, and married a coachmans daughter not worth a shilling, and one who about 9 months since was brought to bed of a bastard; and thus I am both absolutely ruined in my fortune and reputation, and must become a derision to all the world.

My case is, at present, in the Spiritual Court, and I presume that one word from His Majesty to his Proctor, and Advocate, and Judge, would procure me speedy justice: if either our old acquaintance or Christian pity move you, I beg you to put in a kind word for me, and to deliver the enclosed into the King's own hands, with all convenient speed; for a criminal bound and going to execution is not in greater agonies, than has been my poor active soul since this befell me: and I earnestly beg you to leave in 3 lines for me with your own porter, what answer the King gives you, and my man shall call for it. A flood of tears blind my eys, and I can write no more, but that I am

Your most humble but

Poor distressed Serv^t,

S. MORLAND.

B. L. orig.

D^R PEACHELL TO M^R PEPYS.

HONOURD SIR,

Magd. Coll. Camb.

Febr. 23th, 86-7.

I AM to retorne you manifold thankes for many favours, particularly for the warrant for the Doe, though our audit was put off; and for crediting us with the education of your nephew, who came to continue last Tuesday, and I shall be very mindfull of his health, behaviour, and improvement, while God continueth him and me together.

I must not conceale from such a friend as you, what before this comes to you will be known in Court and City. His Majesty was pleasd to send a letter directed to me, as Vicechancellor, to admit one Alban Francis, a Benedictine Monk, Master of Arts, without administring any oath or oaths to him. Now, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy being required by the statutes of Eliz. and Jac. 1st, I could not tell what to do—decline his Majesties letter, or his lawes: I could but pray to God to direct, sanctifie, and governe me in the wayes of his lawes; that so through his most mighty protection, both here and ever, I may be preserved in body and soul: then by our Chancellour I indeavoured to obtaine His Majesties release, which could not be obtained. I thought it unmannerly to importune his Sacred Majesty, and was afraid to straine friends against the graine; and so could only betake myselfe to my owne conscience, and the advice of loyall and prudent men, my friends; and after all, I was perswaded that my oath as Vicechancellor, founded on the statutes, was against it, and I should best exercise a conscience void of offence towards God and man, by deprecating his Majesties displeasure, and casting myselfe upon his princely clemency.

Worthy Sir, tis extraordinary distresse and affliction to me, after so much indeavour and affection to his Royall person, crown, and succession, I should at last, by the providence of God, in this my station, be thus exposed to his displeasure; but I must commit myselfe to the great God, and my dread Sovereigne, the law and my friends, none

of which I would have hurt for my sake, but desire all favour and helpe they think me capable of without hurting themselves; for if I do ill, tis not out of malice, but feare of the last judgment, and at the worst through involuntary mistake. Sir, I am sorry I have occasion to give you this information and trouble; but you will pardon, I hope, if you cannot helpe, Sir,

Your most devoted Servant,

What ever befall,

J. PEACHELL.

The business was transacted yesterday, and I presently gave account to the E. of Sunderland and D. of Albemarle, imploring their candid representation to the King's Majesty, whom God save.

B. L. orig.

MR JOHN JACKSON TO MR PEPYS.

VIR NOBILISSIME ET AMPLISSIME!

ANIMUS herclè meus in verecundiâ atque pudore usque antehac attentus fuit, qui toties me ingratitude maculam sustinuisse coegit, tanta autem tua jam in me beneficia redundant, ut in ipsam justitiam peccem si tacendo, diutius tam inhumaniter a me actum esset; gratias igitur haberem, nec me penes est; quantum enim (Vir illustrissime!) tibi debeam, exprimere stupet lingua, depingere calamus; hoc autem mihi negotii (dum in vivis agam) credam potissimum dari, ut gratum erga te animum ostendam; jam vero nihil amplius in me est, nisi vitam longam, omnemque tibi beatitudinem precari, et meipsum subscribere,

Observantissimum Nepotem,

Et ad omnia tua imperata paratissimum,

JOHANNEM JACKSON.

Dedi e Musæo meo Cantabrigiæ,
Vicesimo quarto die Februarii, 1686-7.

Docketted—"My nephew Jo. Jackson's first letter to me after his going to reside at Magdalene College, in Cambridge."



See G. Kneller pinet

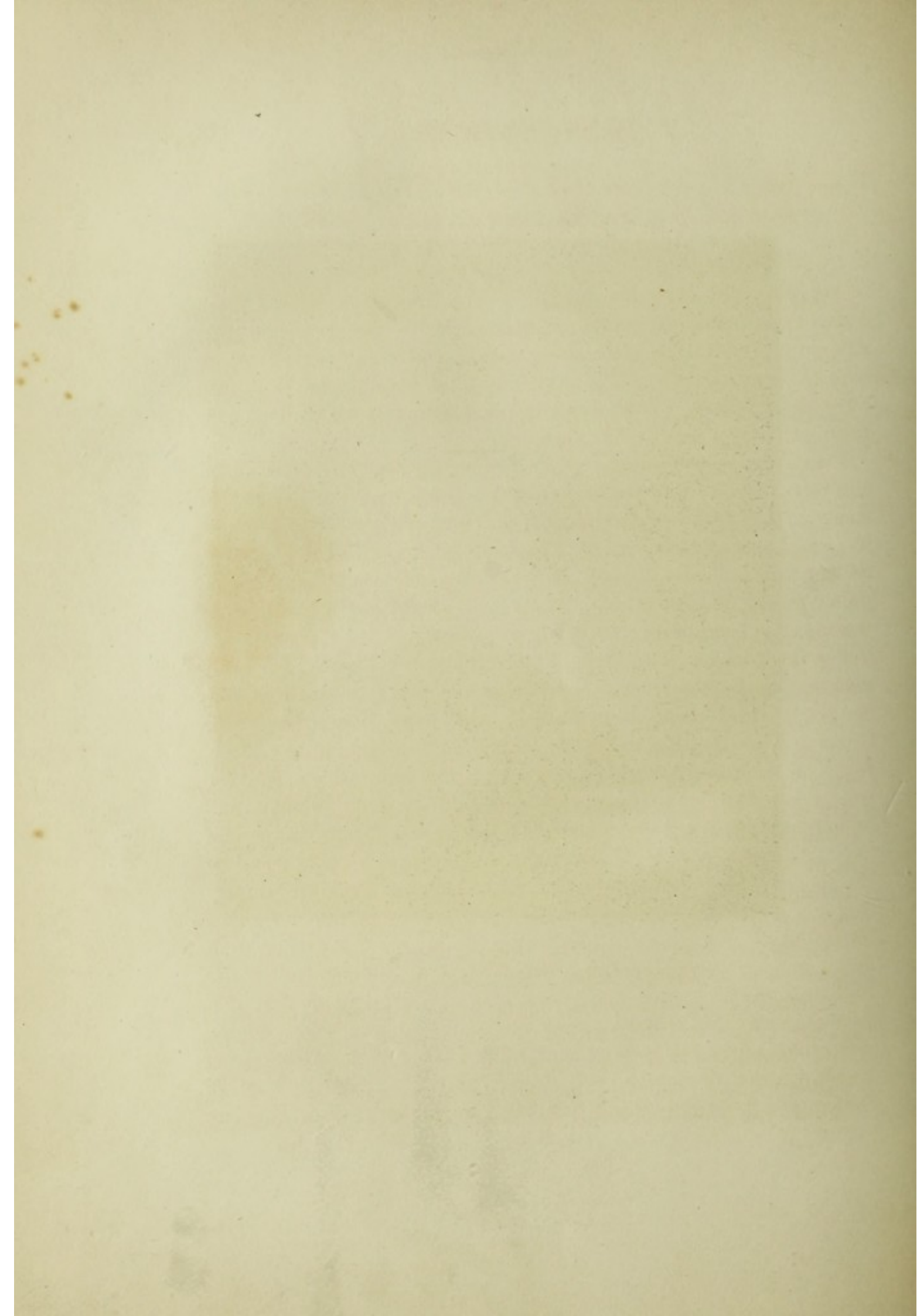
A. Cooper sculp

JOHN JACKSON ESQ^r

NEPHEW OF SAMUEL PEPPYS.

From the Original in the possession of S. P. Cockburn Esq^r

London Published by Henry Colman, New Burlington St. May 1823.



B. L. *orig.*

DR PEACHELL, VICE CHANCELLOR OF CAMBRIDGE, TO MR PEPYS.

HONOURD SIR,

Well Court, Apr. 23, 87.

AMONGST and after abundance of kindnesses I could not but much please myselfe with the notice you were pleasd to take of me the other day in the withdrawing room, being at that time something indisposed with a cold, which not only stuffed, but a little stupified my head, and affected my spleen. That day I increasd my cold, which hath confined me these 2 dayes to my chamber.

I am sorry as well as unhappy to be brought to a strait twixt God and man: the lawes of the land, and the oathes we lie under, are the fences of God's Church and religion professed and establishd amongst us; and I cannot suffer myself to be made an instrument to pull down those fences. If His Majesty, in his wisdom and according to his supreme power, contrive other methods to satisfie himselfe, I shall be no murmurer or complainer, but can be no abetter.

For the doctrine, discipline, and worship of our Church, I heartily believe, was neyther fetched from Rome nor from Geneva, from Willembergh, Amsterdam, nor Munster, but from Hierusalem, from Christ and his Apostles, and the first centuries of the primitive Church. In which centuries, who were heretiques, and since which, for 1200 yeares last past, who have swerved from what was primitive, and brought innovations, the infallible God will one day judge: in patient hope and expectation of which righteous judgment I rejoyce, and by the grace of God will venture all; not troubling myselfe with disputing, but preparing myselfe to do and suffer according to the will of God, that so I may commit the keeping of my soule to him in well-doing as to a faithfull Creator. Sir, I left your kinsman well in the Colledge, and likely to do well: his behaviour is innocent, modest, and diligent; his tutor tells me, he is very tractable and docile indeed, with solid parts and good memory, not without virtuous and pious knowledge and tincture. God increase all virtue in him! I would wait on you if I stirre abroad, but that I am afraid of occasioning any

reflection upon you. I lodge with one Chambers, in Well Court, behind S^t Bartholomew's Hospitall. I pray pardon me, if I seeme in any measure importune or impertinent, for I am,

Sir, your faithfull and obliged Serv^t,

J. PEACHELL.

B. L. *orig.*

LORD CHANCELLOR JEFFREYS TO M^R PEPYS.

MY MOST HONRD FRIEND,

Bulstrode, July y^e 7th, 1687.

THE bearer, Capt. Wren, came to mee this evening, with a strong fancy that a recommendation of myne might at least entitle him to your favourable reception; his civillities to my brother, and his relation to honest Will Wren (and you know who else), emboldens mee to offer my request on his behalfe. I hope he has served our M^r well, and is capable of being an object of the King's favour in his request: however, I am sure I shall be excused for this impertinency, because I will gladly in my way embrace all opportunities wherein I may manifest myselfe to be what I here assure you I am,

Sir,

Your most entirely

Affectionate Friend and Servant,

JEFFREYS, C.

B. L. *orig.*

FROM JOSIAH BURCHETT TO M^R PEPYS.

HON^{BLE} SIR,

London, Mund. Morn. (Aug. 8th, 1687.)

I AM soe sensible of my late faulte, that 'tis a taske too hard for me to say any thing here in mitigation of what it really is; though, at the same time, I finde it æqually difficult to perswade myselfe that there

is not those in your family who have made soe good use of their time in my absence, as to insinuate to you that this fault of mine is accompanied with many more, whereto (I feare) you have given much more credit than their impudence and treachery could justly intitle them to the hopes of; but since there is no roome for a man after sentence is given, (though it bee never so quick a one,) to appeare againe at the barr, to justify himselfe in all things layd to his charge, I make bold here to say, that during the seven yeares and upwards that I have enjoyed the honour of your service, I have served you faithfully, though (notwithstanding all my endeavours) I could not doe it soe effectually as I could have wished, or as others better qualifed might have done: I doe not say that this is sufficient to entitle me to what you have been pleased to thrust me from; noe, nor soe much as what I am now going to aske, but yet hope it may procure it me: it is, that you would be pleas'd to give me your letter to Captⁿ Wright, in order to my going to sea with him to Jamaica. I know well enough, that whatever you doe, you doe by the rules of justice, and therefore will not dispaire but that this letter (if you'l please to make me soe happy) will be a little favourable. The sea is the only thing which my inclinations have for some considerable time prompted me to, and I hope, that if by your honours favour I can now attaine to it, I shall not behave myself soe ill as to make you repent your kindnesse; and if Captⁿ Wright shall please to afford me any, I will not faile to doe what I am able to deserve it.

I should have been more cautious of troubling you, did not my present condition (notwithstanding the great deale of money which you are pleas'd to think I gott in the office, tho' I am sure, modestly speaking, it has for a whole yeare past been under 30*l*.) force me to it; neither will I add to this slender stipend the many discouragements I have continually layd open to, not only in your service, but much more elsewhere, it being impossible to make you soe sensible of them as I am that have soe long labour'd under them.

I will winde up this troublesome bottom with this small request more, to your Honour, that (if you are not allready too much byass'd to

the contrary) you will doe me soe much justice as to harbour this one good thought of me, that you have allwayes found me

Your faithfull Servant,

J. BURCHETT.*

B. L. *orig.*

JOSIAH BURCHETT TO M^R PEPYS.

HON^{BLE} SIR,

Saturday Noon, (Aug. 13, 1687.)

DID not my utmost necessity force me to it, I could never have taken the liberty of troubling you with this second letter, knowing how unwelcome any thing must be to you that comes from one to whom you have been pleased to express so great an aversion. 'Tis a severe penance I undergo, in being thrown so suddenly out of a family I have soe long earned my bread in, into a wide world, whereto (God knows) I am so great a stranger, that I know not how or where to bestow myself, being constrained (thro' want of money to procure me house-roome) to ramble in those parts where I think I may least expose myselfe to the sight of my friends, which is now grown æqually cruel to that of my enemys.

I should be heartily glad could I but meet with never soe small an employment, whereby I might be able to coop myselfe up; but I am wholly a stranger where to seek it.

I most humbly crave pardon for what I have done amiss, and pray God that you suffer no more wrong from them that have thus exasperated you against me, than I have really done you; and since it is impossible for me to regaine what I have lost, lett me beg some little thing or other to do, to keep me from idlenesse, 'till God shall please otherwise to dispose of me. I know that this is an unreasonable request, but for Gods sake consider that necessity will catch at any

* He afterwards became Secretary to the Admiralty, and published the *Naval History of Great Britain*.

thing, wherein there is the least shew of hope. I heartily beg pardon, also, for this trouble, and remaine,

Hon^{ble} Sir,

Your Honours most obed^t Servant,

J. BURCHETT.

B. L. orig.

MR CHETWOOD TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

August 15, 87.

I RELY upon your accustomed goodness, for this trouble which I create to you, by recommending this skilful and industrious artist to your favour and protection, and particularly that you would give him leave to dedicate a prospect of Magdalen-college, in Cambridge, to you, as the person whose name do's the greatest honour to that Society, and to our whole University. As soon as I retorne to towne, I will do myself the honour of waiting upon you, which your absence at this time deprives me of; for I can never forget your civilities which you were so kind as to think for me, and to give some friendly hints to a young man who had lost his way in the world: this you have probably forgot, but it shall allwayes be thankfully remembered by, Sir,

Your most obedient Serv^t,

K. CHETWOOD.

B. L. orig.

MR BLATHWAYT TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Oxford, the 5th of Sept. 1687.

I HUMBLY beg your pardon that I did not immediately acknowledge the great favor of your first letter, which, considering there was no news nor business stirring with us, I thought a trouble to you,

though my duty. I am extremely obliged by the opportunity you give me of laying your papers before the King, which His Majesty was pleased to dispatch this morning, after reading your letter to himself: they are all returned to you by the first express, in two packets, with the signification of His Majesties pleasure that the Sandades and the Lark be the two ships that are to attend the Yarmouth Fishery, and his approbation of what you propose touching Capt. Fowlers ship, for which His Majesty would not have any Captain appointed as yet, she being to be immediately paid off. This is all I have in commands.

For news, I can only tell you that my Lord President* was taken very ill yesterday morning of a cold, and was lett blood last night. His Lordship, I hear, is better this morning. His Majesty, being informed that the Fellows of Magdalen College had refused to admit the Bishop of Oxford to be their President in the stead of M^r Farmer, sent for them yesterday, after dinner, to his antichamber in Christ Church College, where His Majesty chid them very much for their disobedience, and with much a greater appearance of anger than ever I perceived in His Majesty, who bid them go away immediately and choose the Bishop of Oxford before this morning, or else they should certainly feel the weight of their Sovereigns displeasure. The termes were to this effect, and yet I hear this morning they have not obeyed His Majesties commands, the consequence of which I cannot yet learn. His Majesty is in perfect health, thanks be to God! and after being at a collation the University has prepared in the schools, is going to Cirencester this evening, and tomorrow to Bath, after dining at Badminton. His Majesty did first intend another progress this year into Devonshire, &c., but the weather growing bad, and being moved with compassion towards his poor progressing subjects, whose horses many of them (not to say their bodies) are much out of order, is graciously pleased to respit this expedition till another year, and seems inclined to be at Windsor (before the Queen) towards the middle of the next

* Lord Sunderland.

week. In the mean time expecting your further orders, which shall always meet with a most ready compliance, I remain, with all possible respect,

&c. &c.

WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

I forgott to acquaint you that Sir R. Holmes was laid up of the gout at Limington, and is now either there or in the island: he thought you continued in the progress, or else had writt to you; but in a word, all is well.

B. L. orig.

SIR W^M PETTY TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

Sunday, 4 this Evening.

I AM just now sent to from Bath, where the King will be on Tuesday, for the Papers in your hands. I blush to presse you for your perusall of them, and to make your remarques with that frendly severity you promised. As for the truth in matter of fact, and the justnesse of any inferences, I am content to venture them at the perill of my veracity and reputation: but whether the King will bee pleas'd to have those matters to be discussd and published is beyond my reach. Those only can advise mee who converse much with him. I am sure I meane well, but that may not bee enough for

Your affectionate humble Serv^t,

W^M PETTY.

Docketed—Sept. 4, 1687. S^r W^m Petty to M^r Pepys, upon his Political Papers & Calculations relateing to Ireland and the Improvements thereof.

B. L. *orig.*

SR WM PETTY TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Piccadilly, 8^o September, 87.

IN my owne judgement and conscience there is nothing in our Treatise, not true, not necessary to be considered, and not fitt for the King's knowledge, &c. I therefore thanke God that His Majesty appointed you to examine these my opinions; in which take any assistance you please, whom the King will credit.

2. The matters pretend good to all the Kings subjects, and the meanes propounded are of an high extraordinary nature, and therefore should bee exposed to public view; but for this I am not peremptory for the whole.

1. They are not fit for the public, but must be made plainer; nevertheless I will attend your summons to facilitate this worke, by saving you the labor of turning back to things already proved. I can say no more, but that I am

Your most affectionat humble Servant,

WM PETTY.

I have not broke your seale.

Docketed—Sept. 8, 1687. Sir W^m Petty to M^r Pepys, accompanying a 2^d time his Political Papers about Ireland, for a review.

B. L. *orig.*

MR SLINGSBY TO MR PEPYS;

Accompanying a List of modern English Medals by him offered to sale.

SIR,

11th October, 1687.

You being my ancient friend and good acquaintance, I cannot do lesse than offer to putt into your hands a generall collection of all the medalls made by Roettiers, of which I had an opportunity to chuse the best struck off; and I am sure soe full a collection noe man in England has besides mysele, which you shall have at the same rate

I paid for. When Roettier happens to die, they may be worth five or ten pounds more, and yett are not be had, many of the stampes being broke and spoiled. I have sent you the list to peruse, which if you approve of, I shall much rejoyce at; if not, pray returne the list againe, for I have severall friends will be glad to have them of,

S^r,

Your very affectionate

Friend and humble Servant,

H. SLINGESBY.

If you desire any of the King and Queen's coronation medalls, I have 6 of them that I can spare at 6^s. each.

A LIST OF MONSIEUR ROETTIER'S MEDALLS, WITH CASES.

	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1. The Great Brittania, w th Felicitas Britanniaë	4	10	0
2. The Duke of Yorkes, with Nec minor in Terris	3	14	0
3. The late Kings for the Hospitall, with Institutor Augustus	3	2	0
4. The Compte de Montrée, with Belgiaë et Burgundiaë Gubernator	3	2	0
5. The New Brittannia, with Nullum numen abest	2	3	0
6. The Duke of Yorke, with Genus antiquum	2	3	0
7. The Duke of Lauderdale, with Concilio et Animis	2	0	0
8. The King, for the Fyre Ships, with Pro talibus ausis	1	19	0
9. The King, with Religionis Reformatæ Protectori	1	17	0
10. Collo ^{ll} Stranguiches, with Decusque adversa dederunt	1	17	0
11. The B ^{pp} of Canterbury, with Sancti Caroli Præcursor	1	15	0
12. Another of the same	1	15	0
13. The King, for Bruges, with Redeant Commercia Flandris	1	9	0
14. The First Brittania, with Favente Deo	1	9	0
15. The King, for the Fyre Shipps, with Pro talibus ausis	1	8	0
16. The King's New Invention for Fortifications	1	7	0
17. The King, with his Armes	1	4	0
18. The King on one side and the Queen on the other	0	18	0
19. The King of Spaine, with Flandriaë Ostendæ	0	18	0
20. The Queen Dowager and S ^t Katherine, with Pietate insignis	0	18	0
21. Another of the same	0	18	0
22. The King of Sweeden's Inauguration, 29 May, 1671	0	18	0
23. The King and Queen together, with Diffusus in Orbe Britannus	0	16	0
24. The little one, the King on one side and the Queen on the other	0	10	0
25. S ^r Samuell Moreland's	0	10	0
Total	43	0	0

B. L. *orig.*

SIR SAMUELL MORLAND TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

Mund. Morn. 7 Nov. 1687.

Soon after I wayted on you last, I shewd myself to the King, who told me he would speak to the Lords of the Treasury, and the Tuesday following I putt a memorial into his hand; but since, word has been sent me that nothing was ordered me.

In the mean time I stand excommunicated since 40 days before the Term, and a week since Judge Exton gave leave to that woman's * Proctor to take out a writt against me, which is done, and rude fellows employed who threaten to take me dead or alive, so that I am shutt up as a prisoner in my own hutt near Hyde Park Gate.

In the mean time, had I but 400*l.* (it may be but 300*l.*) in ready money, I could gett the marriage null'd. And will His Majesty let me sink and perish for such a sum?

If the King be resolved to give me no money, yet if he would grant me a talley of anticipation for one years revenue of my pension, I could make a shift. I begg you, to all your other favours, to move his Maj^y once more in the behalf of

Your most humble

And faithful Serv^t,

S. MORLAND.

If nothing be done in 3 or four days' time, all will be lost, and past being retrieved.

B. L. *orig.*

D^R PEACHELL TO M^R PEPYS.

HON^D SIR,

Dec. 19, 1687.

I RETURN you my hearty thanks for your countenance when last with you. I found those few friends I thought fit to consult of your opinion in my case, since my return here, and have occasion given to

* His wife, Lady Morland.

expect a deprivation in a little time, which may probably be pushed on by those who have a mind to be in my room. I am a little afraid, too, my patron, the Earl of Suffolk,* may be content to have me removed, if he may be secure of nominating a successor. Sir, if you may, without notice of yourself or me, discover any such matters to acquaint me with, you will more and more oblige,

Sir,

Y^r very faithful Serv^t,

J. PEACHELL.

B. L. orig.

SIR S. MORLAND TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

17 May, 1688.

BEING of late unable to go abroad, by reason of my lame hip, which gives me great pain, besides that it would not be safe for me at present, because of that strumpet's debts, I take the boldness to entreat you that, according to your wonted favours of the same kind, you will be pleased, at the next opportunity, to give the King this following account.

A little before Christmas last, being informed that she was willing, for a sum of money, to confess in open Court a precontract with M^r Cheek, and being at the same time assured both by hir, and my own lawyers, that such a confession would be sufficient for a sentence of nullity, I did deposit the money, and accordingly a day of tryall was appoynted; but after the cause had been pleaded, I was privately assured that the Judge was not at all satisfied with such a confession of hers, as to be a sufficient ground for him to null the marriage, and so that design came to nothing.

Then I was advised to treat with her, and give her a present sum, and a future maintenance, she giving me sufficient security never to trouble mee more: but her demands were so high, I could not consent to them.

* The right of nominating to the Mastership of Magdalene College, Cambridge, was vested for ever, by the Founder, Lord Audley, in the possessors of Audley End.

After this, she having sent me a very submissive letter by her own advocate, I was advised, both by several private friends and some eminent divines, to take her home, and a day of treaty was appointed for an accommodation.

In the interim, a certain gentleman came on purpose, to my house, to assure me that I was taking a snake into my bosome, forasmuch as she had for six months last past, to his certain knowledge, been kept by and cohabited with Sir Gilb. Gerrard as his wife, &c. Upon which making farther enquiry, that gentleman furnishing me with some witnesses, and I having found out others, I am this Term endeavouring to prove adultery against her, and so to obteyn a divorce, which is the present condition of

Your most humble

And faithful Servant,

S. MORLAND.

B. L. *orig.*

R. SCOTT, THE BOOKSELLER, TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

June 30th, 1688.

HAVING at length procured *Campion, Hanmer, and Spencer's Hist. of Ireland*, fol. (which I think you formerly desired,) I here send itt you, with 2 very scarce bookes besides, viz. *Pricæi Defensio Hist. Britt.* 4^o and old *Harding's Chronicle*, as alsoe the *Old Ship of Fooles* in old verse, by *Alex. Berkley*, priest; which last, though nott scarce, yett soe very fayre and perfect, that seldome comes such another: the *Priceus* you will find deare, yett I never sold it under 10^s, and att this tyme can have it of a person of quality; butt, without flattery, I love to find a rare book for you, and hope shortly to procure for you a perfect *Hall's Chronicle*.

I am, Sir,

Your Servant to command,

ROBERT SCOTT.

Campion, Hanmer, and Spencer, fol.	0 : 12 : 0
Harding's Chronicle, 4 ^o	0 : 6 : 0
Pricæi Defens. Hist. Brit.	0 : 8 : 0
Shipp of Fooles, fol.	0 : 8 : 0
	<hr/>
	1 : 14 : 0
	<hr/>

B. L. *orig.*

SIR SAM. MORLAND TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

19 July, 1688.

I ONCE more begg you to give yourself the trouble of acquainting His Majesty, that upon Munday last, after many hott disputes between the Doctors of the Civil Law, the sentence of divorce was solemnly pronounced in open Court against that strumpet, for living in adultery with Sir Gilbert Gerrard for six months last past ; so that now, unless shee appeal (for which the law allows her 15 days), I am freed from her for life, and all that I have to do, for the future, will bee to gett clear of her debts which she has contracted from the day of marriage to the time of sentence, which is like to give mee no small trouble (besides the charge) for severall months, in the Chancery. And till I gett cleared of these debts, I shall bee little better than a prisoner in my own house. Sir, believing it my duty to give His Majesty this account of myselfe, and of my proceedings, and having no other friend to do it for mee, I hope you will forgive the trouble thus given you by

Your most humble and

Faithfull Serv^t,

S. MORLAND.

B. L. *orig.*

SIR S. MORLAND TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

28 July, 1688.

PRESUMING your great affayres will oblige you to be with the King at Windsor to-morrow, and that my Lord Chancellor will bee there

likewise, I beg your leave to acquaint you, that since the sentence of divorce was solemnly pronounced by the Judg, upon as fayre proofs as ever were brought into Dⁿ Commons, Sir Gilb. Gerrard, who has kept her ever since Christmas last, and still keeps her, and has hitherto feed lawyers to support hir unjust cause against mee, has proceeded to get a certain Proctor to enter an appeal against the sentence; and this morning word is sent mee, that they either have, or will petition my Lord Chancellor to grant a Commission of Appeal, (as pretending the King's Advocat and Proctor have proceeded illegally in this tryall, &c.) Now, the very day that the sentence was pronounced, by way of caution, I putt in a caveat at my Lord Chancellor's Office, to pray that my Lord would not grant a Commission of Appeal before hee had sent for the Councill on both sides, and been informed how mine had proceeded. And the favour I now beg of you is, that you will bee so kind to move the King to speak one word to my Lord Chancellor to that effect, that so I may have some end of all my troubles and vexations, which have almost utterly ruined mee already; assuring you that this is onely a project of the adverse party to weary out, by a continual expence, as *Gutta cavat lapidem*, and at last to insult me.

Your very humble and

Faithfull Serv^t,

S. MORLAND.

U. orig.

MR PEPYS TO MR EVELYN.

SIR,

Windsor, Sept. 10th, 1688.

It has beene my misfortune not to be in y^e way of knowing anything concerning you till Saturday last, when wayting on M^r Stewart (which I had not been able to do, I think, in six weekes before) I met y^e news (that much grieved me) of M^r Evelyn's ill state of health when M^r Stewart was lately with you. Pray favour me with letting me know by y^e bearer how my Lady now is: for I am with

all my heart concerned for her doing well, both for her own sake and yours, & a great many more besides myself. I hope to be in London to morrow, & have appointed my messeng^r to meet mee there with y^e newes he shall have to bring me from you, which I hope will be of her amendment.

To this lett mee add, that I have beene lately called upon afresh by him who gave me formerly occasion of remembring M^r Cowes, & if M^r Cowes be still under y^e same circumstances he was, lett him (if you please) adventure y^e trouble of letting me see him once more as soone as he pleases. But I being now mostly here, it may be easiest for him to come to mee when I am in towne, which probably may be to morrow about noone, and Wednesday all y^e morning; y^e character you have heretofore given me of his modest diligence & sobriety, as well as his other capacitys, greatly disposing mee to serve him, especially where I may serve a freend allsoe, wth whom those virtues will bee valued. I am, with all faythfullnesse,

Your most humble Serv^t,

S. PEPYS.

U. *orig.*

MR PEPYS TO MR EVELYN.

HONORD S^R,

Aug. 30, 1689.

I SHALL never bee anxious ab^t pardon for not doing what I ought, where what I ought is what I can't; and such is y^e giving a due answer to y^e inestimable honour & favour of your letter of this day, and so much y^e less estimable, by that alone for which you would censure it—its length; as containing, in lesse than 5 pages, what would cost me 5 volumes, reading from any other hand but M^r Evelyn's: and yet some answer you shall in time have to it, & y^e best I can give you, namely, by endeavouring to have no syllable of it unpractised, that you have had y^e goodnesse to teach mee in it, & lyes within y^e reach of my pate & purse to execute.

Let this (I beg you) suffice to be sayd upon't at y^e first view; for though I could hardly find time to take breath till I had gone through it, yet I won't promise to have done reading it this month. One word only I would now say to you upon your first words, ab' y^e place I have been bold in dooming yo^r picture to, namely, that besides 40 other reasons I had (founded upon gratitude, affection, and esteeme) to covet that in effigie which I most truly value in y^e originall, I have this one more, that I take it for y^e only head liveing I can hope to invite most by after it, of those few whose memorys, when dead, I finde myselfe wishing I could do any thing to perpetuate; among which fills a principall place, y^e most excellent M^r Boyle, concerning whom I lately bespoke yo^r favour, and dare now be y^e bolder in doing it againe, from my haveing heard that he has newly beene prevayl'd with by D^r King, to have his head taken by one of much lesse name than Kneller's, & a strang^r, one Causabon.

I am ever, yo^r most obed^t Serv^t & Honor^{or},

S. PEPYS.

B. L.

LORD SUNDERLAND TO SIR ROBERT HOLMES.

(Transmitted to Mr. Pepys.)

SIR,

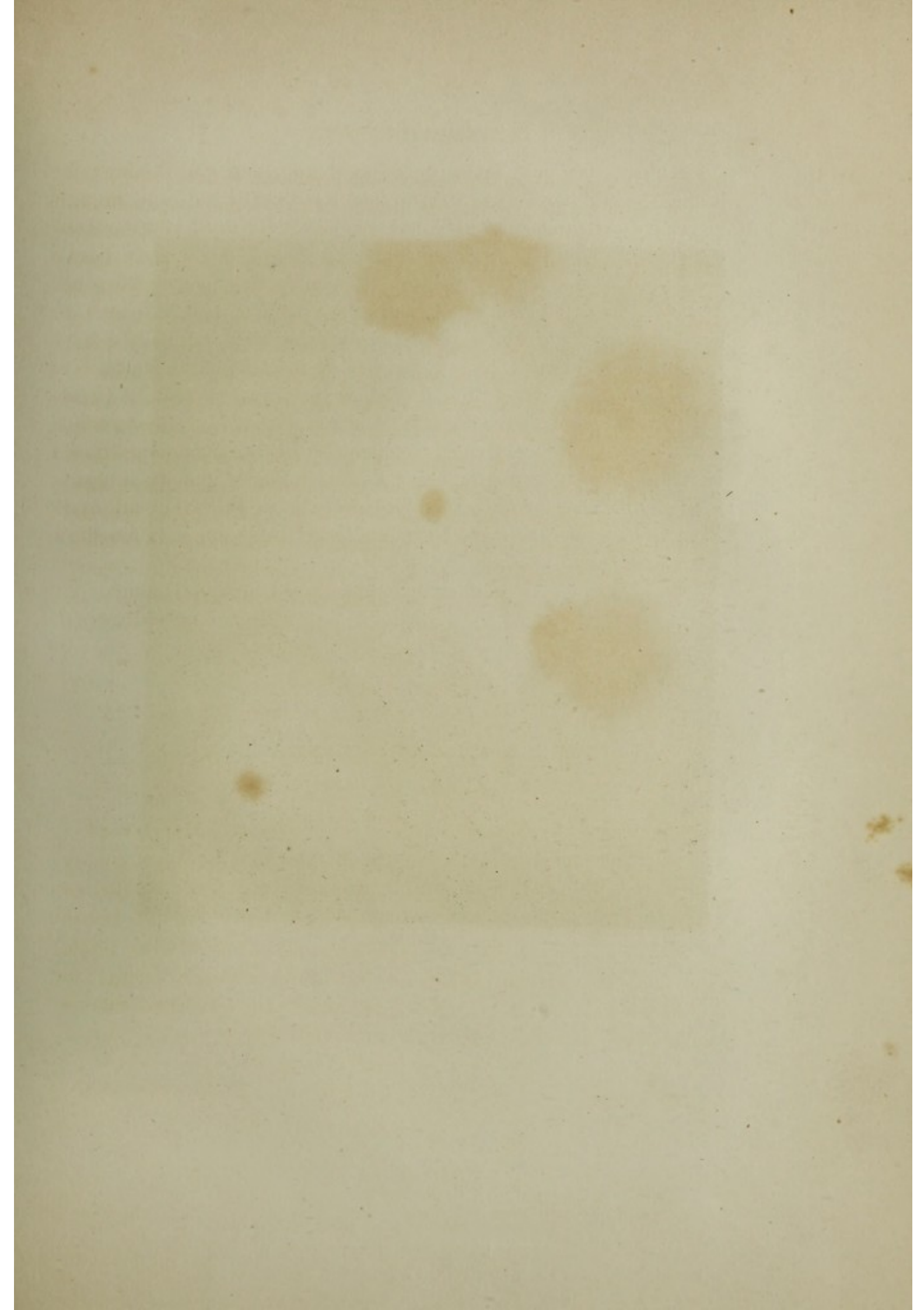
Windsor, September 15th, 1688.

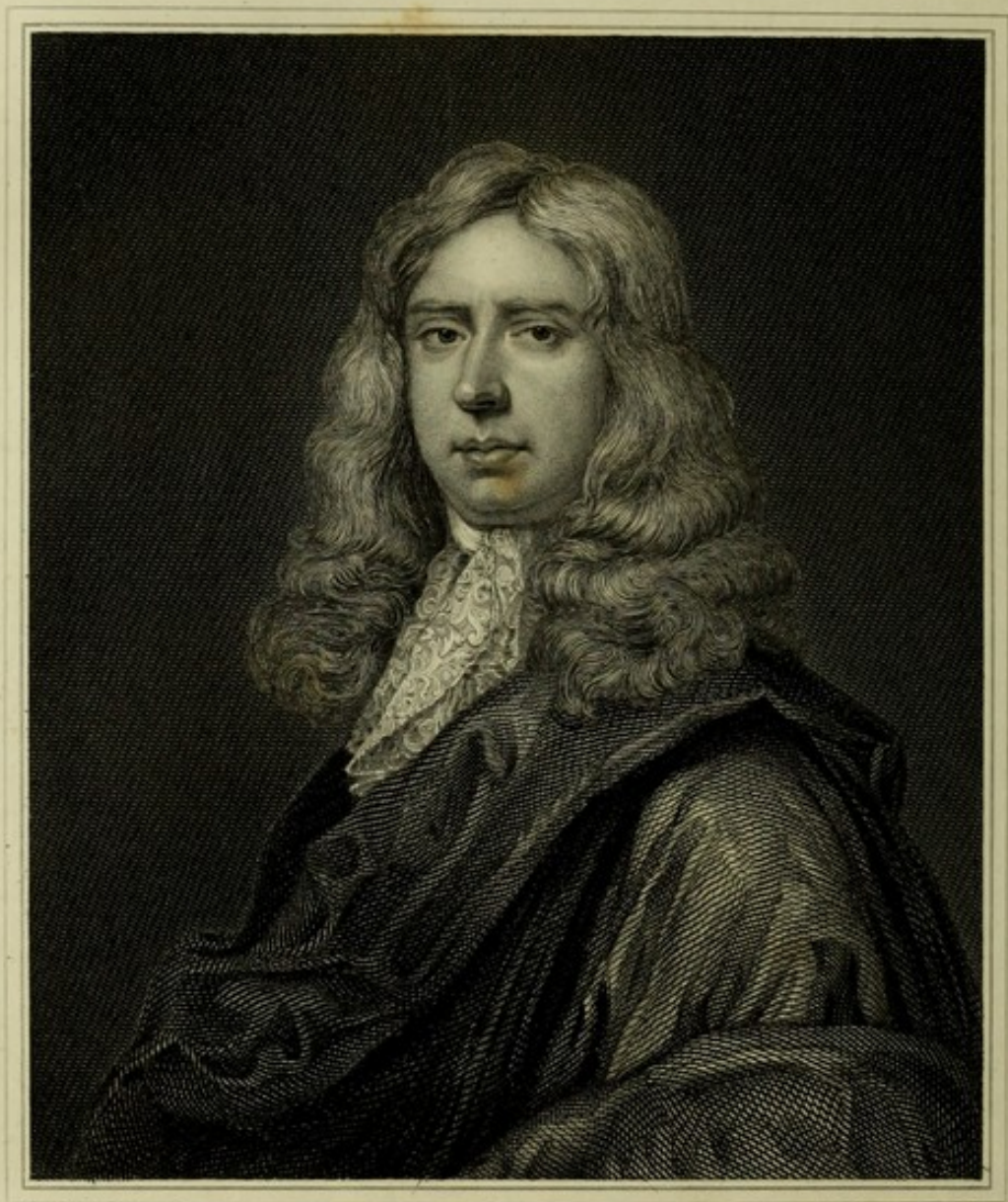
THE King commands me to acquaint you that he approves very well of Mr. William Hewer and Mr. Edward Roberts, for members to serve in Parliament for the borough of Yarmouth; and of yourself and Mr. ——— Nebbervill, for Newport; and of Mr. William Blathwayte and Mr. Thomas Done, for Newtown; and accordingly His Majesty recommends it to you, to give them your assistance, and use your interest, that they may be chosen accordingly.

I am, &c.

Copia vera.

P. SUNDERLAND.





Dr. J. Kneller pinx.

R. Cooper, sculp.

WILLIAM HEWER ESQ.

COMMISSIONER OF THE ADMIRALTY.

From the original in the possession of S. P. Cockerell Esq.

B. L. *orig.*

MR HEWER TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Chatham Dock, the 21 September, 1688.

I GAVE you the trouble by yesterdays post of the Kings being here, and what he ordered at the instance of my Lord Dartmouth and the Comanders here, who seeme all to be very much discontented and dissatisfyed that their men was not removed with them as others were; on which consideration, and the difficulty of getting men at this juncture, wee did not oppose what they had inclined the King to, relating to the small vessells and imprest money to the Coamnders, to enable them to get their ships mann'd. We have hyred three small vessells here for the Comanders of the ships in the margent*, and shall do the like for the other two ships remaining; my Lord Berkley, of the Montagu, at Blackstakes, intending to sail this day, concerning whom and the Board I shall have much to observe to you. Our answer to his letter we sent him, signed by all of us here but S^r W. B., whose reason of refusal I shall acquaint you with at my return, which will be to morrow: in the mean time give me leave to acquaint you that the King did not visit the stores or ships, his time being short; but his reason was, that he was satisfyed all things were very well. S^r Phi. Pett took the opportunity to speak to the King again about his remove from hence; and observed, that it was not only a lessening of his interest at Rochester, but giving opportunity to all persons to think that he had done something to his disservice that might occasion his displeasure, and therefore did desire, if any thing had been suggested to his prejudice, that he might have an opportunity to justify himselfe; upon which the King told him that he was informed by — that he was very infirm and gouty, and that he would do better at the Board than at this place. S^r Phi. Pett replied, that he had not been troubled with the gout this 12 months, and though he was not so nimble in his feet as others were, yet his understanding and judgment

* Henrietta, Rupert, Resolution.

in his profession was the same as ever it was; and therefore desired His Majesty that he might not be removed: to which the King was pleased to promise he should not; and when the Mayor and Aldermen of Rochester attended His Majesty, at S^r Phi. Petts house, to kiss his hand, he was pleased to recommend S^r P. Pett to them, who was still their neighbour, and that he should continue him so, notwithstanding any report that was given out to the contrary. My Lord Tenham, I find, has besturred himselfe very much in his election; and some discourse there was between the King and S^r A^y Deane about the business of this yard, and S^r Ph. Pett, from which I find the King received greate satisfaction, but ——— the contrary; so that he hopes by your favour he may be continued here, which will be, as matters now stand, greatly to the Kings service. So, with all due respects and service, heartily praying for the continuance of your health,

I remaine, &c. &c.

W^m HEWER.

B. L. *orig.*

D^R PEACHELL TO M^R PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

Magd. Coll. 7^{br}, 28th, 88.

I WAS prepared once this day to have come in person with my thanks and answer to the honoured Lord Dartmouth, but it proved and continues so rainy and stormy, that I am discouraged, and constrained to betake myselfe to the carrier I mentioned yesterday.

Sir, I have cast up my thoughts and affaires, and do find that I cannot possibly put myselfe and them in order to be in a readinesse to receive his Lordshipp's favour and honour offered me, so soone as I presume his service will necessarily require. 'Tis true, my concernes are more other mens than myne owne, but pressing and binding me more than if they were wholly mine owne.

I beseech you (Sir), with my most humble thanks to his honour, acquaint him with this my answer and circumstances, which I am not

particular in, cause I would not be tedious or impertinent. I shall daily pray for his Lordshipps safety, honour, and successe, and ever be his and

Your bounden Servant,

J. PEACHELL.

B. L. *orig.*

THE KING TO MR PEPYS.

Nov. 30, 1688.

ORDER the Isabella and Anne yachts to fall downe to Erith to morrow.

J. R.

B. L.

THE KING TO LORD DARTMOUTH.

Whitthall, Dec. 10th, 1688.

THINGS haveing soe very bad an aspect, I could noe longer defer secureing the Queen and my son, which I hope I have done, and that by to morrow by noone they will be out of the reach of my enemies. I am at ease now I have sent them away. I have not heard this day, as I expected, from my Commissioners with the Prince of Orange, who I believe will hardly be prevailed with to stop his march; soe that I am in noe good condition, nay, in as bad a one as is possible. I am sending the Duke of Berwick down to Portsm°, by whom you will know my resolution concerning the fleet under your command, and what resolutions I have taken; till when, I would not have you stirr from the place where you are, for severall reasons.

JAMES R.

B. L. *orig.*

MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS,

Upon the great convulsion of State upon the King's withdrawing.

SIR,

Sayes Court, 12 Decem. 88.

I LEFT you indispos'd, and send on purpose to learne how it is with you, and to know if in any sort I may serve you in this prodigious Revolution. You have many friends, but no man living who is more sincerely your servant, or that has a greater value for you. We are here as yet (I thank God) unmolested; but this shaking menaces every corner, and the most philosophic breast cannot but be sensible of the motion. I am assur'd you neede no precepts, nor I example, so long as I have yours before me, and I would governe myselfe by your commands to, Sir,

Your most humble

Faithfull Servant,

J. EVELYN.

B. L. *orig.*

MR HEWER TO MR PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

Wensday Night, Decemb^r 19, 1688.

I HUMBLY thanke you for yours of this after-noon, which gives me greate satisfaction, and hope this afternoon or evenings audience will prove to your satisfaction, which I doe heartily wish and pray for; if not, I know you will chearefully acquiesce in what ever circumstance God Almighty shall think most proper for you, which I hope may prove more to your satisfaction than you can imagine. You may rest assured that I am wholly yours, and that you shall never want the utmost of my constant, faithfull, and personall service; the utmost I can doe being inconsiderable to what your kindness and favour to me

has and does oblige me to: and therefore, as all I have proceeded from you, soe all I have, and am, is and shall be at your service.

I have noe reason to complaine as yet of any hardship; but to morrow I shall know the utmost, and then I shall waite on you: remaining, in the meane time,

Your ever faithfull and obedient Servant,

W^m HEWER.

[*Endorsed in Mr. Pepys's hand*]"—“ M^r Hewer to M^r Pepys; a letter of great tendernesse, at a time of difficulty.”

B. L. orig.

MR SANDFORD TO MR PEPYS.

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR,

Harwich, Jan^{ry} 5th, 1688-9.

I PRESUMED to give you a letter yesterday of our meeting at the Hall. I beg your pardon if I be plain with you, that neither the Mayor, Mr. Langly, nor Town Clarke, Mr. Smith, are ingenuous to you, but contrive all they can against both Sir A. Deane and yourselfe, and resolving upon serving themselves; their partie, which are near $\frac{1}{2}$ against those that are for you, rejecting and slighting all your precedent favours. Sir, it wounds us to observe such a parcell of ungratefull men, and to see such juggleing and dissimulation, that their tongues and harts ware against one another, and no sober moderate man cann be heard; when, at the same time, the Mayor wispers me to see to their caballs, when in the meane time he is all in all with them. Sir, in short, I am afraid you will neither finde faith, truth, nor honestie in most of them. I shall make bold to give you a list, as at present they have reduced this Corporation, and leave Sir Antho. Deane and your Honour to judge what could be hoped for from such, or most of them, dissentinge people from the Church of England. Many of them, I knowe, both you and Sir Antho. have been very

kinde to: but that now signifies not any thinge to name you; they turne their backes. Worthy Sir, I am, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient Serv^t,

SI. SANDFORD.

Sir Thomas Middleton is invited, the other in suspense; but it is who they please, (supposed Sir Phill. Parker, or Mr. Eldred, or yoursele if we can.)

Mr. Daniell Smith has declared publicly that Sir Anthony D. was indifferent, nay, would not stand, himsele asking him the question last time he was in London.

I must needs tell you, you have but few friends here now since the resuming the old charter, and those downe in the mouth.

I perceive the Mayor has sent you an express. You may believe him if you please, if honest, or anythinge of truth you finde: how far hee may presume on those mercenary people, I know not; for Mr. Dⁿ Smith hath declared publicly that Sir Antho. Deane told him at London he would not stand, notwithstanding he promised to move his interest. Yesterday was moved an answer to your letter, as well as Sir Tho. Middletons, but highly rejected on the Hall afterwards: I told Mr. Smith, sittinge up late with him, ovr obligations; it was all one, it could not be; and it's true they take other measures, and suspect theire best friends. Sir Antho. D. his indifferency to Mr. Smith, and no letter at this juncture, and the late alteration of the members of the Corporation, makes a strange change.

Sir, I beg your pardon, I suppose you have it from other hands.

Your Serv^t,

S. SANDFORD.

Our Towne Clarke, Mr. Dⁿ Smith, seemes offended much that you have not been more frequent in corresponding with him as well as others, &c.

B. L. *orig.*

M^r SANDFORD TO M^r PEPYS.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

Harwich, Jan. 17th, 1688-9.

YESTERDAY being the 16th inst. wee mett att our Hall, to elect Bur-
gesses for the Convention the 22th inst., where S^r Thomas Middle-
ton, yourselfe, and M^r Eldred, were put up ; but after a long debate,
and sharpe words, it was carried against you, and Sir Thomas and M^r
Eldred are proclaimed, they having each of them as many hands again
as you : some of them have beene very busy in contriving this, and
now they have their desire. I am sorry for the slight they have put
upon our friends, and so are several others in towne. I have not fur-
ther to trouble your Honour with, but I received your letter to the
Capt. of the Soldado, and delivered it him this morning, and remain,

Right Hon^{ble},

Your Honors

Most humble and most obedient Servant,

SI. SANDFORD.

B. L. *orig.*

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ELECTION AT HARWICH,

Jan. 16, 1688-9.

THE candidates, Sir Thomas Middleton, a very worthy gentleman,
agreed upon by all parties, and one M^r John Eldred ; the Towne
Clerck declaring that Sam. Pepys, Esq. should not be enter'd, except
some appear'd personally for him, which being done immediately, he
was at last set down.

The Common Council were so hot for the other, that, without hear-
ing any reasons, nothing would serve but a present election. But
before they voted, the Maior and several of the Aldermen arguing
strongly that many of them could not be electors ; some not being

qualified according to law, others being open dissenters from the church, amongst whom one a kind of a Quaker, four lately taken in the room of four who were absent, and turn'd out without any warrant; it was learnedly answer'd that by the King's late proclamation they were put *in statu quo* in 1679; to which reply being made, that the King's proclamation did really restore them who were then electors, but did not give them power to chose any new members, especially their charter not being restored, which was their warrant to act by, they not knowing so much as where the said charter is, all was over-ruld by noise and tumult. They took the paper where they were to write down their votes, and carried it out of the Court; upon which the Mayor presently adjourning, two of the Aldermen went out, which made the others return into Court, and there give their votes: presently after, the following protestation was put into M^r Major's hands:—

M^R MAJOR,

We humbly conceive that the present choice of M^r Eldred to serve in the Convention is illegal, as to that part of it wherein the new electors are concern'd; it being visible, that so long as we have no charter to chose them by, they are unwarrantably chosen. For tho' his Majesties proclamation restores us again to the same state we were in, in 79, and does qualifie them who were then actually chosen, it does not appear to us, how, without the charter being *actually* restor'd to us, which is not at this present, the then electors can chose any new ones: so that their very choice is deficient in itself; and according, we humbly desire Sam. Pepys, Esq. to be return'd with Sir Thom. Middleton, K^t; protesting against the choice of the said M^r Eldred, and desiring withal that this our said protestation may be enter'd, and return'd to the Convention, to be there examin'd with our further allegations against the said election.

M^r Smith, the Town Clerk, took the said paper angrily; threatn'd a school-master, whom he thought had copied it out, to imprison him;

said it was a libel, flung it out of the Court, and proclaim'd the said M^r Eldred duly chosen. As they carried him up and down in the streets, one M^r John Wertbrown cry'd out : “ *No Tower men, no men out of the Tower !* ” which was echo'd by nobody ; most of the freemen, and particularly the seamen, being wholly against such a choice, and declaring that, had they bin concern'd in it, they would have chosen M^r Pepys.

This account is exactly true.

Letter sent with the foregoing Account.

M^R DU LUZANCY TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

Harwich, Jan. 18th, 1688-9.

I HAVE bin desir'd by your friends to send you the inclos'd paper ; by which you may easily be made sensible, how we are overrun with pride, heat, and faction ; and unjust to ourselves to that prodigious degree, as to deprive ourselves of the greatest honor and advantage which we could ever attain to, in the choice of so great and so good a man as you are. Had reason had the least place amongst us, or any love for ourselves, we had certainly carried it for you. Yet, if we are not by this late defection altogether become unworthy of you, I dare almost be confident, that an earlier application, and the appearing of yourself or S^r Antony Dean, will put the thing out of doubt against the next Parliament. A conventicle set up here since this unhappy liberty of conscience, has bin the cause of all this. In the mean time my poor endeavors shall not be wanting ; and though my stedfastnes to your interests these ten years has almost ruined me, yet I shall continue as long as I live,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

DU LUZANCY, Minister of Harwich.

B. L. *orig.*D^R GALE* TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

Jan. 1689-90, Thursday, 7 Morn^s.

LAST night, at my returne, I found this letter, which with the first opportunity I thought it my duty to communicate to you.

Sir, I am,

Your very humble Servant,

THOMAS GALE.

D^R CUMBERLAND† TO D^R GALE.

(Enclosed in the above.)

HONOURED SIR,

Stamford, Jan. 14th, 1689-90.

I HAVE received both your letters of enquiry about Walcote House, and I did not answer suddenly to your first, because you therein gave mee time to doe it at my leasure, and because as to many particulars mentioned therein I was not sufficiently informed. But your second letter, intimating your desire to hear what answer I can give, sooner than I imagined, hath induced mee to hasten this account, though it bee very imperfect. I have been in the house several times while it was S^r H. Cholmely's, being acquainted both with him and his lady; but being altogether unacquainted with Mr. Worthley, I never was in it since it came into his hands, though I have often rid by it. Its distance from our towne of Stamford is about two miles. The outward view of the house is very beautiful, being adorned with a large

* Thomas Gale, D.D. was born at Scruton in Yorkshire, and educated at Westminster School; from whence going to Cambridge, he was admitted into Trinity College, of which he afterwards became a Fellow, and Greek Professor of the University. In 1672 he was chosen High Master of St. Paul's School, which office he held for twenty-five years. In 1676 he became a Prebendary of St. Paul's, and in 1697 was advanced to the Deanery of York; but he enjoyed this dignity only a short time, dying April 8, 1702, æt. suæ 67. He was a learned theologian, skilled in history and antiquities, and an excellent Greek scholar; the works which he published furnish unquestionable evidences of his industry and talents. He was also possessed of a noble library, and a curious collection of MSS. which he bequeathed to his son Roger. *Abridged from Knight's Life of Dean Colet.*

† Rector of All Saints, Stamford, and in 1691 made Bishop of Peterborough.

lanterne, as it were, on a cupola at the top and leads : the figure a regular oblong, and all the windows placed uniformly. All the inward rooms were not finisht when I was in it, but many were, and well adorned. I am informed its much improved by M^r Worthley, both in the rooms and gardens ; ther is a wall both about the garden and other yards and enclosed ground. Ther are plentiful springs near it, but not much wood that I have taken notice of : those who are critical about the matter say the house is too large and good for the small estate in land which adjoines to it, and they add that an inward wall in it was ill built, and hath crusht an arch therein, and thereby hath endanger'd to thrust out one of the outward walls, which is strengthened and secured by some buttresses. I guesse that your occasion of enquireing about it may bee in behalfe of some purchaser ; wherefore I advise that my imperfect knowledge and unskilfull judgement in a matter of such consequence be not trusted to, but that the person concern'd should trust his owne eyes and skill, or employ a judicious surveyour. There are many outhouses about it, but how convenient cannot well be judged but by him that knows the wants or designes of him who is to dwell therein and make use of the conveniencies. The land about it is healthy, and most convenient for the pleasure of hunting. This is the best information I can give you at present. I hope to bee in London between Easter and Whitsunday, if not sooner, and there to have more opportunity of enjoying the benefit of your learned converse and skill in books. My residence in this place, so distant from the city, denies mee the opportunity of knowing many books which I sometime hear of and finde quoted, but cannot see, consult, or peruse : particularly in these late revolutions, I heare of the great Collection of the Elder English Historians wherein you have befriended the world, but I have not seen the entire work, but some part of it onely. If I live to come to London, I shall entreat you to assist me in procureing some such books at the best hand. I hope you will excuse the freedome I use with you, for because I greatly value your learneing, I presse forward into acquaintance with you, desireing ever to bee

Your affectionate friend and Servant,

RIC. CUMBERLAND.

B. L. *orig.*

MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS.

S^R,

10 May, 89.

T'is to me an age since I saw you, having almost ever since been afflicted with my taking cold upon entring a familiar course of preventing physic. My indisposition still hangs upon me, which confines me to my little family; I could not else have deny'd myselfe the satisfaction of kissing your hands. I have nothing here to alleviate that unhappinesse, but the confidence I have of your believing me (in all revolutions and vicissitudes whatsoever),

S^r,Y^r most faithfully steady,Humble, and affectionate Serv^t,*(Sans reserve)*,

J. EVELYN.

C. *orig.*

MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS.

MY DEAR AND WORTHY FRIEND,

June 11, 1690.

FOR under that compellation permit me sometimes to value myself, in a period so rare to find him; when I reflect, as who can but reflect upon what you were pleased to communicate to me yesterday? so many and so different passions crowd on my thoughts, that I know not which first to give vent to;—indignation, pity, sorrow, contempt, and anger, love, esteem, admiration, and all that can express the most generous resentments of one who cannot but take part in the cause of an injured and worthy person. With what indignation for the malevolence of these men, pity of their ignorance and folly, sorrow and contempt of their malice and ingratitude, do I look upon and despise them! On the other side, in what bonds and obligations of love, esteem, and just admiration, ought we to regard him who dares expose

himself to all this suffering with so intrepid a resolution, because his innocence and merits will justify him to his country and to all the world ! I speak not this to flatter my friend, nor needs he my comfort or counsel. He has within him, and of his own, enough bravely to support him ; it would go very ill with me else, who have the same thoughts and principles, and set my heart upon the person, that every day accumulates to the great esteem I have for great merits and no less virtues, in an age so degenerate and void of both. I protest, and that sincerely, that I am so far concerned that these angry men so unjustly provoke you, that I think they could not have contributed more to your honour, and their own deserved reproach ; so reasonable, so every way ingenuous, in so just, modest, and generous a style, is your excellent remonstrance, and so incontestibly vouched. This, Sir, is my sense of it ; and I value myself upon my judgement of it, that it will stand like a rock, and dash to pieces all the effects and efforts of spiteful and implacable men, who, because they cannot bravely emulate, envy your worth, and would thus secretly undermine it : but you are safe, and I will boldly say, that whoever shall honestly compile the history of these prodigious and wonderful revolutions, as far as concerns this miserable and unhappy kingdom, has already the most shining and illustrious part dressed to his hand, if there be any of that profession who dare do right to truth in so vicious an age, be the event what it will ; and unless we pluck out our own eyes, we must see, in spite of them, that you and your colleagues have stood in the breach when the safety of the nation was in the utmost danger, and by whose prudence, experience, and industry, it can only be yet rescued from perishing now. Do not think I speak a big word, or am so vain to believe you are to be taken by magnificent sounds : though a lover of music, I have no such design, and you know me better ; but I have deeply and sadly considered the state and circumstances into which we are unhappily fallen, and that no personal resentments or reflections on the usage from ungrateful and wicked men whatsoever ought to cancel our endeavours to support one's native country, whatever sacrifice we make with honour and a good conscience : wherefore,

as I cannot but approve of what you have so maturely digested, so I cannot but wish to see it published. The just and proper timing of which is, as with yourself, with me the only remaining difficulty, which may perhaps require consideration, and that for the objections occurring to you, should it be looked on as if you feared it should have seen the light till the King's back was turned, and the late Parliament scattered by this adjournment, and that you steal it now out before their Session to conciliate friends and make a party. Whilst these, or the like suggestions, may, perhaps, though of no real force, cause your suspense, why might you not resolve to communicate your thoughts to my Lord Godolphin? whom you will allow and find to be a person of a clear discernment and great probity, and has, to my certain knowledge, the same honourable sentiments with yourself, and upon whose integrity you may rely, and determine according as you see cause. Thus, Sir, I take the boldness to give you my calmest thoughts upon this article, since you are pleased so far to honour me as to give me so great a share in your confidence, who am, and with very great respect shall always remain,

Your most faithful

And entirely devoted friend and Servant,

J. EVELYN.

C. orig.

MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS.

In Rei Memoriam.

June 17, 1690.

I HAVE seen and perused certain *Memoirs relating to the Royal Navy of England for ten years*, and am so thoroughly convinced of the truth of every period, both as to what has been done towards the extricating it out of the ruinous circumstances under which it then laboured, and the great improvement it has since received, by the integrity, prudence, courage, and industry, of the person who has written it, &c., that, as I judge no man on earth so fit to restore the Navy again, now in all

appearance hastening to as deplorable, if not to a worse state and condition; so, should he and his colleagues decline to set their hands to its restauration and recovery again, the fate and preservation of their country (than which nothing can be more dear, so depending) being thereto required, he, the writer, and they whom he may think fit to call to his assistance, ought to be animadverted on as enemies and betrayers of it.

Ita Testor,

J. EVELYN.

C. orig.

MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

August, 1690.

THIS hasty script is to acquaint you, that my Lord Bishop of S^t Asaph* will take it for an honour to be thought able to give M^r Pepys any light in those mysteries you and I have discoursed of.† He would himself wait upon you, but I did not think it convenient to receive that compliment for you at first. To-morrow his Lordship says, he eating no dinner, shall be alone, and ready to receive your commands, if it be seasonable to you. I suppose about 3 o'clock in the afternoon may be a convenient time for me to wait upon you to his Lordship, or what other sooner hour you appoint.

J. E.

The Lords in the Tower, and other prisoners, against whom there is no special matter chargeable, are to be freed upon bail. My Lord Clarendon is also within that qualification, as the Bishop tells me.

* William Lloyd, translated from Lichfield and Coventry 1680. Ob. 1692. † The Apocalypse.

C. orig.

M^R EVELYN TO M^R PEPYS.Deptford, Sept^r 25, 1690.

T'is now, methinks, so very long since I saw or heard from my excellent friend, that I cannot but enquire after his health. If he ask what I am doing all this while? *Sarcinam compono*, I am making up my fardle that I may march the frèer: in the mean time, do you expect a more proper conjuncture than this approaching Session, to do yourself right by publishing that which all good men who love and honour you cannot but rejoice to see? You owe it to God, your country, and yourself; and therefore I hope you seriously think of and resolve upon it. I am just now making a step to Wotton, to visit my good brother there, importunately desiring to see me, himself succumbing apace to age and its accidents. I think not of staying above a week or ten days, and within a little after my return shall be almost ready to remove our small family nearer you for the winter; in which I promise myself the happiness of a conversation most grateful to

Y^{rs}, &c.

J. EVELYN.

U. orig.

M^R PEPYS TO M^R EVELYN.

SIR,

Thursday night, 25 Sept. 1690.

Tis an hour and more since I had your kind remembrance; but it found me with company that I have not been delivered of till just now, that Mr. Stricland is (at my desire) returned for an answer, and its grown too darkeish to keep him therefore for a long one.

Sir, I have thought it, and so have many more besides myselfe, long since we saw you. I have sent and gone divers times to M^r Evelyn's to listen after you. I will not doubt your being well employed, if well at all; but of that I was covetous to heare, and had my satisfaction

in it: though I had rather much have been able to have told myselfe I had seene you well.

You that can be so good a friend can't be an ill brother, and soe I dare not complaine of the journey you speake of, though I cant but wish it over, and you in yo^r winter quarters, since they are likely to be so neare mine.

You speak too kindly (as you ever do) of what I have calculated for public view; but be assured I won't take that last step, of publishing it, before I have consulted my oracle (yo^rselfe) once more to risking the timeing it.

But one word I must now say to you before yo^r journey, namely, that I want M^{rs} Evelyn's head, as in a thousand senses more, so particularly for y^e perfecting my collection, which is now as far advanced as I thinke I can expect to carry it. I may possibly, against I see you, be able to pay you in kind, but with great disadvan^{ce}, I having no Nantueil to help me.

One thing more I must add on this occasion, that I am at a mighty losse for 2 or 3 other heads, y^e market not being able to furnish me therewith; viz. old Admirall Nottingham's, y^e old Duke of Buckingham's, my L^d Chancell^r Clarendon's, and his daughter y^e Duchesse of Yorke's. Pray see whether you have ever a head to spare of these.

I kiss my Lady's hands, I pray for both y^r healths, and am to both

Y^r most obed^{nt} Serv^t,

S. PEPYS.

C.

M^R PEPYS TO THE GENTLEMEN* WHO BAILED HIM, UPON HIS RELEASE
FROM PRISON.

Oct. 15, 1690.

BEING this day become once again a free man in every respect, I mean, but that of my obligation to you and the rest of my friends,

* Sir Peter Palavicini, Mr. James Houblon, Mr. Blackburne, and Mr. Martin.

to whom I stand indebted for my being so, I think it but a reasonable part of my duty to pay you and them my thanks for it in a body; but know not how otherwise to compass it, than by begging you, which I hereby do, to take your share with them and me here, tomorrow, of a piece of mutton, which is all I dare promise you, besides that of my being ever

Your most bounden and faithful humble Servant,

S. P.

C. orig.

MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Deptford, 7^{ber} 26, 1690. *Morning.*

Si vales, bene est, &c. Without more ceremony, then, and that my small excursion be no impediment to the perfecting your collection,—to the Queries. In the days of Queen Eliz., for before her time I hardly hear of any, came over one Crispin van de Pas; and in King James's, his brother Symon, who calls himself Passæus; and afterwards there came, and in Charles Ist's time, one Elstrack, Stock, De la Rem, and Miriam; and of our own countrymen, Cecil, Martin, Vaughan, and especially Jo. Paine, for I forbear to mention Marshal, Crosse, and some other lamentable fellows, who engraved the effigies of the noblemen, &c. then flourishing. These prints were sold by George Humble and Sudbury, at the Pope's Head in Cornhill; by Jenner, at the Exchange; one Seager, I know not where, and Roger Daniel: but who had the most choice, was M^r Peake, near Holborn Conduit; and if there be any who can direct you where you may most likely hear what became of their plates and works of this kind, I believe nobody may so well inform you as M^r Faithorne, (father to the bookseller,) who, if I am not mistaken, was apprentice to Sir W^m Peake, for both he and Humble were made Knights, and therefore it may be worth your while to enquire of him. There came afterwards, you know, Lucas Vosterman, Hollar, Lombart, and other excellent artists;

but these were of later times, which you do not enquire of. They wrought after Vandyke, the Arundelian collection, and best painters. And now of late the skilful in Mezzo-tinto masters, who, for imitation of life, sometimes excel the *burin* itself ever so accurately handled. But of this enough :—I send you, Sir, my face, such as it was of yore, but it is now so no more, *tanto mutata* ; and with it, what you may find harder to procure, the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral ; which though it make a gap in my poor collection, to which it was glad, I most cheerfully bestow it upon you, and would accompany it with the other two, were I master of them. I have Sir George Villiers, when a youth and newly dignified, in a small trifling print, not at all fit for you, who ought to have him when he was a Duke and Admiral ; and of such there are many easily to be had. I am sure his picture is below several flattering dedications, though at present I do not well remember where. But this I do, that there is a Taille-douce of that mighty favourite, almost as big as the life, and nothing inferior to any of the famous Nanteuil's, graved by one Jacob, of Delft in Holland, from a painting of Miereveld, that were well worth the sending even into Holland for, and for whatever else is of this kind of that incomparable workman's hand : I have once seen it, and took this notice of it to mention it in a new edition of my Chalcographie, when I have leisure to revise that trifle. Lastly, as to my Lord Chancellor Hide, though I have not his effigies among the rest that I have huddled together, always presuming to get it of my Lord Clarendon, but perpetually forgetting to ask it, yet I can direct you where to come by it, and perhaps you have it already in your library : t'is but enquiring where Sir W. Dugdale's History of the Lord Chancellors was printed, and there you will find him, and the rest of the Long Robe, if you have a mind to them. Have you been at M^r Baker's shop, near the old Exchange ? Cannot M^r White furnish you ? I am deceived if he has not graved most of the Chancellors since His Majesty's restoration.

Y^r most humble, faithful Servant,

J. EVELYN.

U. orig.

MR PEPYS TO MR EVELYN.

S^R,

Thursd. Morning, 13 Nov^r 1690.

I WAS very unfortunate in being abroad at yo^r being here last night, & more so in coming home so close after your going, that I had mighty hopes my man (whom I sent to try) would have overtaken and brought you back. I was gone but to Covent Garden by chaire, to try whether I could have layd out a little mony well at an auction of prints, upon y^e enclosed list thereof, but fayled; there coming no heads in play dureing my stay, which was not above $\frac{1}{2}$ an houre. This was my errand, & y^e only one I remember I have beene out of doors upon these 14 days, but to dinner y^e last weeke to M^r Houblon's, where both he and I dranke your health & earnestly wishd you there, as believing the meale would have pleas'd you noe lesse than it did me, as hardly consisting of one dish or glasse (besides bread & beere) of nearer growth than China, Persia, & y^e Cape of Good Hope.

I would I could invite you to such a one to day; but you know my stint, and if it stand wth your health & diversion to venture (as you have done) at it, I am told by the coachmen I may be in condition to begin to repay yo^r visits some time y^e next weeke.

I have, indeed, a great deal to say to you, though most of it of one sort,—I meane thanks, but upon a great many different scores, & y^e last of them for that of yo^r last nights favour.

I am, Dear S^r,

Y^r most bounden & obedient Servant,

S. PEPYS.

C. *orig.*D^R MONTAGU* TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

Trinity Coll. Cambridge, Dec^r 9, 1690.

I HUMBLY thank you for the present you was pleased to send me by your nephew; it is a subject I shall very much delight to peruse, by reason of the near alliance I once had to it by my father, and particularly for the sake of its Author, to whose friendship I am so much indebted, and for whose knowledge and experience in our naval affairs it may be justly said that the whole nation is your debtor too. I am very sorry that a person so greatly experienced in all those affairs should not be continued in the service of the public; but, Sir, since it is, I cannot call it your, but our misfortune, not to enjoy the advantages of so eminent a service, all the world, in the mean time, must own the generosity of your temper, that whilst you are retired you still are desirous to promote the public welfare of the kingdom.

Sir,

Y^r very affectionate, obliged, humble Servant,

J. MONTAGU.

C.

M^R PEPYS TO D^R MONTAGU.

SIR,

Dec. 20, 1690.

You have said too much in favour both of my present and me; but if it were fit for me to admit there were any thing either in the one or the other worthy the good word you bestow on them, you know, and I most gratefully acknowledge, whose memory alone it is that I owe it to; I mean my noble Lord your father's, and in deference to which I believed myself bound to make you in particular privy to what I have

* James Montagu, fourth son of the first Earl of Sandwich, was admitted Master of Trinity Coll. Cambridge 1683, and in 1699 made Dean of Durham and Master of Sherburne Hospital. He died unmarried 1728-9, aged 73.

been doing relating to the Navy, since, I thank God, I have had no more to do in it.

Honoured Sir,

Your ever most obedient Servant,

S. P.

C.

MR PEPYS TO MR HEWER.

MR. HEWER,

Dec. 23, 1690.

I DON'T know how to let go what you observed to me yesterday, touching the late learned descant made by some of our Admirals upon the words at the bottom of my printed head, without telling you that I could be well contented Mr. Southerne were told, when next he comes in the way of Mr. Martin, that whatever reckoning I may make of his learning, I own too great an esteem for that of my Lord of Pembroke to think it possible for him to misplace upon me the honour of answering for a sentence so much above my ambition of fathoming, or the authority of any man else to censure, but he, (if any such there be,) that would be thought a Latinist, orator, and philosopher, fit to stand up with Cicero, whose very words these are, in that excellent and most divine chapter, his *Somnium Scipionis*.

Tu vero enitere, et sic habeto, te non esse mortalem, sed Corpus hoc. Nec enim is est quem forma ista declarat; sed mens cujusque is est quisque, non ea figura quæ digito monstrari potest.

A thought derived to him from Plato, and wrought upon after him by St. Paul.

I am,

Your most affectionate Servant,

S. PEPYS.

*C. orig.*SIR JOHN WERDEN * TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

St James's, Dec^r 26, 1690.

I LATELY saw your picture at the beginning of a book, and presently was earnest to see your mind within it; and the small time I had by the indulgence of a friend to answer it, hath not fully satisfied me, but hath rather made me desirous of fixing those impressions more strongly than that short opportunity could do. I hope you have not yet given them all away; and if so, I will own to you that I beg one of them, without the least reluctance, for,

Y^r very humble Servant,

JOHN WERDEN.

*U. orig.*M^R PEPYS TO M^R EVELYN.S^R,

Thursd. Octob. 8, 1691.

THINKING it long ere M^r Strickland made good his promise of calling on me when he went next to Wotton, (in order to my thankeing you for y^e favour of your obligeing letter thence,) I went yesterday to Dover-Streete to enquire after you, where I was most wellcomely surpris'd with y^e news of yo^r being come to Deptford in your way to yo^r winter-quarters (I hope) here. You may easily imagine what a summer I have had, that have not stirred one mile out of town since I saw you, nor had y^e pleasure of one hour's conversation worth owneing since you left it, saveing our learned Doctor's,† & his but since Bartlem^{tide}, w^{ch} he pass'd at y^e waters. But from that time I have had his Satur'day visitts, in which M^r Evelyn's name & excellencys have ever contributed to y^e best part of our entertainment, & his absence to y^e worst.

Pray make me certaine, some way or other, of yo^r & my Lady's

* He had been Secretary to James Duke of York.

† Gale.

healths, & when I may hope for y^e satisfaction of knowing it at y^e first hand, & receiving yo^r comands in our neighbourhood.

I am,

Your most obed. Serv^t,

S. PEPYS.

C. orig.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON * TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

Dec^r 1691.

WHEN I tell you I write in behalf of an eminently honest man, I hope you will pardon more easily my importunity. The bearer, M^r Nutt, though I have very little acquaintance with him, is one that I value highly for two actions of his life very unusual in this age.—When, upon the credit he had given King Charles II^d, he found himself sinking from an estate of 10 or 12,000*l.* to nothing, he returned back to the value of 3000*l.* of money just then put into his hands, telling his creditors that he was no longer responsible. His other action was more generous than this; for being called to witness the title of a gentleman who had not wherewithal to reward him, he being himself not worth a groat, he refused to keep back his evidence, though he was offered a considerable reward by the other party, which would have supported him all his life. Upon these merits it is that I would beg of you to use your interest with M^r Southerne,† to bestow some clerk's or other place upon him under the Admiralty, to get him bread. If it were my brother, I could not with more concern intreat you, in this particular, to oblige,

Sir,

Y^r most obedient

Humble Serv^t,

H. LONDON.

* Henry Compton, translated from Oxford 1675. Ob. 1713.

† James Southerne, Clerk of the Acts 1688, and in 1694 an Extra Commissioner of the Navy.

C.

MR PEPYS TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

MY LORD,

York Buildings, Dec. 18, 1691.

I HAVE received your Lordship's commands with the deference due thereto, and shall gladly endeavour to execute them with efficacy to the benefit of the honest gentleman, my old acquaintance, whom your Lordship is, on so honourable inducements, pleased to favour, in case you shall continue to require it of me. After I have, in duty to yourself, as well as faithfulness to him, observed that however unnatural it may seem to your Lordship, as it does to all who know it, I have been so far from meeting with any marks of Mr. Southerne's remembering himself to have been my servant, and by me, and me alone, raised to the condition of a Master in the Navy, that, on the contrary, if there be one man in it that has, under this Revolution, shewn me not only the most neglect, but most despite on all occasions wherein my name has been made use of, it is he: so that I cannot think it any thing less than a betraying of this good man's suit for me to pretend to any capacity of furthering it with Mr. Southerne. If, nevertheless, from any special inducement, not appearing to me, Mr. Nutt shall think my mediation may be of any moment to him in this case, I both will and ought to make it my business to render it so; and this not only for the sake of your Lordship's commands, though they were alone sufficient, but from arguments also within my own cognizance as an officer of the Navy, privy more than most to what this honest gentleman and his family might challenge of favour from the Crown, for the credit he has heretofore given it as a merchant, when the Navy most needed and could least find it from other hands. This, my Lord, I beg your receiving as the only honest return I, to my great trouble, find myself in present condition of giving in this case, till I shall be further directed concerning it by your Lordship; being, with all possible sincerity of respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most dutiful

And most obedient Servant,

S. PEPYS.

C.

MR PEPYS TO MR EVELYN.

SIR,

January 9, 1691-2.

I WOULD have come at you the other night at St. Martin's on that grievous occasion,* but could not. Nor would I have failed in attending you before, to have condoled the death of that great man, had I been for some time in a condition of going abroad. Pray let Dr. Gale, Mr. Newton, and myself, have the honour of your company to-day, forasmuch as Mr. Boyle being gone, we shall want your help in thinking of a man in England fit to be set up after him for our Peireskius, besides Mr. Evelyn. I am sure I know what I think upon it, and shall not spare to tell it you. A happy new year to you, from

Your faithful obedient Servant,

S. P.

C.

MR PEPYS TO MR EVELYN.

SIR,

Easter Monday, 1692.

THE last being Confession, this in all good conscience should be Restitution Week; and, as far as I am able, the first act of it shall be the acquitting myself honestly towards you, in reference to that vast treasure of papers which I have had of yours so many years in my hands, in hopes of that otium I have now for three years been master of, but on conditions easily to be guessed at, which have not allowed me the company of more of my papers than I was content to adventure being visited and disordered; and it is not above three weeks since I have taken the liberty of remanding any of them within my reach. Out of these I have made shift to collect all that relate to the State concernment in the ministry of Sir R. Browne, and those of your own growth towards the History of our Dutch War, 1665, which, with that which followed it in 1672, I wish I could see put together by your

* Mr. Boyle's funeral.

hand, as greatly suspecting they will prove the last instances of the sea actions of this nation which will either bear telling at all or be worthy of such an historian as Mr. Evelyn. Another piece of restitution I have to make you, is your Columna Trajani, which, out of a desire of making the most use of, with the greatest care to my eyes, I put out unfortunately to an unskilful hand, for the washing its prints with some thin stain to abate the too strong lustre of the paper: in the execution whereof part of it suffered so much injury, that not knowing with what countenance to return it, I determined upon making you amends by the first fair book I could meet with; but with so ill success, that notwithstanding all my industry at auctions, and otherwise, I have only been able to lay my eye on one, fair or foul, at Scott's, and that wholly wanting the historical part; Sir Peter Lely, whose book it was, contenting himself with so much, and no more, as touched the profession of a painter without that of a scholar. I have therefore thought it more religious to restore so great a jewel as your own book, even with this damage.

S. P.

C. orig.

MR GREGORY KING, LANCASTER HERALD, TO MR PEPYS.

With an Enclosure; *vide* note*.HON^D SIR,Dresden, Feb^y 7, 1692-3.

I SHOULD not forgive myself if I did not pay you the respect of a line or two, even at this distance. The Gazette by this time will inform you of the ceremony of investing His Electoral Highness of Saxony, John George the 4th, with the Order of the Garter, in the Great Hall here, (called Atrium Gigantum,) on Thursday, Jan^y 26,

* Quoniam hujusmodi Chronogrammata, ut dicam, hisce Regionibus in usu sunt, quamvis non operæ pretium existimo, facultatem tamen meam explorare visum est.

1692. Johannes Georgius Quartus Elector Saxoniae Ordine Garteri Dresdæ Investitus

1692. Per Nobiles Viros Gul. Dutton Colt, Eq. Aur. et Greg. King, Fecial. Lancaster. Angliæ Regis, ut et Reginae, Legatos et Deputatos.

1692. Die Jovis Vicesimo Sexto Januar. 11 Veteri Stylo, in Atrio Gigant.

GR. KING.

1692. To which I will only add, that the Elector is highly pleased with the Order, which he has not only testified by the noble presents he has made to the Commissioners and all their Retinue, but by the perfect good humour he has shewn ever since, and by his bestowing upon Sir William Colt, my Colleague, the Badge of Sincerity, a kind of Order established by the 2 Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony a year or two ago, which he took from his own arm and put upon Sir William's, being worn in nature of a bracelet: it is an enamelled jewel, of an oval form, about an inch long, wherein is enamelled 2 hands in armour with this motto, *Uni à jamais*, and on the other *Amitié sincère*. "The first motto," (said the Elector, upon giving it to Sir William), "is for the King and myself, the next is for you and I." I will give you a draught of it at my return; the ornament is only 4 diamonds on the outside. The day after the ceremony was a famous tilting, 30 on a side, all gentlemen of 8 descents, and the day after that were most noble fireworks. The next day, being Sunday the 26th, we had audience of leave, and Sir William presently after delivered new credentials as Envoy. We dined with the Elector that day, and he told me he would give me my passport for England, which he did. The next day we were carried to see the strong fortress of Konigstein, about 16 or 18 miles from hence, upon the frontiers of Bohemia, and returned the next day and dined at the Elector's charge, as we did from the time of our first audience, being attended by several gentlemen, and the Elector's pages and footmen: since which we are upon our own account. Yesterday we were shewn the arsenal, the armoury, where there are 36 chambers for that purpose, and then the 7 chambers of rarities, all highly worth seeing, besides the stables. On Thursday next is a masquerade in boor's habits, 30 ladies and gentlemen, and among them the Elector and Electrice, and on Friday a magnificent opera, all in honour of the Order; after which I return with all diligence for England, and shall long to kiss your hands, and to assure you how truly I am,

Y^r most obed^t Ser^t,

GRE^{RY} KING.

C. orig.

MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS.

Wotton, August 2, 1692.

I HAVE been philosophizing and world-despising in the solitudes of this place, whither I am retired to pass and mourn the absence of my worthiest friend. Here is wood and water, meadows and mountains, the Dryads and Hamadryads; but here's no M^r Pepys, no D^r Gale. Nothing of all the cheer in the parlour that I taste; all's insipid, and all will be so to me, till I see and enjoy you again. I long to know what you do, and what you think, because I am certain you do both what is worthy the knowing and imitation. On Monday next will M^r Bently resume his lecture, I think, at Bow Church: I fear I shall hardly get through this wilderness by that time. Pray give him your wonted confidence, if you can, and tell him how unhappily I am entangled. I hope, however, to get home within this fortnight, and about the end of October to my hyemation in Dover-street. My son is gone with the Lord Lieutenant, and our new relation, Sir Cyril Wych, into Ireland: I look they should return wondrous Statesmen, or else they had as well have stayed at home. I am here with Boccacini, and Erasmus's Praise of Folly, and look down upon the world with wondrous contempt, when I consider for what we keep such a mighty bustle. *O fortunate M^r Pepys!* who knows, possesses, and enjoys all that's worth the seeking after. Let me live among your inclinations, and I shall be happy.

J. EVELYN.

C.

M^R PEPYS TO M^R EVELYN.

DEAR SIR,

Sept. 16, 1692.

I MIND your doctrine about despising the world, but at the same time am out of countenance for your so soon forgetting it, in the fondness of your phrase for so abject a clod of it as that which you are preaching to : and yet, abject as I know that living clod to be, I would even refer you to that, since you are setting up for a world-contemner, to take a new and higher lesson from on the same subject ; for such I take to be my shutting up myself within this town a whole summer long, with a clean Bartholomew Fair in it, and a country-seat within four miles, lying upon my hand at 30*l.* charge, and but a bow-shot off my friend James Houblon, and yet covering my not being to be found here even by Dr. Gale, or Madam Excellence herself, Mrs. Steward, under the disguise of being retired thither ; and this pursued, to the not even inquiring after Mrs. Evelyn, and to the abstaining so long from air and exercise as to contract the falling of humours into my leg, which has kept me a month to one floor, but it is now much amended. All this have I gone through, for the sake of a small piece of work that lay upon my hands, which I had no mind longer to trust futurity with, and less than such a sequestration as this would not have sufficed for. What I have said of my lameness, will tell you that I have not been in the way of obeying you, and gratifying myself, about Mr. Bently ; but as it is the first, so I hope it will be the last, of my failures of that kind. Hasten, then, to town, where we have a whole summer's crop of intelligence together, and seed to put into the ground for another ; but want the aid of your weather-wisdom towards judging what will become of it. Hasten, then, to town, and receive the longing welcome of

Your most affectionate Servant and Honourer,

S. P.

C. orig.

MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS.

Sayes Court, July 6, 1693.

I SHOULD never forgive myself, did I not as often remember you as any friend I value in the world; every day is Saturday* with me as to that, whether in town or country. This I should have told you ere now at York Buildings, had not my son Draper, his wife, and mother, been with us. They are the most obliging, useful, and ingeniously disposed conversation, I could ever have desired to place my daughter among, I think, in England; and pronouncing her very happy, I cannot but make so good a friend part of my contentment: nor is my son in Ireland less unmindful of you; he writes from Dublin, June 27—“Mr Pepys’s kind thoughts of me are a superabundant recompence for all the poor services I can do him.” And adds this news: “We are now, by the arrival of 5 men of war in this harbour, delivered from our fear of the French corsairs, who had almost circumnavigated our island, to the damage of trade and disgrace of our victorious Navy. Some of these frigates are to convey my Lord Lieutenant on Monday next: one to go Northwards, in quest of the privateers; another to Cork, to escort 400 tun of crooked timber, the first fruit of Mr Nash and Knox’s purveyance of it in this kingdom, which may be much improved, if these two industrious men be encouraged, and convoys ready to wait on what they provide. Our Parliament was yesterday dissolved in Council, and proclamations expected to come out to-day. Every body compliments my Lord Lieutenant before he leaves us, and I shall have the honor of his company at dinner on Friday next, at my house, and it is the least acknowledgement I can make for his constant favours to me. It is not yet published whom he will leave the sword with till Lord Capel and the rest arrive; though it is likely either Mr Roberts or my Lord Chancellor will be joined with

* Mr. Pepys entertained his literary friends on Saturday evenings.

Sir Cyril Wych, who is so very kind to me, that were he not a man of perfect integrity, I might set up for *Nepotissimo*. I have 50 feet square behind my house and stables, to practice your hortular instructions in, as far as may serve a nosegay and a still."

Thus far my son's intelligence, and I would have you further to know from me that I have yet good beans and bacon; and, though but one cow, as good cream as one would wish for to entertain M^r Pepys and the Doctor with, if they durst shoot the bridge and give a poor friend a visit once a year.

J. E.

C. orig.

DR CHARLETT* TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

Univ. Coll. Sept^r 28, 1693.

I HAVE desired M^r Sare, of Gray's Inn Gate, to present your nephew with our Act Poetry. We suppressed the publication of them because our poets proved such bad prophets, and now only put them into the hands of such gentlemen as will not expose them or us. I dare not let our good friend Captain Hatton see them, for I am sure they will displease him as much as our Antiquities. M^r Wood† is not at all amended with his late correction: he told me last night that he was now begging money to pay my Lord Clarendon's fees, and that he had already been forced to sell his MSS. and other books, and that he could not allow himself now a pot of ale; however, he would go on still and collect truth, &c. with much more to the same purpose, that would make you laugh heartily.

I am, Hon^d Sir,

Your humble Servant,

AR. CHARLETT.

* Arthur Charlett, D. D. Master of University College.

† Antony Wood, the Antiquary.

C.

MR PEPYS TO DR CHARLETT.

SIR,

York Buildings, Crast. Mich. 1693.

YOUR heads, even to Mother George's, are a very welcome addition to my collection, and it must acknowledge you its benefactor and its debtor, too, for Dr. Hammond's, Dundee's, Dr. Fell's, Allestree's, and Dolben's, and, I think, Mr. Wood's and Dr. Pococke's. I cannot be ashamed to pray your aid in reference to them, if within your power, for in all my searches after this commodity, I do not remember any one of them ever occurring to me in this whole town; nor of your own, which I would less be without than my own, if your goodwill towards mankind has ever been strong enough to obtain of you a graving of it. I have particular thanks to pay you for your University prints, I mean those of Loggan's work, not to be found in the ordinary volume of them, whereinto I have caused them to be inserted. The account you gave of Mr. Wood's no-mortification, and the further tricks he means to expose his teeth to from the heels of truth, makes me yet more covetous of his picture, for he is, in more senses than one, an original. I wish you would tell me of something this town could enable me to furnish you with, in exchange for all or any part of this; you will force me else to unbespeak a continuance of a kindness I cannot repay.

Your faithful obedient Servant,

S. P.

C.

MR PEPYS TO MR NEWTON.

SIR,

November 22, 1693.

HOWEVER this comes accompanied to you with a little trouble, yet I cannot but say, that the occasion is welcome to me, in that it gives me an opportunity of telling you that I continue sensible of my obliga-

tions to you, most desirous of rendering you service in whatever you shall think me able, and no less afflicted when I hear of your being in town, without knowing how to wait on you till it be too late for me to do it. This said, and with great truth and respect, I go on to tell you that the bearer, Mr. Smith, is one I bear great goodwill to, no less for what I personally know of his general ingenuity, industry, and virtue, than for the general reputation he has in this town, inferior to none, but superior to most, for his mastery in the two points of his profession; namely, fair writing, and arithmetic, so far, principally, as is subservient to accountantship. Now, so it is, that the late project (of which you cannot but have heard) of Mr. Neale, the groom-porter's lottery, has almost extinguished, for some time, at all places of public conversation in this town, especially among men of numbers, every other talk but what relates to the doctrine of determining between the true proportions of the hazards incident to this or that given chance or lot. On this occasion it has fallen out that this gentleman is become concerned (more than in jest) to compass a solution that may be relied upon beyond what his modesty will suffer him to think his own alone, or any less than Mr. Newton's, to be, to a question which he takes a journey on purpose to attend you with, and prayed my giving him this introduction to you to that purpose, which, not in common friendship only, but as due to his so earnest application after truth, though in a matter of speculation alone, I cannot deny him; and therefore trust you will forgive me in it, and the trouble I desire you to bear, at my instance, of giving him your decision upon it and the process of your coming at it: wherein I shall esteem myself on his behalf greatly owing to you, and remain,

Honoured Sir,

Your most humble,

And most affectionate and faithful Servant,

S. P.

C. orig.

M^R NEWTON TO M^R PEPYS.S^R,Cambridge, Nov^r 26, 1693.

I WAS very glad to hear of your good health by M^r Smith, and to have any opportunity given me of shewing how ready I should be to serve you or your friends upon any occasion, and wish that something of greater moment would give me a new opportunity of doing it, so as to become more useful to you than in solving only a mathematical question. In reading the question, it seemed to me at first to be ill stated; and in examining M^r Smith about the meaning of some phrases in it, he put the case of the question the same as if A played with six dice till he threw a six; and then B threw as often with twelve, and C with eighteen, the one for twice as many, the other for thrice as many, sixes. To examine who had the advantage, I took the case of A throwing with one die, and B with two—the former till he threw a six, the latter as often for two sixes; and found that A had the advantage. But whether A will have the advantage when he throws with six, and B with twelve dice, I cannot tell, for the number of dice may alter the proportion of the chances considerably, and I did not compute it in this case, the problem being a very hard one. And indeed, upon reading the question anew, I found that these cases do not come within the question; for here an advantage is given to A by his throwing first till he throws a six: whereas the question requires, that they throw upon equal luck, and by consequence that no advantage be given to any one by throwing first. The question is this: A has six dice in a box, with which he is to fling a six; B has in another box twelve dice, with which he is to fling two sixes; C has in another box eighteen dice, with which he is to fling three sixes. Q^y, whether B and C have not as easy a task as A, at even luck? If this last question must be understood according to the plainest sense of the words, I think that sense must be this:—

1st. Because A, B, and C, are to throw upon even luck, there must be no advantage of luck given to any of them by throwing first or last,

by making any thing depend upon the throw of any one, which does not equally depend on the throws of the other two : and therefore to bar all inequality of luck on these accounts, I would understand the question as if A, B, and C, were to throw all at the same time.

2^{dly}. I take the most proper and obvious meaning of the words of the question to be, that when A flings more sixes than one, he flings a six, as well as when he flings but a single six, and so gains his expectation ; and so, when B flings more sixes than two, and C more than three, they gain their expectations. But if B throw under two sixes, and C under three, they miss their expectations, because, in the question, 'tis expressed that B is to throw two, and C three sixes.

3^{dly}. Because each man has his dice in a box ready to throw, and the question is put upon the chances of that throw, without naming any more throws than that, I take the question to be the same as if it had been put thus upon single throws.

What is the expectation or hope of A to throw every time one six, at least, with six dice ?

What is the expectation or hope of B to throw every time two sixes, at least, with twelve dice ?

What is the expectation or hope of C to throw every time three sixes, or more than three, with eighteen dice ?

And whether has not B and C as great an expectation or hope to hit every time what they throw for, as A hath to hit what he throws for ?

If the question be thus stated, it appears, by an easy computation, that the expectation of A is greater than that of B or C ; that is, the task of A is the easiest : and the reason is, because A has all the chances on sixes on his dice for his expectation, but B and C have not all the chances upon theirs ; for when B throws a single six, or C but one or two sixes, they miss of their expectations. This Mr Smith understands, and therefore allows that, if the question be understood as I have stated it, then B and C have not so easy a task as A ; but he seems of opinion that the question should be so stated, that B and C, as well as A, may have all the chances of sixes on their dice within their expectations. I do not see that the words of the question, as 'tis set down in your letter, will admit it ; but this being no mathematical

question, but a question what is the true mathematical question, it belongs not to me to determine it. I have contented myself, therefore, to set down how, in my opinion, the question, according to the most obvious and proper meaning of the words, is to be understood, and that, if this be the true state of the question, then B and C have not so easy a task as A: but whether I have hit the true meaning of the question, I must submit to the better judgment of yourself and others. If you desire the computation, I will send it you.

I am,

Sir,

Y^r most humble and most

Obedient Servant,

Is. NEWTON.

C. orig.

MR NEWTON TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Cambridge, Dec^r 16, 1693.

IN stating the case of the wager, you seem to have exactly the same notion of it with me; and to the question, which of the three chances should Peter chuse were he to have but one throw for his life? I answer, that if I were Peter, I would chuse the first. To give you the computation upon which this answer is grounded, I would state the question thus:—

A hath six dice in a box, with which he is to fling at least one six, for a wager laid with R.

B hath twelve dice in another box, with which he is to fling at least two sixes, for a wager laid with S.

C hath eighteen dice in another box, with which he is to fling at least three sixes, for a wager laid with T.

The stakes of R, S, and T, are equal; what ought A, B, and C, to stake, that the parties may play upon equal advantage?

To compute this I set down the following progressions of numbers:

Progr. 1.	1	2	3	4	5	6	the number of the dice.
Progr. 2.	0	1	3	6	10	15	
Progr. 3.	6	36	216	1296	7776	46656	the number of all the chances upon them.
Progr. 4.	5	25	125	625	3125	15625	the number of chances without sixes.
Progr. 5.	1	5	25	125	625	3125	
Progr. 6.	1	10	75	500	3125	18750	chances for one six and no more.
Progr. 7.		1	5	25	125	625	
Progr. 8.		1	15	150	1250	9375	chances for two sixes and no more.

The progressions in this table are thus found : the first progression, which expresses the number of the dice, is an arithmetical one ; viz. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, &c. ; the second is found, by adding to every term, the term of the progression above it, viz. $0 + 1 = 1$, $1 + 2 = 3$, $3 + 3 = 6$, $6 + 4 = 10$, $10 + 5 = 15$, &c. ; the third progression, which expresses the number of all the chances upon the dice, is found by multiplying the number 6 into itself continually ; and the fourth, fifth, and seventh, are found by multiplying the number 5 into itself continually ; the sixth is found by multiplying the terms of the first and fifth, viz. $1 \times 1 = 1$, $2 \times 5 = 10$, $3 \times 25 = 75$, $4 \times 125 = 500$, &c. ; and the eighth is found by multiplying the terms of the second and seventh, viz. $1 \times 1 = 1$, $3 \times 5 = 15$, $6 \times 25 = 150$, $10 \times 125 = 1250$, &c. : and by these rules the progressions may be continued on to as many dice as you please.

Now, since A plays with six dice, to know what he and R ought to stake I consult the numbers in the column under six, and there, from 46656, the number of all the chances upon those dice expressed in the third progression, I subduct 15625, the number of all the chances without a six expressed in the fourth ; and the remainder 31031, is the number of all the chances with one six or above : therefore the stake of A must be to the stake of R, upon equal advantage, as 31031 to 15625, or $\frac{31031}{15625}$ to 1 ; for their stakes must be as their expectations, that is, as the number of chances which make for them. In like manner, if you would know what B and S ought to stake upon twelve dice, produce the progressions to the column of twelve dice, and the sum of the numbers in the fourth and sixth progressions, viz. $244140625 + 585937500 = 830078125$, will be the number of chances for S ; and this number, subducted from the number of all the chances in the third progression, viz. 2176782336, will leave 1346704211, the

number of chances for B : therefore the stake of B would be to the stake of S, as 1346704211 to 830078125, or $\frac{1346704211}{830078125}$ to 1. And so, by producing the progressions to the number of eighteen dice, and taking the sum of the numbers in the fourth, sixth, & eighth progressions, for the number of the chances for T, and the difference between this number and that in the third column for the number of the chances for C, you will have the proportion of their stakes upon equal advantage. And thence it will appear, that when the stakes of R, S, and T, are units, (suppose one pound or one guinea,) and by consequence equal, the stake of A must be greater than that of B, and that of B greater than that of C, and therefore A has the greatest expectation. The question might have been thus stated, and answered in fewer words: if Peter is to have but one throw for a stake of 1000*l*. and has his choice of throwing either one six at least upon six dice, or two at least upon twelve, or three at least upon eighteen, which throw ought he to chuse; and of what value is his chance or expectation upon every throw, were he to sell it? Answer: Upon six dice there are 46656 chances, whereof 31031 are for him; upon twelve, there are 2176782336 chances, whereof 1346704211 are for him: therefore his chance or expectation is worth the $\frac{31031}{46656}$ part of 1000*l*. in the first case, and the $\frac{1346704211}{2176782336}$ part of 1000*l*. in the second; that is, 665*l*. 0*s*. 2*d*. in the first case, and 618*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. in the second. In the third case, the value will be found still less. This, I think, Sir, is what you desired me to give you an account of, and if there be any thing further, you may command

Your most humble

And most obedient Servant,

Is. NEWTON.

U. orig.

MR PEPYS TO MR EVELYN.

DEAR SIR,

York Buildings, May 22, 94.

What shall I say more (for introduction) than that we want you, wish for you, and pray for you?

The newest thing I have to send you is a small collection of Voyages, which y^e publishers, in acknowledgement of what of them I have helped them to (namely, Narborough's, Wood's, and Sharp's), have presented mee with 2 or 3 copys of, as I doe you wth one of them.

Least you should not remember where you left yo^r Virginia-man's letter, and he thereby want the contents, I dare say hee languishes for, of yo^r answer, I thought it becomeing mee to send it you, (you haveing lent it mee to copy,) and to tell you that his to M^r North was safely delivered to his owne hand.

You won't be sorry (I believe) to finde, by y^e Preface left with mee yesterday by M^r Chiswell, that *Archbishop Laud's Life* of his owne writeing, is now in the presse, with designe to bee fitted for y^e public ag^t Mich'mas Terme.

To these I add a sheet or 2 lately printed relating to the sea, and ayming at something good there. The Author seems to have wit enough, and good meaning, and offers at something very bold in it (me thinks) relating to Government. But were it worth while, it were easy to shew him to be but moderately instructed in y^e importance of y^e very nation hee would advance, and which, indeed, wants to be more strik^{ngly} handled; I meane the controversy for sea employ^{mt} between y^e *Gentleman and Tarpawlin*. Sir, I kiss my Lady's hands & yo^r owne, & telling you once more that we heartily want, wish, & pray for you, I remayne,

Y^r most faithf^l and obed^t Ser^t,

S. PEPYS.

My L^d Clarendon ask^d me the other day wth g^t respect after you, and your work upon y^e Medailles, intimating (me thought) his having something therein to pleasure you with. If you have any errand to be delivered to him, on that or any other subject, pray let me be yo^r messenger.

I had a very kind visit yesterday from our pretty Etonian,* conducted by M^r Strickland, but could not get the little knave to dine

* Mr. Evelyn's grandson.

with me, as being elsewhere bound. But I hope he will make me amends another day.

C. orig.

MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS.

MY WORTHY FRIEND,

Wotton, July 7, 1694.

IT is now high time for me to make an apology, if I had any besides your wonted indulgence, for the trouble I lately gave you of a cumbersome packet; and after I have enquired of your good health, and the rest of our Saturday's academists, to reiterate my thanks for the book you sent me. You will be much inquisitive what I am doing; whilst there is so much hay abroad, and the sun shines so bright, at least, here is work enough for such as have leisure. This is the style of the place, the season, and of my business, and must have been, for ought I know, my best employment, if some kind genius had not in pity directed the most learned Mr. Wotton* to give me a visit, and an inestimable present too, his *Reflections upon the Ancient and Modern Learning*; which, in recognition of your's, I should have sent you, but that I was confident you must, ere this, have seen it, and been entertained with as much delight and satisfaction as an universally learned, and indeed extraordinary person, is able to give the most refined taste. This is he whom I have sometimes mentioned to you, for one of the miracles of this age for his early and vast comprehension. Set him down, then, in your *Albo*, among the Gales and the Bentlys, as you will certainly do so soon as you know him. I assure you he is no less in the pulpit and conversation, than in his book and writing, with great modesty. Judge, then, what an unexpected blessing is befallen me in the wilderness, and with what manna I am fed, when he does me the kindness to come from Albery, where he has the care of a hopeful young

* William Wotton, afterwards D. D. and Prebendary of Salisbury, distinguished for his uncommon parts and learning. Ob. 1726.

son of M^r Finch's, to Wotton, his namesake, as he calls it. And now you may well think I talk, as famished and half-starved men are said to eat when they come to plenty of provisions; for so indeed I do, not having had such a regale since I went from York Buildings; nor should I have known what to write from this barren country, had not this gentleman furnished me. I am told our friend D^r Locke has made an addition to his excellent Essay, which may be had without the necessity of purchasing the whole book; and a letter from the Bishop of Lincoln acquaints me that there is a little piece in 12mo. called Religion and Reason, which he says will give me an hour's good diversion; for both which I am sending: and that M^r Wharton's Life of the Archbishop, the preface to which you lately so kindly lent me, is by this time printed. This is better news than what we have here from Brest, which I am astonished to find published, for the same reason that you and I would not that all the world should reproach our want of conduct as well as our misfortunes. My most humble services to the most obliging Doctor Gale. Receive you my wife's, who is at present become a water-bibber here, though we fetch it from Linfield, 20 miles distant, on the edge of Sussex; and it is stronger than the Spa at Tunbridge. If you or the Doctor come near to Epsom this summer, I flatter myself you will make half a dozen miles step further South.

J. EVELYN.

We drink M^r Bently's health, and wish his library finished, that we may have the Sermons he has promised us, &c.

C.

M^r PEPYS TO M^r EVELYN.

DEAR SIR,

August 10, 1694.

I HAVE been a good deal out of order myself, but more so in my family; and have three down at this house with the fever of the season, thank God! well advanced in their recovery. D^r Gale acknowledges

himself your debtor, as I am his, for all the care I have had a great while; the greatest ingredient of which is, the frequent remembrance his conversation starts occasions for between us of our distant friend, Mr. Evelyn. Mr. Bently is still, I believe, at Worcester, and a great man wherever he is; but it is winter only will help us to any good tidings, either of his library or lectures. You have great reason to joy yourself in such a neighbour as Mr. Wotton, whose incomparable Discourse I read. I shall hope for the honour and pleasure of waiting on him, whenever the season or business shall bring you to town together. I enclose you the Inscription (new to me) on the late venerable Bishop of Oxford's monument; it has something very awful in it, and answering his character. The Virtuosi there are gathering and printing a general catalogue of what MSS., public or private, our country is possessed of. It is indeed a work that I have long wished; not that I have ought of my own to contribute to it, but I well remember how much I have been obliged to those that have—I mean yourself. Dr. Charlett writes to me: "We must not forget Mr. Evelyn's MSS.; and what became of Sir Richard Browne's?" This he meant but for a text for me to enlarge on to you. Dr. Locke has set an useful example to future reprinters; I hope it will be followed in books of value. I have read the little thing the Bishop recommended to you, about Reason and Religion, and found great satisfaction in it. Adieu.

S. P.

C. orig.

MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS.

MY WORTHY FRIEND,

Wotton, September 2^d, 1694.

Ecce iterum provocas me beneficiis neque habeo ullum ἀντιδωρον, which plunges me more and more into debt; this last packet of your's coming fruited with so many favours at once, that I know not which of them first to give thanks for, all of them deserving a particular acknowledgement. I am extremely pleased with these Valerianus's; they are to

me like those intermesses which are placed between the larger dishes, not to make a meal upon, but to furnish vacuities. I wish we had more of these Attic nights, and am glad to find they come so much in fashion; nor do I look upon them as scraps, but as Bellaria and Cupediæ, which refresh with their pretty varieties, when one has been tired with moiling and turning over the rubbish you justly complain of to lie in the way. With you, therefore, I have a thousand times deplored that there has been so little done towards the ridding us of this monstrous lumber. Honest Gesner has yet done his part, and shewn how feasible it were, by the example he has set, and such as of late have taken pains in the histories of animals and plants; and D' Bell left a Diatyposis of what he pretended to have performed in the mathematics; and Bishop Wilkins, in his Preliminaries to his Essay of a Real Character, scored out many very useful tables, preparatory to a more universal work, than that of words alone. But so did Lord Bacon before him, with his caution concerning Epitomes; and yet, I pray, what would the loss have been, if fame or our tedious historians were contracted to so little detriment as Dio has suffered by John Xiphilin, and most of the Fathers of the Church by the late Dupin? I speak not this by guess, having not long since examined him, after I had first read Clemens Alexandrinus, which you know is a book of great variety. Nor is he the only voluminous theologue I have compared him with of the primitive writers, without finding any material passage slighted or omitted: the Prolegomena of the Polyglot Bible I name as another instance. In the mean time, what a benefactor were he, that were able and willing to give us such a catalogue of Authors, as were only, and absolutely, and fully effectual to the attaining of such a competency of practical, useful, and speculative knowledge, as one might hope to benefit by within the ordinary circles of one's life, without being bewildered and quite out of the way when one should be gotten home! I am still persuaded this were not impossible, and that less than 100 Authors, studied in proper method, would go a great way towards this end. I do not mean by excluding the classics, which in a very few years may all be read together,

with all the Greek and Latin historians, from Herodotus downwards ; but I speak of the subsidiary arts, and other faculties, as far as to accomplish one who did not intend a particular profession, or if he did, would find the rest a burden to him. I know you have read Grotius's Epistle to Mons^r Maurerius ; it is his first *ad Gallos* : what, then, might not a younger man, who sets out early, hope to attain by some such method ? But I forget I am writing to one who knows all this so much better, and is so ready to promote the common good of mankind. I concur with you, therefore, in all you say, and think of M^r Wotton upon this chapter : but t'is now three weeks since I saw him, about which time I understand he went to London ; and whether he be yet returned, I have not heard : only a little before he went he shewed me a letter from M^r Bently, acquainting him that so much business was likely to be his share, since he had undertaken the Library at Whitehall, that he should not be able to continue his lecture very long, and therefore most earnestly conjured him to take it up, there being no man so well furnished for it ; giving him withal a short scheme after what method he intended to have proceeded. Since this I lately received a letter from the Bishop of Lincoln, intimating as much, and that if we must lose M^r Bently, he thought none more fit to supply his room ; but this will be reserved to our meeting in the Term, before which I hope to kiss my dear friend's hands at York Buildings. As for MSS., my stock is so trifling, and this whole county, as far as I can possibly learn, so thin of scholars and libraries, that I foresee little to be expected from hence. What I have, consisting chiefly of Italian Conclaves, Letters, and Political Matters, most relating to the late times, I would send you a catalogue of, if I thought them suitable to the design of those learned Editors, which I suppose consists chiefly in Antiquities, and Critical and other rare and valuable pieces.

And now let me not forget to congratulate the health which I hope is by this time confirmed to you and your's, with my hearty prayers for the perfection and continuance of it. My wife is, after all her water-drinking, in perpetual apprehension of something which makes her

very uneasy. I thank God, I bear up tolerably yet; and whilst I do so, and for ever, I am,

Dear Sir,

Yⁿ most unfainedly.

My humble service to our Doctor. There may be many Doctors, but they are none of them so *ours*. Abundance of thanks for the Epitaph; it contains nothing but what is really due to that learned Prelate. The specimen of Tully is in a most excellent letter; and the account of the books now published and in the press at Oxon, shews they begin to make a better choice than they have formerly done. I pray, when you write to D^r Charlett, acquaint him with what I say concerning MSS., and his expectation from my poor stock. Thanks for my Virginia conveyances.

C. orig.

MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Dover Street, November 18, 1694.

IT was, I assure you, upon a letter of your's sent me the last summer to Wotton, and another a little after, with the reiterated desires of M^r Gibbins, that I was prevailed with to transcribe and leave this Catalogue with him, but by no means thinking it fit to take up any place among the titles of MSS. which could be of any use to the design of the University; and therefore entreated him to consider well before he sent it to Oxford: and now I am heartily sorry to find it there, whilst I see none of M^r Pepys's, so much more worthy to be published, for the very great variety of the choicest subjects no where else to be found in England. If you persist to deny the Doctor's request, as it seems till now, unknown to me, you have done, I shall almost believe you do it to expose me, with the rest that are brought upon the stage. Of this, therefore, acquit yourself as you can; to be sure, I shall tell the story to D^r Charlett, unless you do justice to yourself and the public. In the mean time I return you the book you sent me, and should be

glad it were dissolved rather than wrought off, unless I were assured of your company: but perhaps you are ashamed of it—and indeed you have reason, *comparatis comparandis*, and in that case I have no more to say.

You dare not send this letter to Dr Charlett, though you sent his to me.

J. EVELYN.

C.

MR PEPYS TO DR SMITH.

REVEREND SIR,

April 15, 1695.

You may be surprised, but won't, I dare say, be offended, that at the instance of our excellent friend, Dr. Charlett of Oxford, I come so soon to ask, for another, a favour it is so little a while since I troubled you for to myself. It is in behalf of this young man*, the bearer: one whose outside would not lead you to expect such an errand from him, his education also bespeaking it as little; as having been bred at Coventry, in a trade not very apt to give any occasion for it. But so it is, that by a strange bent of nature he has spontaneously given himself up to the love of Antiquities and looking into Records; Dr. Charlett telling me of several Catalogues of MSS. now before them at Oxford, which they owe to his transcribing: and, after this, what can you think his present want to be, and the only errand that has brought him up to London, and this the first time of his being here, but a curiosity only to see the inside of Sir John Cotton's Library, which pray let me, in Dr. Charlett's name and my own, beg you to indulge him an opportunity for, when it may be with least trouble to yourself. And to reconcile this curiosity of his a little more to you, I

* Humphrey Wanley, son to the Rev. Nathaniel Wanley, Vicar of Trinity Church in Coventry, and better known as the author of the *Wonders of the Little World*. He was sent to Edmund Hall, Oxford, by Lloyd, Bishop of Lichfield, &c., whence he soon removed to University College, at the instance of Dr. Charlett, who had observed his attention to matters of antiquity. He became, some years afterwards, Librarian to the Earl of Oxford, whose son and successor retained him in his service. He died in July 1726.

have it to observe, that though it was his fortune to be disposed of by his friends to a trade, as I have told you, yet was it not, as I understand, without his having been first raised to an academical degree of grammar-learning; so as books are not wholly strangers to him, and by consequence your favour to him will not want being understood, though it may of being enough acknowledged either by him or me, who am, with all respect,

Your most faithful and

Most humble Servant,

S. P.

C. orig.

DR QUADRING* TO MR PEPYS†.

MOST HONOURED SIR,

Magdalene College, May 20th, 1695.

I HAVE at last sent you inclosed what you were pleased to desire of me, and I hope you will pardon this delay. The Vice-Chancellor was at first unwilling to part with the book out of his hands, or to have it transcribed, till I assured him that it was only for your private satisfaction, he was willing to let M^r Holman, our public Registrar, write out what I desired; so that you have this account from an authentic hand. M^r Holman is coming to London; I desired him to wait upon you, to know if you had any other commands to lay upon him, or me. I am just taking horse to go out of town, but hope (God willing) to return within a fortnight; then I shall take it for an honour and a happiness to hear that you have received and accepted of the inclosed account. I know your goodness will pardon me if I have in any thing mistaken your commands, for I heartily desire to show myself,

Most honoured Sir,

Your most humble, most

Obliged Servant,

GABRIEL QUADRING.

* Gabriel Quadring, D. D. Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge.

† Endorsed, "*Accompanying a Transcript of the University of Cambridge's Public Commemoration of Benefactors.*"

C.

MR PEPYS TO DR QUADRING.

REVEREND SIR,

June 8th, 1695.

THE time you set me for expecting your return to Cambridge being out, I hope this will find you well arrived there; its errand being to give you my most humble services and acknowledgments of the extra favour of your last, and the account it brought me of what I desired of you relating to the University. I was not enough aware (I perceive) of the trouble that has attended it to you; for which I beg many pardons, and promise you my using more circumspection, when (as it may happen) my curiosity shall next prompt me to any like enquiry within your verge. Your return to me in this is most satisfactory, both for its ampleness and authority; on the score of which last, I have every day been in hopes of seeing Mr. Holman, that I might acknowledge to him this part of the favour done me in the transcript. And what expence it may otherwise have occasioned you, let me beg you to find some way for my knowing that also, that I may rest a debtor for nothing relating to it but what is beyond my power to repay,—I mean the frankness and fulness of your favour to me in it. I am obliged, also, to return Mr. Vice-Chancellor my most humble thanks for his allowance in it; which I beg you at your convenience to present him with from me, with a re-assurance of the simplicity and decency of the use I have in my particular reading to make of it.

I am, with all sincerity and respect,

Honoured Sir,

Your most faithful and

Obliged humble Servant,

S. PEPYS.

C.

MR PEPYS TO M^{RS} STEWARD.

MADAM,

Sept. 20, 1695.

YOU are very good, and pray continue so, by as many kind messages as you can, and notices of your health, such as the bearer brings you back my thanks for, and a thousand services. Here's a sad town, and God knows when it will be a better, our losses at sea making a very melancholy exchange at both ends of it; the gentlewomen of this (to say nothing of the other) sitting with their arms across, without a yard of muslin in their shops to sell, while the ladies, they tell me, walk pensively by, without a shilling, I mean a good one, in their pockets to buy. One thing there is, indeed, that comes in my way as a Governor to hear of, which carries a little mirth with it, and indeed is very odd.—Two wealthy citizens are lately dead, and left their estates, one to a Blue Coat boy, and the other to a Blue Coat girl, in Christ's Hospital. The extraordinariness of which has led some of the magistrates to carry it on to a match, which is ended in a public wedding; he in his habit of blue satin, led by two of the girls, and she in blue, with an apron green, and petticoat yellow, all of sarsnet, led by two of the boys of the house through Cheapside to Guildhall Chapel, where they were married by the Dean of St. Paul's, she given by my Lord Mayor. The wedding-dinner, it seems, was kept in the Hospital Hall, but the great day will be to-morrow, St. Matthew's; when, so much I am sure of, my Lord Mayor will be there, and myself also have had a ticket of invitation thither, and if I can will be there too; but for the other particulars I must refer you to my next, and so,

Dear Madam, adieu,

S. P.

Bow bells are just now ringing, ding dong, but whether for this, I cannot presently tell; but it is likely enough, for I have known them ring upon much foolisher occasions, and lately too.

B. L. orig.

SIR PETER PETT * TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

May 3^d, 1696.

I SEND you this by M^r Izzard, the journeyman printer, and herewith return you your Life of Hales. In a letter I sent you this week by the penny post, I did congratulate to you the usefulness of your motto†; and when you are pleased to favour me with a line or two next, I entreat you to refer me to the book in Cicero where you found the treasure of it. I think I read it in some of his books many years ago, and do think it was in his Tusculan Questions; and if so great a master of learning as the Earl of Pembroke, by his carping at the Latinity of it, showed his ignorance of its being in Cicero, my not knowing the particular place may be excused. I told you, in my last, I had a memorable copy of one of Hales's Records ready for your entertainment, but I have here enclosed a copy of one more memorable; and next to the Oath of the Athenians for the support of their Republic, which I am ready to show you, this Oath of the Roman Orators is the greatest curiosity my collections and papers can boast. I was many years in vain trying to find it among the Civil Law writers, who are the best treasurers of Roman antiquities, and at last found it in a folio of Philip Camerarius, a famous civilian, and most critical philosopher and historian, translated into English by M^r Mole, a famous man of King's Coll. Cambridge; and so the authenticness of this Oath is past doubt. You have obliged me with your commands to find you the facts of our Oaths in England, whereby I have had occasion to think much of the perjuries of our countrymen, and I have consoled myself with the thought of the last saying in this Roman Oath, viz. "*In perjurio vero ne depre-*

* Peter Pett, F.R.S., son, grandson, and great grandson to three persons of both his names, (the last of whom had been master builder in the Navy to the Queens Mary and Elizabeth,) was born at Deptford, and educated at St. Paul's School and Sydney College, Cambridge, where he became A.B.; but in 1647 entering as a student at Pembroke Coll. Oxford, was the following year elected Fellow of All Souls. He was soon afterwards admitted a student in Gray's Inn, and made Advocate General to Charles II. in Ireland, elected a Member of the House of Commons for that kingdom, and knighted by the Duke of Ormond. He wrote several political treatises. *Abridged from Knight's Life of Dean Colet.*

† Vide page 118.

hendar unquam," which shews that there was a time in the world, before the introduction of Christianity, when men dreaded perjury. But, alas! the motto of too many of the Pseudo-Christians whom we daily see is, May I never be found out in perjury! and that this should be the national sin of England, more than of any other countries, "*pudet hæc opprobria nobis*," &c. I can show you a pamphlet of 6 sheets, not long ago writ by a learned man, and entitled "Perjury the National Sin;" and the author proves his point too well, insomuch that he shews himself perjured too. But enough of all this: I loving now and then to recreate my thoughts with the examples of men famous for their *pietas in patriam*, do sometimes think of that famous patriot John De Witt, and such I may justifiably call him even in print, sheltered by the authority of Sir William Temple in his much applauded Observations about Holland. I seldom think of him without thinking of the excellent picture of him that hangs in your study, and which you told me was given you by Sir James Houblon; and I shall let you know that a Dutch merchant who knew him, one M^r Weghmans, now living at Lambeth, hath assured me that he was a downright rank Predestinarian Calvinist, and not in the least tinctured with the tenets of Arminianism, though owned by all the Lovestein faction. I myself am an Arminian; I, however, think it a commendable thing in De Witt to profess the tenets he did, supposing that he followed the last dictates of his practical understanding in so doing, as in charity we are bound to believe. Dining at Bishop Barlow's in Oxford, about 10 years ago, and De Witt's picture as graven hanging in his dining room, D^r Wallis coming in to visit the Bishop, and casting his eye on that sculpture, said he should have a great honour for the character of De Witt, but for one action of which he pronounced him guilty, viz. the contriving of the burning of London. D^r Wallis being the greatest master of Algebra that perhaps ever lived, and giving his judgement in that matter so positively as he did, I had the curiosity a few years ago to engage a famous D^r in Oxford, his and my intimate friend, to note down from his mouth his words and reasons at large relating to that his judgement; and I here offer it to your consideration, if you shall

think fit to engage Sir James Houblon to meet me at your house : I will attend you there with D^r Wallis's words and reasons so noted down, and we may then weigh the merits of so great an affirmation. Sir James, I know, is your intimate friend ; and I know him to be likewise a very acute man, on the conversation I had twice or thrice with him in days of yore in the company of Sir W. Petty and John Grant. Sir James Houblon, being an Alderman of London, may perhaps think it worth his while to have D^r Wallis's affirmation notified and discussed. M^r John Daniel, an ingenious young artist in naval architecture, acquaints me that M^r Boyle did often discourse with him about the building of our English ships, and that M^r Boyle, having a true notion of my brothers way of building by horizontal lines, did put M^r Daniel on the drawing a draught of a first rate, and on the making therein the horizontal lines and rising lines to cut each other at right angles. I am sorry to think that no man of the Royal Society hath talents to go so far as M^r Boyle did, even in this one thing, for the good of naval architecture : the reason why I think so, is because many years ago I gave Sir Christopher Wren the draught of an old fashioned ship, and another of the frigate fashion, that he might see the difference of them ; and he afterwards desiring me to bring him into the company of some excellent shipwright, who might resolve many of his questions, I brought to him Captain William Castle, the famous loyal Tory, who was an expert mathematician, and who resolved all the questions Sir Ch^r put to him ; but all in vain, as to any illustration of the affairs of naval architecture that Sir Ch^r could effect : and so

Manum de tabulâ,

I am, Sir,

Y^{rs} most entirely.

I can tell you of another memoir of De Witt, that I myself have found out, as it were by algebra, viz. his being forced to effect the burning of our ships at Chatham ; and I can give you a relation from Sir Nicholas Armourer's mouth, how De Witt, to oblige King Charles II., did, in concert with Sir Nicholas, effect the sending over Baxter,

Okey, and Corbett, to be hanged here, though the seizing of these Regicides was against the laws of the country.

C. orig.

MR TANNER * TO MR PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

All Souls, Oxon. Nov^r 6, 1696.

I MUST humbly beg your pardon for my long silence, which I desire you not to misconstrue as a neglect, but to excuse it as partly occasioned by the hurry I have of late been in, and partly by the want of news or business. The sense of this fault made me diffident to write to you about a matter of the greatest concern to my future fortunes, though at the same time I knew you could do me signal service therein.† But the lesser my importunity was, the more generous your kindness; and your ready compliance with the first application of our worthy master, in order to promote my interest, requires these my humblest and heartiest thanks: and the good success of your endeavours makes your favour and my obligations the greater, seeing it was in great measure owing to your influence over D^r Lloyd. He shewed himself during the whole menage of the election very much my friend, not only with his vote, but with his interest; and I hope you will be pleased to let him know what grateful resentments I have of his kindness.

The unsettledness of the present posture of my affairs will not suffer me to trouble you with any more now, but I intend very shortly to let you know what I have been at work upon these two years, and for what reasons I cannot think of doing any thing to *Heylin's Introduction*; so that at present I shall only crave leave to assure you that the honour of your acquaintance, your encouragement of my studies, and

* Thomas Tanner, the celebrated antiquarian writer, made Bishop of St. Asaph 1731. Ob. 1738.

† In recommending Mr. Tanner as a Candidate for a Fellowship at All Souls, to which he had just been elected.

all your favours, particularly this last, shall be always owned with the utmost gratitude, duty, and respect, as becomes,

Worthy Sir,

Your most obliged

Humble Servant,

THOMAS TANNER.

C. orig.

MR WRIGHT TO MR PEPYS.

HON^D SIR,

Nov^r 10, 1696.

COL. SCOTT, your prosecutor, is again turned for England: when he arrived first he was in the habit of a Dutch skipper, which disguised him very much; but now he has got good clothes, and a perriwig. He was at a friend's house of mine some few days past, and pretended he had got his pardon for killing the coachman; but he tells me he does not believe it. This I thought good to acquaint you.

I am, Sir,

Y^r most humble Serv^t,

EDW^D WRIGHT.

Mr. Pepys, in answer, particularly requested to have further information, which produced a second letter from Mr. Wright, as follows:—

HON^D SIR,

Nov 12, 1696.

I HAVE now learnt as much as I could since the other day. Col. Scott, about 7 weeks ago, came to England in a seaman's habit: he was not seen by any body I know till about 16 days ago, and then he appeared in pretty good habit, and a bob wig on, and pulled out a parchment with a broad seal to it, and said it was his pardon, and desired that man to get a silver box made to put it in; but he has not seen him since. The Colonel was at his house yesterday, but he was not at home. Whether it was a pardon or not, he cannot tell; but Kings do not use to grant pardons before conviction, unless it be to

noblemen, as to the Duke of Buckingham for killing Lord Shrewsbury, or the like the present King did to Colonel Beveridge for killing M^r Danby, and to some outlaws that he brought with him. But Colonel Scott has always been obnoxious to him : when he was in Scotland, he ran away with his regiment's money, and was hanged in effigy : besides, I have employed a friend to search the Hanaper Office and the Petty Bag Office, where all patents of that nature pass, and for 16 years there has been no such patent passed. I am informed that he lives in Gray's Inn, by 2 people that he has told so to. If I can any way further serve your honour, no person shall do it more faithfully.

EDWARD WRIGHT.

When Scott returned out of Holland, he told my friend he had a bill from the Bank at Amsterdam of 100*l.* upon the Bank here, and could not get his money. His person and carriage are not a bit altered.

C. orig.

DR CHARLETT TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Nov. 17, 1696. Univ. Coll.

I MAKE no apology for writing by my good, and our worthy common friend, D^r Lloyd. You so generously espoused the interests of M^r Tanner, that you must of right acknowledge the good and zealous offices of the bearer in his behalf; and I cannot forbear saying, you must find an opportunity of speaking the same to the good Warden, for I had no argument so powerful as your name with him, notwithstanding the persecution all the friends of the 19 candidates could give him. It was a great affliction to me that I could not serve the interest of Captain Hatton's son in law; indeed, that gentleman acted with so much generous honour, and with so much nice ceremony, that he wrote to me that he would by no means pretend to prejudice the interest of M^r Tanner, and that he heartily wished him success, though he was not acquainted with his person. I must, and so does M^r

Tanner, impute these respects to your favourable character of him, and I am willing to be responsible that he shall ever very gratefully be your humble servant for them. I cannot omit affecting you with the concerns of another person, M^r Wanley, whom you have so kindly espoused. The Curators of our Library have, in opposition to some people, committed to his inspection the examination and digesting of our coins and medals, according to the paper of his composition I shewed you; and have ordered all the books on that subject to be bought, now wanting, and placed there forthwith. He is likewise ordered to oversee all our MSS.: in these and in other things he has such a perfection, that it makes me smile to see, at the same time that I cannot tell by what method he comes to the knowledge of them, though he lyes in my own house. M^r Hudson's old Greek Maritime Geographers are almost printed; and M^r Creech is very forward with his Justin Martyr, Gr. Lat. I will conclude with an old compliment, that there are several here who have long desired to wait upon you at Oxford; none more than y^r very humble servant,

AR. CHARLETT.

A young gentleman last week had a letter from me to D^r Gale, but he has sent me word the coach was set upon at Tyburn, and that he was stripped of all. D^r Wallis's 2 Greek Music Books are almost finished.

C. orig.

MR EDMUND GIBSON* TO MR PEPYS.

HONORED SIR,

Lambeth, Nov. 25, 1696.

I HERE send you the Index of the Catalogue, so far as Bodley's Library is concerned. I have also enclosed a short account of the life

* The learned Edmund Gibson, at this period Domestic Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, became in 1715 Bishop of Lincoln; and in 1720 was translated to the See of London. Ob. 1748.

of his Thomas Bodley, and of the foundation and encrease of his Library; you may (if you please) keep them by you till called for. The other day I met with a Catalogue of the Clergy in the Archdeaconry of Middlesex, taken in 1563, with an account of each man's learning and abilities; in short, observing the strangeness of the characters, I ran over the whole, and as I went along branched them under different heads, whereby their several abilities in learning are there expressed. It is a fancy I know you will be pleased with, and therefore I make bold to give you this short view of the learning of those times.

Docti Latinè et Græcè	III.	Latinè per parum utcunque aliquid,	
Docti	XII.	pauca verba, &c. intellex: . . .	XLII.
Mediocriter Docti	II.	Latinè non Docti	XIII.
Latinè Docti	IX.	Indocti	IV.
Latinè mediocriter intell:	XXXI.		

If the London Clergy were thus ignorant, what must we imagine the country Divines were? I beg your pardon for this trouble, and remain,

Your obliged humble Servant,

EDM. GIBSON.

C. orig.

MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS.

Wotton, Dec. 3, 1696.

I ENQUIRE not what you do or think, but how you do? because I am persuaded we think much alike: I only wish I could do so too, for I should then be always doing well. I am not yet altogether idle, for as often as the lame leg, which hardly carried me out of town into the country, gives me leave, which I thank God it begins to do, I take a walk in the gardens, and a little grove I am planting; for all the world else is deluge, no man alive remembering such a season: and when I am confined, read or scribble, or build castles in the air. To be serious—I have of late been chewing over some old stories, and among others the reign of Lewis the XIth and Charles Duke of Burgundy, written,

you know, by Philip De Comines, 200 years since; and whilst I contemplate your and my condition (*sic parvis componere*), &c. cannot but bemoan, pity, and deplore the unhappiness of princes, whilst either they are not born philosophers, or philosopher-kings, because they never take the counsel of such honest, wise, and worthy persons, as was the author of those Memoirs. If I were to be a prince's tutor, I would cause my pupil to read over Comenius once a year at least. Have you seen a little anonymous piece, entitled *Discours sur les Reflexions, ou Sentences Morales*? I am persuaded you will not dislike it. The latter part is written by a lady, another M^{re} Isted. You will find it thick of very noble thoughts. Amongst our own small works, but no small authors, I am well pleased with *Nicholson's Historical Library*, and exceedingly glad to find our learned Bishop of Worcester* putting his name so strenuously to the vindication of what has been the faith of as wise and reasonable men as any of our bold and late blasphemous pretenders; reproaching the laziness of the many concerned, who, whilst they should defend the ancient doctrine, worry and tear in pieces one another. By the way, you will find some passages of D^r Locke's civilly discussed, and with his deserved elege. Were you at Gresham College on S^t Andrew's day? I have never before been absent till this year, I think these five and thirty. I fear to ask what progress you have made towards finishing your noble and most desirable work, which none but you can pretend to. Will you never let us see it till perfect according to your scale? Remember the advice of a great king, that was such a philosopher as I spake of, "*Quicquid assequitur manus tua ut facias, pro facultate tuâ fac.*" The rest is what you and I have oft reflected on, but why don't you give us a part or two, *ut ex pede Herculem*?" Time flies apace, my friend; t'is evening with us, do not expect perfection on this side of life. If it be the very best, as I am sure it is, nothing can be better, no man out-throws you; and thus, partly demonstrative, and partly objurgative, while I entertain myself at least,

* Edward Stillingfleet.

with my worthy friend, I hinder him from finishing the work I am solicitous to see published.

God Almighty keep you!

I am,

Sir,

Your most faithful

Humble Servant,

J. EVELYN.

C. orig.

MR BARON POWYS * TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Serjeant's Inn, January 19, 1696-7.

AN ingenious friend of mine, in discourse yesterday evening, did happen to mention Mr Molineux's *Dioptrica Nova* with great commendation; whereupon I said, that in a letter formerly sent me by Mr Flamsted, he had enumerated several gross errors in that book, which were not mere errata of the press: upon which my friend did much importune me for a sight of that letter. You may please to remember that I gave it to you. I would not have the original from you, but (if you can find it) I desire you will please to order your servant to make an examined copy of it, that I may please my friend herein. I will to-morrow in the evening send this bearer for such copy, if it may then be ready; and you may please to send it in a paper sealed up.

Sir, I ever am

Your most faithful,

Most humble Servant,

LITTLETON POWYS.

Pray please to give my service to Madame Skinner.

* Sir Littleton Powys, made a Baron of the Exchequer 1695.

C.

M^R PEPYS TO M^R BARON POWYS.

SIR,

York Buildings, January 20th, 1696-7.

I SEND you with this the copy you demand, with many acknowledgments of your favour in being contented with that, where you have much more right than myself to the original.

Time and times (which with me are two things) have together made almost a monk of me, it being many months since I have made one step over my threshold; which I beg of you to take in excuse for my so long omitting to wait upon you, and may yet (possibly) a little longer; for I fear the next swallows and I must set out together. Not but that the lady you so kindly inquire after (and who gives you her most humble services) will, I hope, bring you my compliments sooner, and ask you, whether you can still afford an hour for philosophy and a tansey, when the approaching Term shall be over.

I do most respectfully kiss your hands, and, with my old devotion and esteem, remain,

Honoured Sir,

Your obedient and most

Affectionate Servant,

S. PEPYS.

To Mr. Baron Powys.

C. orig.

D^R GALE TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

June, 1697.

THIS enclosed giveth you an account of M^r Browne's* purposes in relation to the famous Roll.† When I know any thing further, you shall be informed. There is not come any packet from Holland by

* Probably the eldest son of Sir Thomas Browne, who distinguished himself in every branch of learning, and died in 1708 at his seat in Kent, having been for three years President of the College of Physicians.

† Written in the 2d year of King Edward III.

which we might understand what is done in reference to the Deanery of York ; a general presumption is got into people's heads, that it is given to a poor friend of your's, one who professeth himself unworthy of it, and not at all raised in his mind about it. The Lord Chancellor* has lost his fever, but is fallen into the jaundice. Sir Francis Pemberton is dangerously ill.

Your very humble Servant,

T. GALE.

C. orig.

MR EDWARD BROWNE TO DR GALE.

HONOURED DR GALE,

June 4, 1697. Sunbridge.

I HAVE your's of the 1st instant, and do humbly thank you for it. This Roll I think verily is an original one, and, I believe, the only one in England. The blazonry of the arms, which are very many, is extremely well done ; the colours very fresh still, and no where cracked, or broken, or worn out, that I remember. The owner of it is M^r Philip Sandford, Rector of Wrotham : he wrote me word lately, that he would soon call and discuss the whole matter with me. I will take care that he shall not over value the thing, and that you shall see it before you venture upon it. I perceive by your letter that it is not in the Cottonian Library, but it shall be there as soon as I can. I took it for granted, that the B. of whom I wrote in my last, does not care for it at a higher rate than 5 guineas : I told him how the matter was, and if he cannot look after his own business, I know nobody else that is so deeply obliged to him as to do it for him. I am not satisfied of the safety of this thing, should it have got into his library, being greatly troubled to see old MSS. exposed to danger, or misused, as I have seen them. Within 2 miles of me I cast my eye not long ago into a chandler's shop, where I saw them tearing an old parchment book

* Lord Somers.

to pieces, to wrap up pennyworths of tobacco : I desired to see it, and found it to be a very fair Higden. They had torn away all the Jewish history of it, but all the Christian part, to the author's death, and the continuation to 1376, wherein is an account of Wickliffe, and the clothes he wore at Oxford, in those very words which you find in M^r Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* p. 186, *part I.* quoted from a nameless MS. in the Bodleian. I have since had it bound near your house, and I think I gave order that you should see it. Of such books we have many in England, but not enough to condemn to such offices. I hear there are some old MSS. in Sir Th. Heyliard's study, and my Lord of Sussex's, and have been offered a welcome to go and see them, but I have not time yet. I do not very well like the printing of our English MSS. at Oxford ; t'is a dangerous thing, and may prove of fatal consequence to us some time or other, as the University of Heydelberg found to their cost, after they had set the Pope a-longing for their MSS., upon their publishing a copy of them, and making such use of them as their Divines and Scholars did against the Roman Church. And the University of Oxford presently lost the *Acts of the Inquisition against Arias Montanus, and his Apology for himself*, when once D^r James gave notice of it in his *Corruption of the Fathers*. Let but Hezekiah be so weak as to shew his treasure and magazines to the King of Babylon's Embassadors, though he do it without any bravery, yet the Babylonians will have it all in their own country if they can. You and I will make a good use of this MS., D^r Gale, but there are those who will not : but we are a foolish people, and I cannot help it. Thus I have been prating to you ; at any rate, you know me, and will excuse me. T'is hard to talk of books in few words. God keep us all !

I am your faithful and affectionate Servant,

EDW. BROWNE.

C. orig.

DR CHARLES DAVENANT* TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

July 29, 1697.

IN order to some calculations I am now making, it will be necessary for me to have some estimate how many ton of merchant ships we might probably have in England about the year 1666, and how much the said tonnage might amount to about 1688. This may perhaps have occurred to you, and you may have some memorial relating to it; but as to the fleet of war, and naval strength, you can undoubtedly inform me how they stood in both those years. I know you are always ready to help such as are working for the public service. What I am endeavouring to prove is, that this kingdom did very much improve both in trade and naval strength, between those two periods of time; and I would gladly fortify my own conjectures with something so authentic as your information. If your absence from books and papers, which may be your Nephew cannot get at, hinders you from resolving me in these points, pray let me know, that I may get light elsewhere. I am very busy in preparing some things for the press, which you will shortly see. My service to your Nephew and M^r Hewer. I wish you perfect health.

Your most affectionate Servant,

CHARLES DAVENANT.

C. orig.

MR PEPYS TO DR CHARLES DAVENANT.

SIR,

Clapham, August 6, 1697.

MY distance from my papers prevented your earlier satisfaction in what you asked of me by your letter; to so much, I mean, of it as re-

* Charles Davenant, L.L.D. eldest son of Sir W. D., an eminent political writer, M.P. for St. Ives, 1685, and for Great Bedwin, 1698; afterwards appointed Inspector-general of the Exports and Imports, which office he held till his death, Nov. 6, 1714.

lates to the Navy Royal. For the mercantile part, though I never wanted curiosity enough, yet, what with my never having been master of the needful measures towards it, and the more than sufficient work the other did find me, I could never come at it.

But for the Royal, be pleased to take it precisely thus: that the tonnage thereof amounted, in

May 1660, to 62594	} Tons.
Dec. 1688, to 101032	

With which, and wishing I could in any other matter be useful to the work, whatever it be, you have now before you,

I rest, your most humble Serv^t,

S. P.

C. orig.

MR JOSEPH HILL TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Rotterdam, Sept. 26, 97.

HAVING the opportunity of my son-in-law, M^r Brennand, whom I have ordered to wait on you with my service, I shall write the more freely. I have hitherto waited for the conclusion of the Treaty, which is not yet completed, the point of Religion remaining under debate: not for the refugees, who were never mentioned, that I hear of; but for the places the French are to deliver up, in the Palatinate, &c. where they have introduced Popery. The Articles being for the continuance of religion as it is at present exercised, at the instigation, some think, or at least compliance, of the Popish Princes of Germany; which the Protestants have protested against, alledging that religion is to be regulated in the Empire according to the establishment there, and is not to be infringed by foreign treaties; so that six weeks were further allowed for according this matter. And whereas the Protest urged

that Strasburg, upon its surrender, was promised them freedom of their religion; the French replied, their King intended to make it a city of trade, and therefore might probably continue it, but would not be obliged thereto, by the Articles of peace. I suppose the former will be yielded, except the French design to lay a foundation for a Catholic war, which is to be feared. Several of the Plenipotentiaries are gone, others are going, though all the French continue till all is concluded. The States have resolved their militia the same as before the war, and 3000 Swizzers. The King's Dutch Guard go for England into that pay, besides the Earl of Portland's and other regiments, for whom I suppose the English will be disbanded. All generally dismiss a great part of their forces, except Savoy, that augments his, which alarms the Italians and Geneva; though we hope that city runs no risque, not only because the French pressing Savoy's comprehension in the Treaty, the States, &c., brought in the Swizzers and their allies, Geneva, but also its being against the French interest Savoy should have it, their kingdom lying so open on that side. There is likely to be some stir about the demolishing Hunningen, which Basil and the Protestant Cantons press more than pleases France: and now that Lorreign is restored, the French endeavor to draw the Duke off from the Emperor's interest, and marrying his daughter, by a match with the Duke of Orleans. I hear they design to entertain some of the best officers, English and Dutch, which the Allies disband, and that Bufflers proposes terms to that purpose, without the renouncing their religion. If this be true, and that they will keep so many reformed officers, as some say 2 or 3000, (which is worth enquiry,) I think it is easy to conjecture they mean not to be long quiet; not longer I should guess than the valetudinarious King of Spain lives, or our King William, to lead the confederacy: for though no new alliance is made now, that I hear of, yet that which was last year signed for 5 future, continues in force for the 4 next. A civil war begun in Poland, but the Prince of Conti is not like to do any thing of moment at present; he is therefore gone from Dantzick, where Bart hath seized in their road 10 of their ships, and the city all the French effects there. Most think the Prince will winter in Denmark; if so, doubtless it is in hopes of forces from France

in the spring, which cannot be sent him this winter: and though some think the French King would be rid of him, as being too popular, yet without doubt, both in honour and interest, he is very desirous to have *him* King of Poland, and will use all means for that end (as he hath assured the Turks) if it be apprehended feasible; and so far as I hear, none of the neighbouring Princes dare assist Saxony, for fear of the French. We have the news of the Muscovites obtaining lately a victory over the Tartars. Their Cæsar or Czar, it is said, winters in lodgings at Amsterdam; who is better versed in the points of religion than we should imagine, and inclines more to the Reformed than the Romish, which I hope will tend to good for his rude and ignorant people. The Earl of Tailard comes Ambassador from France to your Court; Monsieur Bonrepos (now in Denmark) to the Hague, where Sir Joseph Williamson stays for our King. This is enough to tire you, and therefore shall conclude, with respects to the family, and assurance that if in any thing I can serve you here, you may on all occasions command

Your faithful Servant,

JOSEPH HILL.

C. orig.

DR GALE TO MR PEPYS.

HON^D SIR,

York, March 18, 1693.

I THANK you for D^r Bently's book by our carier. Upon receipt of it, I returned the Doctor my thanks by M^r Mortlock; for I supposed it came by that hand, not having any letter or other indication to lead me to the donor. I was much joyed at the sight of your letter; it gave me the satisfaction of knowing the state of yourself and friends about you. Long since I ordered a certain agent of mine to enquire at your house of your health; and not long since I gave my service by M^r de Galliniere, though I somewhat question whether that letter came to him. The distance of your poor friend at York is as little to his content as you are kindly pleased to intimate it is to your's;

but he, knowing he well deserved a real banishment, doth merely accept of this. It is really too long, and it would by no means be agreeable, to tell you what an impertinent, unscholarlike, bookless, unstudying sort of life I lead here : I shall shortly forget those names, indeed I had forgot them, which you so roundly reckon up. But when I get into the South (for I will say so in spite of all my countrymen, who reckon this town to be southward, and talk much of the people of the North about Durham), which I hope will be shortly after Pentecost, when my residence and preaching will be over ; I shall be refreshed and revived in many things which now decay and languish. I am exceedingly glad that our friends, lately travelling, are returned to your full satisfaction ; and I pray you let them know that people in this northern climate cannot, though gladly they would, make such quick tours. I bless God, I have had my health very well here, and want nothing but what can no where be had but in the Paradise which looks into the Thames, near the water-gate in York Buildings, Well, I must flatter myself with hopes of getting you down here to spend the winter, (did not you and M^r Evelyn once promise that?) what then can we want? As I am a true man, I am truly sorry for any crosses happening to our dear friend M^r Evelyn ; God send him ease and quiet, and make his later days as serene as I suppose his younger were ! The quarrel betwixt M^r Boyle and D^r Bently I abominated from the first ; I like it not better now : so much as I have read of the book gives me the same idea that you have of it. I am told D^r Montagu will be Bishop of Worcester : when that shall happen, might not a friend of your's hope to be removed southward to Trin. Coll. ? Pray, Sir, as from yourself, move M^r Evelyn to let a word fall to His Grace of Canterbury in favour of the premises. Sir, I borrow largely of you : you will very much oblige me by letting M^r Hewer know how often I remember him, with the rest of our York Buildings friends, and heartily pray for his better health. My eldest son, now at Oxford, is intended by me for France about June.

Y^r affectionate Friend and Servant,

TH. GALE.

C. orig.

MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Berkeley Street, Jan^y 14, 1698-9.

I SHOULD not know what apology to make for having now been so long from kissing your hands, or tolerable excuse for the injury I have done myself in the loss of a conversation which, I assure you, I esteem one of the greatest felicities of my whole life, and which I no where find so agreeable and advantageous to me, had not some late indispositions, and which yet in part continue, deprived me of coming to you, as this day I fully resolved to do, and to have brought with me my young man to acknowledge your favourable acceptance of his small Essays: but we are all, male and female, so discomposed and dejected with coughs, defluxions, sore-throats, &c., that we are fitter for hospitals than for such company as ought to have nothing which may disturb it. My hope is, that a few days will better fit us for that blessing; and I am sure, as I long for it, so I will take the first opportunity of doing myself that honour. In the mean time I most heartily wish you a happy and prosperous new year; and in particular the Lady,* all the satisfaction of a Versailles in the Cabinet she is now adorning and worthy mistress of, abundantly sufficient to gratify the curiosity of those, who, having had the happiness to see it, think it not worth the going into France, so long as it is now in perfection in York Street.

J. EVELYN.

I thank you for the excellent book you sent me to peruse: there are many rare things, both in the cuts and in the discourse, but for the impediment of plying the sheets, so as to read it as I desired; and I shall beg the favour of another sight of it when it is bound up.

* Mrs. Skynner.

C. orig.

D^R CHARLETT TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

Univ. Coll. March 31, 1699.

I WAS in hopes to have sent you some sheets of Euclid, in Gr. Lat. ; but the bookseller who pretended to undertake, wanted spirit for such an attempt, though M^r Hudson very frankly offered to go half charges, and I ventured to engage the University for 100 copies : my project being, which to me seemed as clear as any proposition in the Elements, to disperse 500 ; 100 for each University, another for London, a 4th and 5th for France and Holland, where I thought they might change for some of their best and most saleable books, in way of trade, in one twelvemonths time ; but this scheme would not be admitted entrance, so instead of that you have something, I suppose, published here by some of your parish clerks, brought you by the waggon. When you see D^r Sloane, I expect to be laughed at about Euclid ; but neither the Dean of Christ Church nor I were deceived by those gentlemen of trade, but the Warden of All Souls, who has had not experience of these mysteries, had a mind to discourse about it. D^r Wallis has just finished his third volume, which he intends to present to you in the large paper, and is a fit present for any Prince. He has published there a famous letter of the French Ambassador in Poland, which he decyphered not long since, the explaining of which cost him so much pains : he gives you the key, and all his method and art to unravel it. This good old gentleman is now as fresh and vigorous for any new undertaking of any sort, as if he had never put pen to paper, and I know he longs to be at Euclid, though he pretends to me that he intends to play all the Easter holidays, if I do not find him work. M^r Gale promised to eat with me at five this evening, where the Warden of All Souls, D^r Wallis, D^r Gregory, and M^r Tanner, are to meet him : we shall not fail to remember in our conversation M^r Pepys and the Dean of York. This morning was a meeting of some of the Delegates, to prepare our accounts for adjusting the price of D^r Morison's Herbal, which is now finished. I should be glad to know whether you have

the former, or do desire this volume : they are very large, the prime cost will come to 2000*l.* : we shall give the interest to the widow, in order to make the book cheap ; it has been a very great charge to the University. I have writ twice to our excellent friend M^r Hatton since I heard from him ; I hope he is well. D^r Hickes's Northern Grammars go on apace, and will make a noble volume. I always thank you for your countenance to M^r Isted.

Y^r obedient Servant,

AR. CHARLETT.

C. orig.

DR CHARLETT TO MR PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

May 15, 1699.

D^r WALLIS is not a little pleased to find himself esteemed by M^r Pepys, and therefore it is the less wonder that he was concerned to receive your sentiments of his performances. The old gentleman having deposited his little representative in my custody, I went to tell him that, being going into the country, I must leave his grandson to keep house. I found him very busy in writing a long letter, which he bid me read. Being pleased with it, I desired a copy, which he readily granted : which being a diversion to me, I thought it might be so to you, and therefore make use of your hand to present this inclosed to Captain Hatton, as a present from a very dutiful humble servant of his, a particular acquaintance of M^r Isted's, who has transcribed it. I must desire both you and him not to shew it to D^r Bently ; to any other friend you are at liberty. I have nothing of my own to present M^r Pepys, but the best prayers, best wishes, and best services, will be ever at his command, from

Honoured Sir,

Your most obed^t Servant,

AR. CHARLETT.

I sent yesterday to Cambridge, Horace, collated with seven Oxford MSS., very accurately, by M^r Creech and M^r Dennison. M^r Gale and I remembered you on Sunday, at D^r Wallis's. That gentleman does his University great credit.

May 17.

UPON M^r Wanly's shewing his Greek MS. of Anthems, M^r Gale assures us that he gave a letter of the same nature to his own library at Trinity, and accordingly his seal, to borrow it for D^r Wallis; as also in his name we have sent to D^r Covel, who can sing them, to turn some one tune into our modern notes upon five lines.

I have sent you a copy of a letter from Bremen, directed to our Vice-Chancellor; M^r Wanly is ashamed the other is so short. I think in some of our Public Statutes the pieces of those times are most authentically stated. M^r Hudson will be very ready to execute any commands of M^r Pepys: he was lately in London, and was going in my name to wait upon you, but diverted.

D^r Hickes is now with us, very busy in promoting the Saxon learning. He has appointed to see me at night; when we meet, I am sure we must talk of yourself. M^r Isted is very sensible of the several honours you do him: I hope you will let him shew your Nephew our Public Act.

D^r Wallis complains often of decays; but none else can perceive them. I found him last night out of order, but left him very cheerful and bright. Upon my telling him that I intended to write to you this day, he presented his service to you most affectionately; and if you will pardon the communicating his own words, it was a great reproach to the Government that M^r Pepys was not at the head of the Navy-Board. On Sunday he shewed M^r Gale and me a letter of Secretary Windebanke's, after his flight into France, which he then decyphered, of which he was not a little proud; but he told us, that his little grandson of Magdalen College, young Blincow, had done it most exactly, without any assistance from him; adding, that his two grand-daughters would decypher any of the ordinary cyphers

used in those days by the Ministers of State ; but he said the present French Ministers had improved that art to another degree of perfection, which made decyphering very tedious and painful. I guess he has presented it to the King, the youth having at large drawn out the Key.

The Doctor wishes much to go once more to London, but D' Gregory and other physicians will not consent. I have offered to go with him by water, but he asked very merrily how we should come back? I told him we would land at York Stairs. Perhaps this jest would prove earnest, if the weather was very warm ; but the D' has complained of gravel several days, and I fear he will drop off on a sudden.

He says 83 is an incurable distemper. I believe death will no more surprise him than a proposition in mathematics, being extremely easy in all his outward circumstances of children and grand-children: the grandson of his own name in my lodgings is heir to 2000*l.* per annum in this county.

Our friends at last among the Commons got a kind clause, for the two University Presses upon Honor, if that bill had passed ; I confess I laboured to gain the same for the Royal Society, but it is much better that the whole Act is laid aside: though I hope, having been once admitted into their favourable thoughts by a majority of 65 against 35, we may another Sessions be remembered again; for D' Wallis and I do never forget to refresh the memories of some Members with our memorials of our grievances, however apt they are to forget us.

The Vice-Chancellor is altogether a stranger to such circular letters. As you have an opportunity among the Ministers of the French Church, it is possible you may learn whether it be counterfeit or real, &c. I must ever thank you for your civility to M' Tanner and M' Isted, and beg you to present my best services to M' Hatton, D' Sloane, and M' Jackson.

*C. orig.*D^R WALLIS TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

Oxford, May 2, 1699.

I HAD the favour of seeing yours to D^r Charlett, before that to me of the same date came to hand. I had before desired M^r Glyn to wait upon you ; not to beg your thanks, but to know whether you had received the book, which being what you value, I would not have it lost : and I did it the rather to give him an opportunity of being known to you, because I thought he might possibly acquaint you with something particular about the winds, which might be new and not unacceptable. The value you are pleased to put on my performances, though I allow it to have much addition from your great civility, doth flatter me the more as coming from a person of judgement. As to the business of decyphering, that you may not think it quite deplorable when I die, I have two girls, daughters of my daughter Blencowe, who are able to master a plain English cypher, which hath no more, or not much more, than a new alphabet, which was heretofore thought a great matter ; and a brother of theirs, yet a youth, who has already decyphered some English letters as difficult as most of that kind as have come to my hand : but if our Statesmen were so diligent, as perhaps they might, to intercept such, I would set him to work upon them. But as to French letters, he must be excused, till he understands the language. But things of this nature, I find by experience, are more admired than encouraged. T[']is a business of so much labour and study, and requires so much patience and sagacity, that it will scarcely turn to account. An ordinary clerk will make better wages at easier work.

When I shall have the honour of waiting upon you at London, I cannot say, but wherever I am I shall be ready to serve you.

Your very humble and obedient Servant,

JOHN WALLIS.

C. orig.

D^R GALE TO M^R PEPYS.

DEAR SIR,

York, May 27, 1699.

I RECEIVED your six Papers, and the Epistle to D^r Bently; the two last were much to my satisfaction. In the Epistle I found a notion concerning Iamblichus, who, you know, wrote the Life of Pythagoras in Greek, which I have long since done into Latin. The notion of the Bishop of Lichfield is this,—Iamblichus wrote the Life with a design to lessen our Saviour and his miracles, &c. This very notion I had long ago entered upon the first page of my Iamblichus, and I acquainted you with my thoughts upon it; and perhaps you may remember this. I now see that what I was unwilling to tell this sceptical age, and which caused me to throw aside the Collections made about Iamblichus, so long ago, is now in English made public. For the six Papers I thank you; you have had a mighty toil in that matter, and you have met with what was to be expected from men, whose education is vile, whose souls never were in the fields of truth before they came into their bodies; though Plato says, all souls spaci-
tate there; nor will, I fear, every one return there. *O seculum infelix!* O generation of caterpillars! God assist you! you will find strings at a distance jar upon your striking upon this. The same practices are in very many Bodies; all these will raise their bristles. I am sorry you should meet with such treatment; but I prophesied what would be your fate: I was the better able to prophesy, because I had, and I knew others that had, met with the like. Remember the case of the Gresham College Professors, at the return of Charles II.: M^r Abraham Hill, D^r Hooke, M^r Henshaw, and Sir J. Hoskins, all knew it. My residence determines to-morrow, because my last sermon could not be made till then, though the eating residence terminated a few days ago. I go for a few days to see some small concerns, a little further northward. At my return you shall hear from me, and more certainly of my *Iter Australe*. I return your kind remembrances, and

those of our-your friends, by the name of the Round Table, at my poor table. You will oblige me by letting them know it.

In all possible respect,

Y^r to command,

T. GALE.

C. orig.

MR JOHN EVELYN (the Grandson) TO MR PEPYS.

DIGNISSIME VIR,

Oxon. June 12, 1699.

QUOD mei absentis meminisse (ut ex avi litteris intelligo) tibi cæterisque egregiis viris non injucundum videtur, totum id benevolentiae vestrae, non meis meritis attribuendum est. Ingratissimus autem, et tali in futurum honore minime dignus essem si pro illo quo me jam prosecuti estis debitas immo necessarias gratias non referrem; tanti enim vestram approbationem facio, adeo me doctissima consuetudo quamdiu eâ frui licuit, utinamque diutius licuisset, oblectavit, et jam quoties suavissima ista convivia apud te acta in mentem veniunt non mediocre mihi gaudium ex tam gratâ oritur recordatione, ut (si quid aliud) allicere aut inducere animum ad relinquendam Academiam posset, id potissimum apud me valeret, ut ad domum scilicet tuam facilius aditus pateret, et optatâ adeo consuetudine major fruendi copia daretur. Ad relinquendam Academiam, quid autem dixi? cum alteram Musarum sedem alterâ non minus clarâ commutarem, magis quam relinquere. Quid enim in artibus et scientiis pulchrum aut utile existit quod in te et litteratissimo convivarum cœtu non viget et elucet? Quid dulce habent, quod ex tam floridis ingeniis excerpere aut colligi nequeat? Quid denique memorabile agitur quod vos latet? Ita ut mensa tua non ut plerumque fit corpori tantum, sed et animo jucundum præbeat cibum:—

Scilicet hic arcana Dei mysteria pandit

Smith, laus virtutis semper in ore pio:

Omnia judicio Bently perpendet acuto,

Illum scriptorum σφαλματα nulla latent.

Hatton naturas herbarum callet et usus,

Et quantas vires parvula planta tenet.

Hortum Evelyn tradit rectè præcepta colendi,
 Et scitè condit quas habet ille dapes.
 Albucknot meritum numeris assignat honorem,
 Nil prope non illos solvere posse docens.
 Dos sua cuique horum, sed nulla scientia Pepys,
 Te latet O clarum ducere digne Chorum.
 Hic esset Dominam* eximio quæ vendicat inter
 Vos sedem ingenio, grande silere nefas.
 Divinum tales olim audivere Platonem,
 Aurem præberet talibus ipse Plato.
 Talis Athena fuit, redigi si posset in unam,
 Talis Pieridum turba novena foret.
 Sic grata exoritur doctæ mixtura loquelæ,
 Symbola dum confert mutuo quisque sua.

Quæ non modo ad privatas et publicas supplendum lecturas, verum etiam ad ipsorum Comitiorum desiderium compensandum, abunde sufficerent. Nihil est igitur cur de gradibus suscipiendis sollicitus sim, aut eos assequi posse sperem, priusquam vos optimos in rebus litterariis iudices consulero, quibus me vestris comprobare calculis visum fuerit, tum demum mihi ipsi nullo non dignus, nullum non assecuturus videbor. Vale!

Tibi devotissimus, et egregiæ tuæ
 Consuetudinis cupidissimus,
 J. EVELYN.

C. orig.

MR ROGER GALE† TO MR PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

Amsterdam, Sept^r 22 to Oct^r 2, 1699.

MY small tour I could not finish so soon as I designed, it having cost me very near five weeks. Sir, you may assure yourself that in it I neglected none of your commands, yet have been so unhappy as not to perform one of them. All the world grows so very much French

* Mrs. Skynner.

† Eldest son to the Dean of York; afterwards a Commissioner of Excise, and Treasurer to the Royal Society. He also published several Treatises on Antiquities.

here, that you shall meet with nothing else almost, at any booksellers. In this city, where there are 200 of that trade, there are but two that have almost any thing to do with the learned languages: for Latin you must go to M^r Witstein or Warsburgh. At Antwerp I was with Moretus Plantyn's heir, and successor in his press, but nothing else; neither had he any thing but what might serve the Jesuits schools, or the Priests there. At Loven, where they valued themselves extremely upon their Civil and Canon Law, and brag of thousands in their University that study those faculties alone, they had hardly ever heard of Marculfus. At Brussels, all was French again; and I do not remember that I saw a bookseller's shop from thence to Cleves. At Leyden I heard of Rivinus and Kortholtus, but being designed for an auction in November, and already catalogued, I could not persuade the owner to sell them to me: if I can then command them, they shall certainly be at your service. I hope my long absence has been of no inconvenience in stopping the closing of your collection of Titles. I have found here on my return a pretty good number of them, and I shall look for more: what they will stand me in will be inconsiderable, several having been given to me. I have two in particular, one of Savoy, the other of Piedmont, as fine pieces in *Taille Douce* as ever I saw. I have opened my letter again to say, *Marculfus de Formulis* is just sent to me.

Your most humble obliged Servant,

R. GALE.

C. *

THE LORD REAY† TO M^R PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

Durness, the 24th Oct. 1699.

CONFORMING to my promise, I send you all the information I have met with in the inquiry you recommended to me touching the

* The Letters which follow, relating to the SECOND SIGHT ordinarily pretended to in the Highlands, are here introduced *seriatim*, without reference to the Chronological order observed in the Correspondence.

† George third Lord Reay, of Durness, in Scotland, F.R.S. a nobleman of parts and learning. Ob. 1748.—*Wood's Peerage*.

Double Sight ; and have just now received my Lord Tarbut's* answer to me relating thereto, as follows :

“ I remember that several years ago, in answer to a letter of Mr. Boyle's, I wrote to him about the Second Sight ; a copy whereof receive enclosed. Since that time I was not much in the North, nor did I either make any inquiries on purpose, or what I occasionally heard then differ considerably from what I had heard formerly. One particular of which was of a footman of your great grandfather's, who was mightily concerned upon seeing a dagger in the Lord Reay's breast. He informed his master of the sight, who laughed at it. Some months after he gave the doublet which he did wear when the Seer did see the dagger in his breast, to his servant, who did wear or keep it about a year, and then gave it to this footman, who was the Seer, and who was stabbed in the breast by another when this doublet was upon him. My Lord, you may inquire further into the truth of this.”

This, Sir, is the answer I have had from my Lord Tarbut, and I enclose you a copy of his letter therein. I have since informed myself of the truth of the story about my grandfather's footman, and find it literally true ; as also another, much of the same nature, which I shall give you an account of, because I have it from a sure author, a friend of my own, of unexceptionable honesty, to whose father the thing happened, and he was himself witness to it all. John Macky, of Dilril, having put on a new suit of clothes, was told by a Seer that he did see the gallows upon his coat, which he never noticed ; but some time after gave his coat to his servant, William

* In the Peerage of Scotland, *printed for J. Almon, 1767*, I find the following account of Lord Tarbut :—Sir George Mackenzie, eldest son of Sir John, created a Baronet by Charles I., was a man of great learning and well versed in the laws. He had a commission from Charles II. then in exile, to raise what forces he could, in order to promote his restoration ; and for those good services, when His Majesty returned to England, he was made a Senator of the College of Justice, Clerk Register, one of the Privy Council, and Justice General ; and by James VII. created Viscount Tarbut in 1685. In the reign of Queen Anne he was constituted Secretary of State, a Privy Councillor ; created Earl of Cromartie in 1702, and continued in the post of Justice General. He died in August 1714, æt. suæ 84. His grandson George, third Earl of Cromartie, having taken an active part in the rebellion of 1745, was found guilty of High Treason, and his estates and honours were forfeited to the Crown ; but he was pardoned, and permitted to reside in England till his death in 1766.

Forbess, to whose honesty there could be nothing said at that time ; but he was shortly after hanged for theft, with the same coat about him : my informer being an eye-witness of his execution, and one who had heard what the Seer said before. I have heard several other stories, but shall trouble you with no more than what have happened since I last came into the country. There was a servant woman in Mindo Aubry's house, in Langdale on Strathnaver, in the Shire of Sutherland, who told her mistress she saw the gallows about her brother's neck, who had then the repute of an honest man : at which her mistress being offended, put her out of the house. Her brother, nevertheless, having stolen some goods, was sentenced to be hanged the 22d August, 1698 ; yet, by the intercession of several gentlemen, who became bail for his future behaviour, was set free, (though not customary by our law ;) which occasioning one of the gentlemen, Lieutenant Alex. Macky, to tell the woman servant that she was once deceived, the man being set at liberty, she replied, he is not dead yet, but shall certainly be hanged ; and accordingly, he betaking himself to stealing anew, and being caught, was hanged the 14th of Feb. 1699. I was this year hunting in my forest, having several Highlanders with me ; and speaking of the Second Sight, one told me there was a boy in company that had it, and had told many things that had fallen out to be true ; who being called, and confessing it, I asked him what he saw last : he told me he had seen the night before such a man by name, who lived thirty miles from that place, break my Forester's servant's head ; which the servant overhearing, laughed at him for saying that ; that could not be, they being very good friends : so as I did not believe it, but it has certainly happened since. These stories, with what is contained in my Lord Tarbut's letter, are the most satisfactory for proving Second Sight of any I have heard, and the people are so persuaded of the truth of it in the Highlands and Isles, that one would be more laughed at for not believing it there, than for affirming it elsewhere. For my own part I do not question it ; though that be of small weight towards the persuading others to the belief of it. But I dare affirm, had you the same reasons I have, you would be of my opinion : I mean, had you heard

all the stories I have, attested by men of honour not to be doubted, and been eye-witness to some of them yourself: as the breaking of the man's head, foretelling of another's death, and another story, which the same boy told me long ere they happened. There was a blind woman in this country, in my time, who saw them perfectly well, and foretold several things that happened, as hundreds of honest men will attest. She was not born blind, but became so by accident, to that degree, that she did not see so much as a glimmering, yet saw the Second Sight as perfectly as before. I have got a manuscript since I came last to Scotland, whose author, though a parson, does (after giving a very full account of the Second Sight) defend there being no sin in it, for reasons too long to be here inserted, but with the first opportunity I shall send you a copy of his books; and I have this day received a letter from a friend I had employed for that purpose, promising me the acquaintance of this man, of which I am very covetous, being persuaded it will give me much light in this matter. There is a people in these countries, surnamed "Mansone," who see this sight naturally, both men and women, though they commonly deny it, but are so affirmed to do by all their neighbours. A Seer, with whom I was reasoning on this subject, finding me very incredulous in what he asserted, offered to let me see as well as himself. I asked whether he could free me from seeing them thereafter; whereto he answering me he could not, put a stop to my curiosity. The manner of shewing them to another is this: the Seer puts both his hands and feet above your's, and mutters some words to himself; which done, you both see them alike.

This, Sir, is all the information I can send you on this head, till I have the opportunity of sending you the fore-mentioned Treatise: remaining,

Honoured Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

REAY.

THE LORD TARBUT, ON THE SAME SUBJECT, TO MR BOYLE.

SIR,

I HAD heard very much, but believed very little, of the Second Sight; yet it being affirmed by several of great veracity, I was induced to make some inquiry after it in the year 1652, being then confined to abide in the North of Scotland by the English Usurpers. The more general accounts of it were, that many Highlanders, yet far more Islanders, were qualified with this sight: that men, women, and children, indistinctively, were subject to it; and sometimes children whose parents were not subject to it; sometimes people when come to age, who had it not when young, nor could any tell by what means produced. It is a trouble to most of those who are subject to it. The sight is of no long duration, only continuing so long as they keep their eyes steadily without trembling; the hardy, therefore, fix their look, that they may see the longer, but the timorous see only glances, their eyes always trembling at the first sight of the object. That which is generally seen by them is the species of living creatures, and inanimate things, which are in motion, such as ships and habits upon persons: they never see the species of any person who is already dead. What they foresee, fails not to exist in the mode and place where it appears to them. They cannot tell what space of time shall intervene betwixt the apparition and real existence; but some of the hardest and longest experience have some rules for conjectures: as, if they see a man with a shrouding-sheet in the apparition, they would conjecture at the nearness and remoteness of his death by the more or less of his body that is covered with it. They will ordinarily see their absent friends, though at a great distance, sometimes no less than from America to Scotland, sitting, standing, or walking, in some certain place, and then they conclude with assurance that they will see them so and there. If a man be in love with a woman, they will ordinarily see the species of that man standing by her; and so, likewise, if a woman be in love. They conjecture at their marrying, by the

species looking on the person; at their not marrying, by the species appearing at a distance from the beloved person. If they see the species of any person who is sick to death, they see them covered over with a shrouding sheet. These generally I had verified to me by such of them as did see, and were esteemed honest and sober by all the neighbourhood, for I inquired after such for my information: and because there were more Seers in the Isles of Lewis, Harris, and Uist, than any other place, I did entreat Sir James M'Donald (who is now dead), Sir Normade M'Leod, and Mr. Daniel Morison, a very honest parson (who is still alive), to make inquiry into this strange sight, and to acquaint me therewith; which they did, and found an agreement in these Generals, and informed me of many instances confirming what they said. But though men of honour and discretion, being but at second hand, I would choose rather to put myself than my friends in the hazard of being laughed at for incredible relations. I was once travelling in the Highlands, and a good number of servants with me, as is usual there, and one of them going a little before me to enter into a house where I was to stay all night, and going hastily to the door, he suddenly started back with a screech, and fell by a stone, against which he dashed his foot. I asked what the matter was, for he seemed to me to be very much frightened: he told me very seriously that I should not lodge in that house, because shortly a dead coffin would be carried out of it, for many were carrying it when he was heard cry. I neglecting his words and staying there, he said to others of the servants he was very sorry for it, and that what he saw would surely come to pass; and though no sick person was then there, yet the landlord, a healthy Highlander, died of an apoplectic fit before I left the house. In the year 1653, Alexander Monro (afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel to the Earl of Dumbarton's regiment) and I were walking in a place called *, in Loch Broom, in a little plain at the foot of a rugged hill: there was a servant working with a spade in the walk before us, his back to us, and his face to the hill. He took no notice of us, though we passed by near to him,

* A blank in the MS.

which made me look at him ; and perceiving that he stared, I conjectured he was a Seer ; wherefore I called to him, at which he started and smiled. “ What are you doing ? ” said I : he answered, “ I have seen a very strange thing,—an army of Englishmen, leading of horses, coming down that hill ; and a number of them are come down to the plain, and eating the barley which is growing in the field near to the hill.” This was on the 4th of May (for I noted the day), and it was four or five days before the barley was sown in the field he spoke of. Alexander Monro asked him how he knew they were Englishmen : he answered, because they were leading horses, and had on hats and boots, which he knew no Scotchman would have on there. We took little notice of the whole story as other than a foolish vision, but wished that an English party were there, we being then at war with them, and the place almost inaccessible for horsemen. But the beginning of August thereafter, the Earl of Middleton, then Lieutenant for the King in the Highlands, having occasion to march a party of his towards the South Islands, sent his Foot through a place called Inverlacwell, and the forepart, which was first down the hill, did fall to eating the barley which was on the little plain under it ; and Monro, calling to mind what the Seer told us in May preceding, wrote of it, and sent an express to me to Lochslime in Ross (where I then was) with it. I had occasion to be in company where a young lady was, (excuse my not naming of persons,) and I was told there was a notable Seer in company ; and I called to him to speak with me, as I did ordinarily when I found any of them ; and after he had answered several questions, I asked him if he saw any person to be in love with that lady : he said he did, but knew not the person, for during the two days he had been in her company, he perceived one standing near her with his head leaning on her shoulders, which he said did foretell that the man should marry her, and die before her, according to his observation. This was in the year 1655. I desired him to describe the person, which he did ; so I could conjecture by the description that it was such a one who was of that lady’s acquaintance, though there was no thought of their intermarriage till two years afterwards ; and having occasion in the year 1657 to find this Seer, who was an

Islander, in company with the other person whom I conjectured to have been described by him, I called him aside, and asked if that was the person he saw beside the lady near two years then past : he said it was he, indeed, for he had seen that lady just then standing by him hand-in-hand. This was some few months before their marriage, and the man is since dead, and the lady still alive. I shall trouble you with but one more, which I thought the most remarkable of all that occurred to me.—In January 1682, the above-named Colonel Monro and I happened to be in the house of William M'Leod, of Feirinhed, in the County of Ross ; he, the landlord, and I, sitting in three chairs near the fire, and in the corner of the great chimney there were two Islanders who were that very night come to the house, and were related to the landlord. While the one of them was talking with Monro, I perceived the other to look oddly towards me, and from his looks, and his being an Islander, I conjectured that he was a Seer, and asked him why he stared ? He answered by desiring me to rise from that chair, for it was an unlucky one. I asked " Why ? " He answered, " Because there was a dead man in the chair next to it."—" Well," said I, " if it be but in the next, I may safely sit here : but what is the likeness of the man ? " He said he was a tall man with a long grey coat, booted, and one of his legs hanging over the chair, and his head hanging down to the other side, and his arm backward, as it were broken. There were then some English troops quartered near the place, and there being at that time a great frost after a thaw, the country was wholly covered over with ice. Four or five Englishmen riding by this house, not two hours after the vision, where we were sitting by the fire, we heard a great noise, which proved to be these troopers, with the help of other servants, carrying in one of their number who had got a very mischievous fall and had his arm broke ; and falling frequently into swooning fits, they brought him to the hall, and set him in the very chair and in the very posture which the Seer had proposed : but the man did not die, though he revived with great difficulty. Among the accounts given me by Sir Normade M'Leod, there was one worthy of special notice, which was this :—There was a gentleman in the Isle of Harris who was always seen by the Seers with an arrow in

his thigh: such in the Isle who thought these prognostications infallible, did not doubt but he would be shot in the thigh before he died. Sir Normade told me that he heard it the subject of discourse for many years, when that gentleman was present: at last he died without any such accident. Sir Normade was at his burial at St. Clement's Church in the Isle of Harris: at the same time the corpse of another gentleman was brought to be buried in the very same church. The friends on either side came to debate who should first enter the church, and in a trice from words they came to blows: one of the number (who was armed with a bow and arrow) let one fly among them; (now, every family in that Isle have their burying place in the church in stone chests, and the bodies are carried on open biers to the place of burial). Sir Normade having appeased the tumult, one of the arrows was found shot in the dead man's thigh: to this Sir Normade himself was a witness. In the account Mr. Daniel Morison, Parson in the Lewes, gave me, there was one, which though it be heterogeneous from this subject, yet it may be worth your notice.—It was of a young woman in his parish who was mightily frightened by seeing her own image still before her, always when she came into the open air, and the back of the image always to her; so that it was not a reflection as in a mirror, but the species of such a body as her own, and in a very like habit, which appeared to herself continually before her. The parson bred her a long time with him, but she had no remedy of her evil, which troubled her exceedingly. I was told afterwards, that when she was four or five years older, she saw it not.

These are matters of fact, which I assure you are truly related; but these, and all others that occurred to me by information or otherwise, could never lead me into so much as a remote conjecture of the cause of so extraordinary a phenomenon: whether it be a quality in the eyes of some persons, in those parts, concurring with a quality in the air also; or whether such species be every where, though not seen for want of eyes so qualified, or from whatever cause, I must leave to the inquiry of clearer judgments than my own. But a hint may be taken from this image which appeared still to this young woman aforementioned, and from another mentioned by Aristotle, in the 4th of his *Metaphysics*, if I remember right, for it is long since I read it; as

also from that common opinion that young infants (unsoiled with many objects) do see apparitions which are not seen by those of older years: likewise from this, that several who did see the Second Sight when in the Highlands or Isles, yet when transported to live in other countries, especially in America, quite lose this quality; as it was told me by a gentleman who knew some of them in Barbadoes, that did not see any visions there, although he knew them to be Seers when they lived in the Isles of Scotland.

C.

MR PEPYS TO THE LORD REAY.

MY LORD,

York Buildings, Nov. 21, 1699.

I CAN never enough acknowledge the honour of your Lordship's letter. Could I have foreseen the least part of the fatigue my inquiries have cost your Lordship in the answering, I should have proceeded with more tenderness in the burthening you with them. But since your Lordship has had the goodness to undergo it, I cannot repent me of being the occasion of your giving the world so early a proof of what may be further expected from a genius so curious, so painful, so discerning, and every way so philosophical, as your Lordship has herein shewn yours to be; in the exercise whereof I cannot (as an old man) but wish you a long life, and a happy one, to the honour of your noble family, your country, the whole commonwealth of learning, and more particularly that part of it (the Royal Society of England) dedicated to the advancement of natural knowledge, whereto your Lordship is already become a peculiar ornament. And now, my Lord, for the matter of your letter: it carries too much observation and weight in it to be too easily spoken to; and therefore I shall pray your Lordship's bearing with me if I ask a little more time. This only I shall not spare now to say, that, as to the Second Sight, I little expected to have been ever brought so near to a conviction of the reality of it, as by your Lordship's and Lord Tarbut's authorities I

must already own myself to be : not that I yet know how to subscribe my Lord Tarbut's charging it upon some singularity of quality in the air, or eye of the person affected therewith ; forasmuch as I have never heard of other consequences of any indisposure in the medium or organ of sight, than what related to the miscolouring, misfiguring, diminishing, or undue magnifying, of an object truly existing and exposed thereto ; whereas in this case we are entertained with daggers, shrouds, arrows, gibbets, and God knows what, that indeed are not, but must be the creatures of the mind only, (however directed to them,) and not to the eye. Nor yet as to the reality of the effect would I be thought, my Lord, to derive this propension of mine to the belief of it, from the credit only which I find it to have obtained among your neighbours, the Highlanders ; for that it hath been my particular fortune to have outlived the belief of another point of faith relating to the eyes, no less extraordinary nor of less universal reception elsewhere ;—I mean the *mal de ojo* in Spain ; with a third, touching the sanative and prophetic faculty of the *Saludadores* there : as, having heretofore pursued my inquiries thereinto so far, upon the place, as to fully convince myself of the vanity thereof, especially of the latter, from the very confessions of its professors. But, my Lord, where (as in the matter before us) the power pretended to is so far from being of any advantage to the possessors, as on the contrary to be attended with constant uneasiness to them, as well as for the most part of evil and serious import (and irresistibly so) to the persons it is applied to ; in consequence whereof (as your Lordship well notes) your Seers are both desirous to be themselves rid of it, and ready to communicate it to any other that will adventure on it ; I say, these considerations, joined to that of its being so abundantly attested by eye-witnesses of unquestionable faith, authority, and capacity to judge, will not permit me to distrust the truth of it, at least till something shall arise from my further deliberations upon your Lordship's Papers leading me thereto, than I must acknowledge there yet does : in which case I shall give myself the liberty of resorting again to your Lordship, praying in the mean time to know how far I have your leave to make some of my learned friends partakers with me in the pleasure of them,

and of what your Lordship has been pleased, with so much generosity, to promise me of further light upon this subject from the Manuscript lately come to your Lordship's hand, a copy of which will be a most welcome and lasting obligation upon me.

I remain with most profound respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

S. PEPYS.

C.

THE LORD REAY TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Inverness, Jan. 9th, 1700.

I HAD yours some time ago, but have delayed my return, in expectation of sending you the Manuscript I promised you, which, being obliged to stay some time from home, you are not yet to expect from me. You may, if you think fit, communicate my late letter to whom you please ; for there is nothing in it but what I know to be true, or have good authors for ; and think it needless, though I have heard many, to relate more stories of Second Sight, save one which has happened since I wrote last.

A gentleman who was married to a cousin of Drynie's, living in the county of Ross, coming on a visit to him at his house, called him to the door (the ordinary compliments being passed) to speak to him about some business. But when they went out, he was so frightened that he fainted, and being recovered, would in no wise stay in the house that night, but went with his wife to a farmer's hard by ; where, she asking him why he left the house, he told her publicly that he knew Drynie would die that night ; for when they went to the door, he saw his winding-sheet about him. And accordingly the gentleman did die that night, though he went to bed in perfect health, and had had no sickness for some time before. I had this story from Drynie's own son, the farmer, his servant, and the man himself who saw it.

For my part I am fully convinced of this Sight ; but what to attribute it to I know not, nor can I be convinced, any more than you, that it depends on any quality, either of the air or eyes, but would gladly know your opinion of it.

I hope to see you shortly in London, and am,

Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

REAY.

C.

DR HICKES TO MR PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

London, June 19, 1700.

I HAVE been ill of a cold since I had the honour to wait upon you and Mr. Hewer, and that hath been the cause why I have been so long in performing the promise I made, of sending you in writing some things you gave me occasion to say, by imparting to me my Lord Reay's letter to you, and the letter my Lord Tarbut wrote to him concerning the Second Sight. This is a very proper term for that sight which those Scottish Seers or Visionists have of things by representation : for, as the sight of a thing itself is, in order of nature, the first or primary sight of it; so the sight of it, by any representation, whether really made without, as all apparitions are, or within upon the stage of imagination, as all sorts of visions are made, is in order of nature the second or secondary sight of that thing ; and therefore, the sight of any thing by representation, though first in order of time, may properly be called the Second Sight thereof. Thus the sight of a picture in order of nature, is indeed the second sight of the thing whose picture it is, and if custom would allow it, might be so called. But the Scotch have restrained the use of the term only to that sight of things by appearance, or representation, which those Seers or Visionists among them use to have ; but whether in outward apparitions

always, or inward visions, or some times one way, and some the other, I have not yet learned, but it would be an inquiry proper for the subject, and fit for that ingenious Lord to make.

I told you, when I was in Scotland, I never met with any learned man, either among their Divines or Lawyers, who doubted of the thing. I had the honour to hear Lord Tarbut tell the story of the Second Sight, of my Lord Middleton's march with his army down a hill, which you read in the letter written by his Lordship to Mr. Boyle. It was before the Duke of Lauderdale he told it, when his Grace was High Commissioner of Scotland, about twenty-two years ago. At the same time, as I remember, he entertained the Duke with a story of Elf Arrows, which was very surprising to me: they are of a triangular form, somewhat like the beard or pile of our old English arrows of war, almost as thin as one of our old groats, made of flints or pebbles, or such like stones, and these the country people in Scotland believe that Evil Spirits (which they call Elves, from the old Danish word *Alfar*, which signifies *Dæmon*, *Genius*, *Satyrus*,) do shoot into the hearts of cattle; and, as I remember, my Lord Tarbut, or some other Lord, did produce one of these Elf arrows, which one of his tenants or neighbours took out of the heart of one of his cattle that died of an usual death. I have another strange story, but very well attested, of an Elf arrow that was shot at a venerable Irish Bishop, by an Evil Spirit, in a terrible noise louder than thunder, which shook the house where the Bishop was; but this I reserve for his son to tell you, who is one of the deprived Irish Clergymen, and very well known, as by other excellent pieces, so by his late book, entitled, "*The Snake in the Grass*." I mention this to encourage you to desire my Lord to send you a more perfect account of these Elf arrows; the subject being of so near an alliance to that of the Second Sight, and to witchcraft, which is akin to them both. As for this subject, I had a very tragical but authentic story, told me by the Duke of Lauderdale, which happened in the family of Sir John Dalrymple, Laird of Stairs, and then Lord President, as they call the Lord Chief Justice of Scotland. His Grace had no sooner told it me, but my Lord President coming into the room, he desired my Lord to tell it me himself, which, altering his

countenance, he did with a very melancholick air; but it is so long since, that I dare not trust my memory with relating the particulars of it, though it was a memorable story: but if my Lord Reay would be pleased to make inquiry into it of the present heir of the family, he would find it a story of great authority, and worthy of being written by his excellent pen. Sir, I beg your pardon for this digression from the Second Sight to Witches; and perhaps the Divine whom my Lord Reay tells you hath written a book in defence of the innocency of seeing things by the help of it, would be offended with me for joining them together. In truth, Sir, I long to see that book, being myself uncertain in my opinion whether that way of seeing things be always from a good or evil cause, or sometimes from one, and sometimes from the other. One would hope that in good men, who contribute nothing towards the having of it, it should be from good spirits, which the old Danes and Norwegians, from whom the Scotch have a great part of their language, called *Lias Alfar*, i. e. Spirits of Light; but in those who come to have it by certain forms of words, which we call charms, or by doing and performing such ceremonies as are mentioned in my Lord's letter, one would think it proceeded from evil spirits, which the old Danes and Norwegians called *Suart Alfar*, i. e. Black Spirits: nay, when wicked men have it, though without contributing any thing towards it by charms or ceremonies, one would fear upon the account of their wickedness, which provokes God and their good angels to abandon them, that it proceeded from Evil Spirits. It may also be presumed to proceed from the same cause, in men otherwise of unblamed lives, who are addicted to the study of magic, or judicial astrology, or who are known to converse with Demons, as many amongst the learned, both ancient and modern, both foreigners and our own countrymen, are said to have done. A good number of well-attested stories out of good historians and records, as well as living witnesses, would help to resolve these doubts. Among the former are to be consulted the histories of the old Northern nations, written in old Danish or Swedish, which commonly have the title of *Saga*, which signifies a narration or history, and have been printed of late in Denmark and Sweden. But it may be, those theories,

and many more, are sufficiently resolved and accounted for in the book above mentioned, which my Lord hath promised to send you; but if not, his Lordship has great opportunities of farther inquiry into facts, by which, as by phenomena, they may be resolved. It was commonly reported, when I was in Scotland, that the Lord Seaforth, then living, had the Second Sight, and thereby foretold a dreadful storm to some of his friends, in which they had like to have been cast away. I once heard the Duke of Lauderdale rally him about it, but he neither did own it nor disown it; according to that maxim of the civil law, *Qui tacet aut non negat, sic utique non fatetur.*" At the same time there was a girl in custody at Edinburgh, whose name was Janet Douglas, about 12 or 13 years of age, famous for the Second Sight, and the discovery of witches, and their malefices and enchantments thereby. This girl first signalized herself in the Western Islands, where she discovered how one Sir G. Maxwell was tormented in effigy by witches. She was not known there where she made this, which was her first discovery, but from thence she came to Glasgow, whither her fame having got before her, the people in great numbers ran out to meet her. As she was surrounded with the crowds, she called out to one man, a goldsmith, as I remember, and told him that of so long a time he had not thriven in his trade, though he was very diligent in it, because an image was made against him, which he might find in such a corner of his shop; and when the man went home, there he found it where she said it was; and the image was such, both as to matter and form, as she had described it, viz. a little rude image made of clay. She told another, that he and his wife, who had been a very loving couple, of late had lived in great discord, to the grief and astonishment of them both; and when the man asked the reason, she answered as she did before, that there was an image made against them. I have forgot whether she named the witches who made those images, as she did those who made that in which they tortured Sir George Maxwell. But by these, and other such discoveries, she made such tumults and commotions among the people of Glasgow, that the magistrates thought fit to confine her, and sent an account of her to the Privy Council at Edinburgh, who sent for her

up in custody; but when she came near the city the people went out to meet her in vast crowds, and as she was surrounded with them, she accused several persons of witchcraft, which obliged them to put her in close confinement, to keep the people and their minds quiet from the commotions she had raised in them. This happened a little before the Duke of Lauderdale went the last time as High Commissioner into Scotland, in May 1678, when I had the honour to attend him as his domestic Chaplain. Hearing these and many other stories of this girl, I had a desire to see her and discourse with her; but it was some time before I could obtain leave to go to her, because an order had been made in Council, before we came into Scotland, that no one should be admitted to her. In the interim, upon an invitation by the then Lord Archbishop of Glasgow, Dr. Burnet, of honourable memory, afterwards made Archbishop of St. Andrew's, I went to see Glasgow, where I had the happiness to meet Dr. Rosse, then Lord Bishop of Argyle, who afterwards succeeded Dr. Burnet in the Archbishoprick of St. Andrew's, of which he was deprived, with the whole order, soon after the Revolution. It was from him that I had the stories above related concerning Janet Douglas, with many more which I have forgotten, from her first appearance in the Highlands to her coming to Glasgow. My Lord Archbishop is still living, and if my Lord Reay would please to inquire of him, and many others yet alive, about that girl, he would be able to give you an account of her much more worthy your knowledge than any thing I can now write of her, at so great a distance of time. One thing I must not omit to tell you,—that in all her marches from Sir George Maxwell's to Edinburgh, nobody knew her, nor would she discover to any one who she was. After I returned from Glasgow, I renewed my petition to my Lord Duke for leave to see Janet Douglas, which he granted me. My desire of seeing her arose from a great curiosity I had to ask her some questions about the Second Sight, by which she pretended to make all her discoveries. I took a reverend and learned Divine with me, one Mr. Scott, Minister of the Church of the Abbey of Holyrood, now the Palace of the Scottish Kings. When we were first brought to her, I found her as I had heard her described, a girl of very great assurance, undaunted,

though surprised at our coming, and suspicious that I was sent to betray her: this made her very shy of conversing with us; but after many and serious protestations on my own part, that I came for no other end but to ask her some questions about the Second Sight to which she pretended, she at last promised she would freely answer me, provided I would use my interest with my Lord High Commissioner to obtain her liberty, upon condition she went into England, never again to appear in Scotland; which I promised to do. Upon this I began to premise something of the baseness of lying and deceiving, and especially of pretending to false revelations, and the dangerous consequences of such practices, which made all such lying pretenders odious to God and man; and then requiring her in the presence of God to tell me nothing but truth, she promised me with a serious air to tell me nothing but the very truth. I then asked her, if indeed she had the Second Sight, and if by that she knew those things she had discovered: to which she answered in the affirmative. I then asked her if she thought it proceeded from a good or evil cause; upon which she turned the question upon me, and asked me what I thought of it. I told her plainly, I feared it was from an evil cause; but she replied quickly, she hoped it was from good. I then asked her if it came upon her by any act of her own, as by saying any words, or performing any actions or ceremonies: to which she replied, No. I asked her upon this, if she remembered her baptismal vow: but she did not understand my question till I began to explain it; and then with great quickness replied, she remembered it, and called to mind that she had renounced the Devil and all his works: and then I told her, that by the devil was meant Satan, the Prince of Devils, and all evil spirits under him, and asked her if she renounced them all; which she said she did. Then I asked her if she would renounce them all in a form of words that I had provided; which promising to do, I bid her say after me, which she did in the most serious and emphatical expressions that I was able to devise. I then asked her if she could say the Lord's Prayer; she said, Yes: I bid her say it upon her knees, which she did. I then asked her if she ever prayed to God to deliver her from the power of the Devil and all evil spirits; but not answering

readily and clearly to that question, I then asked her if she would make such a prayer to God upon her knees, which I had composed for her, which she did without any difficulty. Then I proceeded to ask her at what distance she saw persons and things by the Second Sight: she replied, at the same distance they were really from her, whether more or less. Then I asked her if the Second Sight came upon her sleeping or waking: she answered, never sleeping, but always when she was awake. I asked this question, to know whether the Second Sight was by outward representation, which I call apparition, or by inward representation on the theatre of the imagination caused by some spirit; or that I may once more use my own terms for distinction, whether these Second Sight folks were Seers or Visionists, or sometimes one and sometimes the other. Then I asked her if she was wont to have any trouble, disorder, or consternation of mind, before or after the Second Sight came upon her: to which she answered, never, but was in the same temper at those, as at all other times. Then I asked her if the Second Sight never left any weariness or faintness upon her, or listlessness to speak, walk, or do any other business: to which she also answered, No; adding, that she was always then as before. These two answers of hers do not agree with some accounts in my Lord's Letter, wherein, as I remember, he speaks of one who said he had always perturbation of mind attending the Second Sight; but as to this, there may be a difference, from the different temper of the patients, and the different stock and temper of the animal spirits in them. This girl, as I have observed before, was of a bold undaunted spirit, and might bear those sights, from what cause soever, without any fear or perturbation, which others of more passive tempers, and a less stock of animal spirits, could not so well endure. There seems to have been this difference among the prophets themselves; whereof some, as we read, received the prophetic influx with great terrors, labour, and consternation, of which they complained when their visions or apparitions were over, and desired of God to be excused from the prophetic influx, and the burthen of it: but of others, we do not read they had any such complaints. One of the last questions I asked this girl was, if she desired to have the Second Sight taken

from her : to which she replied, what God pleased. After I had discoursed with her in this manner, as long as I thought convenient, I returned home, and gave the Duke an account of my conversation, with which he was pleased ; and I also told him of my promise to intercede with his Grace for her liberty, upon condition she might go into England : but he said that would not be convenient, for certain reasons. After receiving which answer, I sent her word I could not obtain her liberty ; and so she was shut up all the while we were there, but soon after we came away she was set at liberty. When I heard of it I made all the inquiry I could what was become of her, and how she came to obtain her liberty ; but I could not get any further account of her, which made me suspect that she was the child of some person of honour or quality, for whose sake all things were hushed. When I was with her, I asked her of her parentage, but she would tell me nothing of it : I also told her how I observed how her words and expressions were of the better sort, and asked her how she, being a Highlander, and in appearance a poor girl, came to speak so well. To this she artfully replied, by asking me why I should suppose it so difficult for her to learn to express herself well. Indeed, her wit and cunning were both answerable to her assurance, which I told you was very great. I designed to give a second visit, but my first made so much noise about the town, that it was not thought fit ; and I did not press for leave again, because I had reason to believe the denial of her liberty would make her sullen and reserved. The famous Lord Advocate, Sir George Mackenzie, of immortal memory, designed to write her history ; but why he did not, I can give no account. People were divided in their opinions of her :—some suspected her for an impostrix : but others, of whom I was one myself, thought that she was really what she pretended ; being induced to that opinion from the notoriety of the facts which the most incredulous and suspicious could not deny. If you think these notices worth imparting to Mr. Hewer, I pray you to communicate them to him, and to give him my humble thanks and service. You know what business I am daily employed in : were not my time and thoughts taken up with that, I would have tran-

scribed the first draft of this narrative with my own hand, and then it would have come to you in a better dress, and more worthy of your perusal; but as it is, be pleased to accept it as a small token of the great respect of him, who by inclination, as well as by the many obligations you have laid upon him, is, honoured Sir,

Your most obliged humble Servant,

GEO. HICKES.

C.

MR PEPYS TO DR HICKES.

REVEREND SIR,

Clapham, August 2d, 1700.

I SHALL not think it becoming longer to delay my return to your learned and most instructive report to me upon the subject of the Second Sight, in expectation of the answers I would have been glad at the same time to have given you to the several inquiries you were pleased to refer me to others for fuller satisfaction in; I having immediately dispatched my demands thereon, and particularly to my Lord Reay, in Scotland, whose distance from Edinburgh is what alone I impute my disappointment to. I am in the first place greatly owing to you, for the true notion of the word Second Sight, and your reflections upon what our knowledge is wanting in concerning it; particularly, whether it be from good or evil Spirits we ought to derive it; and whether this Second Seeing be indeed the act of a waking agent, and as from without, and at what distance; or of a dreaming Visionaire, as from within: which, as you rightly observe, nothing but a variety of facts well reported, well attested, and well compared, can set us fully right in; which, with the furtherance you give me, I shall endeavour to make myself master of, and submit to you what I am able to collect concerning them. Towards which, I fear, we shall not find ourselves so much beholden to the Parson's book as you seem to hope,—the style in which my Lord Reay mentions him, not rendering him

(methinks) a man of that form of learning, which this argument would require. What you have so largely and so observingly noted of the Elf arrows is wholly new to me, and most worthy further inquiry after; which I hope I shall, by my friend Dr. Smith, make some advance in, from Mr. Leslie's report of his reverend father's story relating thereto. The history of Janet Douglas has many things very singular in it, and informing; especially with the improvement it receives from your own conversation with her, and learned remarks upon it: for which, with your pains and patience in collecting and transcribing them at so great length for my single benefit, and at a season so little admitting the interruption it must have been of to your nearer cares, is an instance of your favour I can never enough acknowledge. It is a great pity Sir Geo. Mackenzie let fall, or was prevented in, his purpose of putting together the whole of that girl's legend. I wish my Nephew's success in your errand to Bologna could have been more to your satisfaction; but such as it is, I shall give you in his words to me of the 13th of the last, N. S., from that place:—"To my great trouble, I have not been able to answer Dr. Hickes's Gothic inquiries here. It being a vacation, the Lecturers are all gone, with the keys of the presses, to their country diversions; though were they here, I could not hope to be much the nearer, it being a favour it seems more than ordinary that I got admittance to the library." Mr. Hewer joins with me in my thanks for your late visit, wishing I might hope for your call for my coach to Fox Hall for another, Providence having lately administered another gates topic for our talk than Elves and Seers. I am ready to do you reason from my said host, when instructed from you who to pay it to.* I shall very soon repeat my demands to my Lord Reay, touching the Lord President Stair's story, my Lord Seaforth's Second Sight, the Parson's book, and business of the Elf arrows, in case I hear not from him to my first speedily; though I could wish you had given me but a hint of

* This alludes to the payment of Mr. Hewer's subscription to Dr. Hickes's *Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium*, then in the press. Vide the next letter.

any of the particulars relating to that of my Lord Stair, for my Lord's readier wording of his inquiry after it:

I am,

With all truth and respect,

Reverend Sir,

Your faithful and most humble Servant,

S. P.

Pray let the present indisposition of my eyes make my excuse for borrowing another's hand. Unless you correct me I shall take the liberty you give me towards Mr. Hewer, for a license for communicating your learned paper to other of my friends.

C. orig.

DR HICKES TO MR PEPYS.

HON^D SIR,

Aug^t 8, 1700.

YOUR servant brought me your letter while I was at dinner, or else he had not returned without my answer, for which I beg your pardon, and now beseech you to accept of my humble thanks for the great favour and honour of both your letters by our common servant, the penny post. As for the letter I formerly sent you upon the subject of the Second Sight, be pleased to shew it to whom you will, without restraint; especially to those who may delight in such theories and facts.

I am sorry any of your family is fallen ill. I pray God the Doctor's conjecture may prove true, and that the voice of joy and health may long be heard wheresoever you dwell. I beseech you, with my most humble thanks and service, to deliver the enclosed receipt to M^r Hewer, which I sent with his generous present to the bookseller, who receives all the contributions towards the printing of my book, and obliges himself to deliver copies to the contributors. I think myself very much obliged to M^r Jackson for his care of my affair at Bologna, though he had not success according to

his desires. Those gentlemen are very ignorant of their own treasures; and when they come to know them, are always jealous of communicating of them to strangers. I once more entreat you to give my most humble and hearty thanks to M^r Hewer, and wishing you both long continuance of good health, without which there is no enjoyment of life, I subscribe, as by many obligations I ought ever to be,

Sir,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

GEO. HICKES.

C. orig.

HENRY 2d EARL OF CLARENDON TO M^r PEPYS.

S^r,

London, May 27th, 1701.

I CANNOT give you a greater instance of my willingnesse to gratify your curiosity in any thing within my knowledge, than the sending you this foolish letter. The story I told you the other day relating to what they call in Scotland the Second Sight, is of soe old a date, and soe many of the circumstances out of my memory, that I must begin, as old women doe their tales to children, "Once upon a time."

The matter was thus:—One day, I know by some remarkable circumstances it was towards the middle of February, 1661-2, the old Earl of Newborough* came to dine with my father at Worcester-House, and another Scotch gentleman with him, whose name I cannot call to mind. After dinner, as we were standing and talking together in the room, says my Lord Newborough to the other Scotch gentleman, (who was looking very steadfastly upon my wife,) "What is the matter, that thou hast had thine eyes fixed upon my Lady Cornbury† ever since she came into the room? Is she not a fine woman? Why doest thou

* Sir James Livingston, Bart. of Kinnaird, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles I., who created him Viscount Newburgh in 1647. On the Restoration, he was constituted Captain of the Guards, and advanced to the dignity of an Earl. He died Dec. 26, 1670.

† Theodosia, third daughter of Arthur, Lord Capel of Hadham.

not speak ?"—“She’s a handsome Lady indeed,” (said the gentleman,) “but I see her in blood.” Whereupon my Lord Newborough laughed at him ; and all the company going out of the room, we parted : and I believe none of us thought more of the matter ; I am sure I did not. My wife was at that time perfectly well in health, and looked as well as ever she did in her life. In the beginning of the next month she fell ill of the small pox : she was always very apprehensive of that disease, and used to say, if she ever had it she should dye of it. Upon the ninth day after the small pox appeared, in the morning, she bled at the nose, which quickly stop’t ; but in the afternoon the blood burst out again with great violence at her nose and mouth, and about eleven of the clock that night she dyed, almost weltering in her blood.

This is the best account I can now give of this matter, which tho’ I regarded not at the time the words were spoken, yet upon reflection afterwards, I could not but think it odd, if not wonderfull, that a man only looking upon a woman, whom he had never seen before, should give such a prognostick. The great grief I was then in, and going quickly after out of towne, prevented my being so inquisitive as I should have been after the person of this Scotch gentleman, and into other things. You will not wonder that, after soe long a distance of time, I cannot give a more particular account of a thing which seems soe very extraordinary. But I have kept you too long upon soe imperfect a subject, and will conclude with assuring you that I am, with great esteem,

Sir,

Your most affectionate

And humble Servant,

CLARENDON.

C. orig.

MR PEPYS TO MR JACKSON.

NEPHEW,

Oct^r 19, 1699.

MINE, by your last, has ere this, I hope, shewn you that I did not stay for your asking it. I thank God I and all about me are well, and your kind remembrancers. I have found time with M^r Moore to look over all my heads; t'is only mould spots some of them are touched with, by being put together before they were dry. I have had a supply of seven score title pages more from my Cousin Gale, whereof none contemptible. Your hurry hence neither allowed myself to ask, nor you to give me, any refreshment about the state of your brother's affairs, as never having heard any thing of them since my last kind expedient to enable him to cleare his debt to me, which I would not be thought to have forgot; and therefore as far as you can give me any present light therein, pray do. I would recommend you to give me your thoughts and advice with relation to the circumstances I am now under upon your being gone, with reference to the little time I have Lorraine* with me, and the restraint his present character puts upon me as to the uses I should have to make of him, relating to my books, papers, and clerk-like services, other than bare sitting at his desk upon solemn works only; the generality of my studies subjecting me to many lesser uses for an assistant pen, more than he is in the way for, or, I doubt, would readily apply himself to if he were; and I had rather, you know, bear with things not being done at all, or do them myself where I can, which truly now grows too much for me, especially as to copying, than see them done with reluctancy: nor is this a small difficulty with me, there being nobody but he that knows my business, and manner of working, and at the same time qualified in every respect for doing it. There is a necessity, too, of transcribing my Alphabet and Catalogue, and the yet greater work for an Amanuensis in what I hope shortly to be at liberty to go about, relating to my naval speculations and applications, at least garbling of all my Collations and Papers preparative thereto. Add to this, my having 3 4^{ths} or more of my time to spend, without any

* *Vide* a letter from P. Lorraine, October 12, 1700, and the note subjoined.

body near me to read or write, or know how to fetch a book out of my library, or put it up in its place again when done with; and this, as I grow older, growing less supportable: nor should I, were you here again, think it a province fit for you to be longer kept to, though I am far from thinking that you will have any cause hereafter to repine at the time you have hitherto spent in it.

Your 3^d notice of your being not gone, the 17th,* is just come to hand; but *quicquid est*, (as my friend says,) *quando est, necesse est*.

With which, committing you to God's blessing, I give you adieu!

S. P.

C. orig.

DR WALLIS TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Oxford, October 24, 1699.

IN a letter of your's to D^r Charlett, I find you are pleased to speak kindly of me; and particularly of what account I have given of the eclipse lately seen at Oxford, which (by reason of a great mist) could not be seen at London. What account that was I have now forgot, as I quickly shall what I now write; and because you were desirous to see it, I send now a scheme of that observation. It is intended for the Philosophical Transactions, but how soon it will be there inserted I know not; and do, therefore, in the mean time, send you the copy which D^r Gregory was pleased to give me. My daughter Blencowe, who, with the Judge,† her husband, made me a visit in their passage to London, tells me, that knowing nothing of the eclipse before, but being then writing a letter about 9 o'clock, finding the light of the sun look somewhat dim, she looked out to see what the matter was, and found it to be an eclipse. I asked her how the light appeared to her: the best account she could give of it was, much like that in the evening a little before sunset. And I believe it to be a good account, and much as it appeared to us at Oxford; and more than that I know not why any body should expect.

* Mr. Jackson was wind-bound at Shoreham.

† Sir John Blencowe, Knight, made in 1697 one of the Justices of the Common Pleas.



Daily Ad.

A. Cooper sc.

JOHN WALLIS. D.D.

SAVILIAN PROFESSOR OF GEOMETRY.

Ætatis suæ 85.

From the Original by Sir J. Kneller, in the Picture Gallery at Oxford.



Of your queries to M^r Hudson, I doubt he will be able to give you but a small account from old historians; I doubt scarce any better than that of Acts xxvii. I can partly guess, from a little experience I once had (in a short voyage, if I may so call it) from Stangate Hole to Westminster Bridge*. I had one Sunday preached for M^r Gataker, at Redriff, and lodged there that night. Next morning I walked with him over the fields to Lambeth, meaning there to cross the Thames to Westminster. He shewed me in the passage diverse remains of the old channel, which had heretofore been made from Redriff to Lambeth, for diverting the Thames whilst London Bridge was building, all in a straight line or near it, but with great intervals, which had been long since filled up: those remains, which then appeared very visible, are, I suspect, all or most of them filled up before this time, for it is more than fifty years ago, and people in those marshes would be more fond of so much meadow grounds, than to let those lakes remain unfilled; and he told me of many other such remains which had been within his memory, but were then filled up: but thus much by the way. When we came to Stangate Hole, over against Westminster Bridge, we took a boat, in a thick mist, intending for Westminster Bridge just across the water. When we had been at sea, for so I must call it, three times as long as would have been sufficient for the voyage, we made land, and discovered a shore with flags and reeds, and found ourselves within a bow-shot of the place from whence we first launched. We then put to sea again, and when we had a second time spent about as much time, we met another vessel just a-head of us: we hailed the boat and asked whither they were bound? they said to Westminster, in a course directly opposite to ours; and found upon discourse that we were going directly to London Bridge, and were as low as Whitehall, or further. I expostulated with our boatmen how it was possible they could so mistake, and thought they might at least know whether they rowed with or against tide: they told me, though if they were at anchor they could tell which way the stream ran, yet

* The landing-place leading from the Thames to New Palace Yard, still used by the Lord Mayors, on their way to be sworn into office at the Exchequer, was styled in the old maps Westminster Bridge.—*Smith's Antiq. of Westminster.*

being in motion they could only know what strokes they made ~~with~~ their oars, but knew not what way they made at each stroke, unless they could see the shore; nor was there any wind stirring, whereby to direct their course. I told them, if they could now set their steerage right, I would be their steersman to hold on the same course. It was now in winter; and in such cases (though little wind stirring) we might discern the motion of our own breath, and by observing this I could see when we varied from the course designed, and accordingly directed them to row more to the right or left hand, as there was occasion; and by this steerage we came within the noise of the people at Westminster Bridge, and then made up to them. Now, if we had then been wandering for half an hour or more, in so short a passage as just across the Thames, we may well conjecture at what a pass those must be who, in the wide sea, without sight of land, had no help from sun, moon, or stars, to direct their course, when as yet the magnetic helps were not known. They must then be obliged to keep within sight of land, and *littora legere*, without pulling out to sea, unless in fair weather, when the sun or stars might guide them; and if by chance they were surprised at sea in dark weather, they must be perfectly at a loss, having little else to help them, excepting soundings, or remembering from what point the wind blew when the darkness began, guessing that it might continue to blow from the same quarter. What better information M^r Hudson may get you from ancient circumnavigations, I leave to him; and, having begged your pardon for the impertinences of a tedious letter, remain,

Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

JOHN WALLIS.

C.

M^r PEPYS TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.*

MY LORD,

York Buildings, November 14, 1699.

IT is not without reluctance that I give your Grace this interruption: but it is in behalf of the wife and necessitous family of M. de

* Thomas Tenison, translated from Lincoln 1694. Ob. 1715.

Galiniere, one of the poor Ministers of the French Conformist Churches supported by His Majesty's bounty here. Her petition, which I verily hope your Grace will see no cause to disallow, will be presented you by another hand : that only which I have to accompany it with to your Grace from myself, is the testimony which my many years' intimate knowledge of him both enables and obliges me to give your Grace concerning him ; which is, that to the unblemished sanctity, conduct, and humility of his life, and painfulness in his holy calling, (rendering him a real ornament to the profession he suffers for,) adding the more than common measure of his general learning, and so in particular valued by my learned kinsman, the Dean of York, from whose character whereof my Lord Bishop of Kilmore has been long endeavouring after something worthy of him in Ireland, and which, it is hoped, is now in view ; and hereto joining what I am further privy to (if it pleased God), the streightness of the circumstances under which he and his indigent family at this day lie,—I cannot but think it my duty to give your Grace this my knowledge of him, and as such, in all humility to recommend him to your Grace's just favour and protection : Remaining, with the profoundest respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's

Ever most dutiful Servant,

S. P.

C. orig.

MR PEPYS TO MR JACKSON.

London, Dec' 7, 1699.

THIS comes directed to Rome, as the certain place that some time it will find you at. The French additions of Title Pages are arrived greatly to my liking. I have to add the recommending to you the procuring for me a Copy Book, printed at Rome, 1638, under this title; *De Caratteri di Leopardo Antonizzi*;—and if there be any thing

of that kind in Italy more modern and extraordinary, pray omit not to secure it for me. There is another little matter mightily desired by Lord Clarendon, who is, you know, a great Saladist: it is (to use his own phrase) that you would dust your letters to me with Roman Lettice-seed, it being what M^r Lock used to do for him. What I have of news is only to note to you, that we have a Parliament now sitting, where, to wit, in the House of Lords, our friend Thomas's* case makes at this day a great noise; and well it may, the Bishop's Bench having unfortunately (as it is doubted) raised a spirit that may make them work to get down again, touching the power of the Archbishop, or whole body of that Order, separately from the secular Lords of Parliament, to deprive any one of their number, it having been strenuously and publicly contended then by Sir Tho. Powys, and Sir B. Shore, at the Lords Bar, as Counsel for S^t David's; and t'[']is said, with great appearance of its being determined on his side; and the rather, from the B^p of Salisbury's being said to be driven so near the wall, in his defence of the Archbishop's Metropolitan power herein, as to assert its being a remainder never taken from him by the reformation of the Legantine power his predecessors heretofore enjoyed from the Pope.

Don't misconstrue my using another's hand herein, I being (bless God!) in perfect health, but willing to spare my eyes.

S. P.

C. orig.

MR JACKSON TO MR PEPYS.

HON^d SIR,

Rome, Dec^r 25, 1699.

T'[']is with no small pleasure that I am at length come to date from this renowned city; nor will it, I am persuaded, be an unwelcome circumstance to you. We made our entry here on Tuesday last, about 23 o'clock, and were soon after deafened with the jangling of all the

* Thomas Watson, Bishop of St. David's, deprived shortly afterwards for simony and other crimes. The Lords decided the question against him.—*Vide the Journals of the day.*

bells of the town, which, for several days, morning and evening, had proclaimed the approach of the holy year. Our first visit was, as you may imagine, to S^t Peter's, to see the preparations for this great solemnity, where we found them busy in building the scaffolds about the *Porta Santa*, which is a lesser door on the right hand entering within the Portico. The Portico runs the whole length of the Facciata, and is about twice the breadth of that before Covent Garden Church: without it, nothing of the opening of the door could be seen, nor within it, much further than the middle door, which afforded but little space for scaffolds; part whereof was destined for the Queen of Poland and her suite, part for the Ambassadors, and part for the Ladies, Roman and Foreign; and a separate one, the most remote, for the gentlemen strangers, where not above 100, I am sure, could see well. The seats for the Cardinals and Bishops, &c. assisting were on the area, where, also, were a good number of persons of the first quality to be admitted. But with all this I entertained but very little hopes of seeing what I was come so far for, till encouraged by Father Mansfield, Doctor of the College of English Jesuits here, to whom I was recommended by my Lady Throgmorton and Sir D. Arthur, he having an interest with the 2 Prelates appointed for the placing of strangers; by which means, in short, and force of crowding, M^r Martin and I have had the good fortune to see all the minutest parts of this most solemn ceremony, the whole process of which falling within my notice was this:—The morning, being yesterday the 24th, was ushered in with the jangling of bells I have mentioned; soldiers like those of our Trained-Band were placed in different quarters of the town to prevent disorders, and chiefly in the Piazza of S^t Peter's, where were the Swiss Halberdiers in red and yellow, and a troop of horse in armour drawn up. About 16 o'clock we got into our places, and about 23 began the procession from the Vatican, through the Corridore into the Piazza, and so into the Portico, drums beating, &c. all the while. First came the Choiristers and officiating Priests, with tapers in their hands, singing; then the Bishops, and last of all the Cardinals in their Pontificalibus; the Cardinal de Bouillon, appointed by the Pope to perform this office in his stead, by reason of his extreme illness, closing the whole,

and being distinguished from the rest by a mitre of rich gold stuff, the others being of white damask. After a short office, with some singing, neither of which could be well distinguished, the Cardinal advanced to the Holy Door, the guns of Castell S^t Angelo were discharged, and he knocked thrice with a silver hammer on a small cross of brass fixed in the mortar of the door, pausing a few minutes between each stroke, whilst some words were repeated. Having given the last stroke, he retired a little, and down fell the door, which made no small dust, being of brick plaistered on both sides, and kept together by a frame of wood round, and supported on the inside with props, which being taken away, it fell into a case set to receive it, for its more ready removal; the Cardinals, &c. entering afterwards to sing vespers, and the people, by degrees, following in most astonishing crowds. There was a throne with six palls prepared for the Pope, of crimson velvet, close by the door; but he not being there, no use was made of it. The scaffold was hung with tapestry and crimson damask, with stripes of golden galloon, as are also all the pilasters of S^t Peter's and some other of the churches in the city. In the mean time others of the Cardinals, &c. in cavalcade, went to the Campidoglio, and there divided, to go to the other churches, to open each of their Holy Gates also; but of this I saw nothing. The chief English here were my Lord Exeter and Lady, Lord Mounthermer, M^r Cecil, M^r Bruce, &c., my Lady Salisbury being prevented by the small pox breaking out that very morning, of which she is said to be dangerously ill. I afterwards saw the Cardinal's supper in the Vatican Palace, which, both for form and substance, was very singular; and from hence went to the midnight devotions at S^t Lorenzo, where I heard most ravishing music suited to the occasion; Paluccio, an admired young performer, singing, and Corelli the famous violin playing, in concert with above 30 more, all at the charge of Cardinal Ottoboni, who assisted. The crowd still continues at S^t Peter's so great, with pilgrims going in at the Holy Gate upon their knees, that I have not yet been able to make my way through it; but I have got a piece of the ruins of it, which will serve in the mean time to support my devotion. T'is very uncertain what the Pope's condition is at present: at the time of the ceremony yester-

day, we overheard some of the English Jesuits telling others, as a secret, that he certainly died the day before, about 23 o'clock, but I much doubt the truth of it: he is at least extremely ill, and could not do a greater service to strangers than to drop off at this juncture, to complete the shew by a *Sede Vacante*, to which some say a canonization would be added this holy year.

I must beg you to be assured of my husbanding both my time and expence.

Your most dutiful Nephew,

J. JACKSON.

C. orig.

EXTRACTS OF LETTERS FROM M^R PEPYS TO M^R JACKSON.

London, Jan^y 22, ¹⁶⁹⁹/₁₇₀₀.

YOUR friends are all well here, myself in particular. I was lately very much surprised with a visit from my cousin Roger Gale, upon an unexpected call home, post from Paris from his father, without the least intimation of the ground of it, nor direction, since his coming, what he is next to do, to the no little discomposure, I discern, of his son, which I am greatly sorry for. I find the gentlemen of both University's equally amused upon our friend D^r Bently's promotion to Trinity College Mastership; and of them, few more so than our friend at York*. I have nothing to add, but to recommend it to you not to forget a copy (if to be got), or at least an accurate perusal, of Henry VIII.'s letters, to enable you to rectify the mistakes, or clear the doubts, which I hope you will remember occurred to us upon reading copies thereof.

S. P.

London, Jan^y 29, ¹⁶⁹⁹/₁₇₀₀.

I AM extremely glad of the aid you have from Father Mansfield, in the business of books, &c. and leave it to you to secure the 2 vols.

* Dr. Gale.

you speak of relating to St. Peter's, as you shall judge of them upon seeing them ; and if there be any print in sculpture, I mean relating to any of the ceremonies of the present Jubilee, or any former Ecclesiastic Shews or Views of St. Peter's, or ought else that is curious, beyond what you know I am already master of, I leave it to you to buy for me.

S. P.

Feb^y 5, $\frac{1699}{1700}$.

I AM apt to believe Bishop Ellis would recollect who I am, were my name mentioned to him, and probably be inclined to shew respect to you, we having heretofore (though now a great while since) met where we have been very friendly together treated, at poor M^r Pierce's, the King's Sergeant Surgeon, long since dead, and his family dispersed. I am greatly satisfied with what you have done about my Copy Book and your other commissions: for the closeness of your present application to the studies you have set yourself, you may be sure of my being fully pleased therewith, and wishing good speed to your plough,

Adieu !

S. P.

Feb^y 8, $\frac{1699}{1700}$.

As to prints, I would be glad of a few, but those very good ones only, of any thing like Public Processions, Cavalcades, Canonizations, or any other Solemnities extraordinary, relative to the Church Antiquities, or Town of Rome ; not books of sets, for of those you know I have great plenty. Captain Hatton, who was my guest to day, and your kind remembrancer, tells me of a book of Graveings finely done, printed at Rome, as he thinks, about 60 years ago, of all the alphabets of the several languages in which there are any books extant in the Vatican Library ; the same being taken from the paintings or drawings thereof inscribed upon the several columns in the same Library : of which book it would greatly sort with my Collection that I had a copy. I long to hear of Father Mansfield's two volumes of St. Peter's.

S. P.

C. orig.

MONSIEUR DE GALINIERE* TO M^R PEPYS.

MONSIEUR,

A Dublin, March 30, 1700.

DANS un pays étranger, et éloigné de ma famille, je puis cependant dire, que ce qui m'occupe et m'afflige le plus, c'est votre personne et votre état. La poste ne vient pas assez vite pour satisfaire à mon impatience, et quand j'ouvre mes lettres et que j'y vois que vous êtes toujours malade, je ne sçai ce que je deviens. La tristesse s'empare de moi d'une manière que je ne puis exprimer. Je regrette Londres, je pense que quoique je ne pourrois pas nous apporter de soulagement, à tout le moins, si j'y étois, j'irois plusieurs fois le jour demander des nouvelles, et il me semble que la proximité des lieux feroit que je ne serois pas si alarmé. Ma femme m'écrit que vous avez été obligé de vous remettre au lit. Je vous puis protester, Monsieur, que je prie Dieu continuellement pour vous, et avec la même ardeur que je prierois pour moi-même. Il suffit de vous connoître pour s'interesser dans votre conversation. Mais ce n'est pas seulement par la plus profonde estime qu'on puisse avoir, c'est aussi par la plus sensible de toutes les reconnoissances que je ne distingue point vos maux d'avec ceux que je pourrois souffrir moi-même. Au nom de Dieu, Monsieur, ménagez vous bien, ménagez vous mieux que vous n'avez fait par le passé; et en évitant à l'avenir la trop grande application qui sans doute a causé votre mal, pensez que quoi que dise votre devise, *Mens cujusque is est quisque*, quelque esprit que vous avez, vous n'êtes pourtant pas tout esprit, et que vous avez un corps dont vous devez avoir un très grand soin. Dieu veuille vous rétablir; Dieu veuille bénir les remèdes qu'on vous prescrit; Dieu veuille faire réussir les opérations que l'on vous fait. Je suis persuadé que Madame Skinner est pénétrée de douleur de vous voir souffrir; et qu'elle ne trouve de consolation que dans les soins qu'elle prend de vous. Permettez, Monsieur,

* For some account of Monsieur De Galinière, vide Mr. Pepys's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, page 202.

que je lui en fasse ici mes complimens, et que je vous assure que je suis, avec le plus profond respect du monde,

Monsieur,

Votre très-humble et très-

Obéissant Serviteur,

P. P. DE GALINIERE.

Je fais toujours bien des vœux pour Monsieur votre Neveu.

C. orig.

MR PEPYS TO MR JACKSON.

NEPHEW,

York Buildings, April 8, 1700.

BELIEVING that after so long silence as this, since my last to you of the 11th of March, it would be of no less satisfaction to you, than I bless God it is to me, to be able to give you under my own hand the occasion of that silence, and this welcome account of its removal; nevertheless, I have chosen to make use of M^r Lorrains for what follows, which is to acquaint you that it has been my calamity for much the greatest part of this time to have been kept bed rid, under an evil so rarely known, as to have had it matter of universal surprise, and with little less general opinion of its dangerousness; namely, that the cicatrice of a wound occasioned upon my cutting for the stone, without hearing any thing of it in all this time, should, after more than 40 years perfect cure, all of a sudden, without any known occasion given for it, break out again, and call for an operation for its cure, by requiring the wound that has been so long asleep to be anew laid open, and rehealed, which it has been, and after that a second time; but both successfully: I being, I thank God! once more on my legs, and though my long lying in bed will cost me some time for the removal of my weakness, I am in no doubt of recovering. Though the pain and trouble occasioned by this evil have been very great, yet my Chirurgeon (M^r Charles Bernard, a man of fame in his profession,) never

expressing the least doubt of my cure, and not having in the whole time suffered one quarter of an hour's sickness of stomach or elsewhere, I have not thought it of any use to interrupt you, and the business you are upon, with any imperfect tidings thereof, till now that I can report it to you as a thing past.

April 12, 1700.

I go on with my borrowed hand to tell you that, I thank God! I not only continue, but improve in the recovery of my strength, which my necessary confinement night and day, with my legs tied, in bed, had unavoidably sunk in a great degree, but without other prejudice to my general health. I am equally delighted with all I gather from your letters, relating to your health; your thoughtfulness all along in making the most of your time every where, for the answering every laudable end of your travels; the succinct account you give me of your employment and observations, your care of the commissions you stand charged with, and the memory you carry of the measure as well as the fruit of your expence. I pray God to continue you in his good keeping, so that at the close of your voyage you may find cause to thank yourself for the benefits which this your conduct may reasonably entitle you to. You want, I see, some news; therefore let me be your postman, and tell you that the State has been for some time under no small convulsion in Parliament, where the Ministers have been, most of them, by turns roughly handled: as one instance, the King has been but two days ago addressed to from the Commons, that no person, (principally aimed at the Dutch Lords,) not born in his dominions, should be admitted to his Council either in England or Ireland; and yesterday he prorogued the Parliament to the 25th of next month, after having been contented to pass several Bills, which very few could persuade themselves he ever would have done, and particularly a Bill of Resumption to the public of all the forfeited estates by the late rebellion in Ireland, which he had actually distributed to an invidious value among a small number of persons he favoured, such as my Lords Portland, Galloway, Romney, Athlone, &c., and in particular M^r Villiers, to whose share the late King's private estate is fallen, valued at about 300,000*l.*, or 25,000*l.*

p^r an. The old East India Company have, to the joy of all our nearest friends, obtained their great point against the new, by having got their Bill passed beyond all expectation, this Parliament confirming them in being a separate Corporation. I shall here add another Bill, by which the Parliament, upon what new provocations or considerations I know not, has proceeded to a greater degree of severity against our Roman Catholics than their predecessors have ever done, by condemning all of them, who, being bred up in that profession, do not publicly and solemnly renounce it, and take upon them the Protestant Religion, at or before the age of 18; to forfeit their whole inheritance, (be it never so great,) and transferring the right thereof *ipso facto* to the next a kin; which, they say, do more than justify all the King of France does against his Protestant subjects. Another thing, indeed, there is, that looks somewhat a mitigation of our present laws, by repealing so much thereof as subjected to death every Romish Priest found among us, by condemning them now to perpetual imprisonment only; but this also that party take to be much worse than what they were before exposed to, because so seldom found, by the tenderness of our Juries, exacted from them. One thing more makes much talk here; the Duke of Norfolk having obtained at last, this Session, his desired divorce from his wife, now bare Lady Mary Mordaunt again, from being the first Duchess of England, with liberty to marry again elsewhere.

April 15, 1700.

WHAT with my sickness, and absence for some time from town for the air at Clapham, and the unknown additions your present purchasings will probably make in most, if not every head of my collection of prints now before me, I foresee they will not be in a condition of being finally put together before your return.

S. P.

C. orig.

EXTRACTS OF LETTERS FROM M^R JACKSON TO M^R PEPYS.

HON^D SIR,

Rome, April 24, 1700.

WE have had a particular audience of his Holiness at Monte Cavallo, headed by the Rector of the Scotch College, who harangued him on our behalf. He was in a very small room, in an armed chair, behind a table, under which came his feet, but only his right toe just appearing under his robe, his slipper of crimson velvet, with a gold cross embroidered upon it, which we that would kissed on our knees, and, in return, had indulgences granted ourselves and our friends for 1000 years. He was very pale, and seemed much spent, his head reclining a little, but his voice strong enough: he answered to our Father, "*Non meritiamo questo.*" The ceremony was soon over, and we returned, but not (as we had entered) upon our knees, on which we also received his formal benediction. If next Saturday bring me nothing from you, I shall think my 15 days journey to Venice above 100.

JOHN JACKSON.

C. orig.

Florence, July 20, 1700.

I was this morning with the famous Magliabechi at the Palace, and am just now going to visit him at his own house. For figure and dress he certainly never had his fellow: Sir Peter Pett was a very fop, compared with him.

J. J.

EXTRACTS OF LETTERS FROM M^R PEPYS TO M^R JACKSON.

Clapham, May 9, 1700.

I AM mightily pleased with your having seen the Old Father,* and been partaker of an audience from him, before your coming away. I

* The Pope.

am, I thank God! greatly recovered, and in a fair road towards being perfectly so. Our Great Seal is put into the hands of the two Chief Justices and the Chief Baron, till the King has further deliberated touching the disposal thereof. Sir Peter Daniel, in this neighbourhood, is lately dead, and so, I am just now told, is Mr. Dryden, who will be buried in Chaucer's grave, and have his monument erected by Lord Dorset and Mr. Montagu.

Clapham, July 1, 1700.

I THANK you for your welcome list of purchases; as they are many, so are they, in all appearance, well chosen: nor had I any reason to doubt their being so, you so well knowing my *gusto*, and I your power of discerning. I apprehend, indeed, the amount of their cost, though I make no question of your care in that too. I wish you had met with a greater number of frontispieces, and can only recommend the making up of them more, as also of religious prints, and, in particular, of Habits, in your passage through Spain and Portugal: or if there be any thing else in graveing singularly relating to those countries, whether as to their buildings, manners or ought else, or their only Royal sport of *Juego de Toro*, pray do not let it escape you, nor what Copy-books you can meet with. I am, I bless God! restored to as perfect a degree of health as at this time of day I can ever expect, and it is a very good one. Let not my using another's hand put you to any doubtings about it, as arising purely from the general tenderness I am come to in overworking my eyes.

Clapham, August 1, 1700.

Dr. HICKES shall know your want of success in his errand, and the ground of it. I am not prodigal, you know, of news, but the surprising death of the Duke of Gloucester, being overheated with dancing on his birthday, is, for the consequences of it, not to be omitted. His distemper turned to the small pox, which killed him in five days from that of his birth. Adieu!

Clapham, October 8, 1700.

I HAVE had yours of the 24th September, from Marseilles, importing the ill effects of your improvident excess upon fruit, which alone was the occasion of all that has befallen the Earl of Exeter's family, in the death, not only of himself and of one or two more of his train, but the endangering all the rest, my lady and her son Mr. Cecil having but hardly escaped. If this reaches you at Lisbon, I give you in charge to wait upon my Lady Tuke, one of the ladies attending my once Royal Mistress, our Queen Dowager there, a lady for whom I bear great honour; nor, if she should offer you the honour of kissing the Queen's hand, would I have you to omit, if Lady Tuke thinks it proper, the presenting her Majesty in most humble manner with my profoundest duty, as becomes a most faithful subject. Let my Lady Tuke also know, that her and my good old friends, Mr. Evelyn and his Lady, did me, within these ten days, the honor of coming over to me hither from Wootton, with their whole family of children, children-in-law, and grand-children, and dined with me, when her Ladyship's health was not forgotten.

York Buildings, February 3, ¹⁷⁰⁰₁₇₀₁.

THIS serves only to tell you that I am well, and all your friends here, and all full of expectations of you, which God grant a happy as well as a speedy issue to! There is a great and sudden fall of all our great Stocks; I mean, that of the Bank and both our East-India Company's; but it must take up more time to fit ourselves for declaring war, (if that be the event of it,) than will, I hope, be needful for your passage hither; and so, committing you to God's protection,

I remain,

Your truly affectionate Uncle,

S. P.

C. orig.

MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Dover-Street, May 10, 1700.

I do most heartily congratulate the improvement of your health, since your change of air; which acceptable news your servant brought us this morning, and returns to you with our prayers and wishes for the happy progress and full restitution of it. In the mean time, I take this opportunity of acquainting you that a worthy correspondent of mine (not unknown to you, M^r Nicholson, Archdeacon of Carlisle,) being, it seems, about a work in which he has occasion to mention some affairs relating to the Scots, and hearing that you are indisposed, writes thus to me:—"I am troubled to hear of M^r Pepys's indisposition: I heartily wish his recovery, and the continuance of a restored health. When I was an attendant on M^r Sec^y Williamson, above 20 years ago, I often waited on him at his house in Westminster; but I was then, as I still am, too inconsiderable to be remembered by him. Besides an account of the Author (if known) of his MS. Life of Mary Queen of Scots, I very much desire to know whether there be any valuable matters relating to the History of Scotland amongst Sir R. Maitland's Collections of Scottish Poems? I observe that in the same volume with Balfour's *Pratique*, or Reports, as we call them, he has a MS. of the old Sea Laws of Scotland; I would beg to be informed, whether this last Treatise is the same with the *Leges Portuum*, which, though quoted by Sir John Skene under that Latin title, is written in the Scottish language, and is only a list of the customs of goods imported and exported. If I may, through your kind intercession, have the favour of transcribing any thing to my purpose out of his library, I have a young kinsman, clerk to M^r Musgrave, of the Tower, who will wait on him to that purpose."

This, Sir, is M^r Archdeacon's request, which I should, indeed, have communicated to you when I was lately to kiss your hands, but so was I transported with seeing you in so hopeful and fair a way of recovery, as it quite put this and all other things out of my thoughts.

I am now, God willing, going about the middle of next week for a summer's residence at Wotton; where I have enough to do with a decayed and ruinous dwelling, but where yet my friends, or at least their letters, will find me; and if I suspend my answer to M Nicholson till you are at perfect leisure to enable me what to write, without giving you the least disturbance, I am sure he will be highly satisfied.

JOHN EVELYN.

C. orig.

MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS.

Dover Street, May 18, 1700.

WHAT in the world could have come more acceptably and welcome to me, than the fair progress of your health, confirmed under your own hand? The continuance whereof, as I shall daily pray for, so will it infinitely contribute to the satisfaction of my mind, and consequently to my better health, whilst we are absent; such influence has the sense of a constant and generous friendship upon one who loves and honours you! I shall have highly gratified the learned Archdeacon, by enclosing your own obliging letter in mine to him; in the meanwhile, as to your enquiry whether he be likely to come to town this summer, I can only tell you what he is about, and it is now about three months since he wrote thus to me:

"I have had very pressing invitations from several learned men of Scotland, to draw up another Historical Library for them, in somewhat of the same form with that of the English one; and the plentiful assistances which they have already given and promised, have forced me into the attempt. I have made some considerable advances in it, and I hope, if God continue my health, to finish and publish it the next summer. I design it in one entire folio volume, which will be, I guess, about the size of your *Numismata*. There are many pieces in our English Libraries that I must enquire after," &c.

It is from this passage one may conjecture he may look this way; at all events he is worthy your esteem, and the civilities you express. Vitruvius has said nothing of repairs, nor hardly remember I of any who repented not of an expence, commonly greater than new building; but at Wotton necessity compels me for the present, while I please myself with a castle in the air, which I have built on paper. I am sure I shall have enough to do this summer to settle our little economy there in any tolerable sort, as you will find, if the sweet breath of our Surrey Downs tempt you to descend so low as

Your most faithful humble Servant's,

J. EVELYN.

C. orig.

MR ROGER GALE TO MR PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

Trin. Coll. Cambridge, May 24, 1700.

IT was no small satisfaction to me to find, by the favour of your last, the piece I sent you gave so much content; and if the detaining it by you some time longer will add to it, it is in so good hands that I dare defer hastening the return of it, till you shall be pleased to remit it at your leisure. When that shall be, if you order it to be delivered in York Buildings, and give me a line of advice, I will take care somebody shall call for it there, and so give you no farther trouble in this matter. How it came into Hugh Peter's hands, and from his into ours, is all mystery to me, for I cannot find him once mentioned in our Registers, or one book more of his donation in our Library. Be it as it will, it must be looked upon as a valuable curiosity; and I must particularly esteem it, since I have been so happy as to serve you in it.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble and

Obliged Serv^t,

R. GALE.

C. orig.

D^R GALE TO M^R PEPYS.

DEAR FRIEND,

York, June 4, 1700.

IN my absence from York, a letter from my son Roger brought me the most unwelcome news of your illness and retirement to Clapham. What can I say under so great a pressure of grief as does now damp my spirits? Among many causes which I have to repent my removal from London, none oftener occurreth than that I parted with the sweet conversation of so sure, so suitable a friend. In one of your's you tell me that you look upon me as a man departed: this is true, for I profess to you that I have not lived to any content here. But, dear Sir, not knowing your present condition, whether, indeed, you are able to read my sorry stuff, I will break off here, though otherwise I could most willingly have filled the whole sheet. I pray, at all adventures, for your recovery, and for two lines from you, or some friend, to

Your most affectionate Friend and faithful Serv^t,

T. GALE.

C.

M^R PEPYS TO D^R GALE.

REVEREND SIR,

Clapham, June 13, 1700.

MY condition has, indeed, within these two months, been such as to have had my doors thronged for several days together with the managers of our Black Guards, to bespeak the conducting me to my last home; but it has pleased God to respite it, and by Dr. Ratcliff's aid, perfected by the air of this place, to restore me to a very promising state of health again; for which his name be praised, and many faithful thanks paid to yourself for your so kind enquiries after it. Whatever is your feeling of it, I assure you, what, from your removal from me first, and the general dispersion that has since followed to my beloved

fraternity, I am sated with the world, and am within little of being prevailed upon, by my physician and friends, (my nearest councillors for my health,) to bid so fair an adieu to it, as to set up the short remainder of my rest here, where I now am, without troubling the town or myself with it more, of which I may possibly speak more particularly in my next; for, if I must be left to philosophise by myself, nobody, I fancy, will blame me for choosing to do it in a serene air, without noise, rather than where there is nothing of the first, and nothing else but the last.

I am,

Y^r most humble and affect^e Serv^t,

S. P.

C. orig.

MR BURCHETT TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Adm^y Office, 7 June, 1700.

IN one Article of the Instructions to the Lord High Admiral, established by His Majesty King Charles II. in Council, June 13, 1673, it is expressly provided, that all books and papers of the transactions of the said High Admiral, with relation to the public affairs of his office, shall be methodically digested, and remain, from time to time, for the perusal of any succeeding Admiral; and my Lords of the Admiralty having occasion to inspect into several things that were transacted during the time the office of Secretary of the Admiralty was under your care and management, and finding themselves unable to satisfy themselves for want of several books and papers still in your custody, particularly your public Letter Books, most of the letters that passed between the Lord Dartmouth and yourself, when he commanded the Fleet in 1688, and others; I am, therefore, commanded to send you a copy of so much of the Lord Admiral's Instructions as relates to this matter, and to signify their Lordships desire to you, that you will cause to be delivered to me, for their use, all the public books and papers relating to the office of Lord High Admiral still remaining in

your custody, for which their Lordships have commanded me to give you a receipt.

I am, with great respect,

Your most humble

and obedient Servant,

J. BURCHETT.

C. orig.

MR WILLIAM NICOLSON* TO MR PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

Penrith, June 14, 1700.

It is now about three weeks since your worthy and learned friend (M^r Evelyn) was pleased to give me a very acceptable account of your obliging readiness to furnish me with such Transcripts, out of your Library, as might be of use to me in an undertaking now upon my hands. Ever since the receipt of his letter, I have been under the care of a physician, at a good distance from my own house; and this is the first day whereon I have been allowed to set pen to paper. I have, Sir, given directions (by this post) to a young kinsman I have at the Tower, to wait on you and receive your commands. You have several volumes which I ought to account for in a new edition of my English Library, if I live to see it deserve one. But the Scotch Historians are my present province, and I would now humbly beg your assistance in the following enquiries about some of your MSS. as they stand in the printed Catalogue.

No. 8. You have an History of Mary Queen of Scots. I desire to know by whom and in what language it is written; and how well (or ill) the Author has performed.

73. In Sir R. Maitland's Collection of Scotch Poems, what historical

* William Nicolson, born *circ.* 1655, was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, and in 1681 made a Prebendary, and the following year Archdeacon of Carlisle, to which See he was promoted in 1702, having greatly distinguished himself in the literary world. In 1718 he was translated to Londonderry, and in Feb. 1726-7 elevated to the Archbishopric of Cashel, and made Primate of Ulster; but his sudden death immediately afterwards prevented him from entering into the full possession of this last dignity.—*Biograph. Dict.*

matters are there preceding the Union of the kingdoms in King James VI. ?

93. In the old Sea Law of Scotland (bound up with Balfour's Reports) what is remarkably different from our Admiralty Law in England ? And what relating to the Naval affairs of Scotland have you (No. 129) amongst your 60 vols. of *Adversaria* on this subject ?

If you are pleased, Sir, to allow my kinsman to take your commands on these heads, you will exceedingly oblige,

Honoured Sir,

Your most humble and obedient Servant,

WILLIAM NICOLSON.

C. orig.

DR GALE TO MR PEPYS.

MOST DEAR FRIEND,

York, June 17, 1700.

YOUR'S of the 13th instant was most welcome. I blessed God for the satisfaction I received by it ; and my prayers shall not be wanting for many years to be yet added to your life. I am strongly inclined to come to London, where I have so many friends, and you the chief of all : why I come not, I can assign no very great reason, though many small difficulties, under which I still struggle by a kind of succession, continue to obstruct my journey. To omit all others, one of my best horses (the very best, I think, that ever strained traces,) died last night of a violent colic : the rest at present are unserviceable, though two of them were bought with design for to visit you. I am very much of the opinion of D' Ratcliff, and those other your friends, who persuade you to that retirement which you now enjoy. There you may have, when you please, the visits of your friends from the great town ; and also that recess from hurry, and, as we speak here, throng, which will afford repose to your excellent mind (*πολυτιμητος νοῦς*, the *animus* which you used to say is *Quisque*,) which if a man do not allow to actuate him, and govern him, I do not see wherein that man

differs from the very animals. I am glad that you return to your philosophy; you have long provided yourself of that viaticum, which is comfortable as far as it goes: you have also laid in a stock of Christian philosophy, which will complete and make up the former, and certainly place you in the bosom of bliss. A well-led life never fails of an happy immortality. I wish your cousin, M^r Jackson, were now with you; his good company, handyness in turning your books, and other ministrations, would yield you much ease. When you shall think fit to make your last will and settlement, I beg of you that you would be pleased to put all your rare collections (of which you have many) into some one good hand. I am exceedingly obliged to you that you honour my son with your letters, and that you make your kindnesses hereditary. As our friends (which you intimate to be dispersed) come at any time to wait on you, be pleased to refresh in their minds the memory of him whom you reckon departed. I give my very hearty service to M^r Hewer, and all about you.

Dear Sir, I pray for our happy meeting, as

Your most affec. & humble Serv^t,

THO^s GALE.

June 18th, 1700.

A COPY of the Report this day by me inserted in the Collection shown me on the same subject from D^r Paynter, present Vice Chancellor, D^r Wallis, D^r Hyde, M^r Dodwell, D^r Charlett, &c., Professors and Heads of the University of Oxford, touching M^r Wanly's Proposition of a general Survey to be taken of all the present Public Libraries of Europe, with our opinions of his own singular fitness for being entrusted with its execution.

As well from the convictions I have long lain under, touching the disadvantages arising to mankind in its pursuits of knowledge of every kind, and more particularly that of Antiquities, from the want of what (among others) it has within its own power to come at, by a due inquiry after and improvement of the materials to be collected from the many public Libraries of Princes and Statds now extant in Europe,

never yet thoroughly examined, and not uneasy to be resorted unto, as also from my long and near knowledge and observation of that general sobriety, diligence, and vigour of application, the proper learning (both as to kind and degree,) and singular fidelity, of M^r Wanly, together with his particular genius to and talents of fair writing and drawing, especially qualifying him thereto; I do most entirely approve of the proposition contained in the six forementioned Articles, as a matter universally beneficial to mankind, and (as such) particularly importing the honour and advantage of this nation; further declaring the said M^r Wanly to be the person, within my knowledge, the best fitted for, and most worthy (with proper assistance) to be entrusted with, the execution of the same.

S. P.

C. orig.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

July 1st, 1700.

YOUR's of the 24th past was doubly welcome, in bringing me the good news of the improvement of your health, which I am as much concerned in, and wish as well to, as any friend you have. You had not been thus long without my letters, but I thought they might be troublesome, not being able to fill them with any thing diverting; and I contented myself with enquiring after your health at your own house. Now my law affairs are a little over for the present, I intend very speedily to make you a visit. I am extremely obliged to your Nephew for remembering so small an affair as the lettice seeds, of which my wife is very proud. I hope your being thus long at Clapham (for I think you were never so long in the country before, since you knew the world,) will make you relish the pleasure of a garden, which will be no burthen to your other perfections. As to your inquiry concerning the Second Sight, and of what happened to me in reference to my first wife upon that occasion, I will tell the story to

yourself when I see you, and, in the mean time, to D^r Smith; and if either of you think it worth notice, I will put it into writing as exactly as I can. I suppose it will be no news to tell you of my Lord Shrewsbury's once more quitting his employment at Court, and that the Lord Chamberlain's place is conferred on my Lord Jersey. Who will be Secretary of State in his room, is not yet determined: my Lord Lexington, and M^r Hill of the Treasury, are both spoken of, but it is said that office will not be filled till the King returns from Holland, so that M^r Secretary Vernon will be sole Secretary for some time; and some are of opinion, that after the King returns M^r Blathwayt may be the man: but all this is only imagination; perhaps, after all, this office may be disposed of before the King goes. My Lord Rumney you see now possessed of three great places, which, in your time and mine, were thought sufficient stations for three considerable men: but, according to the old Proverb, Kissing goes by favour. It can be no secret to you, that the proposals for farming the Revenue of Excise are all rejected, and that branch put under the management of a new Commission, in which there are some very able men; and your neighbour M^r Tollett, I am told, is Secretary to that Commission, which I am very glad of, for he is both an honest and very able man. I think this letter is become as tedious as my visits used to be, and therefore I will conclude, with assuring you that I am, with all possible esteem,

Sir,

Your most affectionate and

Very humble Servant,

CLARENDON.

C. orig.

M^R EVELYN TO M^R PEPYS.

Wotton, July 22, 1700.

I COULD no longer suffer this old servant of mine to pass and repass so near Clapham without a particular account of your health and all

your happy family. You will now enquire what do I do here? Why, as the Patriarchs of old, I pass the day in the fields, among horses and oxen, sheep, cows, bulls, and sows, *et cetera pecora campi*. We have, thank God! finished our hay harvest prosperously. I am looking after my hinds, providing carriage and tackle against reaping time and sowing. What shall I say more? *Venio ad voluptates agriculturalum*, which Cicero, you know, reckons amongst the most becoming diversions of old age; and so I render it. This without:—now within doors, never was any matron more busy than my wife, disposing of our plain country furniture for a naked old extravagant house, suitable to our employments. She has a dairy, and distaffs, for *lac, linum, et lanum*, and is become a very Sabine. But can you thus hold out? will my friend say: is philosophy, Gresham College, and the example of M^r Pepys and agreeable conversation of York Buildings, quite forgotten and abandoned? No, no! *Naturam expellas furcâ licet*. Know I have been ranging of no fewer than 30 large cases of books, destined for a competent standing library, during 4 or 5 days, wholly destitute of my young coadjutor, who, upon some pretence of being much engaged in the Mathematics, and desiring he may continue his course at Oxford till the beginning of August, I have wholly left it to him. You will now suspect something by this disordered hand; and truly I was too happy in these little domestic affairs, when on the sudden, as I was about my books in the library, I found myself sorely attacked with a shivering, followed by a feverish disposition, and a strangury, so as to have kept, not my chamber only, but my bed, till very lately, and with just so much strength as to scribble these lines to you. For the rest, I give God thanks for this gracious warning, my great age calling upon me *sarcinam componere*, every day expecting it, who have still enjoyed a wonderful course of bodily health for 40 years. And now to give you some further account of your favourite, I will make you part of what he wrote from Oxon., though it come somewhat late, as to what he acquaints me of the most unhappy catastrophe of that excellent poet and philosopher, M^r Creech.

June 17.

“Quod de Comitibus Oxon. in penultimâ scribis epistolâ, dubiam ante opinionem negativa Convocationis suffragia jam confirmarunt. Inexpectatum prorsus, et triste quiddam nuper hic evenit. Clarissimus ille Creech, Coll. Omnium Animarum Socius, sibi ipse mortem conscivit. Cum enim paucis abfuisset diebus, suspensus tandem repertus est, quibus autem de causis hoc in se commisit nondum liquet. Jam ut de studiis Academicis aliquid dicam, Varenii Geographiam Universalem eo sub nomine physicæ considerationis multa complectentem, tutor legit, et quotidie in physicas questiones disputamus. In Mathem. Geometriam practicam percurri, quod eo diutius detinuit quod undecimum et duodecimum Euclidis librum non prius didiceram. Optica proximè discenda venit, et reliqua ad visionem pertinentia. Mathematicum nuper erat certamen in nostro Collegio, Doctore Gregory, Professore Judice, et viginti solidis sex præstantissimis præmio proposito, unum mihi adjudicatum est, quod in librum Mathemat. pro Bibliothecâ donandum impendere statui ne præmii magis gratiâ quam ut progressum ostenderem, certasse videar. Vale!

And with much ado I have held out thus far. Your prayers I need not beg, you are so charitable. I beseech you to bear with the blots and impertinence of this, from

Your most faithfully devoted Servant,

J. EVELYN.

C.

MR PEPYS TO MR EVELYN.

Clapham, August 7, 1700.

I HAVE no herds to mind, nor will my Doctor allow me any books here. What then, will you say too, are you doing? Why, truly, nothing that will bear naming, and yet I am not, I think, idle; for who can, that has so much of past and to come to think on as I have? And thinking, I take it, is working, though many forms beneath what

my Lady and you are doing. But pray remember what o'clock it is with you and me; and be not now, by over-stirring, too bold with your present complaint, any more than I dare be with mine, which too has been no less kind in giving me my warning, than the other to you, and to neither of us, I hope, and through God's mercy dare say, either unlooked for or unwelcome. I wish, nevertheless, that I were able to administer any thing towards the lengthening that precious rest of life which God has thus long blessed you (and in you mankind) with; but I have always been too little regardful of my own health to be a prescriber to others. I cannot give myself the scope I otherwise should in talking now to you at this distance, on account of the care extraordinary I am now under from Mrs. Skinner's being suddenly fallen very ill; but ere long I may possibly venture at entertaining you with something from my young man in exchange,—I don't say in payment, for the pleasure you gratify me with from yours, whom I pray God to bless with continuing but what he is! and I'll ask no more for him.

S. P.

C. orig.

MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS.

Wotton, Aug. 9. 1700.

THE confirmation of your health under your own hand, and that I still live in your esteem, revives me. There could nothing come more welcome to me: it brings me the tenderest instances of your friendship, and what I shall ever value,—your counsel. Indeed, I am not a little sensible that more thought, and less motion or stirring than usual, had been safer for me since I came hither. And though at present the indisposition under which I laboured be much abated, yet the apprehension of its return makes me take hold of your kindness in offering me the receipt of the barley water, and the method of preparing it. Mean time, be assured, I am not without those serious reflections you so Christianly suggest. The scantiness, mutability, and little satisfaction of the things of this world, after all our researches in

quest of something we think worth our pains, but are indeed the images only of what we pursue, warn me, so much nearer my period that my sand runs lower than your's, that there is another and a better state of things which concerns us, and for which I pray God Almighty to prepare us both. Epictetus, *Enchirid.* cap. xii. has an excellent and useful illustration in order to this readiness. When the master of the vessel, says he, calls on board the passengers he set on shore to refresh a little, they should continually be mindful of the ship, and the master's summons; and leave their trifling and gathering cockle-shells, nay, all impertinencies whatsoever, mind the signal, and run to the ship. The warning is in general; but if thou be a man in years, stray not too far, least thou be left behind, and lose thy passage. This alarm, friend, is constantly in my thoughts, intent upon finishing a thousand impertinencies, which I fancy would render my habitation, my library, garden, collections, and the work I am about, complete: *at si Gubernator vocaverit ad Navem*, we must leave them all. Thus the Philosophers; but we have better advice from the Divine Oracles, to be upon our watch and within call. Such was that, you know, which always sounded in S^t Hierome's ears; "*Surgite mortui et venite ad Judicium*," and this gives check and alloy to all the imaginary satisfactions we think to find in the things of this life. Let you and I, therefore, settle our necessary affairs, and pray we may not be surprised: an easy, comfortable passage, is that which remains for us to beg of God, and for the rest to sit loose to things below. I have, I thank God! made my will since I came here, and look upon all other accessions with indifference; and though I bait now and then upon an innocent diversion, and am not idle as to other improvements, *inutilis olim, ne videar vixisse*, let us both be ready to leave them when the Master calls. And with this meditation, by you so seasonably inculcated to your old friend, I return the most humble thanks of,

Sir,

Your most obliged and faithful Friend,

J. EVELYN.

I dare say we both very heartily condole the loss of my Lady Clarendon,* but the news of the Duke of Gloucester's death is surprising. Where shall we once settle? This is, indeed, a subject of high speculation !

C. orig.

MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS.

Wotton, August 25, 1700.

YOUR desire of having the enclosed returned, and for which I cannot blame you, must shorten something I had to offer in excuse of my former impertinencies, as I sometimes thought, for curiosity so much inferior to your's: things so discreetly and judiciously chosen, and indeed it could not be other, M^r Jackson, your accomplished Nephew, being the collector of them. Had I leisure, for I received not your's till late last night, I should give you an account of what I brought from Rome of this kind about 50 years ago, that so, if there could be any thing considerable wanting, (as I believe there is nothing,) I might advertise you while your Nephew is upon the place. Had he only furnished you with the Stamps of those excellent Marbles, and *Ritratti* of the persons mentioned in the Catalogue, which he has enriched with all that has past of observable since my peregrinations, they cannot but be worthy your cabinet and curiosity: and so much for that at present. And now, allowing all your raillery on our ignorance of Barley-water, the hint you gave me first of an emulsion of almonds has not altogether failed; but have you not taken notice of an advertisement in yesterday's Flying Post, describing the wonders of a Nephretic Powder, lately brought into England, for its never-failing effects? Though I have very little faith in Empyrics, I am half persuaded to make trial of a dose, and am therefore sending for some:

* Flower, widow of Sir William Backhouse of Swallowfield, married 2dly Henry second Earl of Clarendon.

of this you shall have an account, with some other matters concerning my condition as a very errant farmer.

My young Scholar, busy in his Mathematics, forgets not the great respect he owes you.*

J. EVELYN.

C. orig.

DR CHARLETT TO MR PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

Southampton Street, Sept. 9, 1700.

I AM now preparing to leave London, with as much appetite to see M^r Pepys and ask him several questions, as if I had never seen him at all. The inclosed † is a challenge to meet half way, and I wish I could bring him quite hither, to see you, as I know he much desires.

As to the picture you so often mention, and this letter takes notice of, it is possible the person whom you design for the painter may, *once in a quarter* of a long vacation, have leisure and inclination to visit Oxford, especially on so public an occasion, that would redound much to his honor and fame, and take up so little time. I am going to meet D^r Radcliff in the City at dinner at M^r Hartwell's, being first to

* *In Cimeliarchium Domini Pepys.*

EPIGRAMMA.

Romanas Arces nunquam vidisse, doloris
 Sæpe tibi causa (ut fassus es ipse) fuit,
 Ne doleas, optata dies en attulit ultro!
 Roma tuis oculis subjicienda venit.
 Utque olim Constantino sub Cæsare fertur
 Mutasse Italiam sedibus illa novis,†
 Sic terram petit Angliacam translata Nepotis
 Egregii studio et sedulitate tui.
 Ergo domi tutus maneat, quemcunque pericla
 Deterrent maris et tædia longa viæ,
 Londinum, atque tuas ædes modo discat adire,
 Hæ, quicquid jactat Roma superba, tenent.

Raptim,

J. EVELYN Junior.

† Byzantio.

‡ Probably addressed to Dr. Wallis.

view the East India rarities, where we shall be sure to remember you.

The Duke of Bedford died on Saturday night, having been in his garden that morning. D^r Radcliff was prevailed with to visit him : when he came, a vomit was prepared for the Duke ; the D^r said, he *knew what would kill him, but not what would save him*, so the vomit was hindered. The D^r advised blisters, as the only expedient to prolong his life a few days ; but that being neglected, the hydropic humours, (as the D^r foretold), upon the first return on his vitals of the stomach, or head, killed him in a moment.

I am, honoured Sir,

Your most obliged,

Most obedient humble Servant,

A. CHARLETT.

C.

MR PEPYS TO CAPTAIN HATTON.

HONOURED SIR,

Clapham, Sept. 19, 1700.

I HAVE been making several country excursions, such as to Windsor, Hampton Court, Epsom, Richmond, and Streatham Wells, with other places in our neighbourhood, to the preventing me in the more timely return I ought otherwise to have made for the favour of yours of the 31st of the last month. It is a mighty pleasure to me, that my Nephew has, in any measure, done what his Uncle would be glad to do in any commission you should honour him with. I heartily condole your long uneasiness and confinement, but with the reserve of no less satisfaction in the success you give me hopes of your receiving from the care and knowledge of our learned friends, Doctor Sloane and Mr. Bernard, which I pray God perfect.

Your most obedient Servant,

S. P.

C. orig.

CAPTAIN HATTON TO M^R PEPYS.Sept^r 28, 1700.

EVER since I had the honour and happiness to wait last on you, Sir, I have been tormented with such violent rheumatick pains, that I have not yet had one moment's intermission from the anguish thereof, but what is occasioned from my great joy, to hear that M^r Pepys enjoys so perfect health as not only to have given himself the pleasure of making those excursions you mention, but also, as I heard from others, to partake of the youthful diversions of balls and dancing meetings, which yet I am persuaded did not so agreeably recreate you as the great and noble addition made to the unparalleled treasury in your incomparable Museum. I assure you I perused, with pleasure and admiration, the account, affording proof of M^r Jackson's great and universal knowledge, and unwearied diligence. Had I known he had been so general a Virtuoso, I should have reminded him of the *Lapis fungifer*, which produces mushrooms, to be found only at Naples. As he has sent no *Lazarolls*, I wish he could procure, this winter, some young trees of the different sorts from Naples, where they are as common as our haw-trees: they produce a pleasant fruit, and would thrive very well at M^r Hewer's magnificent Villa at Clapham, the flourishing state of which, and the long, long enjoyment of perfect health with uninterrupted felicity by all the present inhabitants there, is zealously wished by him who is yours and their

Most faithful and very humble Servant,

C. HATTON.

C. orig.

M^R EDMUND GIBSON TO M^R PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

Lambeth, Sept^r 28, 1700.

HIS Grace is sorry that he cannot oblige you with the works of King Charles out of his own house, because D^r Cradock, the donor,

did (in his hearing) expressly charge that it should never be carried out of Lambeth Palace. While we were upon this subject, His Grace was interrupted by company coming in; but in a day or two I will endeavour to understand his pleasure about the having your book done here in the Library, and his answer shall be signified to you in a letter from,

Sir,

Your most obliged Serv^t,

EDM. GIBSON.

Fearing our gates will be shut up before you go by, I leave this at the Coffee-house.

C.

MR PEPYS TO MR EDMUND GIBSON.

REVEREND SIR,

Clapham, Monday Morning, Sept. 30, 1700.

I GIVE you very many thanks for your kind notice of my Lord Grace's just cautions touching the book, as being no more than I thought reasonable for me to expect, and therefore took care to have mine brought hither to me, in order to my readier waiting on you with it at Lambeth, in case my Lord shall be pleased to allow of my satisfying my curiosity therein with your assistance there; which yet I ask with an entire submission to His Grace's pleasure in it, remaining

Your most obliged and humble Servant,

S. P.

*C. orig.*M^R EDMUND GIBSON TO M^R PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

Lambeth, Oct. 3, 1700.

EVERY day since I received your's I have been waiting for a fair afternoon, to walk over to Clapham and acquaint you with His Grace's answer; but the weather not being likely to favour me, I chose now to tell you by the post that His Grace was concerned there should be such a restraint upon him that he could not oblige you with the book at Clapham; but that you are heartily welcome to make use of it here, whenever you please, either in the Library or any other part of the house. In this business, you know on how many accounts you have a right to command the best services of,

Sir,

Your most obliged Serv^t,

EDM. GIBSON.

I pray my humble service to the good family there. Our edition is that printed for Royston, in 1662.

*C. orig.*D^R CHARLETT TO M^R PEPYS.

MOST HONOURED SIR,

Univ. Coll. Oxon. Oct. 6, 1700.

I RECEIVED your most obliging letter at Soundesse, a great Manor of John Wallis, Esq^r, in the woods next Nettlebed; and communicating the contents to him, he said, that for the further encouragement of Sir Godfry Kneller, he would be willing to be at the charges of having his father's, his own, his son, and two daughters, viz. five heads in one piece, as the Dean of Christ Church should direct. I am just now informed that Sir Godfry Kneller has drawn our Chancellor, the Duke of Ormond, at full length, which the Duke has some thoughts of bringing down himself; and it is very probable Sir Godfry may come with His

Grace, he having done so only for his pleasure twice or thrice within these three years. I must also add, that D^r Wallis was a little out of order last night, (though I fear we shall have much ado to hinder him this morning from Church, the Earl of Rochester being also to be there), to whom I then read your most obliging inclinations. He seemed (to say the truth) very fond and pleased with the thoughts of having his picture presented to the University by your hands; M^r Pepys and the late Lord Charles Somerset being the two persons most in his honor and estimation. I will not be positive, but am apt to believe that Sir Godfry Kneller may have more business, if he pleases; and the last time he was with me he seemed desirous to have some of his Art visible in the Gallery. He is Doctor of Laws with us. It is possible a decent application to D^r Radcliff might persuade him to give the picture of King Alfred, the founder of his old College, D^r Aldrich having long since designed a head for him. I am very much in arrears to you for a thousand civilities, which I have time only now to acknowledge to be due from,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

A. CHARLETT.

A book of verses is ordered for you.

My very humble service to M^r Hewer.

C. orig.

M^r PAUL LORRAIN* TO M^r PEPYS.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR,

York Buildings,
Sat. Night, Oct. 12, 1700.

THOUGH no other motive than the favor of your Honour's immediate commands to me, which I received in your letter of yesterday, did en-

* Paul Lorrain, employed at this time in copying MSS. for Mr. Pepys, and making Catalogues of his Books and Prints, had dedicated to him a translation of Muret's Funeral Rites, published in 1682. He also wrote several Tracts and Sermons, and is stated in Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica* to have been Ordinary of Newgate.

gage me to write, yet I could not (nor think I should) forbear writing (as with leave I now do) in humble acknowledgement of the honour thus conferred upon me; but when I perceive therein some performances of mine to come short of your expectations, I find myself under a double obligation,—to endeavour the giving your Honour satisfaction, and a just account of myself in what concerns the service you are pleased to employ me in here; and this (that I may not presume upon giving you too much trouble) I shall thus do in few words.

Your Honour required to know how far I was advanced in the transcribing of the Appendix I am now at work upon, and I gave an answer accordingly. But I find, by your Honour's expecting a further progress, that you did not take notice that much time has been spent by me in perusing, improving, and preparing for a fair transcription, not only the several chapters of this Appendix already written, but those that yet remain unwritten fair; among which that also of *Tailles Douces* has been under my consideration and adjustment, though it has taken up the least of my time, because I meant no great alteration or variation in it. But many of the others have cost me much application and labour; as I doubt not but when the work is once finished, and comes under your Honour's examination, you will find it to be so: and that (laying aside the late avocations occasioned by the repairing of your house here) no time has been (as your Honour may rest assured none shall willingly be) lost in your service by me; who, with profound respect, beg leave to subscribe myself,

May it please your Honour,

Your Honour's most humble and most obed^t Serv^t,
and daily Orator,

PAUL LORRAIN.

A bookseller (one M^r Freeman) over against the Temple Gate in Fleet Street, tells me he can at any time procure (either bound or in quires) the book newly published in relation to the late Earl of Clarendon.

C.

M^R PEPYS TO M^R WYNN HOUBLON.

DEAR SIR,

Clapham, October 30, 1700.

I DO, as I ought, most affectionately condole the loss of my dear and most worthy friend, your most honoured father Sir James Houblon, one of the longest as well as most approved friends till now left me in the world: and little did I, or perhaps either he or you, think ten months since that it should have fallen to my lot to prevent him in doing this office first for me; since God knows upon how tender terms I am permitted to do it now. But may my end, whenever it shall come, be but as his, and its coming shall never shake me. I have great reason, from the mark you have sent me of it, highly to esteem the place you rank me in, in the list of his friends, and therefore with double grief lament the incapacity I am under of performing the last act of personal respect due to him from me at his interment, as being what (could it be indulged me to do by chair) would not yet, I fear, as the hour and season fell out, admit of my indispensable return to Clapham the same night; and therefore I must rest upon your holding me excused, as unnatural as it is, indeed, in that particular; assuring you that I should always look upon myself unworthy of my obligations to him living, if, dead, I should ever appear slackened in my acknowledgments of them by the utmost of my regards and services to his family, in every branch of it, and most particularly yourself. With which, recommending your whole dear number to the protection and blessing of Almighty God,

I rest,

Your most faithful and affectionate humble Servant,

S. P.

My house will be in a little time now, I hope, ready to receive me again in town, when I shall endeavour to pay my earliest respects to your honoured Ladies, yourself, and worthy brother Mr. James Houblon.

C. orig.

MR L. DE LA FAYE TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Whitehall, 2 Nov^r, 1700. 10 in the Morning.

AN Express arrived yesterday in the afternoon from France, with the certain news of the King of Spayne's death, who expired the 1st instant, N. S., having made a Will by which he leaves the Duke of Anjou sole heir of all his dominions, and in case of his decease without children settles the succession upon the Duke of Berri; and after him, if he likewise dies without issue, upon the Arch-Duke.

I am, with great respect,

Sir,

Your most humble and most

Obedient Servant,

L. DE LA FAYE.

C.

DR CHARLETT TO MR PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

Oxford, Univers. Coll. Oct. 15th, 1700.

I SEND you here enclosed a scheme of Dr. Gregory's, not yet in any other hand, with a desire that you would, with the freedom of a man of honour and a scholar, peruse, examine, correct, alter, and improve it, as may make the design most beneficial to youth, (especially of the Nobility and Gentry,) and redound most to the honour of the University, and our Professors, and the promotion of learning.

Your remarks and observations whereon will be welcome to,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

A. CHARLETT.

Dr Gregory's Scheme.

Without discouraging any other person in the University, that teaches or intends to teach Mathematics, at the desire of some persons of note he undertakes to teach the different parts and sciences of Mathematics by way of Colleges or Courses, after the manner following :—

If any number of scholars desire him to explain to them the Elements, or any other of the Mathematical Sciences, if they are already acquainted with the Elements, he will allow that company such a time as they among themselves shall agree upon; not less than an hour a day for three days in the week: in which time he will go through the said Science, explaining every proposition, and illustrating it with such examples, operations, experiments, and observations as the matter shall require, until all the company fully apprehend and understand it.

And because some may be desirous to give an account of their proficiency for their own satisfaction and that of their friends, he will once a week examine such as shall signify that they are willing to be examined.

These Schemes are to be in English, mixing Latin words or terms of Art when they occur and are necessary: and there shall be full liberty to every person of the company to propose such doubts and scruples as he pleases.

The Courses or Colleges that he thinks of most ordinary use, are these :—

1.—The first Six, with the Eleventh and Twelfth Books of Euclid's Elements.

2.—The plain Trigonometry; where is to be shewed the Construction of natural Lines, Tangents, and Secants, and of the Tables of Logarithms, as well of natural Numbers as of Sines, &c. The practical Geometry, comprehending the descriptions and use of Instruments, and the manner of measuring heights, distances, surfaces, and solids.

3.—Algebra. Wherein is taught the method of resolving and constructing plain and solid problems, as well Arithmetical as Geometrical : to which will be subjoined the Resolution of the indetermined Arithmetical (or Diophantæan) Problems.

4.—Mechanics. Wherein are laid down the principles of all the Sciences concerning Motion ; the five Powers, commonly so called, explained ; and the Engines in common use, reducible to these powers, described.

5.—Catoptrics and Dioptrics. Where the effects of Mirrors and Glasses are shewed ; the manner of Vision explained ; and the Machines for helping and enlarging the Sight, as Telescopes, Microscopes, &c. described.

6.—The principles of Astronomy, containing the Explication of all the most obvious Phænomena of the Heavens from the true System of the World, and the generation of the circles of the sphere thence arising. How also is to be taught the Doctrine of the Globes, and their use, with the problems of the first motion by them resolved. After this is to be demonstrated the Sphærical Trigonometry, and the application thereof to Astronomy, shewed in resolving the Problems of the Sphere by calculation, and the construction of the tables of the first motion depending on this.

7.—The Theory of the Planets. Where the more recondite Astronomy is handled : that is, the Orbits of the Planets determined by observation. The tables for their motions described, and the method of constructing taught, and the use of these tables shewed in finding the Planets' places, the Eclipses of the Luminaries, &c. Many of these Courses may be farther carried, as the particular inclination of the Class lead them : for example, subjoined to the practical Geometry, may be a Lecture of Fortification, so far as it is necessary for understanding it without actual serving in an army, or fortifying a town or camp. Under the head of Mechanics, there may be (if desired) Colleges of Hydrostatics, with all the experiments thereunto belonging ; of the Laws of the Communication of Motion, whether the bodies be hard or elastic. Of the gravity of bodies lying on inclined

planes; of Ballistics, or the Doctrine of Projectiles or Bombs, &c. Of the Doctrine of Pendulums, and their application to the measuring of time. After the principles of Astronomy, or 6th College, may be prosecuted the doctrine of the Sphere projected *in plano*, or of the Analemma and Astrolabes, and Dyalling; as also Navigation: and so of others.

But though he shall always be ready to gratify the request of those who desire his instruction, in these or any other parts of Mathematical learning, or in reading on and explaining any Mathematical book, he thinks that after all or most of the above set down Colleges, one may by his own study proceed as his occasions require; and he shall very readily give his advice concerning their studies, and the choice of books for that purpose.

For the Text to be explained, and to give occasion for the necessary digressions in the aforesaid Colleges, he will take a printed book, if any there be that is proper. In other cases, he will take care timeously to give those of the Class proper notes to be written by them.

He intends not, by the preceding order, to tie up his Colleges to that order: for after the Elements, at least after the two first Colleges, or being acquainted with them before, they may choose what other they please; but that the seventh necessarily presupposeth the sixth. In all these he supposes one is pretty well acquainted with the Numerical Arithmetic; and if they desire regular demonstrations of the operations of Integers or Fractions, vulgar or decimal, any Class shall have it when they please.

He reckons that any one of these Colleges will require about three months, a little more or less; and that the number of scholars proper for such a class is more than 10, and not more than 15.

C.

MR PEPYS TO DR CHARLETT.

REVEREND SIR,

Clapham, Nov. 5th, 1700.

I HAVE (because you will have it so) taken on me the overlooking my learned friend Doctor Gregory's Scheme; but (as I expected) must send it you back as I received it, finding no room for animadversion upon any word of it, as to the scientific part at least; whatever, as a stranger, I might take leave to ask touching its aptness for execution, under the number of students it seems limited to, and those of each Class supposed all of equal sufficiencies at their outset, and no less equal addiction, application, and tractableness in their progress. I dare not, nevertheless, doubt, but this has had its full consideration with him who can best judge of it, and that other point too, of its being to be executed all in English, which, though myself do most entirely acquiesce in the present necessity of, yet, how far it may elsewhere be thought to affect the honour of the University, yourselves are most concerned to determine. But as little qualified as I truly am, for offering aught upon a scheme digested with the thoughtfulness and skill of its learned author, legible in every line of it, the terms, nevertheless, wherein you require my opinion and advice concerning it, joined with the dignity of its subject, and quality of the persons for whom it is calculated, are so forcible, that I cannot omit observing to you my missing two things, which (as much as they may, indeed, be thought employed therein,) seem yet to me to merit being no less expressly provided for in it, than any other the most weighty article (that of the Elements only excepted) of all its noble contents; I say seems so to me, whose greatest concernment for its success is owing (I must confess) to the consideration last mentioned, and which you have led me to, of its being primarily destined to the service and improvement of the youth of our nobility and gentry, the choicest and once brightest ornament of our nation: and which, if now otherwise, (as they, indeed, seem most to complain, whom I take to have most to answer for it,) would still be so; were they not (as I fear they

at this day mostly are) too soon betrayed to the more gross, contagious, and destructive pleasures waiting them without doors for want of an early institution in the variety of generous exercises and accomplishments you are here preparing for them—pleasant in the acquiring, easy in the retaining, ever useful, ever delightful, suited to the dignity of their characters and fortunes, and (to crown all) lying always within their own reach, fitted for self-entertainment and home-execution.

To which, what I would now recommend to your giving the same regard to, with the particulars therein named, is, first, Music,—a science peculiarly productive of a pleasure that no state of life, public or private, secular or sacred, no difference of age or season, no temper of mind, or condition of health exempt from present anguish, nor, lastly, distinction of quality, render either improper, untimely, or unenterprising. Witness the universal *gusto* we see it followed with, wherever to be found, by all whose leisure and purse can bear it; while the same might, to much better effect, both for variety and delight to themselves and friends, be ever to be had within their own walls, and of their own composures too, as well as others,—were the doctrine of it brought within the simplicity, perspicuity, and certainty, common to all the other parts of mathematical knowledge, and of which I take this to be equally capable with any of them, in lieu of that fruitless jargon of obsolete terms and other unnecessary perplexities and obscurities, wherewith it has been ever hitherto delivered, and from which, as I know of nothing eminent, or even tolerable, left us by the ancients, so neither have I met with one modern master (foreign or domestic) owning the least obligation to it, for any their now nobler compositions; but, on the contrary, charging all (and justly too) upon the happiness of their own genius only, joined with the drudgery of a long and unassisted practice,—a condition not to be looked for from the more generous and elevated spirits of those we are here concerned for; and therefore most deserving, as well as most needing, the abilities and application of our present most learned Professor to remedy.

My other want is what possibly may be thought of less weight; but what nevertheless holds no lower a place with me on this occasion,

(whether for ornament, delight, solid use, or easiness of carriage, both at home and abroad,) than any one other quality a gentleman can bear about him, though none less thought on, or (which is more) of less difficulty in the attaining, as requiring a small portion only of the work of the second, assisted with as little of that of the fifth Class,—I mean Perspective: not barely as falling within the explication of vision, or serving only to the laying down of objects of sight; but with the improvement of it, to the enabling our honourable student gracefully to finish and embellish the same with its just heightenings and shadowings, as far as expressible in black and white: thereby, when in foreign travels, to know how by his own skill to entertain himself in taking the appearances of all he meets with of remarkable, whether of palaces or other fabrics, ruins, fortifications, ports, moles, or other public views, convertible to the delight or service of himself, his friends, or country, at his return; and when at home, to give himself the pleasure and benefit (on all occasions of surveying, building, or other,) of being his own surveyor and designer; and with it, of judging, correcting, and improving the performances of others upon the same subject.

These, I say, are what (with the freedom you force on me) I give you as my conceptions upon this scheme. Wherein, as overweening as I probably appear in the points I thus propose your tacking thereto, I persuade myself I shall be forgiven as to the former, (Music, I mean,) by all that know how long and near a witness I have heretofore had the honour to be, of the effects of the like institution upon that noble and yet (I fear) unparalleled Lord, the Earl of Sandwich, both as to the whole course of the sciences Mathematical, under the direction of the several then most learned Professors, Doctor Ward, Doctor Pell, Sir Jonas Moor, and (as I remember) the still illustrious and my most reverend friend, Doctor Wallis; and more particularly to that one article of it I am here advancing, of Music, from the then no less celebrated Masters therein, Doctor Gibbons, and Doctor Child; without the actual solace of which, more or less, I dare not undertake for his having past one entire day through all his different scenes of life, at land and sea, to the very hour wherein, through a sea of blood and fire, in the service of his Prince and country, he exchanged it for that of a

state of harmony more unspeakable and full of glory : nor is it less I have to quote from the performances of the same noble Lord, in support of the latter, as being myself master of instances in great variety, both for delight and use, done by his own hand, as well of surveys and descriptions relating to his private estate and buildings, with other public views, both at home and abroad on shore ; as draughts, plats, and charts of coasts, harbours, and ports, (our own and foreign,) performed to his peculiar honour and lasting benefit of his country, during his vacancies at sea. Whereto let me add another, though of lower quality, of this very day's growth, relating to a young gentleman*, a servant of your own, one neither wholly Ἀμαθὴς, nor (I dare say) do you think him vulgarly furnished with the other ingredients of good literature, qualifying him for useful as well as delightful travel ; who, being still on his tour, begun with the Jubilee, doth most sensibly lament to me (as I do on his behalf to myself) the disappointments and displeasures he daily suffers from his unpreparedness (owing to the suddenness of his setting forth) in this single article of drawing, as preventing him in the collection (he tells me) he should otherwise have had the pleasure of bringing home with him of views most valuable, and such as are hitherto either wholly wanting among us, or less accurately performed than for their worth they ought to be.

With which I leave you to thank yourself for this impertinence of mine, and bidding you most respectfully adieu, rest

Reverend Sir,

Your ever most faithful

And obedient Servant,

S. P.

C. orig.

MR WYNN HOUBLON TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Winchester Street, Nov^r 9, 1700.

UPON another occasion I ought to ask pardon for deferring thus long to answer your favour of the 30th past ; but upon this sad one, of

* Mr. Jackson.

being deprived of such an extraordinary father, the occasion itself is an excuse which I hope will be sufficient. I shall, therefore, only return you my most respectful acknowledgements for the obliging testimonies you give me of your friendship for him, and I do very heartily wish it may not be buried in his grave, but descend to those he hath left behind, who must ever esteem that which he in his life-time did so much value himself upon; I am certain I shall, who am, with a very sincere respect,

Sir,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

WYNN HOUBLON.

C.

DR CHARLETT TO MR PEPYS.

MOST HONOURED SIR,

Coll. Univer. Oxon. Nov. 26th, 1700.

HAVING been these six weeks a close prisoner to a severe and cruel tyrant, the Rheumatism, which seized me at a time I thought myself in full vigour of health and strength, I make use of the most early return of a little feeble use of my hands, (which is every hour in danger of being lost by any cold northern blast, though in a very warm room,) to pay my tribute of thanks for a most excellent Discourse you sent me.

A further answer I have not at present strength of mind or body to make, only in the mean while assure you that our two Savilian Professors do very highly approve your notions in that Paper, and heartily wish them in practice with every gentleman of leisure and ability.

Dr. Gregory has services and thanks, besides some Apologetic Particulars, to tender to you by

Your most humble but very

Weak and useless Servant,

A. CHARLETT.

C.

MR PEPYS TO DR CHARLETT.

REVEREND SIR,

York Buildings, Nov. 30th, 1700.

I AM grieved for your so long torment, and sorry for what yet remains of it; none more wishing your health, for the whole world's sake as well as your own, than myself. Therefore, let not one thought of me or my Paper trouble either your head or hand, till you are at ease in both. But then, and not sooner, I will expect your chastising my folly in that Paper, with the same freedom and sincerity that by your injunction I exposed it; nor let me want it from our learned Professors neither, since you have made them partakers of it. I pray God hasten your recovery; but don't you catch at it too hastily, the season being unkindly for it.

I am, dear Sir,

Your obedient and faithful Servant,

S. PEPYS.

C. orig.

THE DEAN OF YORK (DR GALE) TO MR PEPYS.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

York, Dec^r 9, 1700.

I HAVE yours of the 11th of November, together with a book; for both which I give my hearty thanks. The book was sent me by the very learned Huetius, Bishop of Auranches; it is his Dissertations on the Terrestrial Paradise, and the Navigations of Solomon. He left it with my old friend Mabillon, and he transmitted it. To him I shall shortly write.

Sure I am, that no friend of mine less approves my stay at York than I do. *Damno mea vota*. But such is the folly of mankind: we often desire what shortly we dislike. I am here less able to correspond or study than I was at St. Paul's. But enough of complaints,

which none will pity. I am glad that your health, in that sweet recess, is bettered; God prolong it! and grant that I may be so happy as to kiss your hand next Spring. My son Sam (apprentice at the Naked Boy in St. Paul's Churchyard) often calls at your house, to inform me of your welfare. I hope my Cousin Jackson is returned safe. I pray you recommend my best services to M^r Hewer, M^{rs} Skinner, and all friends.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your ever obliged Friend and humble Servant,

THOMAS GALE.

C. orig.

MR JACKSON TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Madrid, Dec^r 30, 1700.

LEAVING Malaga, we proceeded to Granada and Toledo, and from thence, by the King's Palace at Aranjuez, we hastened here to be present at the Spanish Church Music on Christmas Eve; but it proved, to my great disappointment, insufferable, and the whole solemnity more comedy-like than any thing else. The mob mocked the music aloud, the Priests themselves not only bearing with it, but seeming as well pleased with it as the rest. We have been more than ordinarily lucky in this journey. In Granada we saw the new King proclaimed with the greatest solemnities, perhaps, of any part of Spain; and in Toledo the *honras* performed for the defunct King, in the Metropolitan church. To do justice to the roads of Spain, so direfully represented by travellers, though I will not compare the accommodations thereon to those of England, France, and Italy, yet, in all these several hundred miles, I never wanted a bed with clean sheets, nor partridges, rabbits, and new laid eggs, in the worst *venta* we met with; and in the great towns found more than common civilities from the Spaniards we were recommended to. I have already hinted to you the marvellous change of humour and interest in this country in favour of the French: but it

is nothing to what I have met with here. The reduction of Portugal and Holland, and restoring of King James, are enterprizes they reckon in their own power at pleasure; and instead of their curses 2 months ago, now pray for nothing so much as the King of France's life. The Germans are now the object of their hatred; and the young King's image is so adored, that people enter their names before hand, at any rate, in the Printseller's books, for the next prints that shall come out of him.

J. JACKSON.

C. orig.

DR CHARLETT TO MR PEPYS.

HON^D SIR,

Univ. Coll. Oxon. Feb^y 18, 1700-1.

I HAVE been very long in debt to you for a most obliging letter, which I now only acknowledge, without pretending to payment, by the hands of my good friend M^r Tanner, who is now leaving us, being nominated by my Lord Bishop of Norwich Chancellor of his Diocese. Before this preferment was known, he had the satisfaction to see the respects of the University by an offer made him from the best and most considerable part of the University, of the office of Public Registrar, a place of great trust and credit, as M^r Hudson has the custody of the Bodleian Library upon the resignation of D^r Hyde. I am sure this news will be acceptable to so great a lover of the public good, not only for your personal affection, but for the pleasure you take in seeing so generous and public a spirit prevailing here to postpone private interests in favour of eminent worth and abilities. M^r Tanner can best tell how very sensible I am of the numerous long train of civilities I receive from M^r Pepys, and with what respect and delight D^r Wallis, D^r Gregory, and several others unknown to you, acknowledge your patronage and affection to the Universities; which will be ever too hard for their enemies, as long as they can preserve their credit with such

judges as yourself, though herein I am sure you shew more of the friend altogether, in pardoning the addresses of,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

A^R CHARLETT.

C. orig.

M^R JACKSON TO M^R PEPYS.

HON^D SIR,

Madrid, Feb^y 24, 1700-1.

LONG looked for come at last. On Friday the 18th, about 4 in the afternoon, Felipe V^{to} made his entry here; not with much pomp, but a most surprising concourse of coaches and people. For several miles, I might say leagues, out of town, the road was so thronged, that his Ma^y was scarce able to make his way through, having, according to the Spanish manner, no guards before his coach, but only Magistrates with their white wands. He designed to have mounted on horseback at some distance from the town, as was generally expected, but seeing the crowd and dust he had to encounter with, very prudently waved it, though to the disappointment of abundance that perhaps would have staid at home; and particularly the ladies, who were very numerous, and the richest in clothes and jewels I ever saw. As a sad proof of the multitudes I speak of, no less than 40 men, women, and children, were trod under foot and killed outright, and above 100 are now said to be languishing under their bruises, and dying daily. Diverse of the dead I saw, myself, lying heads and tails in a little neighbouring Chapel, where they were put till known and carried away: among the rest were a Friar and a Priest. I believe the like accident has not been heard of, nor would it cost so many lives to take the very town of Madrid. The occasion is somewhat differently told, but the most received account is this: That the officers of the Customs, suspecting the people to take advantage of this confusion for running of goods so soon as the King was entered, shut the gates upon them; and afterwards opening them again on a sudden, the foremost fell,

and upon them the next, and so on, to the number I have mentioned at least, and were immediately smothered without redress. Certain it is, that the mob had this notion of it; for the same evening they came and plundered the Guard's Lodge, burnt all their Registers before their door, and then set fire to the house itself; but it went no further than the smoking the walls a little, and damaging a window. The next morning, also, they assembled again, and we were apprehensive of the consequences, but by noon they drew quietly off without doing more: and now, for their satisfaction, I am told the *Guardas* have been put in prison, and the King has granted pensions to those poor families who suffered by this disaster. His Ma^y went directly to the Atocha, to sing *Te Deum*, and thence to his Palace of the Retiro, where in the evening he was entertained with fireworks, prepared in the outermost court for the occasion, and performed at least as well as ours upon the peace. The rockets, and other smaller fires, were in abundance, and the principal part which concluded the whole, was an engagement between a Castle and 4 Men of war, which were contrived to move, and though they played their parts very well, were at last overcome. At the same time there were also illuminations quite through the town, and these continued 3 nights together. Whoever has seen the Spaniards this day only, would have concluded them a very drunken people, having taken their cups very freely, and laid aside their gravity. They were generally pleased with the person of the King, at first sight; but, by putting on the *golsilla*, with his whole Court, on Sunday last, he has entirely won their hearts: he hunts and shoots every day, and by this means, and a free admission to his Court, is already become very well known to his people. What is to be expected against in his entry is, their coming in no parade or order: His Ma^y in a filthy old coach of the late King's, without guards; his better sort of attendants, some on horseback, and some in coaches, at half-an-hour's distance from one another; and diverse of the inferior sort attending the baggage, in so very ragged clothes as exposed them extremely to the scorn of the Spaniards. But this, indeed, was not the entry we have all along talked of; that will not

be till after Lent, and some say till May, for which triumphal arches are preparing, and bulls feeding, with other things, which our friends would make us believe are worth staying for ; but I cannot—at least, if you should think them so, might return from Lisbon in time enough to see them. I had been gone from hence ere this, had my companion used the same diligence with myself, and I fear it will be Sunday before we set out for Seville. The change of Ministers here I shall not trouble you with, you not being acquainted with the names on either side. The Cardinal is the Do-all. The Spaniards expect war, and wait only for some notice of the countenance of our new Parliament, before they speak more plainly.

Your most dutiful and obedient Nephew,

J. JACKSON.

C. orig.

MR WANLEY TO MR PEPYS.

HONORABLE SIR,

From Mr Pleahill's, at the Chirurgeon's Arms, in
Castle Yard, Holborn, 7th April, 1701.

'Tis mere shame that makes me not able to appear before you, after I had obtain'd your permission to write to your worthy Nephew almost a month since, and have finish'd my letter but even now. It looks as if I was one of a light vain temper, hot and eager to undertake and begin a thing, without constancy and patience enough to bring it to a conclusion : but, as I intimated to M^r Jackson my want of time, so, when I shall have made you acquainted with that multiplicity of business which I labor under, I hope, honorable Sir, I shall not want your candid excuse.

I am afraid that my letter is of too fresh a date to be sent : if so, I can blame none but myself, who ought to have made more haste. If it be not too late, I continue my humble request to you, Sir, that you would be pleased to send it, together with a tender of my best services ; which your Nephew shall always command, even as the great

favours I have received from you do well deserve. If any thing which I have written to him be impertinent, likely to prove troublesome, or does otherways deserve correction, I beseech you, Sir, to dash it out with your pen ; it shall be look'd upon as a sure token of your love and affection to,

Honourable Sir,

Your most obliged, most faithful,

And humbly devoted Servant,

HUMFREY WANLEY.

C. orig.

MR WANLEY TO MR JACKSON.

(Transmitted through Mr. Pepys, April 7, 1701.)

SIR,

London, March 11, 1700-1.

A LETTER or Epistle is justly defined *Absentis ad Absentem Colloquium*; since, by writing, one friend can communicate his thoughts to another upon any occasion, tho' the distance between them be ever so great ; and I can by this means acquaint you in Madrid with my present business, almost as well as if I was actually speaking to you. 'Tis true, the inequality of my circumstances to yours, and the few opportunities I have had of being better known to you, do not allow me to call you my friend : but I can truly say, that you have always had more than a common friend's share in my breast. I have often considered with pleasure the happiness you enjoy, in having the benefit of a genteel and liberal education, joined to those great gifts which nature has bestowed upon you : and then, that all should be crowned by your relation to such an Uncle, who, by allowing you to travel, and see the most considerable things in the world with your own eyes, does take the true way to render you one day as eminent and as useful to it as he has been.

That day in which I had first the honor to wait on him, I look upon as one of the most fortunate ones of my life ; and it was that day, too, which gave me the first opportunity of admiring the natural sweet-

ness of your temper, and your obliging and instructive conversation. The respect that I then conceived for you has all along encreased, and I have often wish'd, that, by doing you some acceptable service, I might shew you what a value I have for you. But there being no occasion to use me, it has not hitherto been in my power to convince you how strong my inclinations might be : and instead thereof, I find myself obliged to have recourse to you for some kindnesses, which as I know not well how to ask, so I know not how to procure by any other means.

Considering, then, the smallness of our personal acquaintance, and the trouble and charge that may attend the granting my requests, in good manners I ought not to disturb you with them : but since the business is not base or dishonest in itself, and that M^r Pepys has allowed me to propose my wants to you, I will take the boldness to press upon your good nature with the same freedom as I would have you draw a like bill upon me, whenever you shall think fit.

Gentlemen of such consideration and judgment as you are, as in the main they propose a certain and fixed end of their travel, so they do commonly put down before hand that which they hear is worthy their taking notice of in every place they go to. This enables them oftentimes, by asking after particular things, to get a sight of that which might otherwise have escaped them. I know your short notes of this kind are very full and exact, and that both your curiosity and experience are ever what I could wish them. This, then, shall save you from being pestered for the present with any questions relating to the present state in general of those foreign countreys which you have surveyed, or to the most remarkable curiosities, either natural or artificial, which are to be found therein ; because, at your return, I hope I shall have the good fortune to hear you discourse of such matters at large. Only one thing I would beg of you, that as you happen to see or hear of any person whatsoever, who, from a mean birth and education has, by his proper merit, risen to an extraordinary degree of eminence in his particular way, you would take the trouble to inform yourself of the strength of that man's genius, what improvements he made to his natural endowments,

what methods he took in order to gain those improvements, and what advantages have accrued to the public thereby. Sir, the country you are in is said to be very fertile in those things, which, (tho' I have left Oxford, and am here fixed in town,) may yet serve as an innocent recreation to amuse myself withal when I am wearied with other necessary business: and it may be considered according to those different nations who have possessed it,—I mean the native Spaniards or Aborigines, the Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, Saracens, and the present people, whom I take to be a mixture of all the former, with the addition of some Jews. Of the two first nations, I will believe, you will meet with few remains that can be of use: however, enquiry may be made whether the Biscainers have any books among them written in their most antient language. Medals I know there are many, with barbarous heads of these old Spaniards engraven on them, the inscriptions being sometimes in Roman, and sometimes in strange letters which are called Punic, but how truly I know not. One Lastanosa did, about 40 or 50 years ago, print at Huesca a collection of such medals (in quarto) taken from many of the best Cabinets in Spain. The title of his book begins thus, *Museo de las Medallas desconocidas Españolas*. I desire you, Sir, to buy this book for me, if you can get it at a reasonable price, for here in England I could never hear of any more than two of them. Upon enquiry you will easily meet with such medals: if you do, be pleased to confer with any ingenious Spaniard, and try to pick out an alphabet, or even any one word, that you can be sure of. If this can be done and improved, some light may be brought to many a dark passage in history. If you meet with any Punic inscription, be pleased to have it copied exactly. We have in Gresham College copies of all the Hetruscan inscriptions that do now remain in Italy: the letters of some of them are of the same kind with the Punic, and when they are brought together, perhaps something may be made out from them.

DEAR SIR,

7 April, 1701.

A CONJUNCTION of unlucky accidents have fallen out, as it were, on purpose to hinder me from finishing this letter, which otherwise might

have come to your hands by this time. But now, having gotten two hours to myself, I will take the boldness to go forwards with it. I am informed that there are many noble Roman antiquities yet extant in Spain, of which the Spaniards have been such diligent observers, that I hear they have written the history of all the noted cities and towns of that large country, with great learning, fidelity, and judgment. Whether they have in these books preserved these curiosities by good draughts, I very much doubt; and for my own particular, I should be glad to see such books, describing the chiefest and most celebrated places of Spain, as I have seen of Italy, France, &c.; or, if they have not been so careful, I could willingly look upon some new delineations of the Roman buildings near Seville and in other places; but the costs must needs be too great for me to give any orders in this matter. But if you meet with any inscriptions that have not been already published, and the subject of them is remarkable, I would beg the favor to have such copied truly as to the lection, and no matter for the shape of the letters. As to the more modern antiquities of the Goths in Spain, I have a greater desire to see something relating to them than I have for the Roman, notwithstanding the politeness of the one nation and the rude barbarity of the other; and this, because the remains of the Goths are but few, and also because they were akin to us; therefore, I do earnestly intreat you, Sir, to enquire after any books or inscriptions in their antient language. I hear that there are such books in Spain, but I know not whereabouts: they may be found in country villages, or in libraries. If you find any such antient Gothic book, (the language being older than the Castilian, and different from it,) I desire it may be bought, if it be any part of the Scripture, or a translation from any Latin author now extant. If there be such things, but not to be sold, I desire that such a book be copied, or part of it, as you shall think fit. Perhaps the character may not be the same with the Mæso-Gothic, but may agree better with some specimens in a Spanish book thus entitled, *L'Origen y Institucion de la Lengua Española, por Don Bernardo Aldrete, en Roma, 1606*, and with some other specimens in Father Mabillon's *Diplomatique*; but that need not hinder the buying or transcribing them. As to the

Moors I have but little to say. I have been told that in Spain there has lately been found a very antient copie of the Gospels in Arabic, much different from ours. You will be able (at Seville) to find out what truth there can be in such a report. I would also know whether the History of the Conquest of Spain by the Moors, said to be composed in Arabic by Abentarique (if I remember his name aright), and translated into Spanish by Don Miguel de Luna, be authentic and to be relied on, or not. You know the story concerning the opening some room in the Palace by Roderic the last King of the Goths, before the coming of the Moors. I would know the truth of that story, and whether there are any remainders of those buildings still in being. 'Tis said that there are yet remaining, either at Seville or at Toledo, many old inscriptions which none could understand; that King Philip the Third sent to Erpenius in Holland, to come over and try his skill in them, which Erpenius durst not venture to do, notwithstanding the King's safe-conduct. If any of these inscriptions do remain, and the characters be Gothic, Runic, or any thing else but Arabic, I desire a copy of one or two of them, as also of that imperfect Hebrew inscription which is in the wall of the Cathedral Church at Seville, near the great Gate.

I know your own curiosity will lead you into all the libraries you come near. I would intreat you, Sir, to take notice of the numbers of books in every library, and particularly of the MSS.; and amongst these to put down the names of such books as the Spaniards seem to value most. If you find a good number of Greek MSS. in any library, and an accurate Catalogue of them, I should be glad to see that Catalogue. When, in any great church, you are admitted to the sight of their reliques, 'tis possible that, upon enquiry, you may meet with some very ancient copies of the Psalms, Gospels, or other parts of the Scripture, written in capital letters; and perhaps they may be gilt with silver or gold upon fine purple-colour'd parchment: if you see any such, be pleased to cause four or five lines, with the alphabet, to be delineated for me. If these books be in Latin, and differ considerably from the Vulgate of S^t Hierom, be pleased to get a book collated or copied, except the Psalms, Job, and Judith, for in all probability it

may prove the Italic Version so much wanted. And I would also desire that if at any time you see any Greek MS. certainly appearing by the date, or any other authentic mark, to have been written before the year (from the beginning of the world) 6300, or any Latin MS. appearing by the like certainly to have been written before the year of Christ 700, that you would, from such books, cause four or five lines, with the alphabet and the date, to be copied for me. Perhaps, Sir, you will think this an odd sort of request, but that which I am now going to make may increase your wonder: t'is that you would be pleased, all along, to buy up as many old pieces of parchment, written upon, as you can get. By some years' pains I have now purchased and received from my friends several thousands of such pieces and fragments, which when I have distributed according to their several ages and countreys, I hope to make very useful to some sorts of Students, upon divers accounts. Those sorts of characters which I beg you to be most inquisitive after, are the capitals; the Gothic, Lombardic, or Toletan letters, (call 'em by what name you please,) and the large Spanish letter of an inch long,—the Minuscules. These you will find common in their old books of Offices. I desire you likewise to enquire after the libraries of Antonio Augustino, Diego Hurtado, Cardinal Ximenes at Complutum, and that of the Escorial; in what condition the books are, what numbers, and which are the most curious? If this letter shall find you at Madrid, I doubt not but you will of your own accord go to the Escorial, and if that library be not burnt, (as I hear it is, and most of the books destroyed or stolen,) I desire that you would take good notice of two books,—the one they will tell you is the Gospels, written by S' Augustine of Hippo, and the other the Bible, written in capitals by the command of the Emperor Conrad: I would have specimens of these, if they will suffer 'em to be taken, which I much doubt, having read the grievous complaint of Balthasar Corde-rius, and Alexander Barvoëtius, against the Friars that kept the library in their time.

Be pleased likewise to inform yourself of the antiquity of the Castilian tongue, and procure the Lord's Prayer therein as old as may be.

I would be glad if you would inform yourself of the rise and progress of printing amongst them, and of the dates of their oldest printed books.

I forgot to mention to you six books, said to be in the Escorial, containing the true pictures and resemblances of all the Birds, Beasts, Fishes, Plants, and other Natural Curiosities, found by the Spaniards in America, at their coming there. Upon sight of them, you will easily satisfy yourself of their exactness and worth. One thing more I have to trouble you with. They say the Spaniards are very good musicians; I desire some of their best *Airs* or *Solos*, put down upon five lines, with bars, and in our modern notes, together with their *Graces*: as when they prick a long note, and in performing do run a division upon it, I would have the long note made big and gross, and the division made above or below it, in smaller notes. I hear the Spanish musicians have a strange sort of musical notes peculiar to themselves; if it be so, I desire a short tune in them, explained by the same in those that are more usual to us.

Lastly, dear Sir, I must beg your pardon for this long letter, which I would not have troublesome to you, by any means. Perhaps it may come too late, and you may be just upon your return: and that may be hastened likewise by the bad prospect of affairs. However it be, satisfaction in any one of the particulars I have written is as much as I can expect, supposing that your stay will be yet longer than it is likely to be. I pray God to have you in his keeping, to conduct and prosper you in all your ways, and at length to bring you back in safety, where none will more heartily rejoice to see you again, and embrace you, than,

Honoured Sir,

Your most faithful, humble Serv^t,

HUMFREY WANLEY.

C. orig.

MR WANLEY TO MR PEPYS.

HONOURABLE SIR,

Castle Yard, Holbourn, 15th April, 1701.

'TIS my part to return thanks (which I now do with all humility, and should have done yesterday if I had had time) for the honor of being admitted to your conversation; which I can never part from without regret, nor ever enjoyed but to my great benefit and advantage. As for Froissart, I borrowed it of M^r Rymer, *sine die*; I'll take care to return it, and to deliver your messages to him. I went on purpose last Saturday to Sir John Cotton's, to consult his MS., if he had one; and from thence I went over to Lambeth about it; but there is no MS. of Froissart (for ought I can hear) at either Library. At Oxford I know there is one, which I will order to be consulted. I have paged your Isidore with my black-lead pencil, that so the figures may be rubbed out if there happen to be occasion. When I presented it, I thought it might be entire; but now I find it very imperfect: for there want two leaves between fol. 58 and fol. 59, two more between fol. 62 and 63, and four more between fol. 98 and 99; all which seem to have been torn out by some unthinking hand. If you please, honorable Sir, to turn to fol. 120, before the fabulous Epistle of Presbyter John to the Emperor Emanuel, you will find some projections, such as you was pleased to talk to me about. That in the middle I take to be the plan of some labyrinth. 'Tis never any drudgery to wait on M^r Pepys, whose conversation, I think, is more nearly akin to what we are taught to hope for in Heaven, than that of any body else I know. To your face, Sir, I will not say any thing that shall so much as look like flattery; but then I hope I may be allowed to do myself justice, who have all along preferred the getting of knowledge to that which might have been more profitable. This knowledge, I find, is more easily obtained from living than from dead masters; for I may be told that in one quarter of an hour, which I may in vain search after in books for many years together. Besides, the living master answers questions and objections which are started on a sudden; the resolutions of which I am not to hope from the dead. But, amongst all the living masters I have,

I forbear the recital of his name whose words so deservedly make the deepest impression upon me, and from whom I always go away with some new lesson. For this reason it is, honourable Sir, that I am always ambitious of waiting on you: and I venture to say boldly, that I never will lose any opportunity of doing so, that fairly offers itself. You see, Sir, that I am a man of design; but then, as this design, I hope, is not unpardonable in its own nature, so I shall never make use of any indirect or troublesome methods of fulfilling it: I will therefore gladly wait on you, Sir, on Easter day, when, besides the feasting of my body, I know, Sir, that by your most excellent and instructive discourses, you will feed my mind and understanding with more grateful viands, such as the very remembrance of will be always highly pleasing and useful to,

Honourable Sir,

Your most faithful, humble, and obedient Servant,

HUMFREY WANLEY.

My humble service to Madam Skinner, for whose health I can't but be much concerned.

C. orig.

CAPTAIN C. HATTON TO M^R PEPYS.

July 11, 1700.

EXCESS of joy is, Sir, equally difficult to be expressed as that of grief, and therefore I am no more capable to declare how much I rejoice to hear of your recovery, than I was to express how sensibly I was afflicted at the news of your late sickness; but be assured, Sir, none of your most faithful servants and sincerely affectionate friends do more cordially congratulate your recovery than I do, who, having so often experienced your readiness to oblige, was encouraged thereby to take the liberty to send so small a present as a few cakes of chocolate: but being convinced that there cannot be better made, I hop'd it might not be unacceptable to you.

I am, Sir,

Your most faithful and humblest Servant,

C. HATTON.

Give me leave to take the liberty herein to present my very humble service to M^r Skinner, to whom I am infinitely obliged for informing me of the state of your health; and I can never fail to pay all due respect to good M^r Hewer and worthy M^r Jackson, of whose safe arrival I impatiently long to hear.

C. orig.

DR WALLIS TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

Oxford, Sept. 24, 1701.

You have been pleased to put an honour upon me which I could not deserve, nor did expect,—to send so worthy an artist as Sir Godfrey Kneller, from London to Oxford, to take my picture at length, and put the charge of it to your own account; I wish it may be to your content. It had been more agreeable to my circumstances, if you had commanded my attendance to wait on you at London; which I should have readily obeyed, if my age would permit it. Till I was past four-score years of age I could pretty well bear up under the weight of these years, but since that time it hath been too late to dissemble my being an old man. My sight, my hearing, my strength, are not as they were wont to be. Then I have no cause to complain of God's providence, through whose goodness I do yet enjoy as much of ease and health as I can reasonably expect at these years; and though you, and some other friends, are pleased to think me not quite unserviceable, yet I must not so far flatter myself as not to think but that it doth better become me to conceal the infirmities of age, than to expose them. I have endeavoured to express to Sir Godfrey the sense I have of your undeserved favour, by treating him with the respect due to a person of his quality: and if I have been therein defective, I desire it may be imputed to the absence of my daughter, who is my house-keeper, but chanced to be now out of town; whereby I was obliged to depend on servants. I know not what to return for your great kindness, but the humble thanks of,

Sir,

Your obliged and very humble Servant,

JOHN WALLIS.

C.

MR PEPYS TO MR EVELYN.

DEAREST SIR,

Clapham, Dec. 4, 1701.

DOVER-STREET at the top, and J. Evelyn at the bottom, had alone been a sight equal in the pleasure of it, to all I have had before me in my two or three months' by-work of sorting and binding together my Nephew's Roman marketings; and yet I dare predict that even you will not think two hours thrown away in overlooking them, whenever a kindlier season shall justify my inviting you to it. What shall I say to the glorious matter contained in your last? Why truly it looks like a seraphic salutation from one already entered into the regions you talk of, and who has sent me this for a *viaticum* towards my speeding thither after him; which, as the world now is, and you have so justly described, bereft as I now am of the very uppermost of my wonted felicities here, in your conversation and that of a very few virtuous friends, I should in very good faith rather obey you in by leading, than staying to follow you. I am, for public good's sake, as sorry as you for your friend's withdrawing,* wishing only that I could as easily satisfy myself how he ever came in, as why he now goes out. I fully agree with your excellent Grandson in his thinking it no longer worth while staying at Oxford. I should not fear the hazard of sending him abroad for four or five months, through Holland and Flanders to Paris,—a tour that I, by your instructions, when time was, and with my wife, dispatched in two, to a degree of satisfaction and usefulness that has stuck to me through the whole of my life since. Though my Nephew Jackson be hardly yet at home after near a two-years' tour, I shall struggle hard to give him leisure next summer to finish his travels in Holland, for the sake of many particularities to be seen there at this juncture, never to be met with together in any age past; a sight, in one word, that I should hardly think too late even for myself to covet, had I you to wait on thither; for I am (in spite of this distance) with inseparable respect,

My ever honoured Mr. Evelyn,

Your most affectionately faithful and obedient Servant,

S. P.

* Lord Godolphin had just retired from the head of the Treasury.

C. orig.

MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS.

Dover-Street, Dec^r 10, 1701.

MY DEAR, WORTHY, AND CONSTANT FRIEND,

THERE could nothing have come to me a more grateful present than what you sent me,—the re-establishment of your health, and confirmation of the interest you still allow me in your friendship and kind thoughts. How accident, and the vicissitudes of things in this life and world, put earth, as the Spaniard calls distance of place, between friends and nearest relations, and interrupt their personal visits and conversations, no person can be more sensible of, and concerned for, than myself; especially since I am come to this smoky obstreperous city. In good earnest, Sir, I pass not by York Buildings without regret. Saturday, which was wont to be a jubilee, and the most advantageous and gainful, as well as the most diverting of the weekly circle, is, from a real Sabbath and day of repose, now become wholly saturnine, lugubrious, and solitary. What shall I say? There was nothing which could extenuate my loss, and this dark eclipse, did not that self-love which renders us sorry for the decease and absence of those we most dearly loved (infinitely happier in a better world) come into and revive my drooping spirits. That, whilst I mourn your absence here, you are at Clapham enjoying better health, a purer air, noble retreats; and what are above all, entirely your own, and in yourself, and with those you worthily value for their virtue and accomplishments, in a state of bliss as great as any person, who, as you do, knows how to make a just and true estimate of things we call happy, and to distinguish images from substances, can, I think, desire or wish for on this side Heaven. Let those who have written volumes *De Finibus*, define what it is they call happiness here, which you are not in possession of, abating only what is extrinsecal to a good and virtuous man, namely, those things Epictetus tells us are not in our own power to avoid (of which there are few concern you), though by a philosophic, much more by Christian fortitude, enabled to sustain. Such I account the evil bodings, which, without a miraculous and undeserved provi-

dence, seem to threaten a total dissolution of the government and constitution we are wrangling about. For, as since the Incarnation Europe has perhaps never suffered the like concussions, so never was this nation, which is all the world to us, so Atheistical, false and unsteady, covetous, ungrateful, lewd and luxurious, self-interested, impudently detracting and uncharitable; in sum, so universally vicious, dissolute, and perverted, that I am not solicitous of being thought a Visionary or Enthusiast, when as oft as I reflect on what the predictions of our Blessed Lord and his Apostles foretell shall be the precursors of the last and worst of times, I think are coming upon us; but of which the world shall no more take notice, than of what is the furthest off their thoughts or concerns, and than the old Rephaims and Giants did, whilst Noah was preparing the ark, and the universal deluge came, and swept them away. This, worthy friend, leads me to acknowledge your pious and seasonable monition, amidst these temporary and secular interruptions, of preparing *in occursum* for that day, the vessel, and the voyage, which through all these tempests and tossings here shall, I trust, set us safe on shore in those regions of peace and love, and lasting friendship; and where those, whose refined and excellent natures make them capable of the sublimest mysteries, and aspire after experimental knowledge, truly so called, shall be filled; and there, without danger, taste of the fruit of the tree which cost our unhappy parents so dear, shall meet with no prohibition of what is desirable, no serpent to deceive, none to be deceived. This, Sir, is the state of that royal society above, and of those who shall be the worthy members of it. But how, dear Friend, am I fallen into a sermon instead of a letter, which should account for my having been so long grovelling in the country? Why truly, though too frequently interrupted in these contemplations, not altogether unthoughtful of them in the midst of those impertinencies, which, during this state of things, we think necessary and convenient; and with such moderate circumstances as may render us innocently easy, to soften and compose those triste and melancholy moments which the prospect and face of things present us with, referring the success, and casting all our other cares on that Providence, which determines all events accord-

ing to his Divine will and pleasure, who only knows what is best. Here, then, let us cast anchor, and rest in attendance of more favourable gales. I left Wotton a few days before my wife, to avoid the noise and contention of competitors at Guildford, resigning the votes of my bumkins and dependants to their former choice, not knowing well where to mend it. You hear my noble and bosom friend has laid down his office, for which I am very sorry, as I look on it as a bad omen. I have hardly seen any of our neighbours here, save C. Hatton, Lord Clarendon, and Sir R. Dutton, who have prevented me. Thus, Sir, have you my history and my thoughts, but not all my wishes and my wants, namely, a participation of the cargo your accomplished Nephew, Mr Jackson, has happily brought home: I mean those excellent and rare notices, which, through your addresses and direction, his own abilities and application, must needs render his conversation infinitely agreeable. This I might have hoped for in York Buildings, and almost envy you at Clapham.

J. EVELYN.

The young Scholar you so often favour, and enquire after, replies thus to my last; I give it you in his own style:—

“ Propter ejus quod scriberem inopiam (uti rectè conjicio), nullas ad te, ineunte mense, litteras dedi. Ad methodum interim studiorum, quod spectat, sic se habet. Dominus Keil præter publicam lecturam alternis diebus explicat Gnomonicam et Hydrostaticam, qui nuper etiam cursum experimentalis philosophiæ instituit, et me cum pluribus aliis ex Æde Christi auditorem habet. Hæ experienciæ multum ut spero confirmabunt, animoque fortius imprimant quæ de motu et mixtâ Mathesi prius didici. Novæ autem philosophiæ facem quasi præferent in veteris parte ultimâ metaphysicâ, scilicet versatur Tutor, quâ simul cum prædicto cursu sub Ferias Natalitias absolutâ, Academicam doctrinam et utilissimas Matheseos partes percurrero, nihilque discendum restabit quod alibi non melius discatur. Quo circa nisi aliter sentias, elapsum post mensem, vasa colligere et Academiae valedicere statuo. Vale. Oxon. 19^o Novembr.”

You see how little ceremony we use. In the mean while, whether, having now been almost 3 years at Oxon., I shall comply with his total leaving the University, I am yet (though in no small needs of his assistance oftentimes, and believing him pretty well furnished and inclined to improve his studies wherever he is) not absolutely determined. He is now near 20 years old, as I am of 80, and there are some polishings which I had rather he should learn here, whilst I am here, than when in the country. By what I can judge, he is naturally of a grave, serious temper; discreet, without moroseness. Having already been entered in the Civil Law, I intend he shall mix with it the Municipal, and acquaint himself well with our own Constitution; without which I find gentlemen signify little in their country. M^r Finch, my worthy neighbour, whose eldest son is a Colleague of my grandson, purposes to breed him so. Your sentiments of all this will greatly encourage my resolution; but I quite tire you, and writing by candle-light afflict your eyes with a tedious scribble.

C. orig.

SIR GODFREY KNELLER TO M^r PEPYS.

SIR,

March 24, 1701-2.

I SENT a letter written by D^r Wallis when I came from Oxford, in which I suppose he acknowledged your favour for him; and I did acquaint you then of what I had done, of which you approved in your letter to me, and were very much pleased and delighted with what I had done, by order from you, of D^r Charlett's message; which letter of your's made me proceed and finish that picture: and I will send a copy of the letter to show at any time, if required, and hope I have done my part, believing D^r Charlett as a Divine, and knowing you an entire gentleman, of a noble and generous mind, or else I should hardly have left my home and business for Oxford's conversation-sake; and wish you had given me any one hint in your letter of disliking what I had then done, and I would have kept the face (as I only then had done) for myself, without putting any figure, as I have done all myself to it,

or had any more loss of time, which I perceive in your present letter you wonder at, and shall leave it to what you think fit, of which nobody can be a judge like yourself. And I can show I never did a better picture, nor so good a one, in my life, which is the opinion of all as has seen it; and which I have done merely for the respect I have for your person, sense, and reputation, and for the love of so great a man as D^r Wallis, as you know, and besides being recommended by a message from you of D^r Charlett, a Head in Oxford: which, if all be rightly considered, I hope to have no blame on either account, but to be thanked, and allowed to own myself,

Sir,

Your obedient and faithful humble Servant,

G. KNELLER.

C.

MR PEPYS TO SIR GODFREY KNELLER.

Clapham, March 24, 1701-2.

FOR God's sake (my old friend) look once more over my letter of yesterday, and tell me what one word there is in it that should occasion any one syllable of what my man brings me from you this morning in answer to it. I said, indeed, (but without the least shadow of dissatisfaction, much less relating to you,) that I was surprised at the manner of our learned friend's proceeding with me upon this picture: and I dare take upon me the prophesying that so will you too, when you come to know why; which I told you yesterday you should soon do, and had now done, had you been pleased but by two words to satisfy me in what your telling me of the picture's being very much expected at Oxford, led me to ask of you; as I therefore hereby again do: remaining, with the same thankfulness I first expressed to you upon Dr. Wallis's notice of your respect shewn me on this occasion,

Sir,

Your truly obliged and most humble Servant,

S. PEPYS.

C. orig.

SIR GODFREY KNELLER TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

March 25, 1702.

I ASK your pardon for misapprehending ; and as to the picture being desired, I mean no more but that several from Oxford have only wished to see such a picture in their Gallery ; where D^r Aldrich intends to get more, he hopes, and to make it fine, as you may imagine, with great and learned men,—their pictures in full length : which is all I might have mentioned, for none of them are so ill bred for to press such a present from you, but expect your leisure, and so will I, for I know no one living knows better, nor can judge truer of manners and what is truly civil, than yourself, on all occasions : and I hope you do believe none shall observe your command, nor be more sincere and real than I am, and ever must be,

Sir,

Your obedient and most obliged humble Servant,

G. KNELLER.

C.

M^R PEPYS TO SIR GODFREY KNELLER.

SIR,

Clapham, March 26, 1702.

I KNOW not how better to become even with you for the kind satisfaction you have been at the trouble of giving me, than by trying to give you the like, in reference to my late sending you the same question twice, that could not but look impertinent enough on my part to have asked you once ; and pray take it as follows.

I have long (with great pleasure) determined, and no less frequently declared it to my friend Dr. Charlett, upon providing, as far as I could by your hand, towards immortalizing the memory of the person (for his fame can never die) of that great man, and my most honoured friend Dr. Wallis, to be lodged as an humble present of mine (though a Cambridge man) to my dear Aunt, the University of Oxford. Towards

this I have been long consulting with Dr. Charlett, and not without hopes of getting this Rev. Gentleman once more up to town; and since (through his age) those hopes have sunk, I have flattered myself with others, namely, of being able some time or other, in a Vacation, to prevail with my friend Sir Godfrey Kneller to make a little country-excursion for me, and do it upon the place; with a design, indeed, of waiting on you myself thither. But so it has fallen out, that by an unexpected return of an old evil, the Stone, I have been ever since under a continued incapacity, for these two years and more, of stirring out of doors, and at length was forced for life (as Dr. Charlett knows) to be brought hither, where I still am, and am likely to be; but with some hopes given me by Mr. Hewer and some other of our friends, the last year, of seeing you here: and so this matter has stood, till Dr. Wallis (by your own hand) gave me from Oxford a very first word of my having (as he words it) sent you down thither, and of the work's being done. Now, as much satisfied as I must again and again own I am, with the extraordinary instance of respect I have received from you in it, I submit it to you to judge of the reasonableness or unreasonableness of my surprise, at the manner of my friend's proceeding with me therein, when I have told you, that Dr. Charlett did me the favour of a double visit here, about the month of August last, with promise of a third, and bringing Dr. Aldrich with him before his return to Oxford; which I greatly expected, in order to the considering of some way (under my present distance from town) how to supply it to you, in reference to this matter: instead of which I have not only never heard one word of or from him to this day, but without the least mention, either of your name or any thing at all of the picture, at either of his forementioned visits, you have been pleased to tell me, to my no small confusion (for I swear it still looks like a dream to me), of his message from me to you, and what you have been doing upon it; but pray take it along with you, that I say it is no unpleasing dream to me, but what I shall venture very hard (as soon as the weather shall favour it) to come by chair, and pay you my real thanks for. Remaining,

Your ever most affectionate and most humble Servant,

SAMUEL PEPYS.

C. orig.

D^R SMITH* TO M^R PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

London, April 16, 1702.

UPON my return to London on Sunday morning last, out of Huntingdonshire, where I had been to perform the last office of my function, as well as of friendship, to the excellently good Lady Cotton, I met with the sorrowful news of the death of my learned friend, the Reverend D^r Gale; but I cannot yet learn the particulars of this his last and fatal sickness. I doubt not, but that his Sons will take all possible care of his papers, and especially of those which relate to the illustrating Camden's *Britannia*, which he has formerly shewn me, and publish in convenient time, to the honour of their Father's memory, and to the advancing of learning; which, together with those learned books he himself published in his life-time, will render him more illustrious to posterity, than any monument, be it never so stately, for his quality and character, they can erect in York Minster.

About three weeks since, Sir R. Dutton was struck with the dead-palsy on his left side: he has recovered the motion, tho' not the use, of his hand and foot; and we hope that upon settled, fair, and warm weather, he may be restored to his former vigour, if yet his great age, he being now upon the brink of complete fourscore, may be supposed to permit it.

The worser sort of Fanaticks (not to say the whole herd of them) begin to be dissatisfied with the new Queen, and pray for her conversion, as if she were of the religion of the King her father; and herein they are followed by the Scotch Presbyterians: and we have here others, too, of greater quality and interest, who are of no religion, and mere Republicans, apt enough to foment discontents and jealousys among the people; which, if not prevented, will render the Regal Government (for Monarchy admits of no difference or distinction of

* Thomas Smith, S. T. P. a learned Writer and Divine, was born in London 1638, and died there 1710. For a list of his numerous works, vide *Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica*. He had published a Catalogue of the Cottonian MSS., and a Life of Sir Robert Cotton, which explains Mr. Pepys's application to him in behalf of Wanley, page 143.

sex,) very uneasy at home : and without pretending to any insight into politics, but what common natural sagacity and foresight suggest to every considering man, it is presumed, that to obviate such ill designs, necessity of State, which is *Ratio ultima Regum*, requiring it, there will be a speedy alteration made among the Lord Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, Justices of Peace, and Magistrates of Corporations, throughout all England. But this will depend upon the conduct of a wise Ministry, a regulated Council, well-chosen Officers, whether of Justice in Westminster-Hall, or in the Army and Navy, and in other great places of trust : otherwise, we poor men, who are like to receive little or no benefit by the late change, cannot but fear, out of a principle of true love to our country, that some disorders and disturbances may be attempted, which may be of ill consequence to the peace and happiness of it. These are our melancholy reflections ; but the more sanguine men of the complying Clergy of this Church, who glory that they have got a daughter of King James the Second on the Throne, whom they promise to defend against the pretended Prince of Wales, as if this setting aside the last consideration would atone for their horrible defection for these last thirteen years, set before their eyes the glories and felicities of Queen Elizabeth's long reign, as if it were in all things to be the just and perfect model of the present. To bring others, who have hitherto preserved their faith and their principles entire and inviolate, into the same condemnation with themselves, they are propagating scandalous, lying, villainous stories, and reflections upon the honour, virtue, and innocence of King James and his Queen, in order to make several non-jurors believe that the Prince of Wales, the abjuring of whom is with them the great difficulty they cannot so easily and readily get over, is not their Son, but a counterfeit and mere supposititious child. And this is done especially by one of the Episcopal Order, who is outrageously, as after his demure way, to tell such as consult him that, *upon his salvation*, he believes the whole transaction of that affair to be mere juggle and imposture. But when I shall acquaint you at large with the weakness and falseness of his pretended proofs and allegations, grounded on hear-say,

and stories horribly perverted, not only against the truth of fact which was so notorious, and so well attested by persons of untainted and unquestionable honour and honesty, then present, but even almost against the very possibility of things, you will wonder how a man of his learning, great age, and gravity, can be so infatuated, as first to believe, and then with such a semblance of piety and religion labour to make others believe, such wicked and diabolical calumnies. But these things are better, and with greater satisfaction, discoursed of than written: and therefore I will defer the detail of them, till I wait upon you; which, neither my own impatience and inclination, nor my readiness to gratify M^r Cherry, who is very ambitious of kissing your hands, will suffer me to defer too long. After the chagrin which the contents of this long tedious letter may cast you into, I have, to divert you, and to restore you to your natural good humour, enclosed a paper, containing an Epitaph upon the late high and mighty Dutch Hero, as also some few heroic lines upon *Sorrell*; which, after a single reading, I presume you will throw into the fire. I am, honoured Sir,

Your most faithful and humble Serv^t,

THOMAS SMITH.

Sir, I desire that my humble services may be given to my honoured friends, Madam Skinner and M^r Jackson. This being the first rude and hasty draught of my letter, you will be the more easily inclined to pardon the blottings and interlinings in it.

C. orig.

DR CHARLETT TO M^R PEPYS.

MOST HONOURED SIR,

University College, May 14, 1702.

By order of the Vice-Chancellor, I left a book of Verses for you at M^r Hatton's, being very sorry I had no time to present it with

my own hands. I was also very sorry I could not see the picture of D^r Wallis, which is much commended: I hope, Sir, it has your approbation. The original being lately ill, will make the picture more valuable, and the D^r himself talks very fondly of it. I had many services from D^r Wallis and others to give you, but none more due or sincere than from,

Sir,

Your most obed^t Servant,

A. CHARLETT.

C. orig.

SIR GODFREY KNELLER TO M^R PEPYS.

SIR,

July 29, 1702.

I UNDERSTAND you have a frame a making for that picture, which I desire to see put on at my house, and all packed together in a case safe; for I intend to send my servant with it to Oxford, for to place it and look that no damage may appear; and I will, when you please, send the porters for to fetch it, and varnish it well before it goes, and finish all to the utmost of my skill. I believe M^r Skinner's picture is in the house, locked up with others by my Brother as is gone away for a month or six weeks to the Bath: you desired that picture. Pray give my humble respects to Madam Skinner, and command,

Sir,

Your faithful humble Servant,

G. KNELLER.

C.

M^R PEPYS TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

MY NOBLE LORD,

Clapham, August 4, 1702.

I AM still forced, much against my will, to make use of my man's legs on all errands, and particularly on this to your Lordship, to know

where you are this uneasy season, and inquire after your health. My Lord, I am but this morning come from the third reading of your noble Father, my Lord Chancellor Clarendon's History, with the same appetite, I assure you, to a fourth, that ever I had to the first; it being most plain that that great story neither had, nor could ever have been told as it ought to be, but by the hand and spirit that has now done it, or I hope soon will; and that your Lordship, and my honoured Lord your brother, will not suffer the press to slacken in the dispatch of the remainder, and therewith in the eternizing the honour of your name and family, the delivering your country from the otherwise endless consequences of that its depraved loyalty, which nothing but this can cure; and your putting together such a lecture of government for an English Prince, as you may yet live to be thanked, and to thank God, for.

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

S. P.

C. orig.

DR CHARLETT TO MR PEPYS.

MOST HONOURED SIR,

London, August 22, 1702.

I WAS in hopes to have dined with you yesterday at Clapham, but the Queen went so late to prayers, I had not time enough, and must now make haste to return to the same station at Windsor, having obtained a few hours of liberty during her stay last night at Kensington.

I sent yesterday morning to Sir Godfrey Kneller, (who came to Court to draw her Majesty's picture for the Kingdom of Scotland), to know whether your picture of D^r Wallis was in the University Gallery. He sent me word it was in your possession; but M^r Horne having assured me, by your order, that it would be sent speedily, I am in hopes to find it there against the Queen's coming to Oxford, which will be on Wednesday next, she being also (notwithstanding her haste) pleased very graciously to receive a dinner on Thursday from the University. Your Nephew, M^r Jackson, may command a bed in my

house, and the company of M^r Isted. I am, with all duty and regard, in great haste,

Your most obedient Servant,

A. CHARLETT.

An Oxford Waggon goes on Monday.

C. orig.

DR HICKES TO MR PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

Oxford, September 1, 1702.

I HAVE enquired here, of D^r Hudson and M^r Vice-Chancellor, concerning the way you are to take of sending D^r Wallis's picture; and they have both told me, that, it being intended as a present to the University for their Gallery belonging to the Library, you must send it directed to M^r Vice-Chancellor. I presume you will think fit to send a letter with it, which will need no other direction than, "For M^r Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford." I doubt not but they will make you a very respectful return of thanks, as I am sure D^r Wallis ought to do, who I hear longs to see it in the Gallery. Be pleased to make my humble service to M^r Hewer, M^r Jackson, and Madam Skinner, and to accept the same from,

Sir,

Your most obliged humble Servant,

GEORGE HICKES.

C. orig.

DR CHARLETT TO MR PEPYS.

MOST HONOURED SIR,

University College, Sept. 3, 1702.

HAVING received some Northern Querys from Sir Robert Sibbald, transmitted to me by my Lord Bishop of Carlisle,* I had yesterday

* Dr. William Nicholson.

at dinner a set of Gothic Antiquarys, all your humble servants, viz., D^r Hickes, D^r Gregory, M^r Lloyd, M^r Thwaites, and M^r Elstob, to consider them. I could have wished M^r Jackson and M^r Wanley had been of the same number. Such a meeting could not fail of paying their respects and acknowledgments to the worth and favours of M^r Pepys, in all the circumstances, as to regard and esteem. It is now time to thank you for the pleasure of M^r Jackson's conversation, of which very little came to my share,—enough only to raise an appetite to more.

I protest I have been afraid to write to you, Sir, this twelvemonth, thinking it more proper for discourse than letter ; for I can assure you I was equally ignorant and surprised at the conduct of Sir G. Kneller, when I understood, at my return from London, that Sir Godfrey had been at Oxford to draw the picture, having said no more to him than, in general words, that you wished such a thing. However, I am very glad it is so admirably done, tho' I doubt not, besides the point of good manners, your judgment might have added to the beauty of the contrivance. But the Painter's fancy was warm, and his imaginations not to be controuled, it seems, with delays. I was informed it was drawn in D^r Gregory's house, where both the Dean and he were present the whole time of action : but I have not had the pleasure yet. I find D^r Hudson has provided a very proper place in the Gallery, next to Sir Harry Savil, the Founder of the Mathematic Lectures. By this or the next post, I shall send some Poetry to M^r Jackson, to whom, and M^r Hewer, my most humble service. Excuse all errors and defects in,

Sir,

Your most sincerely obedient Servant,

A. CHARLETT.

*C. orig.*D^R R. MANDER (VICE-CHANCELLOR OF OXFORD) TO M^R PEPYS.

WORTHY SIR,

Ball. Coll. Sept^r 16, 1702.

I HAD the favour of your's this morning, together with an ample testimony of your great respect for this University, as well as for the preservation of the memory of learned men; and more particularly what makes your kindness the greater, of one of our own Body. I hope, by such encouragements as these, the useful part of learning, I mean the Mathematics, wherein the eminency of the D^r chiefly consists, will be more cultivated and improved amongst us than formerly it has been. I shall, with all due respect to the great honour you have done this place, acquaint the University, as soon as possibly I can, of the great obligations they are under of being thankful in the highest degree for this your most acceptable and lasting benefaction to them.

For the mean time I am,

Worthy Sir,

Your most obliged and obedient Servant,

R. MANDER.

*C. orig.*D^R WALLIS TO M^R PEPYS.

WORTHY SIR,

Oxford, Sept. 26, 1702.

IF I had not been before acquainted with your generosity and innate goodness, I should have been at a loss to think what should move you to do me the honour, and put yourself to so great a charge on that account: but great men will do great things, and shew great expressions of their kindness to those whom they are pleased to favour, a great deal beyond what they can pretend to merit. I did not see the persons who (by your order) did accompany the picture; otherwise I ought, by them, to have returned my thankful acknowledgement of the honour done me, in placing so noble a picture of me in so

eminent a place. I trust Master Vice-Chancellor did, by them, return you the thanks of the University for that noble present; which I hope they will be careful long to preserve, as a lasting memorial of your munificence, and of the great skill of Sir Godfrey Kneller, (which is highly commended), when I shall be forgotten. The great care you took that the University should not be suffered (on this occasion) to be at one penny charge, is a piece of civility so like yourself, that it will not be easy to find a precedent. My bare thanks (which I humbly tender) are a thing so inconsiderable, that I should be ashamed to offer them, if I had ought else (worthy of you) to be presented from,

Sir,

Your much obliged and very humble Servant,

JOHN WALLIS.

C. orig.

DR CHARLETT TO MR PEPYS.

MOST HONOURED SIR,

Lord Guildford's, at Wroxton,
near Banbury, Sept. 26, 1702.

I HAD the honor of both your letters together, at my Lord Digby's, at Colsil, having sent for my Oxford packet to Coventry, whither the carrier by appointment had brought them. It was a very sensible satisfaction to me, that the obscurity of Sir Godfrey Kneller's proceedings were unveiled, which to me were all shadow, and natural cause of umbrage. Your extraordinary care, and conduct, and judgment, and civility, in all the method and circumstances of placing it in the Bodleian Gallery, require a particular and distinct acknowledgment, and look like a Roman consecration of some of their ancient statues. I am sure it has made a very pleasing journey, and most obliging entertainments, and conversations of two very good Lords, less agreeable, by detaining me from the sight of your picture so long; and will, I am sure, hasten my return to Oxford. By D' Radcliffe's prescription, I

have been in a short course of riding, as the best remedy against a rheumatism, the relapse of which I must fence against. I intended, at first, only a fortnight's absence; but good weather, agreeable company, and no disaster with horses, is like to keep me out a little longer. I propose an hundred miles a week, which makes travel so easy, as to cross a sentence of Lord Burleigh's, (who I suppose was no traveller), often quoted by D^r Wallis, that *he seldom knew either man or horse the better for travel*. I have been through the Counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Stafford, and Warwick; Ecclesal Castle, and Newport in Shropshire, were the two most remote Northern points; a very small temptation would have carried me thence again to Chatsworth in the Peak, notwithstanding I had the year before made a particular progress thither; but as it was then too early to see the cascades and water-works play, so I was apprehensive it might now be too late; but if M^r Isted had been with me, I should have adventured.

As I passed from Wolverhampton, good fortune, more than design, made me acquainted that I was near the scene of King Charles the Second's escape, which soon determined me to take a guide to those woods, where I found at Boscobel House, some of the Pendrils remaining, that were present at that glorious transaction. It is no small offence and scandal to the neighbourhood, and, indeed, to the lovers of loyalty, fidelity, and integrity, to hear the complaints from these plain people, of their pensions being stopt in the last reign, which also will be no small rebuke to the late administrators. I remember King James (during whose reign the pensions were most exactly payed) viewed it in his progress, which gave you an opportunity of a nice view. The trunk of the Royal Oak is now inclosed within a round wall, with an inscription, which having no date, I cannot tell whether you have seen it; however, I have transcribed it for M^r Jackson.

The digging up of vast quantities of firs mentioned by our friend D^r Plot, in his History of Staffordshire, seems to me most strange and wonderful. In passing from Newport, by the great Mears of Fordon and Aquilat, belonging to the Skrymshires, I saw the country people digging them up for fuel: they lie 1—2—3 feet deep; some are very long and entire. Also very large oaks are dug up, which sometimes

are serviceable for laths. If you ask the country people how long they think they have lain there, their answer is, Ever since Nyal's * Flood ; which perhaps may be the best.

I am now going to see the latter end of Astrop Wells, being allowed here the liberty and privilege of Head Quarters, of making excursive visits, which puts an end to your present trouble, though not to my inclinations of being further troublesome, as soon as the Gallery shall come in sight of,

Most honoured Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

A. CHARLETT.

It is said in these parts, with very little respect or concern, that the politic Baron of Wormleighton lies a-dying ; whether with or without extreme unction, is a question in common with many others of the like nature.

C.

MR PEPYS TO DR WALLIS.

REVEREND SIR,

Clapham, Oct. 3d, 1702.

WHAT you call generosity would more truly bear the name of insolence ; I mean, for a private man to take on him the doing that upon canvas, that (when time was) would have been long since made the business of the public, to have seen done in bronze or marble. So that what you thank me for, would indeed prove matter of mortification to any but you : though by the too kind reception I find it meets with from several of my friends about you, it seems to be otherwise thought of by them ; namely, the Master, Dr. Hudson, Dr. Gregory, and more particularly by Mr. Vice-Chancellor, and what he bespeaks my further expecting from the University : while, at the same time, I cannot but think myself already overpaid, in the content you are

* *Sic orig.*

pleased to own from it, and the honour I have secured to my own name by it, in the place it holds at the foot of Dr. Wallis; to whom I pray God grant many more happy days of painless health, and tranquillity of thoughts; remaining,

Reverend Sir,

Your truly honoured and obedient Servant,

S. PEPYS.

C. orig.

DR CHARLETT TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Univ. Coll. Oct. 19, 1702.

FRIENDS and good luck did not permit me to return to Oxford, till after the termination of a new Vice-Chancellor, and the conclusion of a controversy with the City, which was on Thursday night. On Friday morning, I took D^r Lancaster with me to the Schools' Gallery, where we viewed the noble picture of D^r Wallis; and yesterday, he and D^r Shadwell doing me the honour of dining, D^r Wallis began your health, with that respect that becomes one so obliged to you. I have scarce had time to look over my letters and papers, but could not forego the using this kind hand, of assuring you of the obedience of,

Sir,

Your very much obliged

Humble Servant,

A. CHARLETT.

I expect the commands of the University to write to you very speedily.

C. orig.

DR CHARLETT TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Univ. Coll. Oct^r 30, 1702.

HAVING the honor (in the Vice-Chancellor's absence on duty in Convocation) to supply his place, I am commanded by the University, assembled in full Convocation, to present M^r Pepys with their most sincere and affectionate thanks, for his noble testimony of respect and affection to learning and this University, in the picture of one of their Professors, placed by him lately in their great Gallery of Pictures, among their founders, benefactors, and men of eminent worth and quality. Our Orator wished for more time to conceive, but our duty would not permit any delay in our thanks.* These commands I execute with great cheerfulness, and am not, in my own opinion, a little fortunate, to be intrusted with the honor of paying this duty from the University of Oxford, to a gentleman who has, on so many private accounts and singular favors, an entire right to all instances of obedience from his

Most humble and devoted Servant,

A. CHARLETT.

I thought I could not choose a more safe and acceptable hand for the delivery than that of our worthy and learned Professor of Astronomy, D^r Gregory, Colleague to D^r Wallis.

C. orig.

MR PEPYS TO DR CHARLETT.

REVEREND SIR,

Clapham, Saturday, Nov^r 14, 1702.

MY worthy Friend, your most worthy Professor, D^r Gregory, has in a most obliging manner possessed me of the University's inestimable present to me; and by it shewn how prodigal that august Body

* *Vide* the Diploma, in the Appendix.

can be of their own, upon the least appearance of respect offered towards it from another. Sir, I beg their believing me most sensible of this their over-payment, as deeming it greatly superior to all I have had to value myself by, since my first relish of what was honourable. I must, therefore, come back to you (through whose hand it has been conveyed to me) to learn how I am to proceed to the getting my thanks properly laid before them, that I may not appear too far in arrear in my acknowledgments to them, where they are got so far before me in their right to them. I would not be thought, neither, unmindful of the superlative performances of your Orator therein, whose every period seems to raise a new world of glory to me out of nothing, even to the putting me out of countenance to own it; and yet, not to be wholly silent on his regard, pray let it be told him how much he has me (though unknown) his humble Servant.

In a word, the University has now made me their creature, and as such, shall never want the best effects of my veneration and duty, whenever their kindness and service shall call for them from me; nor must I have done till I have thoroughly acknowledged (as I hereby most thankfully do) the great part which I know I owe herein to the old partiality of my honoured friend, D^r Charlett, and his conduct of this affair, so much to the lasting and little-merited honour of, Reverend Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

S. PEPYS.

C. orig.

D^R CHARLETT TO M^R PEPYS.

MOST HONOURED SIR,

Univ. Coll. Nov^r 22, 1702.

THE value you are pleased to put on the respects of the University is very agreeable to your humanity, who treat all mankind with civility. I am sure the University intended to express their thanks with the greatest sincerity, and therefore declined all appearance of com-

mon forms, as Degrees, &c.; and she is very happy in being so well understood by you. I do not apprehend you have any thing further to do, unless you please, in a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, now at home, to acknowledge the receipt of the Diploma, desiring him to return your thanks to the Heads of Houses and Convocation. This, I presume, he will communicate to the Heads of Houses at their Hebdomadal Meeting, desiring them to signify the contents to their respective Societies. As to the Orator, it his duty, at the Vice-Chancellor's command, to draw up all Addresses to the King and persons of quality; and I have communicated your respects to him. At a meeting weekly, (which by our Statutes is every Monday, consisting of the V. C., Heads of Colleges and Halls, and the two Proctors,) I moved that we might have a special Act on the 3^d of December, being the public Thanksgiving day, in honor of our Chancellor, which was readily agreed to; and accordingly, our Poets, Musicians, and young Noblemen and Gentlemen, are very busy in preparing against that solemnity, which is like to be performed with great accuracy and decency in the Theatre, several Musicians coming from London, and public exercises in most private Colleges; so that we are like to be as solemn and as full as at a Public Act, the Lemmas whereof I shall present to you, as soon as printed. I should be extremely glad to wait on any friend of yours then, as becomes,

Honoured Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

A. CHARLETT.

D^r Wallis never brighter or more chearful.

C. orig.

D^r DELAUNE (VICE-CHANCELLOR OF OXFORD) TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

St John's, Dec^r 5, 1702.

THE favour of your most obliging and valuable present to the University you are pleased very much to add to, by the great value

you put upon our but due acknowledgments for it. I am sorry my absence deprived me of the honour of being a greater sharer in the respect paid you : but, Sir, I beg you to believe, though my hand was not at it, my heart accompanied the Seal ; and that nobody has a deeper sense of your great respect and kindness to this University than myself, or a greater honour for so true an ornament and encourager of learning as you have always bin ; and that therefore I am, with the utmost sincerity,

Honoured Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

W. DELAUNE.

C. orig.

MONSIEUR DE GALENIERE TO M^R PEPYS.

MONSIEUR,

Dublin, Jan^r 1, 1702-3.

Si j'étois à Londres, après avoir commencé la journée et le nouvel an par rendre mes hommages à Dieu, dans sa Maison, vous seriez la première visite que je ferois, et j'irois à Clapham vous assurer de mon éternel devoüement. Mais n'étant pas assez heureux pour le pouvoir faire, je me sers du commerce des lettres, qui, comme disoit un Ancien, "Sola res est quæ homines absentes, præsentis facit ;" et ce que je ne puis dire, je vous l'écris, c'est qu'en tout temps je pense à vous, je prie Dieu pour vous, surtout dans ces jours solennels où l'on n'oublie pas les Bienfaiteurs, que je demande au Ciel votre conservation, votre prospérité, votre salut, avec autant d'ardeur que je le fais pour moi-même ; y joignant votre cher Neveu, Madame Skynner, et notre ami par excellence, M^r Hewer. Le Siècle sera un heureux siècle pour moi tant que vous viverez, que vous vous porterez bien ; mais la vie me seroit ennuyeuse, et je ne say ce que je deviendrois s'il en étoit autrement.

Ah ! te meæ si partem animæ rapit
Maturior vis, quid moror altera
Nec carus æque, nec superstes
Integer ?

Mon bon Evesque m'a mandé la manière obligeante dont vous lui avez parlé de moi : il est encore en Angleterre. Plût à Dieu qu'on y connût tout son mérite, et qu'on lui fît Primat d'Irlande. On rendroit un bon office à l'Eglise, et au royaume, et on donneroit la place au plus digne. Ma femme vous assure de son très humble respect : il n'y en a point qui approche de celui avec lequel je suis,

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur,

DE GALENIERE.

C. orig.

MR EVELYN TO MR PEPYS.

MY WORTHY FRIEND,

Jan^y 20, 1702-3, Dover Street.

I HAD not deferred so long either from waiting on you, or giving you an account of my impertinent life, since I had last the happiness to kiss your hands at your Paradisian Clapham, had my own health, and several other uneasy circumstances since I came here, permitted me to repay the many kind friends their visits, for which I stand yet a debtor. In the first place, it did not a little grieve me, that, coming so near you, when I past almost by your door, it was so late, that with no small difficulty we got to Lambeth whilst it was tolerably light ; and with much more that, when we came to the water side, neither of the ferry-boats were there, or could be gotten to return till it was dark, very cold, and uncomfortable passing. Since I came to Dover Street I have scarcely enjoyed three or four days without incessant and pungent attacks, proceeding from gravel, disabling both my body and mind from some sort of activity, till now competently enjoyed, considering my great age. I have yet at last gained so much relaxation, as to employ the very first opportunity of sending you this volant messenger, to let you know, in whatever place or state I am, you have a most faithful servant. I was continually out of order in the country last summer ; yet with such intervals as did not altogether interrupt my taking some

satisfaction in the improvement I had made, partly in the dwelling-house, and without doors, for conveniences suitable to our economy, without reproach among our neighbours,—my taste for things superfluous being extremely altered from what it was : every day called upon to be ready with my packet, according to the advice of Epictetus, and a wiser Monitor, who is gone before to provide better places and more lasting habitations. In the mean while one of the greatest consolations I am capable of, is the virtuous progress which my Grandson continues to make in an assiduous cultivation of the talents God has lent him. Having formerly seen his own country, as Bristol, Bath, Salisbury, and the little towns about Oxford, he went this summer, with his Uncle Draper, as far as the Land's End, which was an excursion of a month. The next progress, if God continue health, is designed to be Northward as far as Newcastle: in the interim, he is perusing such authors and maps as may be assistant to the speculative part of these motions ; and, to supply the present unfavourable period for travelling foreign countries, has learned the Italian tongue, and intends to proceed to the Spanish, having already the French from a child ; whilst his inclinations more seriously lead him to History, Chronology, Mathematics, and the study of the Civil Law, which he joins with our Municipal Constitutions; without which he finds a country gentleman makes but a poor figure, and very useless. He not only keeps but greatly improves his Greek, by diligently reading their histories ; and now and then, amongst other exercises, he turns some passages into Latin, translates select Epistles out of Cicero and Pliny, and letting them lye by for some time, least the impression of the style and phrase prepossess him, turns them into Latin again, the better to judge of his improvement. He has his time for his Agrestic Flute, in which, with his Tutor, M^r Bannister, they spend a morning's hour together. He is likewise M^r Hale's scholar, and goes to the Fencing School here ; and when in the country takes as much pleasure with his handbill and pruning-knife about our grounds and gardens, as I should do if I were able. Sometimes, if weather and neighbours invite, he hunts with them ; my worthy friend M^r Finch using that diversion when he is in tolerable health : in sum, finding him so moderately and

discreetly disposed, studious, and mindful of his own improvement, I give him free liberty, and, I bless God ! have never found any indulgence prejudice him. It is a great word when I assure you I never yet saw him in a passion, or do a fault for which he deserved reproof. And now you will no more believe half this, than I do of what Xenophon has written of his Cyrus : however, it entertains an old dotard, and as such I relate it. Now, as for myself, I cannot but let you know the incredible satisfaction I have taken in reading my late Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, so well, and so unexpectedly well written,—the preliminary so like that of the noble Polybius, leading us by the courts, avenues, and porches, into the fabric ; the style masculine ; the characters so just, and tempered without the least ingredient of passion or tincture of revenge, yet with such natural and lively touches, as shew his Lordship well knew not only the persons' outsides, but their very interiors ; whilst yet he treats the most obnoxious, who deserved the severest rebuke, with a becoming generosity and freedom, even where the ill conduct of those of the pretended loyal party, as well as of the most flagitious, might have justified the worst that could be said of their miscarriages and demerits : in sum, there runs through this noble piece a thread so even, and without breach or knot in the whole contexture, with such choice and profitable instructions naturally emerging from the subject, as persons of the sublimest rank and office need not be ashamed to learn their duty, and how to govern themselves, and, from the lapses and false politicks of others, how the greatest favourites and men in grace should be examples of modesty and temperance, unelated, easy, and accessible without abusing their power ; whilst, being apt to forget themselves, and the slippery precipices they stand on, they too often study, not so much how to make their treading sure by the virtue of justice, moderation, and public spirit, as to raise themselves fortunes, and purchase titles and adorations, by flattering the worst and most destructive inclinations of Princes in the most servile compliances and basest offices. What I have written more in this style, and from my heart, to my present Lord Clarendon, who sent me his father's books, I wish you had seen, for I acknowledge myself so transported with all the parts of this excellent History, that knowing

as I did most of the persons then acting the tragedy, and those against it, I have no more to say, but much, very much to admire, not doubting but the rest which follows will be still matter of panegyric, and justify the highest epithets; and that, by the time he has done, there will need no other history or account of what passed during the reign of that suffering and unfortunate Prince, to give the world a piece equal to any thing extant, not only in our own poorly furnished history of this, but of any nation about us. To conclude; it required no little skill, prudence, and dexterity, to adventure so near the truth without danger or just resentment of those who deserved so ill, as no reflections could have been severe enough. But I have done: let what I have written to his Lordship speak the rest of my sentiments on this author and noble work. Thus, what I would wish for myself and all I love, as I do Mr. Pepys, should be the old man's life, as described in the distich, which you deservedly have attained:

Vita Senis, libri, domus, hortus, lectus amicus,
Vina, Nepos, ignis, mens hilaris, pietas.

In the mean time I feed on the past conversation I once had in York Buildings, and starve since my friend has forsaken it.

J. EVELYN.

C. orig.

MR NELSON* TO MR PEPYS.

SIR,

Blackheath, March 2, 1702-3.

I HAVE not been unmindful of your commands, neither can I ever neglect what is enjoined me by so worthy a friend, but it required some time to receive such an account of that matter as I might depend upon. After the strictest enquiry, I find none of our Clergy placed in your neighbourhood nearer than Mitcham, where lives one M^r Higden, a very ingenious person, who married the late Lord

* The learned and pious Robert Nelson, author of "The Fasts and Feasts," &c. Ob. Jan. 1714-15.

Stowel's sister; but I believe you may have one with greater ease from London, by reason of the conveniency of public conveyances. Our friend, Dean Hicke, is at present at Oxford; but if you will be pleased, whenever your occasions require it, to send to M^r Spinckes, who has the honour of being known to you, he will be sure to wait upon you, and take such measures that you may alwaies be supplied, whenever you stand in need of such assistance. He lodges at a Glazier's in Winchester-Street, near London Wall. You will pardon me, Sir, if I take this occasion to acquaint you with a pious work which is now carrying on by the joint assistance of our Nobility and Gentry, as well as of the Bishops and Clergy. The States of Holland have consented that the Church of England worship should be established at Rotterdam; and, that it may be performed with its due solemnity, there is a design encouraged of building a Church in that place, which by estimate will cost 3500*l.*; 1000*l.* of that sum must be buried to lay the foundation: it will be no surprise to you, who are acquainted with that situation. The General Officers have contributed beyond expectation, military men having seldom any great zeal in such matters, and a great many of the Nobility and Gentry having taken this occasion to shew their zeal for the Church. The Duke of Marlborough has given it his particular countenance, and the expectation of 500*l.* from the Queen. I could not forbear laying this matter before you, whom God has blessed with such a plentiful fortune, which you know how to dispose of to the best advantage, and such as will turn you to good account at the great day; and withall I beg that M^r Hewer may be acquainted with this pious design, which will contribute so much to God's glory and the honour of the Church. I do most heartily wish you health and ease; but if the Providence of God thinks fit to try you with the want of both, that you may find the comfort of religion under all your afflictions, and may make His will your choice and satisfaction.

I am, with great respect,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

R. NELSON.

C. orig.

M^R ROGER GALE TO M^R PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

York, March 8, 1702-3.

I SHOULD have been not a little glad to hear by my Brother, that you had your health in a better measure than I now am sorry to find you have. It is no small pleasure to me to find you consult me in a matter which I have always wished to have an opportunity to set in a right light, and that the account I now send is to a person who had rather hear the truth than strange stories. You will easily believe there is not much of that in it, when I assure you, that for 3 months after my Father's death,* I never heard the least word of this apparition, but upon my return to Cambridge I was surprized to find the story in every body's mouth. The whole was occasioned, as I found at my arrival hither, by one M^r Hawley, a Vicar of the Minster, a person never of any credit, and a great talker; and it was observed immediately upon his broaching this story, that he had dined that day at my Lord Mayor's table, where there was always wine enough. This person coming to Cambridge to take his Doctor's degree, amongst other Northern news, told this story at the Vice-Chancellor's table, where was company enough, and I find it every where spread. The truth of the matter is as follows: D^r Stainforth, one of the Residentiaries of the Church, and whose stall is next but one to the Dean's, coming that day a little later than usual to prayers, found his own place and the next filled up by some strangers, so that he was obliged to seat himself in the Dean's. M^r Hawley read the second Lesson, and coming down from the reading desk, which stands in the middle of the Choir, did really mistake him for the Dean, and as usual made him a bow. D^r Stainforth was sensible of his mistake at the very time, and therefore did not return it, the compliment not being due to him. D^r Stainforth went immediately after Church to a neighbouring coffee-house, and was followed by most of the Clergy, and this M^r Hawley, who there told this fine story, and

* He died in the Deanery House at York, April 8, 1702.

expressed his amazement at the Dean's anger. But, upon the Doctor's telling the occasion of his mistake, he was only laughed at. D' Stainforth gave me the preceding account, and wondered at D' Hawley's (as he now is) impudence in setting about such a falsity. T'was an easy mistake, the D' being very much of my Father's size and make, not very unlike in the face, being pretty fat, and the stall where he sat dark. So that all the strangeness of this matter is, that D' Hawley should persist in his narration, knowing it to be false.

Your most obliged humble Servant,

ROGER GALE.

END OF THE CORRESPONDENCE.

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APPENDIX.

A LIST OF THE OFFICERS OF THE ADMIRALTY,

31st MAY, 1660.

From a MS. in the Pepysian Library.

His Royal Highness JAMES DUKE of YORK, Lord High Admiral.

Sir GEORGE CARTERET, Treasurer.

Sir ROBERT SLINGSBY, (soon after) Comptroller.

Sir WILLIAM BATTEN, Surveyor.

SAMUEL PEPYS, Esq., Clerk of the Acts.

JOHN Lord BERKLEY,

Sir WILLIAM PENN,

PETER PETT, Esq.

} Commissioners.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

Endorsed in M^r Pepys's Handwriting,—“ Given me by M^r W. Belcher, a copy
of what was read in the pulpitt at Bow.”

JULY the 29th, 1666.

The Dutch totally routed.

14 Ships taken.

26 burnt and sunck.

2 Flagg ships taken, and out of them 1200 men, and what else they would, then sunck them.

Taken in all 6000 men.

Oure shipps have blockt up the Zealanders in Flushing, and ride before them top and top gallant.

The Dutch Fleet are gott into the Texell, and wee ride before the same.

The Lord Maior ordered thanks to be given this forenoon throughout the City.

INSCRIPTION ON M^{RS} PEPYS'S MONUMENT IN THE CHURCH OF ST OLAVE,
HART STREET, CRUTCHED FRIARS.

H. S. E.

Cui

Cunas dedit SOMERSETIA, Octob: 23, 1640.

Patrem e præclarâ familiâ

de S^t Michel,

ANDEGAVIA

Matrem e nobili Stirpe

Cliffodorum,

CUMBRIA

ELIZABETHA PEPYS,

Samuelis Pepys (Classi Regiæ ab Actis) Uxor.

Quæ in Cænobio primum, Aulâ dein educata Gallicâ,

Utriusque unâ claruit virtutibus.

Formâ, Artibus, Linguis, cultissima.

Prolem enixa, quia parem non potuit, nullam.

Huic demum placidè cum valedixerat

(Confecto per amæniora ferè Europæ itinere)

Potiozem abiit redux lustratura mundum.

Obiit 10 Novembris,

Anno { Ætatis 29.
 { Conjugii 15.
 { Domini 1669.

Arms.—Sable, on a Bend Or, between two Nags' Heads erased Argent, three Flowers de Lis of the First; impaling Ermine, three Roses.

MR. HEWER, so often mentioned in the preceding pages, was interred in the old Church at Clapham, where the monument erected to his memory is thus described in *Manning and Bray's Surrey*, Vol. III. Page 365.

On the North wall,* on a large marble scroll under two angels holding the bust of a man, with an anchor over the arms, at each bottom corner. Sable, 2 Talbots' Heads, erased in pale Or, between as many Flanches Ermine.† H. S. E. Gulielmus Hewer de Clapham, Armiger, filius Thomæ Hewer Londinensis, natus Londini, Nov' 17, 1642, Regibus Carolo et Jacobo 2^{dis} a faustissimo utriusque in patriam reditu 1660, ad infelicem alterius Angliâ discessum, servus diligens, fidelis, dilectus. Qui multa et perquam difficilia obivit munera, obeundis omnibus par. De Tingitani propugnaculi conservatione, quamdiu illud conservari voluit Rex optimus, de eodem tandem diruendo, cum id videbatur maxime expedire, probè curavit publici æris administer. Eorum quæ ad maritima spectarent negotia ita gnarus erat et expertus, ut inter Classis Regiæ Curatores et Præpositos optimo jure conscriberetur; in iis quæ commercio promovendo inservirent, ita perspicax erat et indefessus, ut mercaturæ ad Indos Orientales unâ cum viris in re mercatoriâ primariis multoties præficeretur. In singulis quæ ubique gessit officiis, id potissimum sibi proposuit, ut Principis honori et patriæ emolumento jugiter consulere. Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ institutis et disciplinæ per universum vitæ cursum firmiter et tenaciter adhæsit. In Deo colendo sine fūco assiduus, in pauperibus sublevandis sine ostentatione beneficus, in amicis et convivis excipiendis facilis et sine luxu hospitalis. Ad annos tres ultra septuagesimum, vitam duxit innocentem, utilem, cælibem, mortique piè succubuit Dec' 3, 1715. Hewer Edgeley Hewer,‡ Armiger, quem vir laudatus sanguine sibi conjunctum filii loco habuit, et hæredem ex testamento reliquit, monumentum hoc exiguum gratitudinis suæ indicium posuit.

At the General Election in 1685, Mr. Hewer was chosen one of the Members for Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight.—*Chamberlayne's Angliæ Notitia*.

* The North Aisle, with a Gallery at the west end of it, carrying it from the North Transept to the west end of the Nave, was added by Mr. Hewer about the year 1715.

† The arms, as given in a plate inscribed to this Gentleman in Blome's Bible, are, Party per pale Gules and Vert, on a Chevron Or, between three Mountain Cats passant proper, as many Garbs of the First.—*Note to Manning and Bray's Surrey*.

‡ Son of the Reverend Samuel Edgeley, Rector of Wandsworth, and a Prebendary of St. Paul's, who died in 1636. Manning calls him Archdeacon Edgeley.

B. L.

MY FATHER'S WILL,

(Indorsement by M^r Pepys.)

MEMORANDUM. That I, John Pepys of Ellington, in the County of Huntingdon, Gent^s, doe declare my mind in the disposall of my worldly goods as followeth.

First, I desire that my lands and goods left mee by my brother Robert Pepys, deceased, bee delivered up to my eldest son Samuall Pepys, of London, Esq^r, according as is expressed in the last Will of my brother Robert aforesaid.

Secondly, As for what goods I have brought from London, or procured since, and what moneys I shall leave behind mee or due to mee, I desire may bee disposed of as followeth :

Imprimis, I give to the stock of the poore of the parish of Brampton (in which church I desire to bee enterred), five pounds.

Item. I give to the poore of Ellington, forty shillings.

Item. I desire that my two grandsons, Samuall and John Jackson, have ten pounds a piece.

Item. I desire that my daughter Paulina Jackson may have my largest silver tankerd.

Item. I desire that my son John Pepys may have my gold seale-ring.

Lastly, I desire that the remainder of what I shall leave bee equally distributed between my sons Samuel and John Pepys, and my daughter Paulina Jackson.

All which I leave to the care of my eldest son Samuel Pepys, to see performed, if hee shall think fitt.

In witnes hereunto I sett my hand.

B. L. *orig.*

Endorsed,—“ Decemb. 16th, 1689. His H. the P. of Orange's Order from Windsor, to the Lord Dartmouth, about the disposing of the Fleete.”

IT being for the service of the nation, we doe require you to leave under the command of S^r John Berry, Knight, the shippes of warr and fier-ships mentioned in the margen, at Spitthead ;* in which Order to him, you are to direct and require that he be very carefull to send, from time to time, two or more frigets to cruce on this coast, as he shall judge most fitting, to prevent any affront that may be committed by the French or others ; you are also to direct him to be very strickt not to suffer any vessel to sayle out of Portsmouth harbour with suspected persons on board ; you are to supply the squadron you leave there, out of your fleet, what provision you can with safty to your selves spare, and so soon as you have given your necessary orders in these matters, you are forthwith, wind and weather permitting, to sayle with the rest of the ships of warr, fier-ships, and tenders, not named in this Order, to the Boy of the North,† unles such of the fleet as you shall judge not fitt for the sea, and in that case you are to order them into Portsmouth harbour, where they are to stay for further order from us. 'Tis our pleasure, that you immediately send an Order to the Commissioner of that place, that there be a stopp putt and nothing further done towards the fitting out of any ships or vessels of warr in that harbour of Portsmouth, till our further pleasure be known ; and also you are to give a generall Order to the proper officers of the fleet in those parts, that no more men be listed or entertained on board any of the men of warr, fier-ships, or tenders ; and so soon as you arrive at the Boy of the North,† you are to signifie the same to the Secretary of the Navy. And for so doing, this shall be your warrant. Given under my Hand and Seal, the 16th of December, 1688.

G. PRINCE D'ORANGE.

L. S.

* Elizabeth, St. Albans, Dover, St. David, Tiger, Mary, Deptford, Swallow, Portsmouth, Bristol, Richmond fier-ship, Defyance, Constant Warwick, Woolwich, Pearle.

† *Quære*, Nore ?

B. L.

MR PEPYS'S ACCOUNT OF MR MEHEUX'S SINGULAR MEMORY.

Saturday, Sept' 10, 1698.

THIS day, at my table, Lord Clarendon, Captain Hatton, D^r Smith, and I, (each successively at his pleasure,) dictated 60 independent words set down in numerical order, to M^r Meheux; which, after a silent pause of about eight minutes, he repeated in the same order backwards and forwards. He also answered our demands, of any of them singly, by their number only, out of all order; and this without the least failure, or so much as hesitancy, saving only that in his first recital he stopped at the word budget, which, in repeating the words backwards, immediately afterwards he quoted right. Nor did he stint us to any number of words, inviting us to go on beyond 60, which we thought abundantly enough. Memorandum, that he objected to the word Heautontimoroumenos, not for its length, but praying that each word might be significative of something which he understood. Captain Hatton, who had seen the like experiment in France, asking him whether his making another trial presently upon a fresh set of words, would not entirely efface the memory of the first (which was the case with *him* in France), he said it would not, if he proposed to himself the remembering of the former; and he was now ready to have given us a proof of it, had we insisted on it.

S. P.

B. L.

EXTRACT FROM A PAPER WITHOUT ANY DATE,

Endorsed,—“ The Coffee-House-Paper wherein y^e scandalous intelligence touching M^r Pepys.”

“ On Tuesday last, M^r Peeps went to Windsor, having y^e confidence y^t he might kisse y^e Kings hand; and being at Court, mett the Lord Chamberlain and made his complent to his Lordshipp. But his Lordshipp told him y^t he wondered he should presume to come to Court before he had cleared himselfe, being charged with treason; whose answer was, his innocency was such, that he valued not any thing he was charged with; soe parted with his Lordshipp: but by the favour of some courtiers he was brought into y^e King's presence; but so soone as his Maj^{ty} saw him, he frowned and turned aside, shewing his dislike of seeing him there.”

COPY OF THE DIPLOMA SENT BY THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
TO MR PEPYS,

Upon his presenting the Portrait of D^r Wallis to their Picture Gallery, October 1703.

Ornatissimo, Optimoque Viro SAMUELI PEPYS, Armigero, Regibus
Carolo Secundo et Jacobo Secundo a Secretis Admiraliæ,
Universitas Oxoniensis.

TE de litteris optimè mereri (Vir ornatissime!) si non multis aliis, hoc uno argumento probari possit, quod litteratorum honori tam impensè faves: certè ante oculos gratissimum simul atque splendidissimum munificentiae vestrae atque in nos benevolentiae exemplum quotidie cum laude tuâ observabitur, neque in doctissimi Professoris imagine ipsam quasi depictam mathematicen, insolitamque animi vestri descriptam benignitatem satis unquam mirabimur. Et quidem praeclaræ indolis est posse magnum Wallisium in pretio habere, qui nihil unquam vulgare aut sapuit, aut fecit, tendit in altos multâ aurâ litterarum tractus, sublimesque aperit mathematicum vias, cœlis proximus quos metitur, et sideribus stellisque quorum numerus ejus arithmeticae patet, omnemque nisi Lynceum atque Aquilinum oculum fugit. Tu solertissimus tam cœlestis ingenii aestimator, dum tantum in alio meritum suspicis, et dum tam eximii, tam perspicacis in rebus abstrusissimis Viri similitudinem nobis proponis, egregiae mentis tuæ erigis immortalitatem: non illius formæ atque titulis tantum, verum famæ etiam nomen tuum inscribis, et quantus sis non obscure inde judicare possumus, quod talem Virum Genti nostræ, et litterati Orbis tam grande ornamentum, in amicum tibi cooptasti; pulchrè similes unit amor, atque in eâdem tabulâ in secula juncti vivatis, utrique perpetuis nostris encomiis dignissimi, quorum alter Academiam exornat, alter ipsum ornantem. At non a solâ istius tabulae diuturnitate utriusque immortalitas aestimanda est. Illum Motûs Leges et quicquid uspiam cœli terrarumque ab humanâ mente capi, quædam quæ a solâ Wallisianâ inveniri possunt non morituris descripta voluminibus omnium temporum admirationi consecraverunt; patet vero in laudes tuas ipse Oceanus, quem illâ tam bene instructâ classe contravisti, quæ et potentissimorum hostium, et voracissimorum fluctuum iras potuit contemnere. Tu felicioribus quam ullus unquam Dædalus armamentis naves tuas firmasti, ut navigantium non tantum gloriæ fuerint, verum etiam salutis. Tu certè Ligneis Muris Britanniam munivisti, et quod ad utrumque Polum (sive quiddam novi exploraturi, sive victoriam circumferentes) vela nostri explicare potuissent, sola tua cura effecit. Alii res arduas mari aggredi ausi sunt, tuum vero profundius ipso Oceano ingenium audaces reddidit; quod mirâ arte, sive passis velis sive

contractis ageretur, excogitavit, ut id tuto poterant præstare. Aliorum virtuti forsán debemus, ut res magnæ agerentur, sed ut agi potuissent, propria gloria est industriæ tuæ. Fruere ergo felix hâc parte laudis tuæ, quæ tamdiu duratura est, quamdiu erit in usu Pyxis nautica, aut cursus suos peragent Sidera: quam quidem (omissis aliis rebus a quibus immortalī gloriâ viges) ideo tantum memoremus, ne sis nescius probè nos scire, quanto a Viro benevolentia ista in nos conferatur, quam gratis animis amplectimur ut non plus debeant artes atque scientiæ Wallisio, neque Reges et Britannia tibi, quam ob hoc præclarum munus nos tibi obæratos læti sentimus, atque optamus ut hoc gratitudinis nostræ testimonium observantissimæ in te nostræ mentis viva imago parem cum vestrâ famâ perennitatis circulum describat, atque adeo sit æterna.

Datum in Domo Convocationis, Vicesimo tertio die Mensis Octobris, Anno Domini millesimo septingesimo secundo.

Sigillat: in Domo Convocationis, Vicesimo nono ejusdem Mensis Octobris, Annoque Domini supradict.

C.

A LIST OF ALL THE PERSONS TO WHOM RINGS AND MOURNING WERE
PRESENTED UPON THE OCCASION OF M^R PEPYS'S DEATH AND FUNERAL.

PERSONS.		RINGS OF			MOURNING.
		20 ^s .	15 ^s .	10 ^s .	
Relations, viz.	Mr. Sam ^l & John Jackson, his 2 Nephews	v. v			v v 6 10 Broad Pieces to Samuel.
	Captain St. Michel, his brother-in-law	v			v
	Ditto, his daughter, Mrs. Mary		v		v
	E. of Sandwich	v.			
	Dr. Montagu, Dean of Durham	v.			
	Mr. Pickering	v.			
	Mr. Roger Pepys, of Impington		v.		
	Mr. and Mrs. Mathews	v. v.			v v. &c. 10 Broad Pieces to each.
	Mr. Tim. Turner, Minister of Tooting		v		
	Mr. Bellamy		v		
Godchildren, viz.	Mr. Sam ^l Gale — Mr. P.'s godson		v.		
	Lt. Edwards Ditto			v.	
	Mrs. Frances Johnson, his goddaughter		v.		
Domestics at his Death, viz.	Mrs. Mary Skynner	v			v
	Ditto, her maid				v
	His own 7 men and women servants				v v v v v v v
	Mr. Richard Gibson		v		
	Mr. Paul Lorrain		v		
	Ditto, his Wife			v.	
	John Wetton			v.	
	Sam ^l Holcroft			v.	
	Mrs. Jane Penny			v	v 6 5 Gns.
	Mrs. Jane Fane		v.		
Mr. Pepys's former Servants and De- pendents, viz.	Mrs. Mary Ballard				v
	Ditto, her Husband			v.	
	Mrs. Eliz. Hughson				v
	Ditto, her Husband			v.	
	Physicians { Dr. Sloane	v			v
	{ Dr. Shadwell	v			v
Retainers General, viz.	Chirurgion, Serj ^t Bernard	v			
	Apothecary, Mr. Ethersey		v		v
	Lawyer, Judge Powis		v.		
	Scrivener, Mr. West		v.		
	Ditto, his Clerk, Mr. Martin			v.	
	Goldsmith, S ^r R ^d Hoare	v			
	Ditto, his Foreman, Mr. Arnold		v		
	Bookbinder, Mr. Beresford			v.	
	Ditto, his Sewer, Mr. Wetton			v.	
	Carried over	13	13	10	21

PERSONS.		RINGS OF			MOURNING.
		20 th	15 th	10 th	
	Brought over	13	13	10	21
	Self, as Executor	v			v
	Edgley, { Mr. Sam ^l and Mrs.	vv			vv
	{ Ditto, their 3 Children		vvv		vvv
	{ Mr. Arthur		v		
	Blackbourn, Mr. W ^m and Isaac		vv		
Mr. Hewer's Relations.	Crawley, { Mrs. the Mother		v		
	{ Ditto, 2 Daughters, Eliz. & Margaret		vv		
	{ Mr. John } vid. Navy-Office.				
Domestics.	Sergison, Mr. ———				
	Mr. Forbes, Chaplain		v		
	Mr. Foster, Steward				v
	Ditto, his Wife			v.	
Clapham.	Mr. Saville, the Minister		v		
	Mr. Horne, late Lecturer		v		
	Mr. Pritchard, present Ditto		v		
	Mr. Urban Hall		v		
	Mr. Juxon		v		
Royal.	Sir John Hoskins, Vice President . .		v.		
	Mr. Abraham Hill		v.		
	Mr. Hunt, Operator			v.	
Societys. Cambridge.	Dr. Quadring, Master of Magdalene College .	v.			
	Dr. Bentley, Master of Trinity College .	v.			
	Dr. Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church . .	v.			
Oxford.	Dr. Wallis, Professor	v.			
	Dr. Gregory, Ditto	v.			
	Dr. Charlett, Master of University College .	v.			
Admiralty.	Mr. Burchett, Secretary		v		
	Sir Thos. Littleton, Treasurer, a Supporter .	v			v
	Sir Richard Haddock, Controller		v		
	Mr. Furzer, Surveyor		v		
	Mr. Sergison, Clerk of the Acts		v		
	Mr. Atkins		v		v
Commissioners.	Mr. Tollett		v		
	Mr. Hammond		v		
	Mr. Lyddall		v		
Officers.	Mr. Greenhill		v		
	Mr. Timewell		v		
Carried over		23	40	12	30

PERSONS.		RINGS OF			MOURNING
		20 ^s .	15 ^s .	10 ^s .	
	Brought over	23	40	12	30
Navy Clerks.	{ Mr. Johnson		v		
	{ Mr. John Crawley		v		
	Housekeeper, Mrs. Griffin			v.	
Auditors.	{ Principal, Mr. { Harley	v.			
	{ Bridges	v.			
	{ Deputys, Mr. { Moody			v.	
	{ Bythell			v.	
	Archbishop of Canterbury	v.			
	Bishop of London	v.			
	Dean of Worcester, Dr. Hickes, who performed } the service }	v			v
Clergy.	Dr. Smith	v			v
	Dr. Millington		v		
	Dr. Gibson		v.		
	Archdeacon Baynard		v		
	Mr. Coppin, Minister of Crutched Fryars		v		
	Ditto, his Reader		v		
	Earls of { Clarendon, a Supporter	v			v
	{ Feversham, Ditto	v			v
	Hon ^{ble} Mr. { Hatton, Ditto	v			v
	{ Vernon, Ditto	v			v
	Ant ^o Deane, Ditto	v			v
	W ^m Hodges	v			v
	Ditto, his Son, Mr. Hodges		v		
Sir.	Ditto, his Partner, Mr. Haines		v		
	Sir Henry Shere		v.		
	Sir Richard Dutton	v.			
	Sir William Gore		v		
	Bowdler, Thomas		v		v
	Dégalénère, Mons ^r et Mad ^{lle}		v. v.		
	Dubois, Charles		v.		
Laiety.	Evelyn, John, Grandfather and Grandson }	v.			v Grandfather.
	Gawden, Benjamin		v		
	Houblon, Wynne and James	v v			v v
	Houghton, Apothecary		v.		
	Hunter, Samuel		v		v
Mr.	{ Isted		v.		
	{ Lowndes	v.			
Carried over		41	59	15	43

PERSONS.		RINGS OF			MOURNING.
		20 ^s .	15 ^s .	10 ^s .	
Mr.	Brought over	41	59	15	43
	{ Martin, Joseph, Father and Son		v v		
	{ Monro			v	
	{ Mussard		v		
	{ Nelson		v		
	{ Penn, William	v.			
	{ Snow, Ralph		v.		
	{ Wind, Captain	v			
		43	64	16	43
Memorandum.—That 2 of the Rings placed in the 15 th Column were of the 20 ^s sort, and given to 2 (but which uncertain) of the 17 Persons thus marked, v; so that the true number of each sort distributed, either at the Funeral or since, to this 31st Dec ^r , 1710, has been provided as per Sir R. Hoare's account thereof.		45	62	16	
Rings distributed <i>ut supra</i>		46	62	20	
		45	62	16	
Remaining in J. J.'s* hands, accompanying monumental pieces of gold		1		4	

Memorandum.—Also, That to the Persons thus marked, v., the Rings, &c. were delivered or sent as opportunity served; the rest were present at the Funeral.

Memorandum.—That Tickets were likewise directed to the following Persons, who did not come to the Funeral, nor had Rings; some of them being then at Sea, and others in the Country, viz.

Admiralty.	{	Sir George Rook	}	Council.
	{	Mr. Bridges		
	{	Mr. Hill		
	{	Mr. Churchill		
	{	Sir David Mitchell		
	{	Mr. Clerk, Secretary.		
Navy.	{	Sir Cloudesly Shovel	}	Commissioners.
	{	Sir Thomas Hopson		
Friends, indefinite.	{	Colonel Graham	}	
	{	Mr. Henry Thynne		
	{	Mr. Blaithwait		
	{	Mr. Southwell		
	{	Sir Benjamin Bathurst		
	{	Captain David Lloyd.		

* John Jackson.

MR PEPYS'S VERBAL REQUEST, AFTER EXECUTION OF HIS WILL, viz.

Money.—To be distributed amongst Mr. Hewer's Servants £ 20.
 In Plate to { Mrs. Skynner, Mr. Hewer, and J. J., 50 Pounds worth each, made good to them as
 per Schedules and Receipts.
 Mr. West, some small Piece, made good to him by large pair of Tumblers, weighing
 23oz. 10dwts.

Pictures and Goods to Mrs. Skynner, as per Schedule and Receipt.

Voluntary Presents and Benevolences distributed per J. J. in respect to Mr. Pepys's Memory, viz.

The Poor of the Parish of	{ Clapham, where he died	£ 5 0 0	}	£63 12 0
	{ Crutched Fryars, where he was buried	10 0 0		
To {	Several Relations, Friends, Former Servants, and others, as per	}	48 12 0	
	J. J.'s particular account thereof, delivered to Mr. Hewer,			
	amounting in 17 articles to			
	Messrs. Wynne and James Houblon, their Father's, Mother's, and Grandfather's Pictures.			
	Monsieur Dégalénère, the 1st Edition of Bayle's Dictionary, in Two Vols. fol.			

B. L.

JUNE 24, 1672. — THE DISPOSITION OF THE SEVERALL PLACES ATTENDING
THE FUNERALL OF THE EARLE OF SANDWICH, AND THE PERSONS
DESIGNED THERETO.

The Chiefe Mourner.

Earle of Manchester.

Two Supporters.

Earle of St. Albans.

E. of Oxford.

Trainbearer to the Chiefe Mourner.

Peter Crowne.

Assistants.

Earle of Bedford.

E. of Suffolk.

E. of Bridgwater.

E. of Northampton.

E. of Essex.

E. of Bath.

E. of Anglesey.*

E. of Shaftesbury.

Supporters of the Pall.

Lord Clifford.

Mr. George Montagu.

Mr. Vicechamberlaine.

Lord Clifford.

To carry the Standard.

Sir Henry Sanderson.

A Guider.

Mr. Creed.

The great Banner.

Sir John Pickering.

The Sixe Bannerrolles.

Mr. Samuel Pepys.

Mr. Talbot Pepys.

Mr. Sidney Pickering.

Sir Charles Harbord.

Sir Charles Cotterell.

Mr. Wm. Harbord.

Steward, Mr. Edw. Jolly.

Treasurer, Mr. Lowd Cordell.

Controllor, Mr. John Vallavin.

Secretary, Mr. Wm. Fevrer.

* In case the Earle of Sandwich be here before the solemnity, the Earle of Manchester to be instead of Earle of Anglesey.

Chaplins.

Mr. Fullwood.

Mr. Turner.

Physitian & Chyrurgeon.

Dr. Knight, of Langerfort.*

To carry the Flagg.

Mr. Wm. Montagu, Sonn of Mr. Attorney Montagu.

Bishop of Oxford.

20 Servants.

Sam. Bonner.

50 Old Men.

John Bonner.

12 Trumpeters.

Thomas Peck.

6 Drummers, besides Bargemen.

Mr. John Gering.

Depositum prænob. EDVARDI

Comitis de SANDWICH, &c.

Freti Britannici Thalassiarchæ,

Qui in Navali illo

Conflictu acerrimo

Adversùs Batavos occubuit

28 die mensis Maii

A° Dⁱ 1672.

* Languard Fort.

THE END.

LONDON:

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APPENDIX

Chapman
Mr. Tolson
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn
Mr. Nease
Mr. Gandy

Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn
Mr. Nease
Mr. Gandy

THE END





