

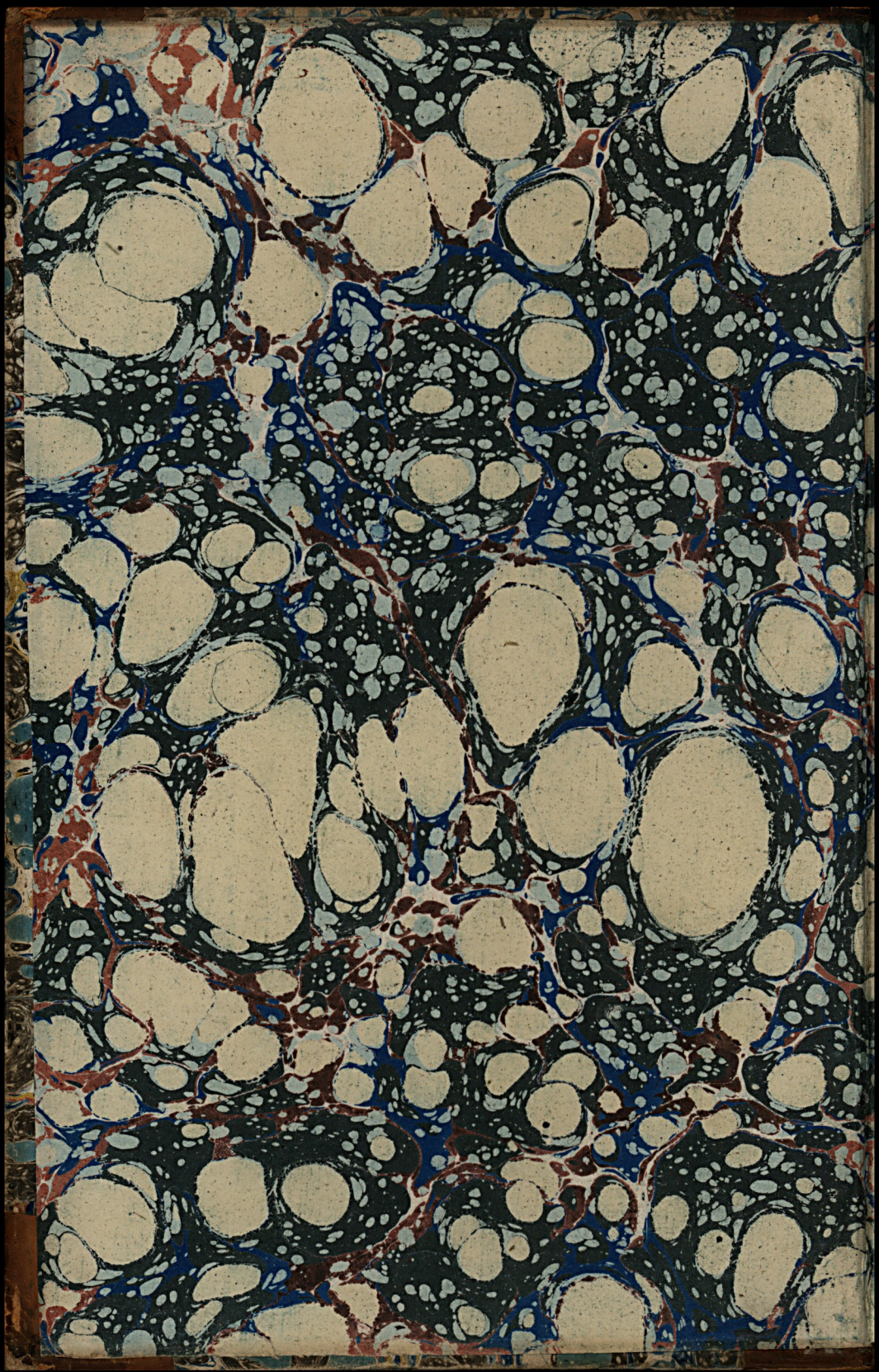

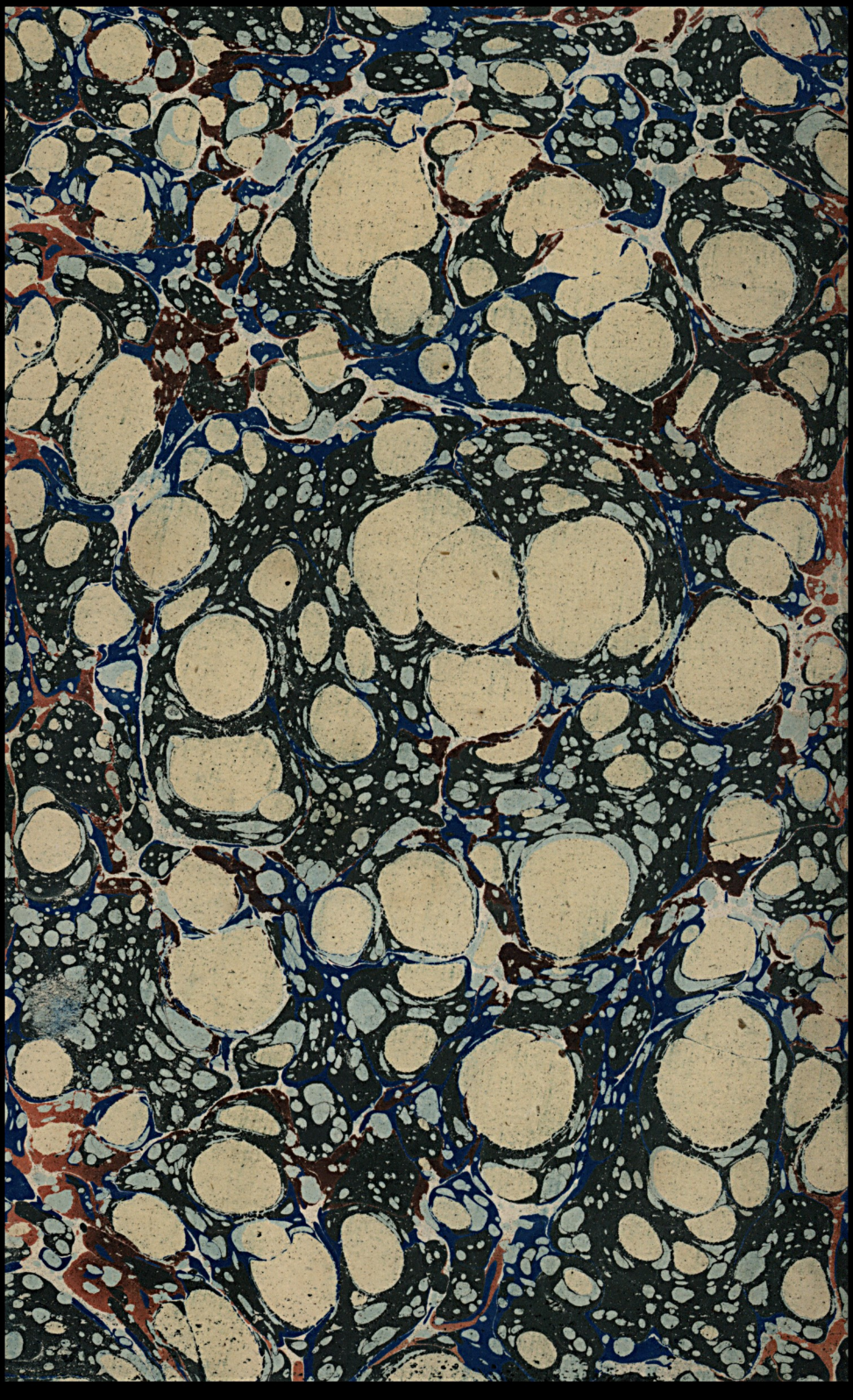

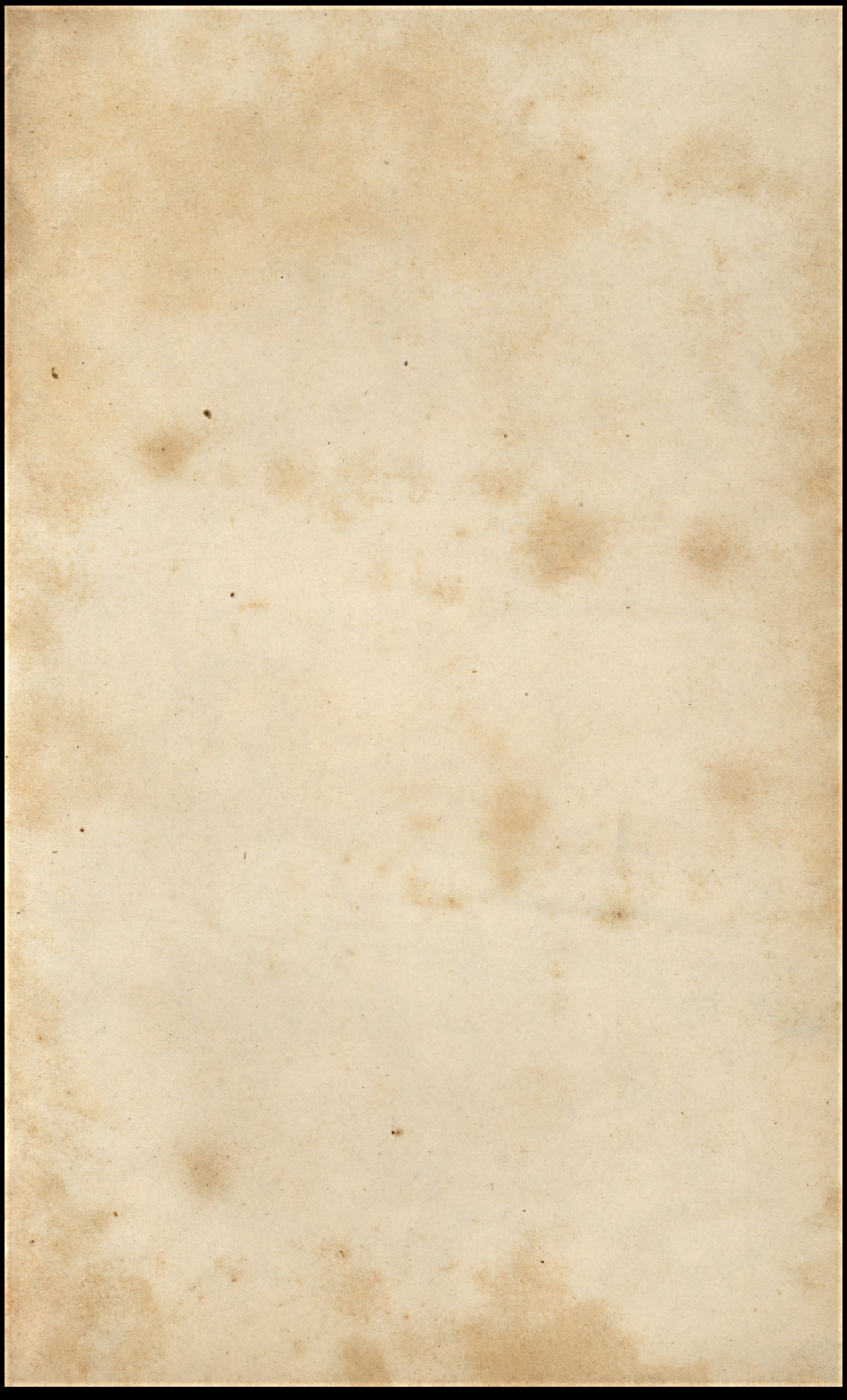

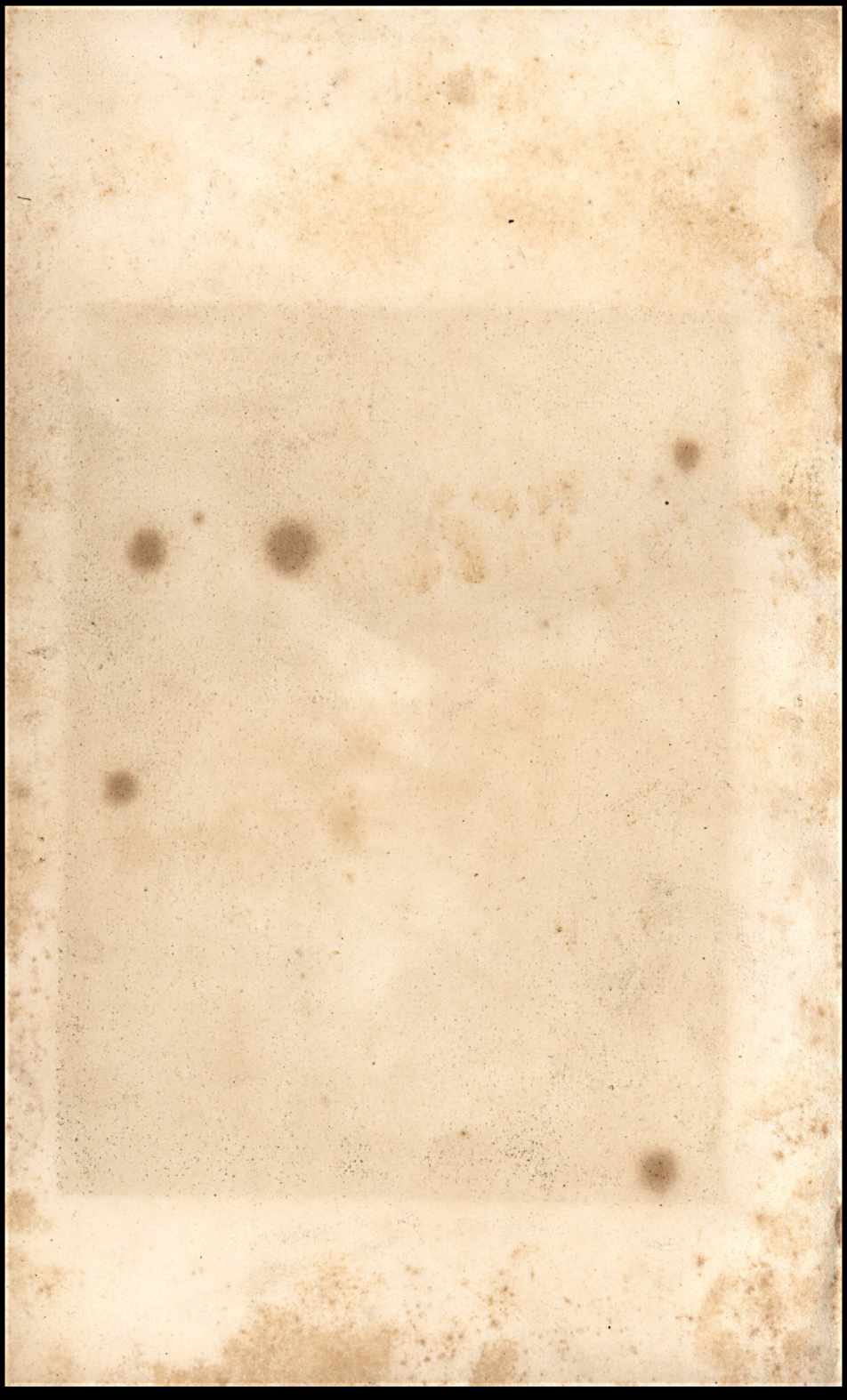

MEMOIRS

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, A.B.

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

AND A SELECTION FROM HIS

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

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VOL. III.

DIARY.

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1828.



Sir G. Kneller pinxt. R. Cooper, sculpt.

JOHN JACKSON, ESQR.

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DIARY.

1666.] AUGUST 1st. Walked over the Park with Sir W. Coventry, who I clearly see is not thoroughly pleased with the late management of the fight, nor with any thing that the Generalls do; only is glad to hear that De Ruyter is out of favour, and that this fight hath cost them 5000 men, as they themselves do report. And it is a strange thing, as he observes, how now and then the slaughter runs on one hand; there being 5000 killed on theirs, and not above 400 or 500 killed and wounded on ours, and as many flag-officers on theirs as ordinary captains in ours.

3d. The death of Everson, and the report of our success, beyond expectation, in the killing of so great a number of men, hath raised the estimation of the late victory considerably; but it is

only among fools: for all that was but accidental. But this morning, getting Sir W. Pen to read over the Narrative with me, he did sparingly, yet plainly, say that we might have intercepted their Zealand squadron coming home, if we had done our parts; and more, that we might have run before the wind as well as they, and have overtaken their ships in the pursuite, in all the while.

4th. This evening, Sir W. Pen come into the garden, and walked with me, and told me that he had certain notice that at Flushing they are in great distraction. De Ruyter dares not come on shore for fear of the people; nor any body open their houses or shops for fear of the tumult: which is a very good hearing.

6th. In Fenchurch-street met with Mr. Battersby; says he, "Do you see Dan Rawlinson's door shut up?" (which I did, and wondered.) "Why," says he, "after all this sickness, and himself spending all the last year in the country, one of his men is now dead of the plague, and his wife and one of his maids sick, and himself shut up;" which troubles me mightily. So home; and there do hear also from Mrs. Sarah Daniel,

that Greenwich is at this time much worse than ever it was, and Deptford too: and she told us that they believed all the town would leave the town, and come to London; which is now the receptacle of all the people from all infected places. God preserve us!

7th. I receive fresh intelligence that Deptford and Greenwich are now afresh exceedingly afflicted with the sickness more than ever.

8th. Discoursed with Mr. Hooke about the nature of sounds, and he did make me understand the nature of musicall sounds made by strings, mighty prettily; and told me that having come to a certain number of vibrations proper to make any tone, he is able to tell how many strokes a fly makes with her wings, (those flies that hum in their flying) by the note that it answers to in musique, during their flying. That, I suppose, is a little too much refined; but his discourse in general of sound was mighty fine. To St. James's, where we attended with the rest of my fellows on the Duke, whom I found with two or three patches upon his nose and about his right eye, which came from his being struck with the bough of a tree the other day in his hunting; and it is a

wonder it did not strike out his eye. To Bow, to my Lady Pooly's,* where my wife was with Mr. Batelier and his sisters; and there I found a noble supper. About ten o'clock we rose from table, and sang a song; and so home in two coaches, (Mr. Batelier and his sister Mary and my wife and I in one, and Mercer alone in the other); and after being examined at Allgate whether we were husbands and wives, home. So to bed mighty sleepy, but with much pleasure. Reeves lying at my house; and mighty proud I am (and ought to be thankful to God Almighty) that I am able to have a spare bed for my friends.

9th. In the evening to Lumbard-street, about money, to enable me to pay Sir G. Carteret's 3000*l* which he hath lodged in my hands, in behalf of his son and my Lady Jemimah, towards their portion. Mrs. Rawlinson is dead of the sickness, and her maid continues mighty ill. He himself is got out of the house. I met with Mr. Evelyn in the street, who tells me the sad condition at this very day at Deptford, for the plague, and more at Deale, (within his precinct as one of the Commissioners for sick and wounded seamen,) that the towne is almost quite depopulated.

* Wife of Sir Edmund Pooly, mentioned before.

10th. Homeward, and hear in Fenchurch-streete, that now the maid also is dead at Mr. Rawlinson's; so that there are three dead in all, the wife, a man-servant, and maid-servant.

14th. Povy tells me how mad my letter makes my Lord Peterborough, and what a furious letter he hath writ to me in answer, though it is not come yet. This did trouble me; for though there be no reason, yet to have a nobleman's mouth open against a man, may do a man hurt; so I endeavoured to have found him out and spoke with him, but could not. After dinner with my wife and Mercer to the Beare-garden; where I have not been, I think, of many years, and saw some good sport of the bull's tossing of the dogs: one into the very boxes. But it is a very rude and nasty pleasure. We had a great many hectors in the same box with us, (and one very fine went into the pit, and played his dog for a wager, which was a strange sport for a gentleman,) where they drank wine, and drank Mercer's health first; which I pledged with my hat off. We supped at home, and very merry. And then about nine o'clock to Mrs. Mercer's gate, where the fire and boys expected us, and her son had provided abundance of serpents and rockets; and there mighty

merry (my Lady Pen and Pegg going thither with us, and Nan Wright,) till about twelve at night, flinging our fireworks, and burning one another and the people over the way. And at last our businesses being most spent, we into Mrs. Mercer's, and there mighty merry, smutting one another with candle grease and soot, till most of us were like devils. And that being done, then we broke up, and to my house; and there I made them drink, and upstairs we went, and then fell into dancing, (W. Batelier dancing well,) and dressing him and I and one Mr. Banister (who with my wife come over also with us) like women; and Mercer put on a suit of Tom's, like a boy, and mighty mirth we had, and Mercer danced a jigg; and Nan Wright and my wife and Pegg Pen put on perriwigs. Thus we spent till three or four in the morning, mighty merry; and then parted, and to bed.

15th. Mighty sleepy; slept till past eight of the clock, and was called up by a letter from Sir W. Coventry; which, among other things, tells me how we have burned one hundred and sixty ships of the enemy within the Fly. I up, and with all possible haste, and in pain for fear of coming late, it being our day of attending the Duke of York,

to St. James's, where they are full of the particulars; how they are generally good merchant-ships, some of them laden and supposed rich ships. We spent five fire-ships upon them. We landed on the Schelling, (Sir Philip Howard with some men, and Holmes, I think, with others, about 1000 in all,) and burned a town; and so come away. By and by the Duke of York with his books showed us the very place and manner: and that it was not our design and expectation to have done this, but only to have landed on the Fly and burned some of their stores; but being come in, we spied those ships, and with our long boats, one by one, fired them, our ships running all a-ground, it being so shoal water. We were led to this by, it seems, a renegado captain of the Hollanders, who found himself ill used by De Ruyter for his good service, and so come over to us, and hath done us good service; so that now we trust him, and he himself did go on this expedition. The service is very great, and our joys as great for it. All this will make the Duke of Albemarle in repute again, I doubt. The guns of the Tower going off, and bonfires also in the street for this late good successe.

16th. This day Sir W. Batten did show us at the table a letter from Sir T. Allen, which says,

that we have taken ten or twelve ships, (since the late great expedition of burning their ships and town) laden with hemp, flax, tar, deals, &c. This was good news; but by and by comes in Sir G. Carteret, and he asked us with full mouth what we would give for good news. Says Sir W. Batten "I have better than you, for a wager." They laid sixpence, and we that were by were to give sixpence to him that told the best news. So Sir W. Batten told his of the ten or twelve ships. Sir G. Carteret did then tell us that upon the news of the burning of the ships and town, the common people of Amsterdam did besiege De Witt's house, and he was forced to flee to the Prince of Orange, who is gone to Cleve, to the marriage of his sister. This we concluded all the best news, and my Lord Brouncker and myself did give Sir G. Carteret our sixpence a-piece, which he did give Mr. Smith to give the poor. Thus we made ourselves mighty merry.

17. With Captain Erwin, discoursing about the East Indys, where he hath often been. And among other things, he tells me how the King of Syam seldom goes out without thirty or forty thousand people with him, and not a word spoke, nor a hum or cough in the whole company to be

heard. He tells me the punishment frequently there for malefactors, is cutting off the crowne of their head, which they do very dexterously, leaving their brains bare, which kills them presently. He told me what I remember he hath once done heretofore; that every body is to lie flat down at the coming by of the King, and nobody to look upon him upon pain of death. And that he and his fellows being strangers, were invited to see the sport of taking of a wild eliphant; and they did only kneel, and look toward the King. Their druggerman* did desire them to fall down, for otherwise he should suffer for their contempt of the King. The sport being ended, a messenger comes from the King, which the druggerman thought had been to have taken away his life. But it was to enquire how the strangers liked the sport. The druggerman answered, that they did cry it up to be the best that ever they saw, and that they never heard of any Prince so great in every thing as this King. The messenger being gone back, Erwin and his company asked their druggerman what he had said, which he told them. "But why," say they, "would you say that with-

* Dragoman.

out our leave, it being not true?"—"It makes no matter for that," says he, "I must have said it, or have been hanged, for our King do not live by meat, nor drink, but by having great lyes told him." In our way back we come by a little vessel that come into the river this morning, and says she left the fleet in Sole Bay, and that she hath not heard (she belonging to Sir W. Jenings in the fleet) of any such prizes taken as the ten or twelve I enquired about, and said by Sir W. Batten yesterday to be taken, so I fear it is not true. I had the good fortune to see Mrs. Stewart, who is grown a little too tall, but is a woman of most excellent features. Sir Richard Ford did, very understandingly methought, give us an account of the originall of the Hollands Bank, and the nature of it, and how they do never give any interest at all to any person that brings in their money, though what is brought in upon the public faith interest is given by the State for. The unsafe condition of a Bank under a Monarch, and the little safety to a Monarch to have any; or Corporation alone (as London in answer to Amsterdam,) to have so great a wealth or credit, it is that makes it hard to have a Bank here. And as to the former, he did tell us how it sticks in the memory of

most merchants how the late King (when by the war between Holland and France and Spain all the bullion of Spain was brought hither, one third of it to be coyned; and indeed it was found advantageous to the merchant to coyne most of it,) was persuaded in a strait by my Lord Cottington* to seize upon the money in the Tower: which, though in a few days the merchants concerned did prevail to get it released, yet the thing will never be forgot.

20th. To Deptford by water, reading Othello, Moore of Venice, which I ever heretofore esteemed a mighty good play, but having so lately read The Adventures of Five Houres, it seems a mean thing. All the afternoon upon my Tangier accounts, getting Tom Wilson to help me in writing as I read; and I find myself right to a farthing in an account of 127,000*l.*

21st. Mr. Batelier told me how, being with some others at Bourdeaux, making a bargain with another man at a taverne for some clarets, they did hire a fellow to thunder (which he had the art of doing upon a deale board) and to rain and hail, that is, make the noise of, so as did give

* Francis, created Lord Cottington, Baron of Hanworth, by Charles I. Died at Valladolid 1653, *s. p.*

them a pretence of undervaluing their merchants' wines, by saying this thunder would spoil and turn them. Which was so reasonable to the merchant, that he did abate two pistolls per ton for the wine in belief of that.

22d. I to St. James's, and there with the Duke of York. I had opportunity of much talk with Sir W. Pen to-day (he being newly come from the fleet); and he do much undervalue the honour that is given to the conduct of the late business of Holmes in burning the ships and town, saying it was a great thing indeed, and of great profit to us in being of great loss to the enemy, but that it was wholly a business of chance. Mrs. Knipp tells me my song of "Beauty Retire" is mightily cried up, which I am not a little proud of; and do think I have done "It is Decreed" better, but I have not finished it.

23d. Sir W. Coventry sent me word that the Dutch fleet is certainly abroad; and so we are to hasten all we have to send to our fleet with all speed. But, Lord! to see how my Lord Brouncker undertakes the despatch of the fire-ships, when he is no more fit for it than a porter; and all the while Sir W. Pen, who is the most fit, is unwilling to displease him, and do not look after

it; and so the King's work is like to be well done.

26th. I was a little disturbed with news my Lord Brouncker brought me, that we are to attend the King at White Hall this afternoon, and that it is about a complaint from the Generalls against us. Sir W. Pen and I by coach to White Hall, and there staid till the King and Cabinet met in the Green Chamber, and then we were called in; and there the King begun with me, to hear how the victualls of the fleet stood. I did in a long discourse tell him and the rest (the Duke of York, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, both the Secretarys, Sir G. Carteret, and Sir W. Coventry,) how it stood, wherein they seemed satisfied, but press mightily for more supplies; and the letter of the Generalls, which was read, did lay their not going or too soon returning from the Dutch coast, this next bout, to the want of victuals. They then proceeded to the enquiry after the fire-ships; and did all very superficially, and without any severity at all. But, however, I was in pain, after we come out, to know how I had done; and here, well enough. But, however, it shall be a caution to me to prepare myself against a day of inquisition. Being come out, I met with Mr. Moore, and he and

I an hour together in the Gallery, telling me how far they are gone in getting my Lord Sandwich's pardon, so as the Chancellor is prepared in it; and Sir H. Bennet do promote it, and the warrant for the King's signing is drawn. The business between my Lord Hinchingbroke and Mrs. Mallet is quite broke off; he attended her at Tunbridge, and she declaring her affections to be settled; and he not being fully pleased with the vanity and liberty of her carriage. Thence to discourse of the times; and he tells me he believes both my Lord Arlington and Sir W. Coventry, as well as my Lord Sandwich and Sir G. Carteret, have reason to fear, and are afraid, of this Parliament now coming on. He tells me that Bristoll's faction is getting ground apace against my Lord Chancellor. He told me that my old Lord Coventry* was a cunning, crafty man, and did make as many bad decrees in Chancery as any man; and that in one case, that occasioned many years' dispute, at last when the King come in, it was hoped by the party grieved, to get my Lord Chancellor to reverse a decree of his. Sir. W. Coventry took the opportunity of the business between the Duke of York and the Duchess, and said to my Lord Chancellor,

* The Lord Keeper. Ob. 1639-40.

that he had rather be drawn up Holborne to be hanged, than live to see any decree of his father's reversed. And so the Chancellor did not think fit to do it, but it still stands, to the undoing of one Norton, a printer, about his right to the printing of the Bible, and Grammar, &c. Sir J. Minnes had a very bad fit this day.

27th. Sir G. Carteret tells me what is done about my Lord's pardon, and is not for letting the Duke of York know any thing of it beforehand, but to carry it as speedily and quietly as we can. He seems to be very apprehensive that the Parliament will be troublesome and inquisitive into faults; but seems not to value them as to himself.

28th. To the wedding of Mr. Longracke, our purveyor, a civil man, and hath married a sober, serious mayde; but the whole company was very simple and innocent. Sir W. Coventry did read me a letter from the Generalls to the King, a most scurvy letter, reflecting most upon him, and then upon me for my accounts, (not that they are not true, but that we do not consider the expence of the fleet,) and then upon the whole office, in neglecting them and the King's service, and this in very plain and sharp and menacing terms. But a great supply must be made, and shall be, in grace of God!

29th. To St. James's, and there Sir W. Coventry took Sir W. Pen and me apart, and read to us his answer to the Generalls' letter to the King, that he read last night; wherein he is very plain, and states the matter in full defence of himself, and of me with him, which he could not avoid; which is a good comfort to me, that I happened to be involved with him in the same cause. And then, speaking of the supplies which have been made to this fleet, more than ever in all kinds to any, even that wherein the Duke of York himself was, "Well," says he, "if this will not do, I will say, as Sir J. Falstaffe did to the Prince, 'Tell your father, that if he do not like this, let him kill the next Piercy himself.'"

September 1st. My wife and I to Polichinelly,* but were there horribly frighted to see Young Killigrew come in with a great many more young sparks; but we hid ourselves, so as we think they did not see us.

2d. (Lord's-day.) Some of our maids sitting up late last night to get things ready against our feast to-day, Jane called us up about three in the morning, to tell us of a great fire they saw in the City. So I rose, and slipped on my night-gown,

* Polichinello in Moorfields.

and went to her window; and thought it to be on the back-side of Marke-lane at the farthest, but being unused to such fires as followed, I thought it far enough off; and so went to bed again, and to sleep. About seven rose again to dress myself, and there looked out at the window, and saw the fire not so much as it was, and further off. So to my closet to set things to rights, after yesterday's cleaning. By and by Jane comes and tells me that she hears that above 300 houses have been burned down to-night by the fire we saw, and that it is now burning down all Fish-street, by London Bridge. So I made myself ready presently, and walked to the Tower, and there got up upon one of the high places, Sir J. Robinson's little son going up with me; and there I did see the houses at that end of the bridge all on fire, and an infinite great fire on this and the other side the end of the bridge; which, among other people, did trouble me for poor little Michell and our Sarah on the bridge. So down with my heart full of trouble to the Lieutenant of the Tower, who tells me that it begun this morning in the King's baker's* house in Pudding-lane, and that it hath burned down St. Magnes Church and

* His name was Faryner.

most part of Fish-street already. So I down to the water-side, and there got a boat, and through bridge, and there saw a lamentable fire. Poor Michell's house, as far as the Old Swan, already burned that way, and the fire running further, that in a very little time it got as far as the Steele-yard, while I was there. Every body endeavouring to remove their goods, and flinging into the river, or bringing them into lighters that lay off; poor people staying in their houses as long as till the very fire touched them, and then running into boats, or clambering from one pair of stairs by the water-side to another. And among other things, the poor pigeons, I perceive, were loth to leave their houses, but hovered about the windows and balconys, till they burned their wings, and fell down. Having staid, and in an hour's time seen the fire rage every way, and nobody, to my sight, endeavouring to quench it, but to remove their goods, and leave all to the fire, and having seen it get as far as the Steele-yard, and the wind mighty high, and driving it into the City; and every thing after so long a drought proving combustible, even the very stones of churches, and among other things, the poor steeple * by which pretty Mrs.

* St Lawrence Poultney, of which Thomas Elborough was Curate.

——— lives, and whereof my old schoolfellow Elborough is parson, taken fire in the very top, and there burned till it fell down: I to White Hall (with a gentleman with me, who desired to go off from the Tower, to see the fire, in my boat); and there up to the King's closet in the Chapel, where people come about me, and I did give them an account dismayed them all, and word was carried in to the King. So I was called for, and did tell the King and Duke of York what I saw, and that unless his Majesty did command houses to be pulled down, nothing could stop the fire. They seemed much troubled, and the King commanded me to go to my Lord Mayor * from him, and command him to spare no houses, but to pull down before the fire every way. The Duke of York bid me tell him, that if he would have any more soldiers, he shall; and so did my Lord Arlington afterwards, as a great secret. Here meeting with Captain Cocke, I in his coach, which he lent me, and Creed with me to Paul's, and there walked along Watling-street, as well as I could, every creature coming away loaden with goods to save, and here and there sick people car-

* Sir Thomas Bludworth.

ried away in beds. Extraordinary good goods carried in carts and on backs. At last met my Lord Mayor in Canning-street, like a man spent, with a handkercher about his neck. To the King's message, he cried, like a fainting woman, "Lord! what can I do? I am spent: people will not obey me. I have been pulling down houses; but the fire overtakes us faster than we can do it." That he needed no more soldiers; and that, for himself, he must go and refresh himself, having been up all night. So he left me, and I him, and walked home; seeing people all almost distracted, and no manner of means used to quench the fire. The houses too so very thick thereabouts, and full of matter for burning, as pitch and tar, in Thames-street; and warehouses of oyle, and wines, and brandy, and other things. Here I saw Mr. Isaac Houblon, the handsome man, prettily dressed and dirty at his door at Dowgate, receiving some of his brother's things, whose houses were on fire; and, as he says, have been removed twice already; and he doubts (as it soon proved) that they must be in a little time removed from his house also, which was a sad consideration. And to see the churches all filling with goods by people, who themselves should have been quietly there at this

time. By this time it was about twelve o'clock; and so home, and there find my guests, who were Mr. Wood and his wife Barbary Shelden, and also Mr. Moone: she mighty fine, and her husband, for aught I see, a likely man. But Mr. Moone's design and mine, which was to look over my closet, and please him with the sight thereof, which he hath long desired, was wholly disappointed; for we were in great trouble and disturbance at this fire, not knowing what to think of it. However, we had an extraordinary good dinner, and as merry as at this time we could be. While at dinner Mrs. Batelier come to enquire after Mr. Woolfe and Stanes, (who it seems are related to them,) whose houses in Fish-street are all burned, and they in a sad condition. She would not stay in the fright. Soon as dined, I and Moone away, and walked through the City, the streets full of nothing but people, and horses and carts loaden with goods, ready to run over one another, and removing goods from one burned house to another. They now removing out of Canning-street (which received goods in the morning) into Lumbard-street, and further: and among others I now saw my little goldsmith Stokes receiving some friend's goods, whose house itself

was burned the day after. We parted at Paul's; he home, and I to Paul's Wharf, where I had appointed a boat to attend me, and took in Mr. Carcasse and his brother, whom I met in the street, and carried them below and above bridge too. And again to see the fire, which was now got further, both below and above, and no likelihood of stopping it. Met with the King and Duke of York in their barge, and with them to Queenhith, and there called Sir Richard Browne to them. Their order was only to pull down houses apace, and so below bridge at the water-side; but little was or could be done, the fire coming upon them so fast. Good hopes there was of stopping it at the Three Cranes above, and at Buttolph's Wharf below bridge, if care be used; but the wind carries it into the City, so as we know not by the water-side what it do there. River full of lighters and boats taking in goods, and good goods swimming in the water, and only I observed that hardly one lighter or boat in three that had the goods of a house in, but there was a pair of Virginalls* in it. Having seen as much as I could now, I away to White Hall by appointment, and there walked to

* A sort of spinett, so called (according to Johnson) from young women playing upon it.

St. James's Park, and there met my wife and Creed and Wood and his wife, and walked to my boat; and there upon the water again, and to the fire up and down, it still encreasing, and the wind great. So near the fire as we could for smoke; and all over the Thames, with one's faces in the wind, you were almost burned with a shower of fire-drops. This is very true: so as houses were burned by these drops and flakes of fire, three or four, nay, five or six houses, one from another. When we could endure no more upon the water, we to a little ale-house on the Bankside, over against the Three Cranes, and there staid till it was dark almost, and saw the fire grow, and as it grew darker, appeared more and more, and in corners and upon steeples, and between churches and houses, as far as we could see up the hill of the City, in a most horrid malicious bloody flame, not like the fine flame of an ordinary fire. Barbary and her husband away before us. We staid till, it being darkish, we saw the fire as only one entire arch of fire from this to the other side the bridge, and in a bow up the hill for an arch of above a mile long: it made me weep to see it. The churches, houses, and all on fire, and flaming at once; and a horrid noise the flames made, and

the cracking of houses at their ruine. So home with a sad heart, and there find every body discoursing and lamenting the fire; and poor Tom Hater come with some few of his goods saved out of his house, which was burned upon Fish-street Hill. I invited him to lie at my house, and did receive his goods, but was deceived in his lying there, the news coming every moment of the growth of the fire; so as we were forced to begin to pack up our own goods, and prepare for their removal; and did by moonshine (it being brave dry and moonshine and warm weather) carry much of my goods into the garden, and Mr. Hater and I did remove my money and iron chests into my cellar, as thinking that the safest place. And got my bags of gold into my office, ready to carry away, and my chief papers of accounts also there, and my tallies into a box by themselves. So great was our fear, as Sir W. Batten hath carts come out of the country to fetch away his goods this night. We did put Mr. Hater, poor man, to bed a little; but he got but very little rest, so much noise being in my house, taking down of goods.

3d. About four o'clock in the morning, my

Lady Batten sent me a cart to carry away all my money, and plate, and best things, to Sir W. Rider's at Bednall-greene. Which I did, riding myself in my night-gown, in the cart; and, Lord! to see how the streets and the highways are crowded with people running and riding, and getting of carts at any rate to fetch away things. I find Sir W. Rider tired with being called up all night, and receiving things from several friends. His house full of goods, and much of Sir W. Batten's and Sir W. Pen's. I am eased at my heart to have my treasure so well secured. Then home, and with much ado to find a way, nor any sleep all this night to me nor my poor wife. But then all this day she and I, and all my people labouring to get away the rest of our things, and did get Mr. Tooker to get me a lighter to take them in, and we did carry them (myself some) over Tower Hill, which was by this time full of people's goods, bringing their goods thither; and down to the lighter, which lay at the next quay, above the Tower Dock. And here was my neighbour's wife, Mrs. ———, with her pretty child, and some few of her things, which I did willingly give way to be saved with mine; but there was no

passing with any thing through the postern, the crowd was so great. The Duke of York come this day by the office, and spoke to us, and did ride with his guard up and down the City to keep all quiet, (he being now General, and having the care of all). This day, Mercer being not at home, but against her mistress's order gone to her mother's, and my wife going thither to speak with W. Hewer, beat her there, and was angry; and her mother saying that she was not a 'prentice girl, to ask leave every time she goes abroad, my wife with good reason was angry, and when she come home bid her be gone again. And so she went away, which troubled me, but yet less than it would, because of the condition we are in, in fear of coming in a little time to being less able to keep one in her quality. At night lay down a little upon a quilt of W. Hewer's, in the office, all my own things being packed up or gone; and after me my poor wife did the like, we having fed upon the remains of yesterday's dinner, having no fire nor dishes, nor any opportunity of dressing any thing.

4th. Up by break of day, to get away the remainder of my things; which I did by a lighter at the Iron gate: and my hands so full, that it was

the afternoon before we could get them all away. Sir W. Pen and I to the Tower-street, and there met the fire burning three or four doors beyond Mr. Howell's, whose goods, poor man, his trayes, and dishes, shovells, &c. were flung all along Tower-street in the kennels, and people working therewith from one end to the other; the fire coming on in that narrow street, on both sides, with infinite fury. Sir W. Batten not knowing how to remove his wine, did dig a pit in the garden, and laid it in there; and I took the opportunity of laying all the papers of my office that I could not otherwise dispose of. And in the evening Sir W. Pen and I did dig another, and put our wine in it; and I my parmazan cheese, as well as my wine and some other things. The Duke of York was at the office this day, at Sir W. Pen's; but I happened not to be within. This afternoon, sitting melancholy with Sir W. Pen in our garden, and thinking of the certain burning of this office, without extraordinary means, I did propose for the sending up of all our workmen from the Woolwich and Deptford yards, (none whereof yet appeared,) and to write to Sir W. Coventry to have the Duke of York's permission to pull down houses, rather than lose this office,

which would much hinder the King's business. So Sir W. Pen went down this night, in order to the sending them up to-morrow morning; and I wrote to Sir W. Coventry about the business,* but received no answer. This night Mrs. Turner (who, poor woman, was removing her goods all this day, good goods into the garden, and knows not how to dispose of them), and her husband supped with my wife and me at night, in the office, upon a

* A copy of this letter, preserved among the Pepys MSS. in the author's own hand-writing, is subjoined:—

Sir,—The fire is now very neere us as well on Tower Streete as Fanchurch Street side, and we little hope of our escape but by that remedy, to ye want whereof we doe certainly owe ye loss of ye City, namely, ye pulling down of houses, in ye way of ye fire. This way Sir W. Pen and myself have so far concluded upon ye practising, that he is gone to Woolwich and Deptford to supply himself with men and necessarys in order to the doeing thereof, in case at his returne our condition be not bettered and that he meets with his R. H^s^ approbation, which I have thus undertaken to learn of you. Pray please to let me have this night (at whatever hour it is) what his R. H^s^ directions are in this particular. Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten having left us, we cannot add, though we are well assured of their, as well as all ye neighbourhood's concurrence.

Y^r^ obedient Serv^nt^,

S. P.

Sir W. Coventry,
Septr. 4, 1666.

shoulder of mutton from the cook's, without any napkin, or any thing, in a sad manner, but were merry. Only now and then, walking into the garden, saw how horribly the sky looks, all on a fire in the night, was enough to put us out of our wits; and, indeed, it was extremely dreadful, for it looks just as if it was at us, and the whole heaven on fire. I after supper walked in the dark down to Tower-street, and there saw it all on fire, at the Trinity House on that side, and the Dolphin Tavern on this side, which was very near us; and the fire with extraordinary vehemence. Now begins the practice of blowing up of houses in Tower-street, those next the Tower, which at first did frighten people more than any thing; but it stopped the fire where it was done, it bringing down the houses to the ground in the same places they stood, and then it was easy to quench what little fire was in it, though it kindled nothing almost. W. Hewer this day went to see how his mother did, and comes late home, telling us how he hath been forced to remove her to Islington, her house in Pye-corner being burned; so that the fire is got so far that way, and to the Old Bayly, and was running down to Fleet-street; and Paul's is burned, and all Cheapside. I wrote to my

father this night, but the post-house being burned, the letter could not go.

5th. I lay down in the office again upon W. Hewer's quilt, being mighty weary, and sore in my feet with going till I was hardly able to stand. About two in the morning my wife calls me up, and tells me of new cryes of fire, it being come to Barking Church, which is the bottom of our lane.* I up; and finding it so, resolved presently to take her away, and did, and took my gold, which was about 2350*l.* W. Hewer, and Jane, down by Proundy's boat to Woolwich; but, Lord! what a sad sight it was by moone-light to see the whole City almost on fire, that you might see it plain at Woolwich, as if you were by it. There, when I come, I find the gates shut, but no guard kept at all; which troubled me, because of discourses now begun, that there is a plot in it, and that the French had done it. I got the gates open, and to Mr. Shelden's, where I locked up my gold, and charged my wife and W. Hewer never to leave the room without one of them in it, night or day. So back again, by the way seeing my goods well in the lighters at Deptford, and watched well by people. Home, and whereas I expected to have

* Sethinge Lane.

seen our house on fire, it being now about seven o'clock, it was not. But to the fire, and there find greater hopes than I expected; for my confidence of finding our office on fire was such, that I durst not ask any body how it was with us, till I come and saw it was not burned. But going to the fire, I find by the blowing up of houses, and the great help given by the workmen out of the King's yards, sent up by Sir W. Pen, there is a good stop given to it, as well at Marke-lane end, as ours; it having only burned the dyall of Barking Church, and part of the porch, and was there quenched. I up to the top of Barking steeple, and there saw the saddest sight of desolation that I ever saw; every where great fires, oyle-cellars, and brimstone, and other things burning. I became afraid to stay there long, and therefore down again as fast as I could, the fire being spread as far as I could see it; and to Sir W. Pen's, and there eat a piece of cold meat, having eaten* nothing since Sunday, but the remains of Sunday's dinner. Here I met with Mr. Young and Whistler; and having removed all my things, and received good hopes that the fire at our end is

* He forgot the shoulder of mutton from the cook's the day before.

stopped, they and I walked into the town, and find Fanchurch-street, Gracious-street, and Lumbard-street all in dust. The Exchange a sad sight, nothing standing there, of all the statues or pillars, but Sir Thomas Gresham's picture in the corner. Into Moore-fields, (our feet ready to burn, walking through the town among the hot coles,) and find that full of people, and poor wretches carrying their goods there, and every body keeping his goods together by themselves; (and a great blessing it is to them that it is fair weather for them to keep abroad night and day;) drunk there, and paid twopence for a plain penny loaf. Thence homeward, having passed through Cheapside, and Newgate market, all burned; and seen Anthony Joyce's house in fire. And took up (which I keep by me) a piece of glass of Mercer's chapel in the street, where much more was, so melted and buckled with the heat of the fire like parchment. I also did see a poor cat taken out of a hole in a chimney, joyning to the wall of the Exchange, with the hair all burned off the body, and yet alive. So home at night, and find there good hopes of saving our office; but great endeavours of watching all night, and having men ready; and so we lodged them in the office, and

had drink and bread and cheese for them. And I lay down and slept a good night about midnight: though when I rose, I heard that there had been a great alarme of French and Dutch being risen, which proved nothing. But it is a strange thing to see how long this time did look since Sunday, having been always full of variety of actions, and little sleep, that it looked like a week or more, and I had forgot almost the day of the week.

6th. Up about five o'clock; and met Mr. Gauden at the gate of the office, (I intending to go out, as I used, every now and then to-day, to see how the fire is,) to call our men to Bishop's-gate, where no fire had yet been near, and there is now one broke out: which did give great grounds to people, and to me too, to think that there is some kind of plot in this, (on which many by this time have been taken, and it hath been dangerous for any stranger to walk in the streets,) but I went with the men, and we did put it out in a little time; so that that was well again. It was pretty to see how hard the women did work in the cannells, sweeping of water; but then they would scold for drink, and be as drunk as devils. I saw good butts of sugar broke open in the street, and people give and take handsfull out, and put into beer, and drink

it. And now all being pretty well, I took boat, and over to Southwarke, and took boat on the other side the bridge, and so to Westminster, thinking to shift myself, being all in dirt from top to bottom; but could not there find any place to buy a shirt or a pair of gloves, Westminster Hall being full of people's goods, those in Westminster having removed all their goods, and the Exchequer money put into vessels to carry to Nonsuch;* but to the Swan, and there was trimmed: and then to White Hall, but saw nobody; and so home. A sad sight to see how the River looks: no houses nor church near it, to the Temple, where it stopped. At home, did go with Sir W. Batten, and our neighbour, Knightly, (who, with one more, was the only man of any fashion left in all the neighbourhood thereabouts, they all removing their goods, and leaving their houses to the mercy of the fire,) to Sir R. Ford's, and there dined in an earthen platter —a fried breast of mutton; a great many of us, but very merry, and indeed as good a meal, though as ugly a one, as ever I had in my life. Thence down to Deptford, and there with great satisfaction landed all my goods at Sir G. Carteret's safe,

* Nonsuch House near Epsom, where the Exchequer had formerly been kept.

and nothing missed I could see or hear. This being done to my great content, I home, and to Sir W. Batten's, and there with Sir R. Ford, Mr. Knightly, and one Withers, a professed lying rogue, supped well, and mighty merry, and our fears over. From them to the office, and there slept with the office full of labourers, who talked, and slept, and walked all night long there. But strange it is to see Clothworkers' Hall on fire these three days and nights in one body of flame, it being the cellar full of oyle.

7th. Up by five o'clock; and, blessed be God! find all well; and by water to Pane's Wharfe. Walked thence, and saw all the towne burned, and a miserable sight of Paul's church, with all the roofs fallen, and the body of the quire fallen into St. Fayth's; Paul's school also, Ludgate, and Fleet-street. My father's house, and the church, and a good part of the Temple the like. So to Creed's lodging, near the New Exchange, and there find him laid down upon a bed; the house all unfurnished, there being fears of the fire's coming to them. There borrowed a shirt of him, and washed. To Sir W. Coventry, at St. James's, who lay without curtains, having removed all his goods; as the King at White Hall, and every body had done,

and was doing. He hopes we shall have no public distractions upon this fire, which is what every body fears, because of the talk of the French having a hand in it. And it is a proper time for discontents; but all men's minds are full of care to protect themselves, and save their goods: the militia is in arms every where. Our fleetes, he tells me, have been in sight one of another, and most unhappily by fowle weather were parted, to our great loss, as in reason they do conclude; the Dutch being come out only to make a shew, and please their people; but in very bad condition as to stores, victuals, and men. They are at Boulogne, and our fleet come to St. Ellen's. We have got nothing, but have lost one ship, but he knows not what. Thence to the Swan, and there drank; and so home, and find all well. My Lord Brouncker, at Sir W. Batten's, tells us the Generall is sent for up, to come to advise with the King about business at this juncture, and to keep all quiet; which is great honour to him, but I am sure is but a piece of dissimulation. So home, and did give orders for my house to be made clean; and then down to Woolwich, and there find all well. Dined, and Mrs. Markham come to see my wife. This day our Merchants first met at Gresham College,

which, by proclamation, is to be their Exchange. Strange to hear what is bid for houses all up and down here; a friend of Sir W. Rider's having 150*l.* for what he used to let for 40*l.* per annum. Much dispute where the Custome-house shall be; thereby the growth of the City again to be foreseen. My Lord Treasurer, they say, and others, would have it at the other end of the town. I home late to Sir W. Pen's, who did give me a bed; but without curtains or hangings, all being down. So here I went the first time into a naked bed, only my drawers on; and did sleep pretty well: but still both sleeping and waking had a fear of fire in my heart, that I took little rest. People do all the world over cry out of the simplicity of my Lord Mayor in generall; and more particularly in this business of the fire, laying it all upon him. A proclamation is come out for markets to be kept at Leadenhall and Mile-end-greene, and several other places about the town; and Tower-hill, and all churches to be set open to receive poor people.

8th. I stopped with Sir G. Carteret to desire him to go with us, and to enquire after money. But the first he cannot do, and the other as little, or says, "when we can get any, or what shall we do for it?" He, it seems, is employed in the

correspondence between the City and the King every day, in settling of things. I find him full of trouble, to think how things will go. I left him, and to St James's, where we met first at Sir W. Coventry's chamber, and there did what business we could, without any books. Our discourse, as every thing else, was confused. The fleet is at Portsmouth, there staying a wind to carry them to the Downes, or towards Boulogne, where they say the Dutch fleet is gone, and stays. We concluded upon private meetings for a while, not having any money to satisfy any people that may come to us. I bought two eeles upon the Thames, cost me six shillings. Thence with Sir W. Batten to the Cock-pit, whither the Duke of Albemarle is come. It seems the King holds him so necessary at this time, that he hath sent for him, and will keep him here. Indeed, his interest in the City, being acquainted, and his care in keeping things quiet, is reckoned that wherein he will be very serviceable. We to him: he is courted in appearance by every body. He very kind to us; and I perceive he lays by all business of the fleet at present, and minds the City, and is now hastening to Gresham College, to discourse with the Aldermen. Sir W. Batten and I home, (where

met by my brother John, come to town to see how things are done with us,) and then presently he with me to Gresham College; where infinity of people, partly through novelty to see the new place, and partly to find out and hear what is become one man of another. I met with many people undone, and more that have extraordinary great losses. People speaking their thoughts variously about the beginning of the fire, and the rebuilding of the City. Then to Sir W. Batten's, and took my brother with me, and there dined with a great company of neighbours, and much good discourse; among others, of the low spirits of some rich men in the City, in sparing any encouragement to the poor people that wrought for the saving their houses. Among others, Alderman Starling, a very rich man, without children, the fire at next door to him in our lane, after our men had saved his house, did give 2*s* 6*d*. among thirty of them, and did quarrel with some that would remove the rubbish out of the way of the fire, saying that they come to steal. Sir W. Coventry told me of another this morning in Holborne, which he showed the King: that when it was offered to stop the fire near his house for such a reward that come but to 2*s*. 6*d*. a man

among the neighbours he would give but 18*d.* Thence to Bednall Green by coach, my brother with me, and saw all well there, and fetched away my journall-book to enter for five days past. I was much frighted and kept awake in my bed, by some noise I heard a great while below stairs; and the boys not coming up to me when I knocked. It was by their discovery of some people stealing of some neighbours' wine that lay in vessels in the streets. So to sleep; and all well all night.

9th. Sunday. Up; and was trimmed, and sent my brother to Woolwich to my wife, to dine with her. I to church, where our parson made a melancholy but good sermon; and many and most in the church cried, specially the women. The church mighty full; but few of fashion, and most strangers. To church again, and there preached Dean Harding;* but, methinks, a bad, poor sermon, though proper for the time; nor eloquent, in saying at this time that the City is reduced from a large folio to a decimo-tertio. So to my office, there to write down my journall, and take leave of my brother, whom I send back this

* Probably Nathaniel Hardy, Dean of Rochester.

afternoon, though rainy; which it hath not done a good while before. To Sir W. Pen's to bed, and made my boy Tom to read me asleep.

10th. All the morning clearing our cellars, and breaking in pieces all my old lumber, to make room, and to prevent fire. And then to Sir W. Batten's, and dined; and there hear that Sir W. Rider says that the town is full of the report of the wealth that is in his house, and would be glad that his friends would provide for the safety of their goods there. This made me get a cart; and thither, and there brought my money all away. Took a hackney-coach myself, (the hackney-coaches now standing at Allgate.) Much wealth indeed there is at his house. Blessed be God, I got all mine well thence, and lodged it in my office; but vexed to have all the world see it. And with Sir W. Batten, who would have taken away my hands before they were stowed. But by and by comes brother Balty from sea, which I was glad of; and so got him, and Mr. Tooker, and the boy, to watch with them all in the office all night, while I went down to my wife.

11th. In the evening at Sir W. Pen's, at supper: he in a mad, ridiculous, drunken humour; and it seems there have been some late distances

between his lady and him, as my wife tells me. After supper, I home, and with Mr. Hater, Gibson,* and Tom alone, got all my chests and money into the further cellar with much pains, but great content to me when done. So very late and weary to bed.

12th. Up, and with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen to St. James's by water, and there did our usual business with the Duke of York.

13th. Up, and down to Tower Wharfe; and there, with Balty and labourers from Deptford, did get my goods housed well at home. So down to Deptford again to fetch the rest, and there eat a bit of dinner at the Globe, with the master of the Bezan with me, while the labourers went to dinner. Here I hear that this poor town do bury still of the plague seven or eight in a day. So to Sir G. Carteret's to work, and there did to my content ship off in the Bezan all the rest of my goods, saving my pictures and fine things, that I will bring home in wherrys when the house is fit to receive them: and so home, and unload them by carts and hands before night, to my exceeding satisfaction: and so after supper to bed in my house, the first time I have lain there.

* Probably Clerk of the Cheque at Deptford in 1688.

14th. Up, and to work, having carpenters come to help in setting up bedsteads and hangings; and at that trade my people and I all the morning, till pressed by publick business to leave them against my will in the afternoon: and yet I was troubled in being at home, to see all my goods lie up and down the house in a bad condition, and strange workmen going to and fro might take what they would almost. All the afternoon busy; and Sir W. Coventry come to me, and found me, as God would have it, in my office, and people about me setting my papers to rights; and there discoursed about getting an account ready against the Parliament, and thereby did create me infinity of business, and to be done on a sudden; which troubled me: but, however, he being gone, I about it late, and to good purpose. And so home, having this day also got my wine out of the ground again, and set it in my cellar; but with great pain to keep the porters that carried it in from observing the money-chests there.

15th. Captain Cocke says he hath computed that the rents of the houses lost this fire in the City comes to 600,000*l.* per annum; that this will make the Parliament more quiet than otherwise they would have been, and give the King a

more ready supply; that the supply must be by excise, as it is in Holland; that the Parliament will see it necessary to carry on the war; that the late storm hindered our beating the Dutch fleet, who were gone out only to satisfy the people, having no business to do but to avoid us; that the French, as late in the year as it is, are coming; that the Dutch are really in bad condition, but that this unhappiness of ours do give them heart: that there was a late difference between my Lord Arlington and Sir W. Coventry about neglect in the latter to send away an express of the other's in time; that it come before the King, and the Duke of York concerned himself in it; but this fire hath stopped it. The Dutch fleet is not gone home, but rather to the North, and so dangerous to our Gottenburgh fleet. That the Parliament is likely to fall foul upon some persons; and, among others, on the Vice-chamberlaine,* though we both believe with little ground. That certainly never so great a loss as this was borne so well by citizens in the world; he believing that not one merchant upon the 'Change will break upon it. That he do not apprehend there will be any disturbances in State upon it; for that all

* Sir G. Carteret.

men are busy in looking after their own business to save themselves. He gone, I to finish my letters, and home to bed; and find to my infinite joy many rooms clean; and myself and wife lie in our own chamber again. But much terrified in the nights now-a-days with dreams of fire, and falling down of houses.

17th. Up betimes, and shaved myself after a week's growth: but, Lord! how ugly I was yesterday and how fine to-day! By water, seeing the City all the way, a sad sight indeed, much fire being still in. Sir W. Coventry was in great pain lest the French fleet should be passed by our fleet, who had notice of them on Saturday, and were preparing to go meet them; but their minds altered, and judged them merchant-men, when the same day the Success, Captain Ball, made their whole fleet, and come to Brighthelmstone, and thence at five o'clock afternoon, Saturday, wrote Sir W. Coventry news thereof; so that we do much fear our missing them. Here come in and talked with him Sir Thomas Clifford,* who appears a very fine gentleman, and much set by at Court for his

* Eldest son of Hugh Clifford, Esq. of Ugbrooke, M. P. for Totness, 1661, and knighted for his conduct in the sea-fight 1665. After filling several high offices, he was in 1672

activity in going to sea, and stoutness every where, and stirring up and down.

18th. This day the Parliament met, and adjourned till Friday, when the King will be with them.

19th. To St. James's, and did our usual business before the Duke of York; which signified little, our business being only complaints of lack of money. Here I saw a bastard of the late King of Sweden's come to kiss his hands; a mighty modish French-like gentleman. Thence to White Hall, with Sir W. Batten and W. Pen, to Wilkes's; and there did hear many stories of Sir Henry Wood.* About Lord Norwich drawing a tooth at a health. Another time, he and Pinchbacke and Dr. Goffe,† now a religious man:—Pinchbacke did begin a frolick to drink out of a glass with a toad in it: he did it without harm. Goffe, who knew sacke would kill the toad, called for sack; and when he saw it dead, says he, "I will

created Baron Clifford of Chudleigh, and constituted High Treasurer; which place he resigned the following year, a few months before his death.

* Clerk of the Spicery to Charles I.; and, after the Restoration, Clerk to the Board of Green Cloth.

† Dr. Gough, Clerk of the Queen's Closet, and her Assistant Confessor.

have a quick toad, and will not drink from a dead toad." By that means, no other being to be found, he escaped the health.

20th. The fleet is come into the Downes. Nothing done, nor French fleet seen: we drove all from our anchors. But Sir G. Carteret says news is come that De Ruyter is dead, or very near it, of a hurt in his mouth, upon the discharge of one of his own guns; which put him into a fever, and he likely to die, if not already dead.

21st. The Parliament meet to-day, and the King to be with them. At the office, about our accounts, which now draw near the time they should be ready, the House having ordered Sir G. Carteret, upon his offering them, to bring them in on Saturday next.

23d. Mr. Wayth and I by water to White Hall, and there at Sir G. Carteret's lodgings Sir W. Coventry met, and we did debate the whole business of our accounts to the Parliament; where it appears to us that the charge of the war from September 1, 1664, to this Michaelmas, will have been but 3,200,000*l.*, and we have paid in that time somewhat about 2,200,000*l.*; so that we owe above 900,000*l.*: but our method of accounting, though it cannot, I believe, be far wide from

the mark, yet will not abide a strict examination if the Parliament should be troublesome. Here happened a pretty question of Sir W. Coventry, whether this account of ours will not put my Lord Treasurer to a difficulty to tell what is become of all the money the Parliament have given in this time for the war, which hath amounted to about 4,000,000*l.* which nobody there could answer; but I perceive they did doubt what his answer could be.

24th. Up, and down to look for Sir. W. Coventry; and at last found him and Sir G. Carteret with the Lord Treasurer at White Hall, consulting how to make up my Lord Treasurer's general account, as well as that of the Navy particularly.

25th. With all my people to get the letter writ over about the Navy Accounts; and by coach to Lord Brouncker's, and got his hand to it; and then to the Parliament House and got it signed by the rest, and then delivered it at the House-door to Sir Philip Warwicke; Sir G. Carteret being gone into the House with his book of accounts under his arme, to present to the House. All night still mightily troubled in my sleep with fire and houses pulling down.

26th. By coach home, calling at Bennet's, our late mercer, who is come into Covent Garden to a fine house looking down upon the Exchange. And I perceive many Londoners every day come. And Mr. Pierce hath let his wife's closet, and the little blind bedchamber, and a garret, to a silk-man for 50*l.* fine, and 30*l.* per annum, and 40*l.* per annum more for dieting the master and two prentices. By Mr. Dugdale I hear the great loss of books in St. Paul's Church-yard, and at their Hall also, which they value at about 150,000*l.*; some booksellers being wholly undone, and among others they say my poor Kirton. And Mr. Crumlum,* all his books and household stuff burned; they trusting to St. Fayth's, and the roof of the church falling, broke the arch down into the lower church, and so all the goods burned. A very great loss. His father hath lost above 1000*l.* in books; one book newly printed, a Discourse, it seems, of Courts. Here I had the hap to see my Lady Denham: and at night went into the dining-room and saw several fine ladies; among others, Castlemaine, but chiefly Denham again; and the Duke of York taking her aside

* Samuel Cromleholme, or Crumlum, Master of St. Paul's School.

and talking to her in the sight of all the world, all alone; which was strange, and what also I did not like. Here I met with good Mr. Evelyn, who cries out against it, and calls it bickering; for the Duke of York talks a little to her, and then she goes away, and then he follows her again like a dog. He observes that none of the nobility come out of the country at all, to help the King, or comfort him, or prevent commotions at this fire; but do as if the King were nobody; nor ne'er a priest comes to give the King and Court good council, or to comfort the poor people that suffer; but all is dead, nothing of good in any of their minds: he bemoans it, and says he fears more ruin hangs over our heads. My wife tells me she hath bought a gown of 15*s.* per yard; the same, before her face, my Lady Castlemaine this day bought also. Sir W. Pen proposes his and my looking out into Scotland about timber, and to use Pett there; for timber will be a good commodity this time of building the City. Our fleet abroad, and the Dutch too, for all we know. The weather very bad; and under the command of an unlucky man, I fear. God bless him, and the fleet under him!

27th. A very furious blowing night all the

night; and my mind still mightily perplexed with dreams, and burning the rest of the town; and waking in much pain for the fleet. I to look out Penny, my tailor, to speak for a cloak and cassock for my brother, who is coming to town; and I will have him in a canonical dress, that he may be the fitter to go abroad with me. No news of the fleet yet, but that they went by Dover on the 25th towards the Gun-fleet; but whether the Dutch be yet abroad, or no, we hear not. De Ruyter is not dead, but like to do well. Most think that the gross of the French fleet are gone home again.

28th. Comes the bookbinder to gild the backs of my books. Sir W. Pen broke to me a proposition of his and my joining in a design of fetching timber and deals from Scotland, by the help of Mr. Pett upon the place; which, while London is building, will yield good money. I approve it.

29th. Sir W. Coventry and I find to our great joy, that the wages, victuals, wear and tear, cast by the medium of the men, will come to above 3,000,000; and that the extraordinaries, which all the world will allow us, will arise to more than will justify the expence we have declared to have been at since the war; viz. 320,000*l.*

30th. (Lord's-day). Up, and to church, where I have not been a good while: and there the church infinitely thronged with strangers since the fire come into our parish; but not one handsome face in all of them, as if, indeed, there was a curse, as Bishop Fuller heretofore said, upon our parish. This month ends with my mind full of business and concernment how this office will speed with the Parliament, which begins to be mighty severe in the examining our accounts, and the expence of the Navy this war.

October 1st. All the morning at the office, getting the list of all the ships and vessels employed since the war, for the Committee of Parliament.

2d. Sir G. Carteret tells me how our lists are referred to a Sub-committee to consider and examine, and that I am ordered to be there. By and by the Committee met, and appointed me to attend them to-morrow at the office to examine our lists.

3d. The Committee met, and I did make shift to answer them better than I expected. Sir W. Batten, Lord Brouncker, W. Pen, come in, but presently went out: and J. Minnes come in, and said two or three words from the purpose but to do hurt; and so away he went also, and left me

all the morning with them alone to stand or fall. And it ended with good peace, and much seeming satisfaction; but I find them wise and reserved, and instructed to hit all our blots.

4th. To Sir G. Carteret, and there discoursed much of the want of money, and our being designed for destruction. How the King hath lost his power, by submitting himself to this way of examining his accounts, and is become but as a private man. He says the King is troubled at it, but they talk an entry* shall be made; that it is not to be brought into example; that the King must, if they do not agree presently, make them a courageous speech, which he says he may do (the City of London being now burned, and himself master of an army) better than any prince before him.

5th. The Sub-committee have made their report to the Grand Committee, and in pretty kind terms. Captain Cocke told me of a wild motion made in the House of Lords by the Duke of Buckingham, for all men that have cheated the King to be declared traitors and felons; and that my Lord Sandwich was named. Mr. Kirton's kins-

* In the Journals of the House of Commons.

man, my bookseller, come in my way; and so I am told by him that Mr. Kirton is utterly undone, and made 2 or 3000*l.* worse than nothing, from being worth 7 or 8000*l.* That the goods laid in the Churchyard fired through the windows those in St. Fayth's church; and those coming to the warehouses' doors fired them, and burned all the books and the pillars of the church, so as the roof falling down, broke quite down; which it did not do in the other places of the church, which is alike pillared, (which I knew not before;) but being not burned, they stood still. He do believe there is above 150,000*l.* of books burned; all the great booksellers almost undone: not only these, but their warehouses at their Hall and under Christ-church, and elsewhere, being all burned. A great want thereof there will be of books, specially Latin books and foreign books; and, among others, the Polyglottes and new Bible, which he believes will be presently worth 40*l.* a-piece.

6th. Sir W. Coventry and I discoursed of, among others, our sad condition by want of a Controller; and it was his words, that he believes, besides all the shame and trouble he * hath brought

* Sir John Minnes, who performed the duties inefficiently.

on the office, the King had better have given 100,000*l.* than ever have had him there. He did discourse about some of these discontented Parliament-men, and says that Birch is a false rogue, but that Garraway is a man that hath not been well used by the Court, though very stout to death, and hath suffered all that is possible for the King from the beginning. But discontented as he is, yet he never knew a Session of Parliament but that he hath done some good deed for the King before it rose. I told him the passage Cocke told me of—his having begged a brace of bucks of the Lord Arlington for him, and when it come to him, he sent it back again. Sir W. Coventry told me, it is much to be pitied that the King should lose the service of a man so able and faithful; and that he ought to be brought over, but that it is always observed, that by bringing over one discontented man, you raise up three in his room; which is a state lesson I never knew before. But when others discover your fear, and that discontent procures fear, they will be discontented too, and impose on you.

7th. To White Hall, where met by Sir W. Batten and Lord Brouncker, to attend the King and Duke of York at the Cabinet; but nobody had

determined what to speak of, but only in general to ask for money. So I was forced immediately to prepare in my mind a method of discoursing. And anon we were called in to the Green Room, where the King, Duke of York, Prince Rupert, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Duke of Albemarle, Sirs G. Carteret, W. Coventry, Morrice. Nobody beginning, I did, and made a current, and I thought a good speech, laying open the ill state of the Navy: by the greatness of the debt; greatness of the work to do against next year; the time and materials it would take; and our incapacity, through a total want of money. I had no sooner done, but Prince Rupert rose up and told the King in a heat, that whatever the gentleman had said, he had brought home his fleet in as good a condition as ever any fleet was brought home; that twenty boats would be as many as the fleet would want: and all the anchors and cables left in the storm, might be taken up again. This arose from my saying, among other things we had to do, that the fleet was come in,—the greatest fleet that ever his Majesty had yet together, and that in as bad condition as the enemy or weather could put it. And to use Sir W. Pen's words, who is upon the place taking a sur-

vey, he dreads the reports he is to receive from the Surveyors of its defects. I therefore did only answer, that I was sorry for his Highness's offence, but that what I said was but the report we received from those entrusted in the fleet to inform us. He muttered and repeated what he had said; and so, after a long silence on all hands, nobody, not so much as the Duke of Albemarle, seconding the Prince, nor taking notice of what he said, we withdrew. I was not a little troubled at this passage, and the more when speaking with Jacke Fenn about it, he told me that the Prince will be asking who this Pepys is, and find him to be a creature of my Lord Sandwich's, and therefore this was done only to disparage him. After all this pains, the King hath found out how to supply us with 5 or 6,000*l.*, when 100,000*l.* were at this time but absolutely necessary, and we mentioned 50,000*l.* I made my brother in his cassocke to say grace this day, but I like his voice so ill, that I begin to be sorry he hath taken orders.

8th. Towards noon, by water to Westminster Hall, and there by several hear that the Parliament do resolve to do something to retrench Sir G. Carteret's great salary; but cannot hear of any thing bad they can lay to his charge. The House did this

day order to be engrossed the Bill against importing Irish cattle: a thing, it seems, carried on by the Western Parliament-men, wholly against the sense of most of the rest of the House; who think if you do this, you give the Irish again cause to rebel. Mr. Pierce says, the Duke of York and Duke of Albemarle do not agree. The Duke of York is wholly given up to this Lady Denham. The Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert do less agree. The King hath yesterday in Council declared his resolution of setting a fashion for clothes, which he will never alter. It will be a vest, I know not well how; but it is to teach the nobility thrift, and will do good. By and by comes down from the Committee Sir W. Coventry, and I find him troubled at several things happened this afternoon. Which vexes me also; our business looking worse and worse, and our work growing on our hands. Time spending, and no money to set any thing in hand with; the end thereof must be speedy ruin. The Dutch insult and have taken off Bruant's head, which they had not dared to do (though found guilty of the fault he did die for, of something of the Prince of Orange's faction) till just now, which speaks more confidence in our being worse than before. Al-

derman Maynell, I hear, is dead. Thence returned in the dark by coach all alone, full of thoughts of the consequences of this ill complexion of affairs, and how to save the little I have, which if I can do, I have cause to bless God that I am so well, and shall be well contented to retreat to Brampton, and spend the rest of my days there. So to my office, and finished my Journal with resolutions, if God bless me, to apply myself soberly to settle all matters for myself, and expect the event of all with comfort.

9th. To the office, where we sat the first day since the fire.

10th. Fast-day for the fire. With Sir W. Batten by water to White Hall, and anon had a meeting before the Duke of York, where pretty to see how Sir W. Batten, that carried the surveys of all the fleet with him to show their ill condition to the Duke of York, when he found the Prince there, did not speak one word, though the meeting was of his asking; for nothing else. And when I asked him, he told me he knew the Prince too well to anger him, so that he was afraid to do it. Thence with him to Westminster, to the parish church, where the Parliament-men; and Stillingfleete in the pulpit. So

full, no standing there; so he and I to eat herrings at the Dog Tavern. And then to church again, and there was Mr. Frampton in the pulpit, whom they cry up so much, a young man, and of a mighty ready tongue. I heard a little of his sermon. Captain Cocke, who is mighty conversant with Garraway and those people, tells me what they object as to the mal-administration of things as to money. But that they mean well, and will do well; but their reckonings are very good, and show great faults, as I will insert here. They say the King hath had towards this war expressly thus much:—

Royal Ayde	£ 2,450,000.
More	1,250,000.
Three months tax given the King by a power of raising a month's tax of 70,000*l.* every year for three years	0,210,000.
Customes, out of which the King did promise to pay 240,000*l.* which for two years come to	0,480,000.
Prizes, which they moderately reckon at . .	0,300,000.
A debt declared by the Navy, by us	0,900,000.
	5,590,000.
The whole charge of the Navy, as we state it for two years and a month, hath been but	3,200,000.
* So what is become of all this sum? . .	£ 2,390,000.

* The remainder of the receipts.

He and I did bemoan our public condition. He tells me the Duke of Albemarle is under a cloud, and they have a mind at Court to lay him aside. This I know not; but all things are not right with him: and I am glad of it, but sorry for the time.

11th. *Memorandum.* I had taken my Journall during the fire and the disorders following in loose papers until this very day, and could not get time to enter them in my book till January 18, in the morning, having made my eyes sore by frequent attempts this winter to do it. But now it is done; for which I thank God, and pray never the like occasion may happen.

12th. The House have cut us off 150,000*l.* of our wear and tear, for that which was saved by the King while the fleet lay in harbour in winter. However, he seems pleased, and so am I, that they have abated no more; and do intend to allow of 28,000 men for the next year; and this day have appointed to declare the sum they will give the King, and to propose the way of raising it; so that this is likely to be the great day.

13th. To White Hall, and there the Duke of York (who is gone over to all his pleasures again, and leaves off care of business, what with his woman, my Lady Denham, and his hunting three

times a week) was just come in from hunting. So I stood and saw him dress himself, and try on his vest, which is the King's new fashion, and he will be in it for good and all on Monday next, and the whole Court: it is a fashion, the King says, he will never change. He being ready, he and my Lord Chancellor, and Duke of Albemarle, and Prince Rupert, Lord Bellasses, Sir H. Cholmly, Povy and myself, met at a Committee for Tangier. My Lord Bellasses's propositions were read and discoursed of, about reducing the garrison to less charge; and indeed I am mad in love with my Lord Chancellor, for he do comprehend and speak out well, and with the greatest easiness and authority that ever I saw man in my life. I did never observe how much easier a man do speak when he knows all the company to be below him, than in him; for though he spoke indeed excellent well, yet his manner and freedom of doing it, as if he played with it, and was informing only all the rest of the company, was mighty pretty. He did call again and again upon Mr. Povy for his accounts. I did think fit to make the solemn tender of my accounts that I intended. I said something that was liked, touching the want of money, and the bad credit of our tallies.

My Lord Chancellor moved, that without any trouble to any of the rest of the Lords, I might alone attend the King, when he was with his private Council, and open the state of the garrisons; want of credit: and all that could be done, should. Most things moved were referred to Committees, and so we broke up. And at the end Sir W. Coventry come; so I away with him, and he discoursed with me something of the Parliament's business. They have voted giving the King for the next year 1,800,000*l.*; which, were it not for his debts, were a great sum.

14th. I met with Sir Stephen Fox, who told me how much right I have done myself, and how well it is represented by the Committee to the House my readiness to give them satisfaction in every thing when they were at the office. I was glad of this. He did further discourse of Sir W. Coventry's great abilities, and how necessary it were that I were of the House to assist him. I did not own it, but do myself think it were not unnecessary, if either he should die, or be removed to the Lords, or any thing happen to hinder his doing the like service the next trial; which makes me think that it were not a thing very unfit; but I will not move in it.

15th. Colvill tells me of the viciousness of the Court; the contempt the King brings himself into thereby; his minding nothing, but doing all things just as his people about him will have it! The Duke of York becoming a slave to this Lady Denham, and wholly minds her. That there really were amours between the Duchesse and Sidny; that there is reason to fear that, as soon as the Parliament have raised this money, the King will see that he hath got all that he can get, and then make up a peace; that Sir W. Coventry is of the caball with the Duke of York, and Brouncker with this Lady Denham: which is a shame, and I am sorry for it, and that Sir W. Coventry do make her visits; but yet I hope it is not so. Pierce tells me, that Lady Castlemaine is concluded to be with child again; and that all the people about the King do make no scruple of saying that the King do intrigue with Mrs. Stewart, who, he says, is a most excellent-natured lady. This day the King begins to put on his vest, and I did see several persons of the House of Lords and Commons too, great courtiers, who are in it; being a long cassocke close to the body, of black cloth, and pinked with white silk under it, and a coat over it, and the legs ruffled with black riband like

a pigeon's leg: and upon the whole I wish the King may keep it, for it is a very fine and handsome garment. Lady Carteret tells me the ladies are to go into a new fashion shortly, and that is, to wear short coats, above their ancles; which she and I do not like; but conclude this long trayne to be mighty graceful. But she cries out of the vices of the Court, and how they are going to set up plays already; and how, the next day after the late great fast, the Duchesse of York did give the King and Queene a play. Nay, she told me that they have heretofore had plays at Court, the very nights before the fast for the death of the late King. She do much cry out upon these things, and that which she believes will undo the whole nation; and I fear so too. This day the great debate was in Parliament, the manner of raising the 1,800,000*l.* they voted the King on Friday: and at last, after many proposals, one moved that the Chimney-money might be taken from the King, and an equal revenue of something else might be found for the King; and people be enjoyned to buy off this tax of Chimney-money for ever at eight years' purchase, which will raise present money, as they think, 1,600,000*l.*, and the State be eased of an ill burthen, and the King be supplied of something as

good or better for his use. The House seems to like this, and put off the debate to to-morrow.

17th. The Court is all full of vests, only my Lord St. Albans not pinked, but plain black; and they say the King says the pinking upon whites makes them look too much like magpyes, and therefore hath bespoke one of plain velvet.

18th. To Lovett's house, where I stood godfather. But it was pretty, that, being a Protestant, a man stood by and was my proxy to answer for me. A priest christened it, and the boy's name is Samuel. The ceremonies many, and some foolish. The priest in a gentleman's dress, more than my own; but is a Capuchin, one of the Queen-mother's priests. He did give my proxy and the woman proxy, (my Lady Bills,* absent, had a proxy also,) good advice to bring up the child, and at the end that he ought never to marry the child nor the godmother, nor the godmother the child or the godfather: but, which is strange, they say the mother of the child and the godfather may marry. By and by the Lady Bills come in, a well-bred but crooked woman. The poor people of the house had good wine, and a good

* Probably the widow of Sir Thomas Pelham, who remarried John Bills, Esq. of Caen Wood, and retained the title derived from her first husband with the name of her second.

cake; and she a pretty woman in her lying-in dress. It cost me near 40*s.* the whole christening: to midwife 20*s.*, nurse 10*s.*, maid 2*s.* 6*d.*, and the coach 5*s.* The business of buying off the Chimney-money is passed in the House; and so the King to be satisfied some other way, and the King supplied with the money raised by this purchasing off of the chimnies.

19th. Nothing but distraction and confusion in the affairs of the Navy; which makes me wish with all my heart, that I were well and quietly settled with what little I have got at Brampton, where I might leave peaceably, and study, and pray for the good of the King and my country.

20th. Commissioner Middleton * says, that the fleet was in such a condition, as to discipline, as if the Devil had commanded it; so much wickedness of all sorts. Enquiring how it came to pass that so many ships had miscarried this year, he tells me that he enquired; and the pilots do say, that they dare not do nor go but as the Captains will have them; and if they offer to do otherwise, the Captains swear they will run them through.

* Thomas Middleton, made a Commissioner of the Navy, 1664.

He says that he heard Captain Digby (my Lord of Bristoll's son, a young fellow that never was but one year, if that, in the fleet,) say that he did hope he should not see a tarpawlin* have the command of a ship within this twelve months. He observed while he was on board the Admirall, when the fleet was at Portsmouth, that there was a faction there. Holmes commanded all on the Prince's side, and Sir Jeremy Smith on the Duke's, and every body that come did apply themselves to one side or other; and when the Duke of Albemarle was gone away to come hither, then Sir Jeremy Smith did hang his head, and walked in the General's ship but like a private commander. He says he was on board the Prince, when the news come of the burning of London; and all the Prince said was, that now Shipton's prophecy was out; and he heard a young commander presently swear, that a citizen's wife that would not take under half a piece before, would be contented with half-a-crowne: and made mighty sport of it. My Lord Chancellor the other day did ask Sir G. Carteret how it come to pass that his friend Pepys do so much magnify the bad condition of the fleet. Sir G. Carteret tells me that he answered him,

* Tarpawlin, a sailor.

that I was but the mouth of the rest, and spoke what they have dictated to me; which did, as he says, presently take off his displeasure. They talk that the Queene hath a great mind to alter her fashion, and to have the feet seen; which she loves mightily.

21st. Sir H. Cholmly tells me how Mr. Williamson stood in a little place to have come into the House of Commons, and they would not choose him; they said, "No courtier." And which is worse, Bab May went down in great state to Winchelsea with the Duke of York's letters, not doubting to be chosen; and there the people chose a private gentleman in spite of him, and cried out they would have no Court pimp to be their burgesse; which are things that bode very ill.

24th. Holmes did last Sunday deliver in his articles to the King and Cabinet against Smith, and Smith hath given in his answer, and lays his not accompanying the fleet to his pilot, who would not undertake to carry the ship further; which the pilot acknowledges. The thing is not accommodated, but only taken up, and both sides commanded to be quiet, but no peace like to be. The Duke of Albemarle is Smith's friend, and hath publickly swore that he would never go to sea

again, unless Holmes's commission were taken from him. I find by Hayes* that they did expect great glory in coming home in so good condition as they did with the fleet; and therefore I the less wonder that the Prince was distasted with my discourse the other day about the sad state of the fleet. But it pleases me to hear that he did expect great thanks, and lays the fault of the want of it upon the fire, which deadened every thing, and the glory of his services.

25th. To Mrs. Pierce's, where she was making herself mighty fine to go to a great ball to-night at Court, being the Queene's birth-day; so the ladies for this one day wear laces, but are to put them off again to-morrow. To Mrs. Williams's, where we met Knipp. I was glad to see the jade. Made her sing; and she told us they begin at both houses to act on Monday next. But I fear after all this sorrow, their gains will be but little. Mrs. Williams says, the Duke's house will now be much the better of the two, because of their women; which I was glad to hear.

27th. The two Houses begin to be troublesome; the Lords to have quarrels one with another. My Lord Duke of Buckingham having said to the

* Prince Rupert's secretary.

Lord Chancellor (who is against the passing of the Bill for prohibiting the bringing over of Irish cattle,) that whoever was against the Bill, was there led to it by an Irish interest, or an Irish understanding, which is as much as to say he is a fool; this bred heat from my Lord Chancellor, and something he said did offend my Lord of Ossory (my Lord Duke of Ormond's son,) and they two had hard words, upon which the latter sends a challenge to the former; of which the former complains to the House, and so the business is to be heard on Monday next. Then as to the Commons; some ugly knives, like poignards, to stab people with, about two or three hundred of them were brought in yesterday to the House, found in one of the houses rubbish that was burned, and said to be the house of a Catholique. This and several letters out of the country, saying how high the Catholiques are every where and bold in the owning their religion, have made the Commons mad, and they presently voted that the King be desired to put all Catholiques out of employment, and other high things; while the business of money hangs in the hedge.

28th. Captain Guy to dine with me, and he and I much talk together. He cries out of the disci-

pline of the fleet, and confesses really that the true English valour we talk of, is almost spent and worn out; few of the commanders doing what they should do, and he much fears we shall therefore be beaten the next year. He assures me we were beaten home the last June fight, and that the whole fleet was ashamed to hear of our bonfires. He commends Smith, and cries out of Holmes for an idle, proud, conceited, though stout fellow. He tells me we are to owe the loss of so many ships on the sands, not to any fault of the pilots, but to the weather; but in this I have good authority to fear there was something more. He says the Dutch do fight in very good order, and we in none at all. He says that in the July fight, both the Prince and Holmes had their belly-fulls, and were fain to go aside; though, if the wind had continued, we had utterly beaten them. He do confess the whole to be governed by a company of fools, and fears our ruine. The Revenge having her forecastle blown up with powder to the killing of some men in the River, and the Dyamond's being overset in the careening at Sheernese, are further marks of the method all the King's work is now done in. The Foresight also and another come

to disasters in the same place this week in the cleaning; which is strange.

29th. Up, and to the office to do business, and thither comes to me Sir Thomas Teddiman, and he and I walked a good while in the garden together, discoursing of the disorder and discipline of the fleet, wherein he told me how bad every thing is; but was very wary in speaking any thing to the dishonour of the Prince or Duke of Albemarle, but do magnify my Lord Sandwich much before them both, from ability to serve the King, and do heartily wish for him here. For he fears that we shall be undone the next year, but that he will, however, see an end of it. To Westminster; and I find the new Lord Mayor Bolton a-swearing at the Exchequer, with some of the Aldermen and Livery; but Lord! to see how meanely they now look, who upon this day used to be all little lords, is a sad sight and worthy consideration. And every body did reflect with pity upon the poor City, to which they are now coming to choose and swear their Lord Mayor, compared with what it heretofore was. To my goldsmith to bid him look out for some gold for me; and he tells me that ginnys, which I bought 2000 of not long ago, and

cost me but 18½*d.* change, will now cost me 22*d.*; and but very few to be had at any price. However, some more I will have, for they are very convenient, and of easy disposal. To White Hall, and into the new playhouse there, the first time I ever was there, and the first play I have seen since before the great plague. By and by Mr. Pierce comes, bringing my wife and his, and Knipp. By and by the King and Queen, Duke and Duchesse, and all the great ladies of the Court; which, indeed, was a fine sight. But the play, being "Love in a Tub,"* a silly play, and though done by the Duke's people, yet having neither Beterton nor his wife,† and the whole thing done ill, and being ill also, I had no manner of pleasure in the play. Besides, the House, though very fine, yet bad for the voice, for hearing. The sight of the ladies, indeed, was exceeding noble; and above all, my Lady Castlemaine. The play done by ten o'clock.

November 2d. On board the Ruby French prize, the only ship of war we have taken from any of our enemies this year. It seems a very good ship, but with galleries quite round the

* A comedy, by Sir George Etheridge.

† Vide Note to Feb. 1, 1663-4.

sterne to walk in as a balcone, which will be taken down.

4th. My taylor's man brings my vest home, and coat to wear with it, and belt, and silver-hilted sword. I waited in the gallery till the Council was up, and did speak with Mr. Cooling, my Lord Chamberlain's secretary, who tells me my Lord Generall is become mighty low in all people's opinion, and that he hath received several slurs from the King and Duke of York. The people at Court do see the difference between his and the Prince's management, and my Lord Sandwich's. That this business which he is put upon of crying out against the Catholiques and turning them out of all employment, will undo him, when he comes to turn the officers out of the Army, and this is a thing of his own seeking. That he is grown a drunken sot, and drinks with nobody but Troutbecke, whom nobody else will keep company with. Of whom he told me this story; that once the Duke of Albemarle in his drink taking notice as of a wonder that Nan Hide should ever come to be Duchesse of York: "Nay," says Troutbecke, "ne'er wonder at that; for if you will give me another bottle of wine, I will tell you as great, if not greater, a miracle." And

what was that, but that our dirty Besse (meaning his Duchesse) should come to be Duchesse of Albemarle?

5th. To my Lady Peterborough, who had sent to speak with me. She makes mighty mourn of the badness of the times, and her family as to money. My Lord's passionateness for want thereof, and his want of coming in of rents, and no wages from the Duke of York. No money to be had there for wages nor disbursements, and therefore prays my assistance about his pension. To my Lord Crewe's, and there dined, and mightily made of. Here my Lord, and Sir Thomas Crewe, Mr. John, and Dr. Crewe,* and two strangers. The best family in the world for goodness and sobriety. Here beyond my expectation I met my Lord Hinchingbroke, who is come to town two days since from Hinchingbroke, and brought his sister and brother Carteret with him, who are at Sir G. Carteret's. After dinner I and Sir Thomas Crewe went aside to discourse of public matters, and do find by him that all the country gentlemen are publickly jealous of the courtiers in the Parliament, and that they do doubt every

* Nathaniel, afterwards Bishop of Durham and Baron Crewe.

thing that they propose; and that the true reason why the country-gentlemen are for a land-tax and against a general excise, is, because they are fearful that if the latter be granted, they shall never get it down again; whereas the land-tax will be but for so much, and when the war ceases, there will be no ground got by the Court to keep it up. He says the House would be very glad to get something against Sir G. Carteret, and will not let their inquiries die till they have got something. He do, from what he hath heard at the Committee for examining the burning of the City, conclude it as a thing certain, that it was done by plots; it being proved by many witnesses that endeavours were made in several places to encrease the fire, and that both in City and country it was bragged by several Papists, that upon such a day or in such a time we should find the hottest weather that ever was in England; and words of plainer sense. But my Lord Crewe was discoursing at table how the Judges have determined in the case whether the landlords or the tenants (who are, in their leases, all of them generally tied to maintain and uphold their houses,) shall bear the loss of the fire: and they say, that tenants should against all casualties of fire beginning either in their own, or

in their neighbour's; but, where it is done by an enemy, they are not to do it. And this was by an enemy, there having been one convicted and hanged upon this very score. This is an excellent salvo for the tenants, and for which I am glad, because of my father's house. After dinner and this discourse, I took coach, and at the same time find my Lord Hinchingbroke and Mr. John Crewe and the Doctor going out to see the ruins of the City; so I took the Doctor into my hackney-coach, (and he is a very fine sober gentleman,) and so through the City. But, Lord! what pretty and sober observations he made of the City and its desolation; till anon we come to my house, and there I took them upon Tower-Hill to show them what houses were pulled down there since the fire; and then to my house, where I treated them with good wine of several sorts, and they took it mighty respectfully, and a fine company of gentlemen they are; but above all I was glad to see my Lord Hinchingbroke drink no wine at all. I home by coach, but met not one bonfire through the whole town in going round by the wall, which is strange, and speaks the melancholy disposition of the City at present, while never

more was said of, and feared of, and done against the Papists, than just at this time.

7th. Called at Faythorne's, to buy some prints for my wife to draw by this winter, and here did see my Lady Castlemaine's picture, done by him from Lilly's, in red chalke and other colours, by which he hath cut it in copper to be printed. The picture in chalke is the finest thing I ever saw in my life, I think; and I did desire to buy it; but he says he must keep it awhile to correct his copper-plate by, and when that is done he will sell it me. By the Duke of York his discourse to-day in his chamber, they have it at Court, as well as we here, that a fatal day is to be expected shortly, of some great mischief; whether by the Papists, or what, they are not certain. But the day is disputed; some say next Friday, others a day sooner, others later, and I hope all will prove a foolery. But it is observable how every bodys fears are busy at this time.

8th. I to Westminster Hall, and there met Mr. Grey, who tells me the House is sitting still, (and now it was six o'clock,) and likely to sit till midnight; and have proceeded fair to give the King his supply presently. And herein have done more

to-day than was hoped for. Sir W. Coventry did this night tell me how the business is about Sir J. Minnes; that he is to be a Commissioner, and my Lord Brouncker and Sir W. Pen are to be Controller jointly, which I am very glad of, and better than if they were either of them alone; and do hope truly that the King's business will be better done thereby, and infinitely better than now it is. Mr. Grey did assure me this night, that he was told this day, by one of the greater Ministers of State in England, and one of the King's Cabinet, that we had little left to agree on between the Dutch and us towards a peace, but only the place of treaty; which do astonish me to hear, but I am glad of it, for I fear the consequence of the war. But he says that the King, having all the money he is like to have, we shall be sure of a peace in a little time.

9th. To Mrs. Pierce's by appointment, where we find good company: a fair lady, my Lady Prettyman, Mrs. Corbet, Knipp; and for men, Captain Downing, Mr. Lloyd, Sir W. Coventry's clerk, and one Mr. Tripp, who dances well. After our first bout of dancing, Knipp and I to sing, and Mercer and Captain Downing (who loves and understands musick) would by all means have my song of

"Beauty retire:" which Knipp had spread abroad, and he extols it above any thing he ever heard. Going to dance again, and then comes news that White Hall was on fire. And presently more particulars, that the Horse-guard was on fire. And so we run up to the garret, and find it so; a horrid great fire. And by and by we saw and heard part of it blown up with powder. The ladies begun presently to be afraid: one fell into fits. The whole town in an alarm. Drums beat and trumpets, and the Horse-guards every where spread, running up and down in the street. And I begun to have mighty apprehensions how things might be, for we are in expectation (from common fame) this night or to-morrow to have a massacre, by the having so many fires one after another, as that in the City, and at same time begun in Westminster, by the Palace, but put out; and since in Southwarke, to the burning down some houses. And now this do make all people conclude there is something extraordinary in it; but nobody knows what. By and by comes news that the fire is slackened; so then we were a little cheered up again, and to supper, and pretty merry. But above all there comes in the dumb boy that I knew in Oliver's time, who is mightily acquainted here, and with Down-

ing. And he made strange signs of the fire, and how the King was abroad, and many things they understood, but I could not. Which I wondered at, and discoursing with Downing about it, "Why," says he, "it is only a little use, and you will understand him, and make him understand you with as much ease as may be." So I prayed him to tell him that I was afraid that my coach would be gone, and that he should go down and steal one of the seats out of the coach and keep it, and that would make the coachman to stay. He did this, so that the dumb boy did go down, and like a cunning rogue went into the coach, pretending to sleep, and by and by fell to his work, but finds the seats nailed to the coach. So he could not do it; however, stayed there, and stayed the coach, till the coachman's patience was quit spent, and beat the dumb boy by force, and so went away. So the dumb boy came up and told him all the story, which they below did see all that passed, and knew it to be true. After supper another dance or two, and then news that the fire is as great as ever, which put us all to our wits'-end; and I mightily anxious to go home, but the coach being gone, and it being about ten at night, and rainy dirty weather, I knew not what to do; but to walk

out with Mr. Batelier, myself resolving to go home on foot, and leave the women there. And so did; but at the Savoy got a coach, and come back and took up the women, and so (having, by people come from the fire, understood that the fire was overcome, and all well,) we merrily parted, and home. Stopped by several guards and constables quite through the town, (round the wall as we went,) all being in arms.

10th. The Parliament did fall foul of our accounts again yesterday; and we must arme to have them examined, which I am sorry for: it will bring great trouble to me, and shame upon the office. This is the fatal day that every body hath discoursed for a long time to be the day that the Papists, or I know not who, have designed to commit a massacre upon; but, however, I trust in God we shall rise to-morrow morning as well as ever. I hear that my Lady Denham is exceeding sick, even to death, and that she says, and every body else discourses, that she is poisoned; and Creed tells me, that it is said that there hath been a design to poison the King. What the meaning of all these sad signs is the Lord only knows, but every day things look worse and worse. God fit us for the worst!

12th. Creed tells me of my Lady Denham, whom every body says is poisoned, and she hath said it to the Duke of York; but is upon the mending hand, though the town says she is dead this morning. This day I received 450 pieces of gold more of Mr .Stokes, but cost me 22½*d.* change. But I am well contented with it, I having now nearly 2800*l.* in gold, and will not rest till I get full 3000*l.* Creed and I did stop (the Duke of York being just going away from seeing of it) at Paul's, and in the Convocation-House-Yard did there see the body of Robert Braybrooke, Bishop of London, that died 1404. He fell down in the tomb out of the great church into St. Fayth's this late fire, and is here seen his skeleton with the flesh on; but all tough and dry like a spongy dry leather, or touchwood all upon his bones. His head turned aside. A great man in his time, and Lord Chancellor. And now exposed to be handled and derided by some, though admired for its duration by others. Many flocking to see it.

14th. Knipp tells me how Smith, of the Duke's house, hath killed a man upon a quarrel in play; which makes every body sorry, he being a good actor, and they say a good man, however this happens. The ladies of the Court do much bemoan

him. Sir G. Carteret tells me that just now my Lord Hollis had been with him, and wept to think in what a condition we are fallen. Dr. Croone* told me, that at the meeting at Gresham College to-night (which, it seems, they now have every Wednesday again,) there was a pretty experiment of the blood of one dog let out (till he died) into the body of another on one side, while all his own run out on the other side. The first died upon the place, and the other very well, and likely to do well. This did give occasion to many pretty wishes, as of the blood of a Quaker to be let into an Archbishop, and such like; but, as Dr. Croone says, may, if it takes, be of mighty use to man's health, for the amending of bad blood by borrowing from a better body.

15th. To Mrs. Pierce's, where I find her as fine as possible, and Mr. Pierce going to the ball at night at Court, it being the Queene's birth-day. I also to the ball, and with much ado got up to the loft, where with much trouble I could see very well. Anon the house grew full, and the candles light, and the King and Queene and all the ladies

* William Croune, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, chosen Rhetoric Professor at Gresham College 1659, F.R.S. and M.D. Ob. 1684.

sat: and it was, indeed, a glorious sight to see Mrs. Stewart in black and white lace, and her head and shoulders dressed with diamonds, and the like many great ladies more (only the Queene none;) and the King in his rich vest of some rich silk and silver trimming, as the Duke of York and all the dancers were, some of cloth of silver, and others of other sorts, exceeding rich. Presently after the King was come in, he took the Queene, and about fourteen more couple there was, and begun the Bransles. As many of the men as I can remember presently, were, the King, Duke of York, Prince Rupert, Duke of Monmouth, Duke of Buckingham, Lord Douglas, Mr. Hamilton, Colonell Russell, Mr. Griffith, Lord Ossory, Lord Rochester; and of the ladies, the Queene, Duchesse of York, Mrs. Stewart, Duchesse of Monmouth, Lady Essex Howard,* Mrs. Temple, Swedes Embassadresse, Lady Arlington,† Lord George Barkeley's daughter, and

* Only daughter of James third Earl of Suffolk, by his first wife Susan, daughter of Henry Rich Earl of Holland; afterwards married to Edward Lord Griffin of Braybrooke. There is a portrait of her at Audley End, by Lely.

† Isabella of Nassau, daughter of Lord Beverweert, natural son of Prince Maurice. She was sister to the Countess of Ossory, and mother of the first Duchess of Grafton.

many others I remember not; but all most excellently dressed in rich petticoats and gowns, and dyamonds, and pearls. After the Bransles, then to a Corant, and now and then a French dance; but that so rare that the Corants grew tiresome, that I wished it done. Only Mrs. Stewart danced mighty finely, and many French dances, specially one the King called the New Dance, which was very pretty. But upon the whole matter, the business of the dancing of itself was not extraordinary pleasing. But the clothes and sight of the persons were indeed very pleasing, and worth my coming, being never likely to see more gallantry while I live, if I should come twenty times. Above twelve at night it broke up. My Lady Castlemaine (without whom all is nothing) being there very rich, though not dancing.

16th. This noon I met with Mr. Hooke, and he tells me the dog which was filled with another dog's blood, at the College the other day, is very well, and like to be so as ever, and doubts not its being found of great use to men; and so do Dr. Whistler, who dined with us at the tavern.

19th. To Barkeshire-house,* where my Lord

* Belonging to the Earl of Berkshire: afterwards purchased by Charles II., and presented to the Duchess of

Chancellor hath been ever since the fire. Sir Thomas Crewe told me how hot words grew again to-day in the House of Lords between my Lord Ossory and Ashly, the former saying that something said by the other was said like one of Oliver's Council. Ashly said he must give him reparation, or he would take it his own way. The House therefore did bring my Lord Ossory to confess his fault, and ask pardon for it, as he did also to my Lord Buckingham, for saying that something was not truth that my Lord Buckingham had said.

20th. To church, it being thanksgiving-day for the cessation of the plague; but, Lord! how the town do say that it is hastened before the plague is quite over, there being some people still ill of it, but only to get ground of plays to be publickly acted, which the Bishops would not suffer till the plague was over; and one would think so, by the suddenness of the notice given of the day, which was last Sunday, and the little ceremony. By coach to Barkeshire-house, and there did get a very great meeting; the Duke of York being there, and much business done, though not in pro-

Cleveland. It was then of great extent, and stood on or near the site of Lord Stafford's present residence.

portion to the greatness of the business, and my Lord Chancellor sleeping and snoring the greater part of the time.

21st. I to wait on Sir Philip Howard, whom I find dressing himself in his night-gown and turban like a Turke, but one of the finest persons that ever I saw in my life. He had several gentlemen of his own waiting on him, and one playing finely on the gittar. He discourses as well as ever I heard man, in few words and handsome. He expressed all kindness to Balty, when I told him how sicke he is. He says that before he comes to be mustered again, he must bring a certificate of his swearing the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and having taken the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. This, I perceive, is imposed on all.

22d. My Lord Brouncker did show me Hollar's new print of the City, with a pretty representation of that part which is burnt, very fine indeed; and tells me, that he was yesterday sworn the King's servant, and that the King hath commanded him to go on with his great map of the City, which he was upon before the City was burned, like Gombout of Paris, which I am glad of. Mr. Batelier tells me the news how the King of France hath

in defiance to the King of England caused all his footmen to be put into vests, and that the noblemen of France will do the like; which, if true, is the greatest indignity ever done by one Prince to another, and would excite a stone to be revenged; and I hope our King will, if it be so, as he tells me it is: being told by one that come over from Paris with my Lady Fanshaw, (who is come over with the dead body of her husband,) and that saw it before he come away. This makes me mighty merry, it being an ingenious kind of affront; but yet makes me angry, to see that the King of England is become so little as to have the affront offered him.

23d. I spoke with Sir G. Downing about our prisoners in Holland, and their being released; which he is concerned in, and most of them are. Then discoursing of matters of the House of Parliament, he tells me that it is not the fault of the House, but the King's own party that have hindered the passing of the Bill for money, by their popping in of new projects for raising it: which is a strange thing; and mighty confident he is, that what money is raised, will be raised and put into the same form that the last was, to come into the

Exchequer. And for aught I see, I must confess I think it is the best way.

24th. With Sir J. Minnes by coach to Stepney to the Trinity House, where it is kept again now since the burning of their other house in London. And here a great many met at Sir Thomas Allen's feast, of his being made an Elder Brother; but he is sick, and so could not be there. Here was much good company, and very merry; but the discourse of Scotland it seems is confirmed, and that they are 4000 of them in armes, and do declare for King and Covenant, which is very ill news. I pray God deliver us from the ill consequences we may justly fear from it. Sir Philip Warwick I find is full of trouble in his mind to see how things go, and what our wants are; and so I have no delight to trouble him with discourse, though I honour the man with all my heart, and I think him to be a very able right-honest man.

25th. To Sir G. Carteret's to dinner; where much company. Among others, Mr. Carteret and my Lady Jemimah, and Mr. Ashburnham, the great man; who is a pleasant man, and that hath seen much of the world, and more of the Court. Into the Court, and attended there till the Council

met, and then was called in, and I read my letter. My Lord Treasurer declared that the King had nothing to give, till the Parliament did give him some money. So the King did of himself bid me to declare to all that would take our tallies for payment, that he should, soon as the Parliament's money do come in, take back their tallies, and give them money: which I giving him occasion to repeat to me (it coming from him against the gré, I perceive, of my Lord Treasurer,) I was content therewith, and went out. All the talk of Scotland, where the highest report I perceive runs but upon three or four hundred in armes. Here I saw Mrs. Stewart this afternoon, methought the beautifullest creature that ever I saw in my life, more than ever I thought her, so often as I have seen her; and I do begin to think do exceed my Lady Castlemaine, at least now. This being St. Katherine's day, the Queene was at masse by seven o'clock this morning; and Mr. Ashburnham do say that he never saw any one have so much zeale in his life as she hath: and (the question being asked by my Lady Carteret,) much beyond the bigotry that ever the old Queene-mother had. I spoke with Mr. May,* who tells me

* Hugh May.

that the design of building the City do go on apace, and by his description it will be mighty handsome, and to the satisfaction of the people; but I pray God it come not out too late. Mr. Ashburnham to-day at dinner told how the rich fortune Mrs. Mallett reports of her servants; that my Lord Herbert* would have her; my Lord Hinchingbroke was indifferent to have her; my Lord John Butler† might not have her; my Lord of Rochester would have forced her, and Sir —— Popham ‡ (who nevertheless is likely to have her) would do any thing to have her.

26th. Into the House of Parliament, where at a great committee I did hear as long as I would the great ease against my Lord Mordaunt,§ for

* William Lord Herbert succeeded his father as (sixth) Earl of Pembroke, 1669. Ob. unmarried 1674.

† Seventh son of the Duke of Ormond, created 1676 Baron of Aghrim, Viscount of Clonmore, and Earl of Gowran. Ob. 1677, s. p.

‡ Probably Sir Francis Popham, K. B.

§ John Mordaunt, younger son to the first, and brother to the second Earl of Peterborough, having incurred considerable personal risk in endeavouring to promote the King's Restoration, was, in 1659, created Baron Mordaunt of Reigate, and Viscount Mordaunt of Avalon. He was soon afterwards made K. G., and constituted Lord Lieutenant of Surrey, and Constable of Windsor Castle; which offices he held till his death, in 1675. In January 1666-7, Lord Mordaunt

some arbitary proceedings of his against one Taylor, whom he imprisoned and did all the violence to imaginable, only to get him to give way to his abusing his daughter. Here was Mr. Sawyer,* my old chamber-fellow,† a counsel against my

was impeached by the House of Commons for forcibly ejecting William Tayleur and his family from the apartments which they occupied in Windsor Castle, where Tayleur held some appointment, and imprisoning him because he had presumed to offer himself as a candidate for the borough of Windsor. Lord M. was also accused of improper conduct towards Tayleur's daughter. He, however, denied all these charges in his place in the House of Lords, and put in an answer to the articles of impeachment, for hearing which a day was absolutely fixed; but the Parliament being shortly afterwards prorogued, the enquiry seems to have been entirely abandoned, notwithstanding the vehemence with which the House of Commons had taken the matter up. Perhaps the King interfered in Lord Mordaunt's behalf; because Andrew Marvel in his "Instructions to a Painter," after saying, in allusion to this business,

> "Now Mordaunt may within his castle tower
> Imprison parents and the child deflower,"

proceeds to observe,

> "Each does the other blame, and all distrust,
> But Mordaunt *new obliged* would sure be just."

* Afterwards Sir Robert Sawyer, Attorney General from 1681 to 1687. Ob. 1692.

† At Magdalene College, where he was admitted a Pensioner, June 1648.

Lord; and I was glad to see him in so good play. No news from the North at all to-day; and the news-book makes the business nothing, but that they are all dispersed.

27th. To my Lord Crewe, and had some good discourse with him, he doubting that all will break in pieces in the kingdom; and that the taxes now coming out, which will tax the same man in three or four several capacities, as for land, office, profession, and money at interest, will be the hardest that ever came out; and do think that we owe it, and the lateness of its being given, wholly to the unpreparedness of the King's own party, to make their demand and choice; for they have obstructed the giving it by land-tax, which had been done long since.

28th. To White Hall; where, though it blows hard and rains hard, yet the Duke of York is gone a-hunting. We therefore lost our labour, and so to get things ready against dinner at home, and at noon comes my Lord Hinchingbroke, Sir Thomas Crewe, Mr. John Crewe, Mr. Carteret, and Brisband. I had six noble dishes for them, dressed by a man-cook, and commended, as indeed they deserved, for exceeding well done. We eat with great pleasure, and I enjoyed myself in

it; eating in silver plates, and all things mighty rich and handsome about me. Till dark at dinner, and then broke up with great pleasure, especially to myself; and they away, only Mr. Carteret and I to Gresham College. Here was Mr. Henry Howard,* that will hereafter be Duke of Norfolke, who is admitted this day into the Society, and being a very proud man, and one that values himself upon his family, writes his name, as he do every where, Henry Howard of Norfolke.

29th. I late at the office, and all the news I hear I put into a letter this night to my Lord Brouncker at Chatham, thus:

"I doubt not of your Lordship's hearing of Sir Thomas Clifford's succeeding Sir H. Pollard† in the Controllership of the King's house; but perhaps our ill (but confirmed) tidings from the Barbadoes may not have reached you yet, it coming

* Henry Howard, second son of Henry Earl of Arundel, became, on the death of his brother Thomas in 1677, sixth Duke of Norfolk, having been previously created Baron Howard of Castle Rising, in 1669, and advanced to the Earldom of Norwich, 1672. He was a great benefactor to the Royal Society, and presented the Arundel Marbles to the University of Oxford. Ob. 1683-4.

† M.P. for Devonshire. Ob. Nov. 27, 1666.

but yesterday; viz. that about eleven ships (whereof two of the King's, the Hope and Coventry) going thence with men to attack St. Christopher were seized by a violent hurricana, and all sunk. Two only of thirteen escaping, and those with loss of masts, &c. My Lord Willoughby * himself is involved in the disaster, and I think two ships thrown upon an island of the French, and so all the men (to 500) become their prisoners. 'Tis said, too, that eighteen Dutch men-of-war are passed the Channell, in order to meet with our Smyrna ships; and some I hear do fright us with the King of Sweden's seizing our mast-ships at Gottenburgh. But we have too much ill news true, to afflict ourselves with what is uncertain. That which I hear from Scotland is, the Duke of York's saying yesterday, that he is confident the Lieutenant Generall there hath driven them into a pound somewhere towards the mountains."

To show how mad we are at home here, and unfit for any troubles: my Lord St. John did a day or two since openly pull a gentleman in Westminster Hall by the nose, (one Sir Andrew Hen-

* Francis fifth Lord Willoughby of Parnham, drowned at Barbadoes, 1666.

ly,) while the Judges were upon their benches, and the other gentleman did give him a rap over the pate with his cane. Of which fray the Judges, they say, will make a great matter: men are only sorry the gentleman did proceed to return a blow; for otherwise my Lord would have been soundly fined for the affront, and may be yet for his affront to the Judges.

30th. To White Hall; and pretty to see (it being St. Andrew's day,) how some few did wear St. Andrew's crosse; but most did make a mockery at it, and the House of Parliament, contrary to practice, did sit also: people having no mind to observe the Scotch saint's days till they hear better news from Scotland.

December 1st. Walking to the Old Swan I did see a cellar in Tower-streete in a very fresh fire, the late great winds having blown it up. It seemed to be only of log-wood that hath kept the fire all this while in it. Going further I met my late Lord Mayor Bludworth, under whom the City was burned; but a very weak man he seems to be. By coach home in the evening, calling at Faythorne's, buying three of my Lady Castlemaine's heads, printed this day, which indeed is, as to the head, I think a very fine picture, and

like her. I did this afternoon get Mrs. Michell to let me only have a sight of a pamphlet lately printed, but suppressed and much called after, called "The Catholique's Apology;" lamenting the severity of the Parliament against them, and comparing it with the lenity of other princes to Protestants. Giving old and late instances of their loyalty to their princes, whatever is objected against them; and excusing their disquiets in Queene Elizabeth's time, for that it was impossible for them to think her a lawfull Queene, if Queene Mary, who had been owned as such, were so; one being the daughter of the true, and the other of a false wife: and that of the Gunpowder Treason, by saying that it was only the practice of some of us, if not the King, to trepan some of their religion into it, it never being defended by the generality of their Church, nor indeed known by them; and ends with a large Catalogue, in red letters, of the Catholiques which have lost their lives in the quarrel of the late King and this. The thing is very well writ indeed.

2d. Took coach, and no sooner in the coach but something broke, that we were fain there to stay till a smith could be fetched, which was above an hour, and then it costing me 6*s.* to mend. Away

round by the wall and Cow-lane, for fear it should break again, and in pain about the coach all the way. I went to Sir W. Batten's, and there I hear more ill news still: that all our New-England fleet, which went out lately, are put back a third time by foul weather, and dispersed, some to one port and some to another; and their convoys also to Plymouth; and whether any of them be lost or no, we do not know. This, added to all the rest, do lay us flat in our hopes and courages, every body prophesying destruction to the nation.

3d. More cheerful than I have been a good while, to hear that for certain the Scott rebels are all routed; they having been so bold as to come within three miles of Edinburgh, and there given two or three repulses to the King's forces, but at last were mastered. Three or four hundred killed or taken, among which their leader, Wallis, and seven ministers (they having all taken the Covenant a few days before, and sworn to live and die in it, as they did;) and so all is likely to be there quiet again. There is also the very good news come of four New-England ships come home safe to Falmouth with masts for the King; which is a blessing mighty unexpected, and without which (if for nothing else) we must have failed the next

year. But God be praised for thus much good fortune, and send us the continuance of his favour in other things!

6th. After dinner my wife and brother* (in another habit) go out to see a play; but I am not to take notice that I know of my brother's going. This day, in the Gazette, is the whole story of defeating of Scotch rebells, and of the creation of the Duke of Cambridge, Knight of the Garter.

7th. To the King's playhouse, where two acts were almost done when I come in; and there I sat with my cloak about my face, and saw the remainder of "The Mayd's Tragedy;"† a good play, and well acted, especially by the younger Marshall, who is become a pretty good actor; and is the first play I have seen in either of the houses, since before the great plague, they having acted now about fourteen days publickly. But I was in mighty pain, lest I should be seen by any body to be at a play.

8th. The great Proviso passed the House of Parliament yesterday; which makes the King and

* John Pepys, who, being in holy orders, had lately assumed the canonical habit. He died in 1677, at which period he held some office in the Trinity-house. *Pepys MS. Letters.*

† By Beaumont and Fletcher.

Court mad, the King having given order to my Lord Chamberlain to send to the playhouses and brothels, to bid all the Parliament-men that were there to go to the Parliament presently. This is true, it seems; but it was carried against the Court by thirty or forty voices. It is a Proviso to the Poll Bill, that there shall be a Committee of nine persons that shall have the inspection upon oath, and power of giving others, of all the accounts of the money given and spent for this warr. This hath a most sad face, and will breed very ill blood. He tells me, brought in by Sir Robert Howard,* who is one of the King's servants, at least hath a great office, and hath got, they say, 20,000*l.* since the King come in. Mr. Pierce did also tell me as a great truth, as being told it by Mr. Cowly,† who was by and heard it, that Tom Killigrew should publickly tell the King that his matters were coming into a very ill state; but

* A younger son of Thomas Earl of Berkshire; educated at Magdalene College, Cambridge; knighted at the Restoration, and chosen M. P. for Stockbridge, and afterwards for Castle Rising. He was Auditor of the Exchequer, and a creature of Charles II., who employed him in cajoling the Parliament for money. He published some poems, plays, and political tracts. Ob. 1698.

† Abraham Cowley, the poet.

that yet there was a way to help all. Says he, "There is a good, honest, able man that I could name, that if your Majesty would employ, and command to see all things well executed, all things would soon be mended; and this is one Charles Stuart, who now spends his time in employing his lips about the Court, and hath no other employment; but if you would give him this employment, he were the fittest man in the world to perform it." This, he says, is most true; but the King do not profit by any of this, but lays all aside, and remembers nothing, but to his pleasures again; which is a sorrowful consideration. To the King's play-house, and there did see a good part of "The English Monsieur,"* which is a mighty pretty play, very witty and pleasant. And the women do very well; but above all, little Nelly. I hear that this Proviso in Parliament is mightily ill taken by all the Court party as a mortal blow, and that that strikes deep into the King's prerogative; which troubles me mightily. In much fear of ill news of our colliers. A fleet of 200 sail, and 14 Dutch men-of-war between them and us: and they coming home with small convoy; and the City in great want, coals being at 3*l.* 3*s.* per chal-

* A comedy, by James Howard.

dron, as I am told. I saw smoke in the ruines this very day.

10th. Captain Cocke, with whom I walked in the garden, tells me how angry the Court is at the late Proviso brought in by the House. How still my Lord Chancellor is, not daring to do or say any thing to displease the Parliament; that the Parliament is in a very ill humour, and grows every day more and more so; and that the unskilfulness of the Court, and their difference among one another, is the occasion of all not agreeing in what they would have, and so they give leisure and occasion to the other part to run away with what the Court would not have.

11th. This day the Poll Bill was to be passed, and great endeavours used to take away the Proviso.

12th. Sir H. Cholmly did with grief tell me how the Parliament hath been told plainly that the King hath been heard to say, that he would dissolve them rather than pass this Bill with the Proviso. But tells me, that the Proviso is removed, and now carried that it shall be done by a Bill by itself. He tells me how the King hath lately paid above 30,000*l.* to clear debts of my Lady Castlemaine's; and that she and her husband are parted

for ever, upon good terms, never to trouble one another more. He says that he hears that above 400,000*l.* hath gone into the Privy-purse since this warr; and that that hath consumed so much of our money, and makes the King and Court so mad to be brought to discover it. The very good newes is just come of our four ships from Smyrna, come safe without convoy even into the Downes, without seeing any enemy; which is the best, and indeed only considerable good news to our Exchange, since the burning of the City; and it is strange to see how it do cheer up men's hearts. Here I saw shops now come to be in this Exchange; and met little Batelier, who sits here but at 3*l.* per annum, whereas he sat at the other at 100*l.*; which he says he believes will prove as good account to him now as the other did at that rent. They talk for certain, that now the King do follow Mrs. Stewart wholly, and my Lady Castlemaine not above once a-week; that the Duke of York do not haunt my Lady Denham so much; that she troubles him with matters of State, being of my Lord Bristoll's faction, and that he avoids; that she is ill still. News this day from Brampton, of Mr. Ensum, my sister's sweetheart, being dead: a clowne.

13th. W. Hewer dined with me, and showed me a Gazette,* in Aprill last, (which I wonder

* This circumstance was so remarkable that it has been thought worth while extracting the whole passage from the Gazette of April 23—26, 1666:—

"At the Sessions in the Old Bailey, John Rathbone, an old Army Colonel, William Saunders, Henry Tucker, Thomas Flint, Thomas Evans, John Myles, Will. Westcot, and John Cole, officers or soldiers in the late Rebellion were indicted for conspiring the death of his Majesty, and the overthrow of the Government. Having laid their plot and contrivance for the surprisal of the Tower, the killing his Grace the Lord General, Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, and Sir Richard Brown; and then to have declared for an equal division of lands, &c. *The better to effect this hellish design, the City was to have been fired,* and the portcullis let down to keep out all assistance; and the Horse Guard to have been surprised in the Inns where they were quartered, several ostlers having been gained for that purpose. The Tower was accordingly viewed, and its surprise ordered by boats over the moat, and from thence to scale the wall. One Alexander, not yet taken, had likewise distributed money to these conspirators, and for the carrying on the design more effectually, they were told of a Council of the great ones that sat frequently in London, from whom issued all orders; which Council received their directions from another in Holland, who sat with the States; and that *the third of September* was pitched on for the attempt, as being found by Lilly's Almanack, and a scheme erected for that purpose, to be a lucky day, a planet then ruling which prognosticated the downfal of Monarchy. The evidence against these persons was very full and clear, and they were accordingly found guilty of High Treason."

should never be remembered by any body,) which tells how several persons were then tried for their lives, and were found guilty of a design of killing the King, and destroying the Government; and as a means to it, to burn the City; and that the day intended for the plot was the 3d of last September. And the fire did indeed break out on the 2d of September; which is very strange, methinks.

14th. Met my good friend Mr. Evelyn, and walked with him a good while, lamenting our condition for want of good council, and the King's minding of his business and servants. The House sat till three o'clock, and then up: and I home with Sir Stephen Fox to his house to dinner, and the Cofferer* with us. There I find his Lady, a fine woman, and seven the prettiest children of theirs that ever I knew almost. A very genteel dinner, and in great state and fashion, and excellent discourse; and nothing like an old experienced man and a courtier, and such is the Cofferer Ashburnham. The House have been mighty hot to-day against the Paper Bill, showing all manner of averseness to give the King money;

* William Ashburnham, an officer of distinction in the King's Army during the Civil War, and after the Restoration made Cofferer to Charles II. Ob. *s. p.* 1671.

which these courtiers do take mighty notice of, and look upon the others as bad rebells as ever the last were. But the courtiers did carry it against those men upon a division of the House, a great many, that it should be committed; and so it was: which they reckon good news.

15th. To the office, where my Lord Brouncker (newly come to town from his being at Chatham and Harwich to spy enormities): and at noon I with him and his lady, Williams, to Captain Cocke's; where a good dinner, and very merry. Good news to day upon the Exchange, that our Hamburgh fleet is got in; and good hopes that we may soon have the like of our Gottenburgh, and then we shall be well for this winter. And by and by comes in Matt Wren* from the Parliament-house; and tells us that he and all his party of the House, which is the Court party, are fools, and have been made so this day by the wise men of the other side; for after the Court party had

* Matthew Wren, eldest son of the Bishop of Ely of both his names, M. P. for St. Michael's 1661, and made Secretary to Lord Clarendon; after whose fall he filled the same office under the Duke of York till his death in 1672. He was one of the earliest Members of the Royal Society, and published two tracts in answer to Harrington's Oceana.

carried it yesterday so powerfully for the Paper Bill, yet now it is laid aside wholly, and to be supplied by a land-tax; which it is true will do well, and will be the sooner finished, which was the great argument for the doing of it. But then it shows them fools, that they would not permit this to have been done six weeks ago, which they might have had. And next they have parted with the Paper Bill, which when once begun might have proved a very good flower in the Crowne, as any there. So they are truly outwitted by the other side.

16th. To White Hall, and there walked up and down to the Queene's side, and there saw my dear Lady Castlemaine, who continues admirable, methinks, and I do not hear but that the King is the same to her still as ever. Anon to chapel by the King's closet, and heard a very good anthem. Then with Lord Brouncker to Sir W. Coventry's chamber; and there we sat with him and talked. He is weary of any thing to do, he says, in the Navy. He tells us this Committee of Accounts will enquire sharply into our office. To Sir P. Neale's chamber; Sir Edward Walker being there, and telling us how he hath lost many fine rowles of antiquity in heraldry by the late fire, but hath

saved the most of his papers. Here was also Dr. Wallis,* the famous scholar and mathematician; but he promises little. The Duke of Monmouth, Lord Brouncker says, spends his time the most viciously and idle of any man, nor will be fit for any thing; yet he speaks as if it were not impossible but the King would own him for his son, and that there was marriage between his mother and him.

17th. My wife well home in the evening from the play; which I was glad of, it being cold and dark, and she having her necklace of pearl on, and none but Mercer with her.

19th. Talked of the King's family with Mr. Hingston, the organist. He says many of the musique are ready to starve, they being five years behind hand for their wages: nay, Evens, the famous man upon the Harp, having not his equal in the world, did the other day die for mere want, and was fain to be buried at the almes of the parish, and carried to his grave in the dark at night without one linke, but that Mr. Hingston met it by chance, and did give 12*d.* to buy two or three links. Thence I up to the Lords' House to en-

* John Wallis, S.T.P. F.R.S. Savilian Professor of Geometry. Ob. 1703, aged 87.

quire for my Lord Bellasses; and there hear how at a conference this morning between the two Houses about the business of the Canary Company, my Lord Buckingham leaning rudely over my Lord Marquis Dorchester,* my Lord Dorchester removed his elbow. Duke of Buckingham asked whether he was uneasy; Dorchester replied, yes, and that he durst not do this were he any where else: Buckingham replied, yes he would, and that he was a better man than himself; Dorchester said that he lyed. With this Buckingham struck off his hat, and took him by his periwigg, and pulled it aside, and held him. My Lord Chamberlain and others interposed, and upon coming into the House the Lords did order them both to the Tower, whither they are to go this afternoon. I down into the Hall, and there the Lieutenant of the Tower took me with him, and would have me to the Tower to dinner; where I dined at the head of his table next his lady, who is comely and seeming sober and stately, but very proud and very cunning, or I am mistaken, and wanton too. This day's work will bring the Lieutenant of the Tower

* Henry second Earl of Kingston, created Marquis of Dorchester 1645. Ob. 1680. See an account of this quarrel in Lord Clarendon's Life.

350*l.* Thence home, and upon Tower Hill saw about 3 or 400 seaman get together; and one standing upon a pile of bricks made his sign with his handkercher upon his stick, and called all the rest to him, and several shouts they gave. This made me afraid; so I got home as fast as I could. But by and by Sir W. Batten and Sir R. Ford do tell me that the seamen have been at some prisons to release some seamen, and the Duke of Albemarle is in armes, and all the Guards at the other end of the town; and the Duke of Albemarle is gone with some forces to Wapping to quell the seamen; which is a thing of infinite disgrace to us. I sat long talking with them. And, among other things, Sir R. Ford did make me understand how the House of Commons is a beast not to be understood, it being impossible to know beforehand the success almost of any small plain thing, there being so many to think and speak to any business, and they of so uncertain minds and interests and passions. He did tell me, and so did Sir W. Batten, how Sir Allen Brodericke* and Sir Allen Apsly did come drunk the other day into the House, and did

* Son of Sir Thomas Broderick of Richmond, Yorkshire, and Wandsworth, Surrey; knighted by Charles II., and Surveyor-general in Ireland to his Majesty.

both speak for half an hour, together, and could not be either laughed, or pulled, or bid to sit down and hold their peace, to the great contempt of the King's servants and cause; which I am grieved at with all my heart.

23d. (Lord's-day). To church, where a vain fellow with a periwigg preached, Chaplain (as by his prayer appeared) to the Earle of Carlisle.

24th. It being frost and dry, as far as Paul's, and so back again through the City by Guildhall, observing the ruins thereabouts till I did truly lose myself. No news yet of our Gottenburgh fleet; which makes us have some fears, it being of mighty concernment to have our supply of masts safe. I met with Mr. Cade to-night, my stationer; and he tells me that he hears for certain, that the Queene-Mother is about and hath near finished a peace with France, which as a Presbyterian he do not like, but seems to fear it will be a means to introduce Popery.

26th. To the Duke's house to a play. It was indifferently done, Gosnell not singing, but a new wench that sings naughtily.

27th. Up; and called up by the King's trumpets, which cost me 10*s*. By coach to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Scornful Lady"

well acted; Doll Common doing Abigail most excellently, and Knipp the widow very well, (and will be an excellent actor, I think.) In other parts the play not so well done as need be by the old actors. This day a house or two was blown up with powder in the Minorys, and several people spoiled, and manye dug out from under the rubbish.

28th. I to my Lord Crewe's, where I find and hear the news how my Lord's brother, Mr. Nathaniel Crewe, hath an estate of 6 or 700*l.* per annum left him by the death of an old acquaintance of his, but not akin to him at all. And this man is dead without will, but had above ten years since made over his estate to this Mr. Crewe, to him and his heirs for ever, and given Mr. Crewe the keeping of the deeds in his own hand all this time; by which, if he would, he might have taken present possession of the estate, for he knew what they were. This is as great an action of confident friendship as this latter age, I believe, can show. From hence to the Duke's house, and there saw "Macbeth" most excellently acted, and a most excellent play for variety. I had sent for my wife to meet me there, who did come: so I did not go to White Hall, and got my Lord Bel-

lasses to get me into the playhouse; and there, after all staying above an hour for the players (the King and all waiting, which was absurd,) saw "Henry the Fifth" well done by the Duke's people, and in most excellent habit, all new vests, being put on but this night. But I sat so high and far off that I missed most of the words, and sat with a wind coming into my back and neck, which did much trouble me. The play continued till twelve at night; and then up, and a most horrid cold night it was, and frosty, and moonshine.

29th. Called up with news from Sir W. Batten that Hogg hath brought in two prizes more: and so I thither, and hear the particulars, which are good; one of them, if prize, being worth 4000*l.*: for which God be thanked! Then to the office, and have the news brought us of Captain Robinson's coming with his fleet from Gottenburgh: dispersed, though, by foul weather. But he hath light of five Dutch men-of-war, and taken three, whereof one is sunk; which is very good news to close up the year with, and most of our merchantmen already heard of to be safely come home, though after long lookings for, and now to several ports as they could make them.

30th. (Lord's-day). To church. Here was a collection for the sexton. But it come into my head why we should be more bold in making the collection while the psalm is singing, than in the sermon or prayer.

31st. To my accounts, wherein at last I find them clear and right; but to my great discontent do find that my gettings this year have been 573*l.* less than my last: it being this year in all but 2986*l.*; whereas, the last, I got 3560*l.* And then again my spendings this year have exceeded my spendings the last, by 644*l.*: my whole spendings last year being but 509*l.*; whereas this year it appears I have spent 1154*l.* which is a sum not fit to be said that ever I should spend in one year, before I am master of a better estate than I am. Yet, blessed be God! and I pray God make me thankful for it, I do find myself worth in money, all good, above 6200*l.*; which is above 1800*l.* more than I was the last year. Thus ends this year of publick wonder and mischief to this nation. Publick matters in a most sad condition; seamen discouraged for want of pay, and are become not to be governed: nor, as matters are now, can any fleet go out next year. Our enemies, French and Dutch, great, and grow

more by our poverty. The Parliament backward in raising, because jealous of the spending of the money; the City less and less likely to be built again, every body settling elsewhere, and nobody encouraged to trade. A sad, vicious, negligent Court, and all sober men there fearful of the ruin of the whole kingdom this next year; from which, good God deliver us! One thing I reckon remarkable in my own condition is, that I am come to abound in good plate, so as at all entertainments to be served wholly with silver plates, having two dozen and a half.

1666-7. Jan. 2d. My 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 landsmen, 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 Houses about the Bill for examining Accounts, wherein the House of Lords their proceedings in petitioning the King for doing

* A blank in the MS.

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

‡ A tragi-comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

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 "Mustapha,"‡ a most excellent play.

6th. Young Michell and I, it being an excellent frosty day, did walk out. He showed 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

* Their daughter.

† Anthony Lowther, Esq., of Marske, Co. York, Ob. 1692.

‡ A tragedy, by Roger Earl of Orrery.

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 Norfolke hath given our Royal Society all his grandfather's library: which noble gift they value at 1000*l.*; and gives them accommodation to 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 peti-

tion 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 shows 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 Councill 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 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.

* Sir Peter Ball, the Queen's Attorney.

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

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, showing me most excellent pieces in wax-worke: a crucifix given by a Pope to Mary Queene of Scotts, 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

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

† Dormitory.

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 Humerous Lieutenant:"* a silly play, I think; only the Spirit in it that grows very tall and then sinks again to nothing, having 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 Cœlia 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 twen-

* A tragi-comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

† Nell Gwynne.

‡ Sir John Suckling, the poet.

ty-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 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 showed 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 confer-

ence 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,

* Michael Nostradamus, a physician and astrologer, born in the diocese of Avignon, 1503. Amongst other predictions he

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

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.

Kempthorne's* fleet going to the 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 puffes, 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

* 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 Correspondence.

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



Lady Charlotte Melville del.

A. Cooper sc.

VIEW OF THE INTERIOR OF Mr. PEPYS' LIBRARY IN YORK BUILDINGS.

From the Original Frontispiece to the M.S. Catalogue in the Pepysian Collection.

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

* A comedy, by the Duke of Buckingham.

me well: and most of all, the sight of many fine ladies; among 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 her. 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.

9th. Read a piece of a play, "Every Man in his Humour," wherein is the greatest propriety of

* Windsor Castle.

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:

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

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. 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

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

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* 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

* 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.*

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 encreased, 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 do 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

* See note Nov. 15, 1666. Vol. iii.

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 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 talked 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 Boysse, Bredah, Bergen-op-Soome, or Mastricht, was seemingly stopped by the Swedes Embassador (though he did show 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 show 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

* Sir William Bolton.

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 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 Town-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 Sheerenesse 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's 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 Sheerenesse 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 dear-

ness 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

* 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 Francis Ratcliffe, 2d. Earl of Derwentwater; whose son James, the 3d Earl, was attainted, and beheaded for High Treason. There is a fine whole-length portrait of Miss Davis, by Kneller, lately removed to Audley End, from the collection at Billingbear, 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.

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 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 countersecure 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, showing 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:

* Dr. Herbert Croft was made Bishop of Hereford 1661, but he could not be then very old, as he lived till 1691. The Bishop's father was a Knight, and his son a Baronet.

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 showed me 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

* William 2d. Baron Allington of Killard, Ireland, created an English Peer 1682; which title was extinct 1692. He was thrice married.

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

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 blowed up with powder; a house 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 Turky," 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 Phœnix, 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, we would give him a

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

† Sir W. Walker.

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

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

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 Sheerenesse 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, "What said Marshal Turenne, when some in vanity said that the enemies were afraid, for they entrenched them-

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

selves? '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 10*s.* 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.

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.

* 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.

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 periwigg-maker's, and there bought two periwiggs, 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.

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

31st. To church; and with my mourning, very handsome, and new periwigg, make a great show. 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 neces-

* Third son of Thomas first Lord Coventry; after the Restoration made a Groom of the Bedchamber, 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.

sity 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 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 banquers 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 periwigg 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 Tell, 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-martiall. 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: Allen 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 the 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 Maunday, it being Maunday 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

* A leading man in the East India Company, who was committed in 1668 by the House of Lords, during their proceedings on the petition of Skinner, *vide Journals*. He purchased the advowson of his parish, St. Olave, Hart Street, and left it to trustees *in perpetuum*, who still present the Rector. He was knighted by Charles II., July 10th, 1662.

† Thomas Wentworth Earl of Cleveland.

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 book-seller's; and there I did agree for Rycaut's* late History of the Turkish Policy, which cost 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

* This book is in the Pepysian Library.

Buckingham hath 6000*l.* so flung up. And my father writes that Jasper Trice, upon this pretence of his tenants' dealing with him, is 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

* John first Earl of Middleton, in Scotland.

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 again, but not this play. The King mighty angry; and it was bitter indeed, but very

* 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.

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 Wanstead-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

* 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.

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 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 show 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 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 Lavaliere 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

* 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.

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 peadants. 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 show 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 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 never 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

* 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.

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

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

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 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

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

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'

* Nell Gwynne.

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 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 clowne'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 keep-

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

† Probably Craven.

ing 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 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

* Mr. Ashburnham.

† 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.

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 Putny-heath, to run some horses.

9th. In our street, at the Three Tuns Tavern, I find a great hubbub: and what was it but two

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

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 show 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 Hinchingbroke 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 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

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

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

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 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.

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

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 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 not 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 catched 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

* Henry Stuart, created Duke of Kendall 1664.

being so near Hinchingbroke; 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 ale-house 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, 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 banquers 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 cheerfull

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 hear fiddles and there a harp, and here a Jew's trump, 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 Duke of York admits him to kiss his hand, but speaks not one word to

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

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 show her face and kill the gallants. She is indeed black, and hath good black little eyes, but otherwise 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 shown 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 shown 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 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;

* 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.

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 atturny: 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 ba-

lance 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 Embassador to Holland, (and the Embassador, 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 showed me a gentleman coming by in his coach who hath been sent for up out of Lincolneshire, (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-greene 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 presing 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 meet 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

* 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 slightingly 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, Cæsar-like, to write and act great deeds,
Impatient to revenge his fatal shot,
His right hand doubly to his left succeeds."

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 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 Sheerenesse, 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 to 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 fearful 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 Sheerenesse 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, hireing 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, their 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 Sheerenesse, 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 Dunkirke House; and that there are regiments ordered to be got together, whereof to be commanders my Lord Fairfax, Ingolsby, Bethell, Norton, and Birch,

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

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 Frenchman 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 showed 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 publickly, "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 publickly 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 Pelling, 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 we 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 showed 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 Franclin," 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

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

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 show 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 public 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 showed them our letters. Then was Peter Pett called in, with the Lieutenant of the

* John, second Earl of Bridgewater Ob. 1686.

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 oares 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 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

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

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 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 gar-

den 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, showing 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 show 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 Hyde 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 Norfolke,* 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

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

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 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 show 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 show 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;

* Henry Oldenburgh, Secretary to the Royal Society.

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 Elizabeth 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

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

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 be 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 Mor-

daunt hath laid down his Commission. News 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 king-

dom, 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 a 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 Land-guard 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

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

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 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 showed 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 Hinchingbroke, of a boy.*

7th. (Lord's-day.) Mr. Moor 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

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

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 basenesse 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 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

* 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.

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 show 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 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 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 wooling 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.*

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

† Charles, eldest son, summoned to Parliament as Baron Berkeley, *vitâ patris*, 1680. Ob. 1710, having succeeded his father in the Earldom 1698.

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 who-

ever 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 not 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.

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

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's pictures hung up, very fine. But to see how Sir W. 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 Buck-

ingham 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 Clerke 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 Embassador 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 show 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.

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

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 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, 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

* 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.*

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 show 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 Royall 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 show 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 cozen 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 condition 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. Cozen 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 silli-

* Vide note Nov. 26, 1666. vol. iii.

† Probably Robert Creyghton of Trin. Col. Cambridge, A. M. 1662. Ling. Græc. Prof. Reg. 1672-3.

ness 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 seems people to 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. Ballasses 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

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

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 has 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 showed 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

* 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.

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 Falmouth;* the

* Lady Falmouth married the Earl of Dorset.

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 our debt of the Navy on the 25th of May last, which is above 950,000*l.* Here I find them

* Vide the play of "Epicene, or the Silent Woman," in which Mrs. Otter thus addresses her henpecked husband, *Thomas Otter*—"Is this according to the instrument when I married you, that I would be princess and reign in my own house, and you would be my subject, and obey me?"—*Act* iii., *Scene* 1.

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

* A comedy, by James Shirley.

some of them and carried them into Lisbon by Harman; which God send! But they (which do show 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 hectored 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 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 a 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 ruines;

but I do, but will not do it it again, 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 showed 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 showed 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 Marall;" 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 show, only shows 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 milkmaids, 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 show 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

* Shooting the men was rather more than a show of severity.

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 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.

* A tragi-comedy, by Dryden.

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 100*l.*: 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 shows 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 shows 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

* Orange Moll, mentioned before.

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

* The celebrated actor.

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.

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 showed 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 showed 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, notwith-

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

standing 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 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 errour; 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 showed 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 hankerchers, 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 4½lbs. 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 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

* The officers of the Navy.

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 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 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 show 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

* Henry, afterwards second Earl of Clarendon.

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 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 show 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 as 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.

* 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. This anecdote is thus confirmed in Chief Justice Treby's *Notes to Dyers' Reports, folio edition, p.* 188. *b.* "Richardson, Ch. Just. de C. Banc. al Assises at Salisbury, in summer 1631, fuit assault per prisoner la condemne pur felony; que puis son condemnation ject un brickbat a le dit Justice, qui narrowly mist; et pur ceo immediately fuit indictment drawn, per Noy,* envers le prisoner, et son dexter manus ampute, and fix at gibbet, sur que luy meme immediatement hange in presence de Court."

* The Attorney-General.

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 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 likely 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

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

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 that would be glad to have the Queene removed to some monastery, or somewhere or other, to make room for a new wife; for

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

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, showing 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 Mor-

* 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.

land,* 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 18*d.* 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 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

* Sir Samuel Morland's first wife.

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

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-chambermen 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 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

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

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 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 Embassador 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 Embassador; 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

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

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 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 ever Embassador 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

* In Spain.

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 show 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 Holben; 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

* Mrs. Pepys's maid. † Stortford.

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 Hinchingbroke, where my

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 Hinchingbroke'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,

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

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 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 locke 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 sum-

mer-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 Willett, 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 horseback; 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 botom 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 show 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 Galliott; 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 4*s*. 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 are 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. Penn 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 Sheernesse 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 Sheernesse, 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 backblow 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 Audley's executors, and now become Sheriffe; which is a strange turn, methinks. To Westmin-

* *i. e.* Laid the stone.

† He became afterwards Lord Mayor.

ster 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 Hinchingbroke 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 show 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 Presbyter'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 in-

tend 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 show 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

* 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.

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 contemn 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 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

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

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, 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 impeached, 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 Scotts 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 sequestring 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

* 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.

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 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,*

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

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.

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 shows 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

* 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.

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 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 20*s.* 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 showed 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 tickets 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 20*s.* 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

* Of the Royal Society.

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

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 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

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

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 basenesse 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 seques-

tered 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, pickpockets and thieves, in the world; where they were bred and entertained, and the whole society met: and that for the sake of the Sheriffes 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 Gilsthrop 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 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

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

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 showed 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 shows 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.

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

† I have been recently informed that Charles II., April 12, 1662, knighted a rich tradesman of Wapping, named *William Warren;* and that there is still in that parish a place called "*Sir William Warren's Square,*" perhaps built on the site of the knight's residence.

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 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. Pierrepoint, 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

* 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 exigences 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.

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 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 Mid-

dleton 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.

* Gilbert Sheldon. † George Morley. ‡ John Dolben.

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 Surprizall;"* which did not please me to-day, the actors not pleasing me; and

* A comedy, by Sir Robert Howard.

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 complaint is made upon the 'Change among our merchants, that the very Ostend little pickaroon men-of-war do offer violence to our merchant-men 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

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

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. 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

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

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

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

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!

END OF VOL. III.

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