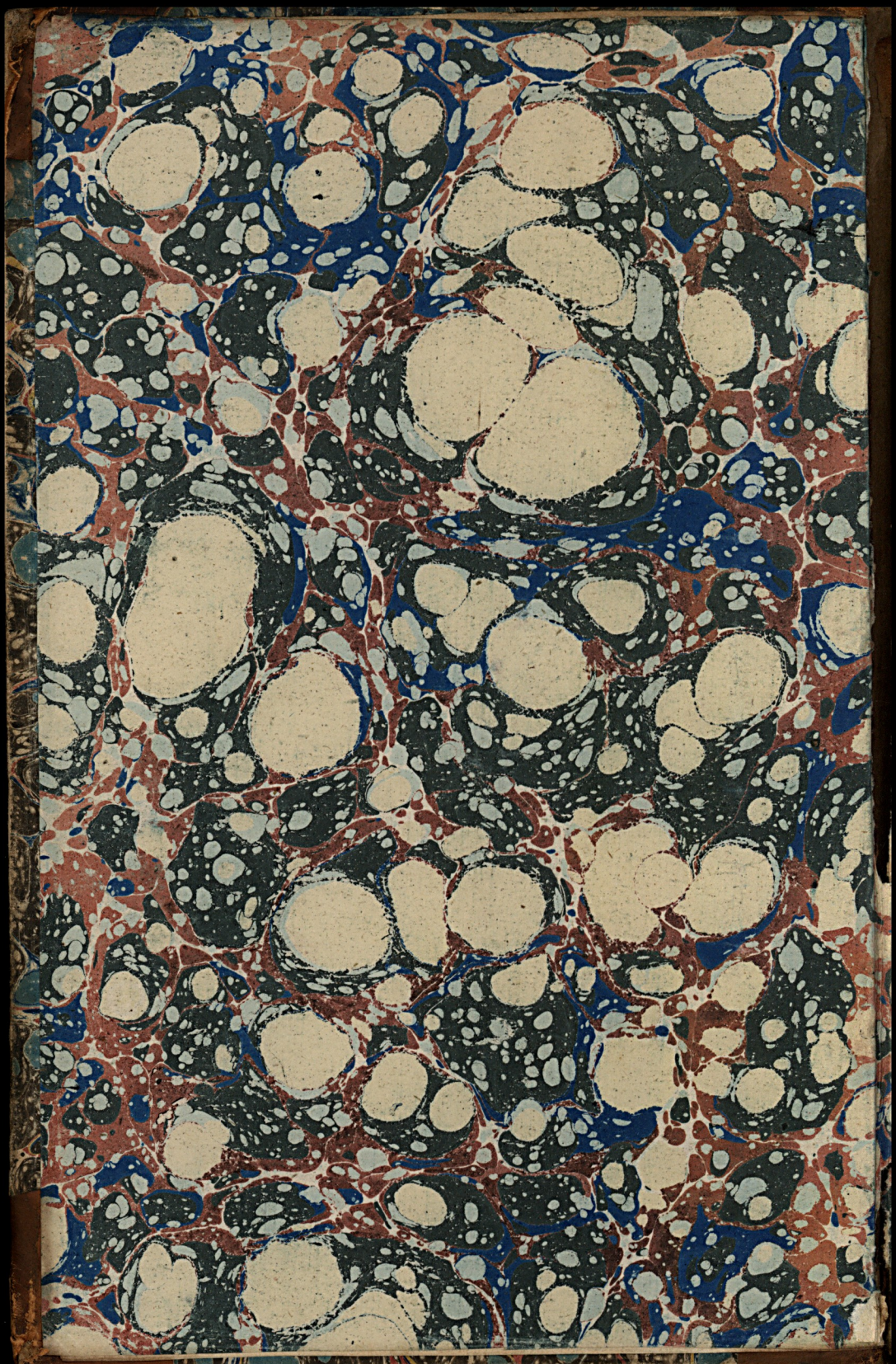
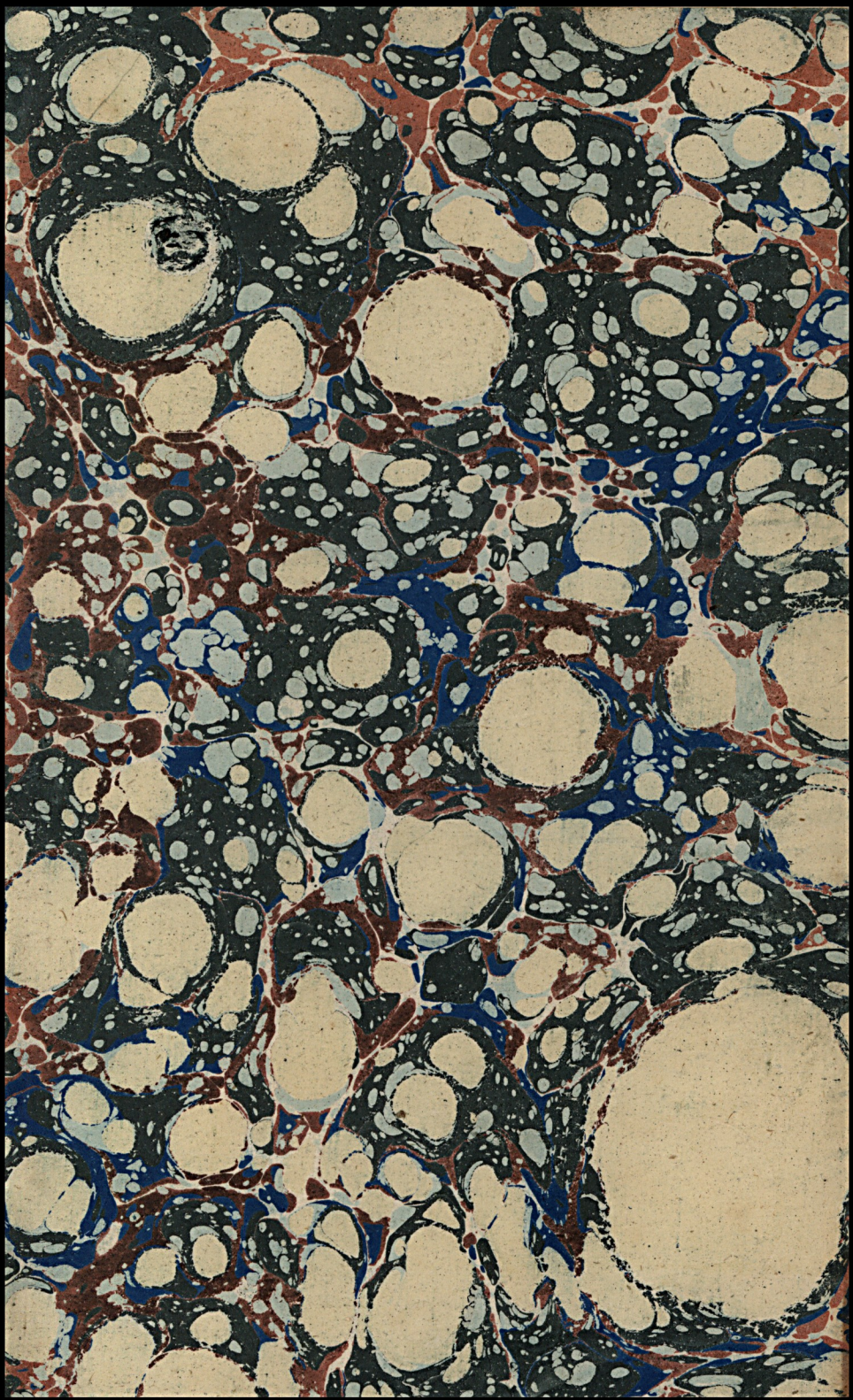

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SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ.R

London, Published by Henry Colburn, Decr 1.1827

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.

EDITED BY

RICHARD LORD BRAYBROOKE.

SECOND EDITION.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

DIARY.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.
1828.

PREFACE.

In submitting the following pages to the Public, I feel that it is incumbent upon me to explain by what circumstances the materials from which the Work has been compiled were placed at my disposal. The original Diary, comprehending six volumes, closely written in short hand by Mr. Pepys himself, belonged to the valuable collection of books and prints, bequeathed by him to Magdalene College, Cambridge, and had remained there unexamined, till the appointment of my Brother, the present Master, under whose auspices the MS. was deciphered by Mr. John Smith,* with a view to its publication.

* A. B. of St. John's College, Cambridge, late Deputy Bedel to that University, and now Curate of Banham, Norfolk.

My Brother's time, however, being too much engrossed by more important duties to admit of his editing the work, the task of preparing it for the press was undertaken by me at his request.

The Diary commences January 1st, 1659-60, and after being regularly kept for ten years, it is brought to a sudden conclusion, owing to the weak state of Mr. Pepys's eyes, which precluded him from continuing or resuming the occupation. As he was in the habit of recording the most trifling occurrences of his life, it became absolutely necessary to curtail the MS. materially, and in many instances to condense the matter; but the greatest care has been taken to preserve the original meaning, without making a single addition, excepting where, from the short hand being defective, some alteration appeared absolutely necessary. It may be objected by those who are not aware how little is known from authentic sources of the History of the Stage about the period of the Restoration, that the notices of theatrical performances occur too fre-

quently; but as many of the incidents recorded, connected with this subject, are not to be met with elsewhere, I thought myself justified in retaining them, at the risk of fatiguing those readers who have no taste for the concerns of the Drama. The general details may also, in some instances, even in their abridged form, be considered as too minute; nor is it an easy task, in an undertaking of this sort, to please every body's taste: my principal study in making the selection, however, has been to omit nothing of public interest; and to introduce at the same time, a great variety of other topics, less important, perhaps, but tending in some degree to illustrate the manners and habits of the age.

In justice to Mr. Pepys's literary reputation, the reader is forewarned that he is not to expect to find in the Diary, accuracy of style or finished composition. He should rather consider the Work as a collection of reminiscences, hastily thrown together at the end of each succeeding day, for the exclusive perusal of the Author.

The Journal contains the most unquestionable evidences of veracity; and, as the writer made no scruple of committing his most secret thoughts to paper, encouraged no doubt by the confidence which he derived from the use of short hand, perhaps there never was a publication more implicitly to be relied upon for the authenticity of its statements and the exactness with which every fact is detailed. Upon this point, I can venture to speak with the less hesitation, having, in preparing the sheets for the press, had occasion to compare many parts of the Diary with different accounts of the same transactions recorded elsewhere; and in no instance could I detect any material error or wilful misrepresentation.

The Notes at the bottom of the pages were introduced to elucidate obscure passages; and I have been tempted occasionally to insert short Biographical Sketches of the principal persons who are named, accompanied by such references as will enable the curious reader to inform himself more fully respecting them. In some in-

stances I experienced considerable difficulty in identifying the individuals; but I trust that the notices will be found, on the whole, sufficiently correct to answer the object intended.

When the concluding sheets of the Diary were nearly worked off, I was apprised by my friend, Dr. Bandinel, that a great mass of original Papers formerly belonging to Mr. Pepys had been deposited in the Bodleian Library, among Dr. Rawlinson's Collections; and I immediately proceeded to Oxford to examine them. As I found as many as seventy volumes of different descriptions, put together without any arrangement, and in no one instance furnished with an Index, it was impossible, in the short time allowed, to examine the contents very minutely. I was enabled, however, with the assistance of Mr. William Upcott, of the London Institution, who kindly volunteered his services on the occasion, to select a great number of Letters, which will be found in the Correspondence comprised in the Fifth Volume of the Memoirs. We could not obtain any conclusive evidence as to the manner in which these Papers

came into Dr. Rawlinson's possession. It appears from the Doctor's letters to Mr. Rawlins, that although Mr. Jackson's widow, who was still living, might have satisfied him more fully concerning the collection which he had acquired, he declined prosecuting the inquiry, sufficiently happy in the idea of having rescued such a prize, as he himself expressed it, "*thus et odores vendentibus.*" I feel convinced myself, that when Mr. Pepys removed to Mr. Hewer's house at Clapham, a great portion of his familiar letters and other MSS. remained at his London residence in York Buildings, or in the custody of some friend: for he speaks, in the Correspondence, of trusting himself with the company of those Papers only which he did not object to have looked into, and Mr. Jackson was probably never aware of their existence. At all events, we must consider it as a fortunate circumstance, that so large a mass of original MSS. should have been saved from destruction, and deposited in a place where the laudable care bestowed upon the literary treasures, and the facilities afforded to those who are desir-

ous of examining them, reflect the highest credit on the University of Oxford and the Officers of the Bodleian Library.

The remaining portion of the Correspondence has been principally made up from a large Collection of Letters, discovered by Mr. Upcott among the archives of Mr. Samuel Pepys Cockerell, the representative of the family of Pepys, (as the lineal descendant from the Secretary's sister, Mrs. Jackson,) who kindly permitted them to be copied for publication. They contain many interesting particulars respecting Mr. Pepys and his friends: and, though the subjects of which they treat are not of much importance, it is hoped that from their variety, and the celebrity of some of the writers, (amongst whom Mr. Evelyn should not be forgotten,) they will be found worthy of perusal. The Correspondence is, generally speaking, autographic, and, like the Diary, entirely new to the public

It remains for me gratefully to acknowledge the

assistance afforded by those gentlemen whom I had occasion to consult whilst employed in arranging the materials for the press.

To Samuel Pepys Cockerell, Esq. of Westbourne, my thanks are, in the first instance, more particularly due, for the readiness and liberality with which he entrusted to me the Original Papers before-mentioned, as well as for the information which he was at all times ready to communicate upon every circumstance connected with the history of his family. I am farther obliged to him for his kindness, in allowing several interesting portraits in his possession to be engraved for the Memoirs, and for the use of the plate of Mr. Pepys prefixed to the Life.

To Dr. Bandinel, and his Colleagues, Dr. Bliss and Mr. Lawrence, I am indebted in no small degree, for their personal attentions to me at Oxford; for the zeal with which they forwarded my researches in the Bodleian Library, and the accuracy and promptitude evinced by them in superintending the task of copying the MS. letters.

Nor should I forget to express my sense of the good offices rendered to me during the progress of the Work by Mr. William Upcott, of the London Institution; to whom I also owe copies of some interesting letters from the Evelyn Collection.

In justice to the Reverend John Smith, (with whom I am not personally acquainted,) it may be added, that he appears to have performed the task allotted to him, of deciphering the short-hand Diary, with diligence and fidelity, and to have spared neither time nor trouble in the undertaking.

The Pedigree of the Family of Pepys was prepared by my Brother, the Honourable and Reverend George Neville Grenville, from the Visitation of Cambridgeshire, and other authentic sources; nor could he, after much research employed on the subject, render it more complete.

In drawing up the brief Memoir of the Author of the Diary which follows the Preface, I have availed myself of such notices of him as I found

in the different Biographical works, introducing whole sentences without scruple, where they suited my purpose, and occasionally supplying such alterations or additions as I knew from unquestionable authority to be more correct. The best account of Mr. Pepys occurs in the Supplement to Collier's Historical Dictionary, published soon after his death, and written, as I have reason to believe, by his relative Roger Gale. Some particulars were also obtained from Knight's Life of Dean Colet; Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary; Cole's MSS. in the British Museum; the MSS. in the Bodleian and Pepysian Libraries, and the Cockerell Papers.

BRAYBROOKE.

AUDLEY END.
May 14, 1825.

THE

LIFE

OF

SAMUEL PEPYS.

THE

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SAMUEL PEPYS.

SAMUEL PEPYS, the author of the Diary, was descended from a younger branch of the ancient family of Pepys, who are represented to have settled at Cottenham, in Cambridgeshire, early in the 16th century.*

His father, John Pepys, was a citizen of London, where he followed the trade of a tailor about the year 1660; he soon afterwards retired to Brampton, in Huntingdonshire, at which place he had inherited a small property† from an elder brother,

1

* They are said, in the History of Norfolk, to have originally been seated at Diss in that county.

† The rental was about 40*l* per. annum.

and ended his days there in 1680. Of his Mother, I can only learn that her name was Margaret, and that she died in 1666-7, having had issue six sons and five daughters, of which number, three only of the former, and one of the latter, were living in 1659.

Samuel, the eldest surviving son, was born February 23, 1632, whether at Brampton, or in London, I have no means of ascertaining; both places being named with equal confidence by his different biographers. From allusions in the Diary, we learn that he passed his boyish days in or near the Metropolis, and was educated at St. Paul's School, where he probably continued till 1650, early in which year his name occurs as sizar on the boards of Trinity College, Cambridge. Previously, however, to his going to reside in that University, March 5th, 1650-1, he had removed to Magdalene College, where he was elected into one of Mr. Spendluffe's scholarships the next month; and in 1651, preferred to one on Dr. Smith's foundation.

How long Mr. Pepys continued at Cambridge, or what were his academical pursuits, we are not informed; but in October 1655, he married Elizabeth St. Michel, a native of Somersetshire, whose father is described as having been of a good family; and her mother was descended from the Cliffords of Cumberland. As Mrs. Pepys had only just quitted the convent in which she was educated, at the early age of fifteen, and brought her husband no fortune, it is unnecessary to say more upon the imprudence of the alliance; but no doubt the youthful pair were glad to find an asylum in the family of Mr. Pepys's Cousin, Sir Edward Montagu, afterwards created Earl of Sandwich, to whose good offices at this period, and continued friendship, he owed and gratefully acknowledged his subsequent advancement. Of the exact situation which he filled during his residence in the house of his powerful relative, no mention is made. We only know that after having been successfully cut for the stone, (the anniversary of which operation he was in the habit of afterwards celebrating with a becoming sense of the Divine mercy ex-

tended to him,) he accompanied Sir Edward upon his expedition to the Sound, in March 1658, and at their return was employed as a clerk, under Sir George Downing, in some office in the Exchequer, connected with the pay of the Army.

About this period he began his Diary, which is interesting in its outset, from the notices which it conveys of the opinions and reports prevailing at that important crisis; and shortly after becomes still more so, from his obtaining the appointment of Secretary to the two Generals of the Fleet, and his having thus the opportunity of detailing every occurrence that took place on board the Naseby, from the time of Sir Edward Montagu's sailing to bring home Charles II. to that Monarch's arrival at Dover. It was natural to suppose, that while his Patron, who had acted so conspicuous a part in bringing about the Restoration, was rewarded with an Earldom, and made Keeper of the Great Wardrobe and Clerk of the Privy Seal, Mr. Pepys would not long remain unemployed. Accordingly, we find him the following summer nominated

Clerk of the Acts of the Navy; and he entered upon the duties of that Office early in June 1660, at which time he resided in Seething-lane, in the parish of St. Olave, Hart-street. From this moment his natural talents for business, which were afterwards to become so useful to his country, seem to have developed themselves; and his zeal and industry soon acquired for him respect in the eyes of the other officers of his department, and the esteem of the Duke of York, with whom, as Lord High Admiral, he had almost daily intercourse.

It cannot be supposed, that in so licentious an age, when the love of pleasure was predominant to every other consideration, Mr. Pepys should have been so completely absorbed by his official labours, as to take no interest in the scenes of dissipation which surrounded him. His first object, however, was to discharge his duty conscientiously; and when we observe the many hours which he devoted to the theatre, and to the pursuit of every sort of amusement, it is matter of

astonishment how he could have found leisure to dispatch so much business, and to make copies of the voluminous Correspondence which passed through his hands. From the mass of these Papers still extant, it may be inferred, that he never lost sight of the public good, and took infinite pains to check the rapacity of the Contractors, by whom the naval stores were then supplied, and to establish such regulations in the Dock-yards as might be productive of order and economy. He was also most anxious for the promotion of the old established Officers of the Navy, uniformly striving to counteract the superior influence of the Court favourites, which too often prevailed in that unprincipled Government over every claim of merit or service, and resisting to the utmost the infamous system of selling places, practised at that period, in every department of the State, in the most open and unblushing manner.

The Dutch war, which broke out in 1664, stimulated Mr. Pepys to still farther exertions, as all the naval energies of the nation were necessa-

rily called into action; and during the Plague which ensued in the following year, when the Metropolis was deserted, and the service completely abandoned, the whole management of the concerns of the Navy devolved upon him, and he remained at his post, regardless of the dangers which environed him. "The sickness in general thickens round us, and particularly upon our neighbourhood," observes Mr. Pepys, in writing to Sir W. Coventry at this juncture. "You, Sir, took your turn of the sword; I must not, therefore, grudge to take mine of the pestilence."

He was soon afterwards made Secretary to the Commissioners for managing the affairs of Tangier, and Surveyor-general of the Victualling Department; which last office he resigned when the peace was concluded.

During the fire of London, respecting which there are very curious details in the Diary, Mr. Pepys rendered the most essential service, by sending up the artificers from the Dock-yards,

who adopted the plan of blowing up houses, and ultimately arrested the progress of the flames. In the spring of 1668, when De Ruyter's successful enterprise against Chatham, in the preceding year, became the subject of a Parliamentary inquiry, the Officers of the Navy Board naturally incurred the greatest share of the public indignation; they were accordingly summoned to the Bar of the House of Commons. Upon this occasion, the Clerk of the Acts undertook their defence, and, in a speech of three hours' duration, succeeded so well in proving that the blame neither rested with himself nor his Colleagues, that no farther proceedings were instituted against them.

The compliments which he received from so many different quarters upon this brilliant display of eloquence, could not fail to have been highly flattering to his feelings, and the particulars are too minutely detailed in the Diary to leave any doubt on the subject. Nevertheless, it seems unaccountable that the same individual, who in

this one instance did himself so much credit, should never afterwards have risen to any distinction as a Parliamentary Speaker, though he sat for many years in the House of Commons, and occasionally took part in the debates. In the summer of 1669, Mr. Pepys was obliged to discontinue his Diary, owing to the increasing weakness of his eyes, which had long been impaired by his incessant correspondence, and his habits of writing so much in short-hand; but although he was at this period apprehensive of losing his sight, the disorder does not seem to have gained ground during the remainder of his life. Some relaxation, however, from the duties of his office appeared absolutely necessary, after nine years uninterrupted application to business: Mr. Pepys accordingly memorialised the King for a few months leave of absence, which being granted, he availed himself of the opportunity to make a tour through France and Holland, accompanied by his wife. Upon this excursion he often looks back with pleasure in his Correspondence; and he appears, from one of his letters to Charles II.,

to have occupied himself while abroad, in making collections respecting the French and Dutch Navy; so anxious was he at all times to improve his knowledge of nautical affairs, and to acquire useful information connected with his official employments.

Shortly after his return to England, he had the misfortune to lose his wife, who died at his house in Hart-street, leaving him no issue. She had been ill only a few days, but her delicate state of health is often mentioned in the Diary. Previously to her death, she received the Sacrament from Dr. Milles, the Rector of the Parish, with her husband; thus, in her last moments, removing the doubts which he had long entertained, of her being disposed to embrace the Catholic Religion.

This melancholy event prevented Mr. Pepys from attending the Election at Aldborough in Suffolk, for which Borough he had been proposed as a Candidate, in lieu of Sir Robert Brookes,

lately deceased; and his friends, notwithstanding his absence, exerted themselves to the utmost to procure his election. His cause was also openly and warmly espoused by the Duke of York and Lord Henry Howard;* but, upon going to a Poll, all their efforts combined proved ineffectual, and the popular party prevailed. In January 1673, however, Mr. Pepys was chosen Member for Castle Rising, on Sir Robert Paston's elevation to the Peerage; and his unsuccessful opponent, Mr. Offley, petitioning against the return, the Election was determined to be void by the Committee of Privileges. But the Parliament was prorogued the following month, without the House's coming to any decision on the subject, and Mr. Pepys was permitted to retain his seat.†

* Second son of Henry Earl of Arundel, in 1669 created Baron Howard of Castle Rising, and in 1672 advanced to the Earldom of Norwich. Upon the death of his elder brother Thomas, s. p. in 1677, he became the sixth Duke of Norfolk. He presented the Arundel Marbles to the University of Oxford. Ob. January, 1683-4.

† "The House then proceeding upon the debate touching the Election for Castle Rising, between Mr. Pepys and Mr.

The grounds upon which the Committee decided do not appear; but the proceedings of the House on the subject, as entered on the Journals, are given in the note below. They exhibit a striking and

Offley, did, in the first place, take into consideration what related personally to Mr. Pepys. Information being given to the House that they had received an account from a person of quality, that he saw an Altar with a Crucifix upon it in the house of Mr. Pepys; Mr. Pepys, standing up in his place, did heartily and flatly deny that he ever had any Altar or Crucifix, or the image or picture of any Saint whatsoever in his house, from the top to the bottom of it; and the Members being called upon to name the person that gave them the information, they were unwilling to declare it, without the order of the House; which being made, they named the Earl of Shaftesbury; and the House being also informed that Sir J. Banks did likewise see the Altar, he was ordered to attend the Bar of the House, to declare what he knew of this matter. "Ordered, that Sir William Coventry, Sir Thomas Meeres, and Mr. Garraway, do attend Lord Shaftesbury on the like occasion, and receive what information his Lordship can give on this matter."—*Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. ix. p. 306.——"13 February. Sir W. Coventry reports that they attended the Earl of Shaftesbury, and received from him the account which they had put in writing. The Earl of Shaftesbury denieth that he ever saw an Altar in Mr. Pepys's house or lodgings; as to the Crucifix, he saith he hath some imperfect memory of seeing somewhat which he conceived to be a Crucifix. When his Lordship was asked the

most disgusting picture of the spirit of those times. It was charged against Pepys, that a crucifix had been seen in his house, from which it was inferred that he was "a Papist, or Popishly inclined;" and this vague suspicion, not of a man's actions, but of his belief or inclinations, was deemed by the House the first subject to be inquired into in the adjudication of a controverted

time, he said it was before the burning the Office of the Navy. Being asked concerning the manner, he said he could not remember whether it were painted or carved, or in what manner the thing was; and that his memory was so very imperfect in it, that if he were upon his oath he could give no testimony."—*Ibid.* vol. ix. p. 309.——"16 February. Sir John Banks was called in—The Speaker desired him to answer what acquaintance he hath with Mr. Pepys, and whether he used to have recourse to him to his house, and had ever seen there any Altar or Crucifix, and whether he knew of his being a Papist, or Popishly inclined. Sir J. Banks said that he had known and had been acquainted with Mr. Pepys several years, and had often visited him and conversed with him at the Navy Office, and at his house there, upon several occasions; and that he never saw in his house there any Altar or Crucifix, and that he does not believe him to be a Papist, or that way inclined in the least, nor had any reason or ground to think or believe it."—*Ibid.* vol. ix. p. 310.

election. From the result, however, of this examination, neither the fact nor the inference received the smallest support. They had been grounded on the reported assertions of Sir John Banks and the Earl of Shaftesbury. Banks explicitly denied the whole. Shaftesbury's evidence I forbear to characterize: such as it is, the reader may see it in the note. Painful, indeed, is it to reflect to what lengths the bad passions which party violence inflames, could in those days carry a man of Shaftesbury's rank, station, and abilities. We also collect from Cole's MSS. *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*,* that some years afterwards Shaftesbury, in his eagerness to fix the odium of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's self-murder upon the Roman Catholics, threatened the principal witness examined during that inquiry with the utmost rigour, in case she refused to say that Sir John Banks, Mr. Pepys, and Monsieur de Puy, a servant of the Duke of York's, had obliged her to depose to the fact of Godfrey's having destroyed himself.

* In the British Museum.

A fact of the same character, but of a still deeper hue, is told by an unexceptionable witness. Burnet was among the warmest and ablest antagonists of the Church of Rome; and he was also, in his general opinions, an adherent of the same political party to which Shaftesbury belonged: but when he relates the detestable imposture of the Popish Plot, he bears against that great promoter of those proceedings an honest and memorable testimony. He is speaking of the prosecution of Staley, the first victim of those horrid perjuries. "When I heard," he says, "who the witnesses were, I thought I was bound to do what I could to stop it; so I sent both to the Lord Chancellor and to the Attorney General, to let them know what PROFLIGATE WRETCHES these witnesses were. Jones, the Attorney-General, took it ill of me that I should disparage the King's evidence." He then speaks of the clamour raised on this occasion against himself, and adds, "I had likewise observed to several persons of weight, how many incredible things there were in the evidence that was given.

I wished they would make use of the heat the nation was in to secure us effectually from Popery: we saw certain evidence to carry us so far as to graft that upon it;* but I wished they would not run too hastily to the taking men's lives away upon such testimonies. Lord Hollis had more temper than I expected from a man of his heat. Lord Halifax was of the same mind. But the Earl of Shaftesbury could not bear the discourse: he said, 'WE MUST SUPPORT THE EVIDENCE, and that all those who undermined the credit of the witnesses were to be looked on as PUBLIC ENEMIES.'"† This passage requires no comment. The charge against Pepys was in truth a heavy one,—that of hypocrisy and dis-

* He here alludes, probably, to the projected exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne, a measure for which abundant cause has been given. The only real Popish Plot was the plot of the King and his brother. They, and not the wretched victims of this persecution, had conspired with France to subvert the religion and liberties of a people, to whose ill-requited loyalty they had been so recently and so largely indebted.

† Burnet, History of his own Time, 1678.

simulation in matters of religion : it is sufficiently refuted by this view of the principles and conduct of him who was the chief instigator, as well as the chief witness in the case ; but with respect to the religion of Pepys, these volumes supply conclusive information. He was educated in the pure and reformed faith of the Church of England. To that he adhered through life, and in that he died. In some of the earliest pages of his Diary, how interesting are the accounts of his attendance on the worship of that Church, when her rites were administered to a scattered flock by a few faithful and courageous men, who met for that purpose in secret and in danger, like the Fathers of the primitive Church under the tyranny of their heathen persecutors ! After the Restoration, the confidential servant of the Duke of York, and the Secretary of the Admiralty to Charles the Second and James the Second, saw, undoubtedly, how much his temporal interests would be promoted by his conversion to that faith which both those Princes had embraced, and for the propagation of which the last of

them, his immediate patron, manifested such a bigoted and fanatical enthusiasm. But there is no reason for believing that any such temptation ever entered into his mind; or, if it did, the reader will see, in the close of this Memoir, the most satisfactory proofs that it was steadily and successfully resisted.

In the summer of 1673, the Duke of York having resigned all his employments, upon the passing of the Test Act, his Majesty called Mr. Pepys into his own service, as Secretary for the affairs of the Navy, in which important station he gained additional credit; not, however, without once more exciting the envy and malice of his enemies, who lost no opportunity of revenging themselves upon the Duke of York, by directing their attacks against all his adherents. Accordingly, in the turbulent juncture of the Popish Plot, complaint having been made in the House of Commons of various miscarriages in the Navy, a Committee was appointed to inquire into the circumstances, in which Mr. Harbord, Member

for Thetford, took the lead against Mr. Pepys, and Sir Anthony Deane.* They were accused on the depositions of Colonel John Scott, and others, of sending secret particulars respecting the English Navy to the French Government, in order to assist in the design of dethroning the King, and extirpating the Protestant religion; and Mr. Pepys was again charged with being himself a Roman Catholic, and a great favourer of that party. They were committed to the Tower, under the Speaker's warrant, May 22d, 1679. On the 2d of June both prisoners were brought to the Bar of the King's Bench, when bail being denied them, their Counsel pressed for a speedy trial, which the Attorney-General refused, upon the ground that he expected more evidence of their treasonable correspondence with France. They were then remanded to the Tower, and, after being brought up a second and third time, allowed to find security in

* There is a pamphlet, which I never saw, called Plain Truth, or a Private Discourse between (P)*epys* and (H)*arbord*, about the Navy, printed, I believe, in 1679.

30,000*l.*; and though they subsequently appeared in Court four times more, the trial was always postponed upon the same plea. At length, on February 12th, they moved by Counsel to be discharged; and on the Attorney General's stating that Scott now refused to acknowledge the truth of his original deposition, upon which the whole charge rested, the prisoners were relieved from their bail, and their motion was acceded to on the first day of the next Term, with the consent of the Law Officers of the Crown.

It is impossible to recur to these unjust and arbitrary proceedings without feelings of disgust; but the accusation being so serious, it seems due to the characters of the parties suspected, to examine the allegations closer. On reference to the papers still extant, in which the whole case is detailed, I find that numerous affidavits were made by persons resident in France, Holland, America, and England, all agreeing as to the infamy of Scott's character. We are also informed in the Correspondence, that he was af-

terwards obliged to quit the country precipitately, having killed a coachman in a fray, for which offence he was outlawed. It farther appears, that a principal witness against Mr. Pepys, named James, formerly his butler, had deposed before the Committee to his master's being a Roman Catholic; and that Morelli, who lived with him, though engaged under pretence of teaching him music, was a priest in disguise. But on his own apprehension, James confessed that he had invented the whole story, at the instigation of Mr. Harbord, who had held out promises and rewards to him through Colonel Mansell and Mr. Alexander Harris; and he swore to this recantation before several witnesses. In addition to these exculpatory facts, we have the testimony of Evelyn, who mentions in his Diary that he dined with Mr. Pepys, then a prisoner in the Tower, and believed him to be unjustly accused.

In the mean time, Charles II. again thought fit to change the constitution of the Admiralty; owing to which arrangement, the nation lost the

benefit of Mr. Pepys's services therein, but he had the honour of attending his Royal Master for ten days at Newmarket, in October 1680, and on this occasion took down in short-hand, from the King's own mouth, the Narrative, since published, of his Majesty's escape after the battle of Worcester.

In September 1683, Mr. Pepys was again brought into notice, having received the King's commands to accompany Lord Dartmouth on the expedition for demolishing Tangier: at the same time, he profited by the opportunity of making large excursions into Spain, as he had formerly done into France, Flanders, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark; not to mention his lesser voyages with the Duke of York, and especially one to Scotland in the preceding year, when he narrowly escaped shipwreck, by being on board his own yacht.*

From the Tangier expedition, Mr. Pepys re-

* *Vide* Correspondence, p. 86.

turned the following spring; and the King having himself assumed the office of High Admiral, he was, "by the Royal commands, neither sought for nor foreseen, but brought to him expressly by Lord Dartmouth from Windsor,"* constituted Secretary for the affairs of the Admiralty, which office he continued to fill during the remainder of Charles II.'s reign, and the whole of that of his successor, whose confidence he had long most deservedly enjoyed: so much so, that the curious circumstance respecting the religion of Charles II., related by Evelyn, rests chiefly upon the authority of Mr. Pepys, to whom King James himself had communicated it. We are also told, that when his Majesty was sitting to Kneller for his picture,† intended as a present to the Secretary of the Admiralty, news coming of the Prince of Orange having landed, the King, with the utmost composure, desired the painter to

* Mr. Pepys's own words in speaking of the transaction.

† Now in the possession of Mr. S. P. Cockerell, and engraved by Vertue.

proceed and finish the portrait, that his good friend might not be disappointed.

The history of the period from Mr. Pepys's committal to the Tower to the abdication of James II., so far as the administration of the Navy is concerned, and the part borne by him therein, will be found fully and elegantly detailed in his Memoirs, published in 1690, which the reader may consult for his more ample satisfaction.* From the perusal of this interesting little Tract, as well as many parts of the Work now published, it may be seen how erroneously the merit of restoring the Navy to its pristine splendour has been assigned to James II. by his different Biographers. Mr. Stanier Clarke,† in particular, actually dwells upon the essential and

* There is a small book in the Pepysian Library entitled "*A Relation of the Troubles in the Court of Portugal in* 1667 *and* 8, *by S. P. Esqre*," London, 1677, 12mo.; of which Watt states Mr. Pepys to have been the author.—Vide *Bibliotheca Britan.*

† Vide Memoirs of James II.

lasting benefit which that Monarch conferred on his country, by *building up and regenerating the Naval Power;* and asserts, as *a proof of the King's great ability,* that *the regulations still enforced under the orders of the Admiralty, are nearly the same as those originally drawn up by him.* It becomes due therefore to Mr. Pepys, to explain, that for these improvements, the value of which no person can doubt, we are indebted to him, and not to his Royal Master. To establish this fact, it is only necessary to refer to the MSS. connected with the subject, in the Bodleian and Pepysian Libraries, by which the extent of Mr. Pepys's official labours can alone be appreciated; and we even find in the Diary,* as early as 1668, that a long letter of regulation, produced before the Commissioners of the Navy by the Duke of York, *as his own composition,* was entirely written by the Clerk of the Acts.

Upon the accession of William and Mary, Mr.

* Vol. IV. pages 144, 145, 157, 158, 159.

Pepys lost his official employments, and the Electors of Harwich, unmindful of his having served them in three successive Parliaments, and perhaps naturally jealous of his avowed attachment to the exiled Monarch, refused, after a slight struggle, to return him to the Convention. He retired consequently into private life, trusting that he should be allowed to pass the remainder of his days in tranquillity, and the enjoyment of literary society, for which his various acquirements so peculiarly qualified him. He was, however, soon disturbed by the malice of his enemies, who, in June 1690, procured his committal to the Gatehouse, upon pretence of his being affected to King James; but he was soon permitted, on account of ill health, to return to his own house, and there is no farther mention of the charge; though, even in 1692, he appears to have apprehended some fresh persecution, being obliged (as he himself observes) to enjoy his *otium* without the company of more of his books and papers, than he was willing should be visited and disturbed. We are assured

too, that notwithstanding political prejudices, and the bitterness of party spirit, Mr. Pepys was very generally consulted up to the time of his death, and looked upon as an oracle in all matters concerning the Navy; and, as far as the difficulties of the times allowed him opportunity, he seemed uniformly anxious to point out any improvement likely to benefit the service to which he had so long been an ornament.

Nor was the period of his retirement in other respects spent in an unprofitable manner, part of which he devoted with great application, and no small expense, to the restoration of the government of Christ's Hospital to its pristine purity; and he succeeded in preserving from impending ruin the Mathematical Foundation there, which had been originally designed by him, and, through his almost sole solicitations, endowed and cherished by his two Royal Masters.

The estimation in which Mr. Pepys was held for his literary attainments, had raised him in 1684 to the high station of President of the

Royal Society, which he filled during two years with credit and ability. After he had relinquished the office, he was in the habit of entertaining the most distinguished members of that learned body, on Saturday evenings, at his house in York Buildings, where they assembled for the discussion of literary subjects, and the encouragement of the liberal arts. To the dissolution of these meetings, occasioned by the increasing infirmities of their Founder, Evelyn adverts in his letters, in terms of the strongest regret: nor could a person of his enlightened mind fail to derive the most heartfelt gratification from witnessing so many of his contemporaries eagerly devoting the small portion of their lives that remained, to the cultivation of science and the acquirement of useful knowledge.

Another portion of his fruitful recess the Author of the Diary set apart for the arrangement of his extensive collections, obtained, at an immense cost, for the general history of the *Navalia* of England, which he had promised to the public; but age and ill health intervening, he was deprived

of the vigour and opportunities requisite for completing the work; and it remains a desideratum to this day.

Of his munificence, as a patron of literature, the numerous books dedicated to Mr. Pepys furnish ample testimony; and in the Preface to *Willoughby's Historia Piscium*, 1684, he is justly styled by Mr. Ray, "Ingenuarum Artium, et Eruditorum Fautor et Patronus eximius," as having contributed no fewer than sixty plates to that work. He was also a considerable benefactor to St. Paul's School, and a subscriber to the New Court at Magdalene College.

Of his tender affection to his parents, the Diary affords many instances; and his liberality, at a time when he was far from rich, in giving his sister Mrs. Jackson 600*l.* as a marriage portion, is worthy of mention. Nor did his kindness to the family terminate here, as he took the management of her two sons, who were left orphans when very young, and wholly unprovided for, and educated them at his own expense. Samuel, the eldest,

contracting extravagant habits early in life, and making a discreditable marriage, soon forfeited all claim to his relative's further good offices, while his brother John lived to repay the kindness shown to him. After completing his studies at Magdalene College, he was sent, under the auspices of his uncle, to make the tour of Italy and Spain; and on his return, being received once more under his benefactor's roof, ultimately inherited his property, as a reward for the attentions with which he had soothed his declining years.

Mr. Pepys's valuable life was now drawing gradually to a close. By the too continued exercises of his mind, without any consideration to his advanced age, he had destroyed his constitution, long before impaired by the stone. On this account the physicians persuaded him, in 1700, to bid adieu to York Buildings, and retire, for the sake of change of air, and repose, to the seat of his old friend and servant, William Hewer, at Clapham. Nor could a more eligible retreat have been selected, nor a kinder companion, than that cherished individual, whose amiable qualities,

and disinterested gratitude to his patron, under circumstances of no common difficulty, entitle him to the highest commendation which can be bestowed.* Mr. Pepys, however, still persevered in the same studious occupations; and with the greater intenseness, as he was less exposed to interruption: the object of his removal was consequently frustrated, and he consummated the ruin of his health, and expired, after a lingering illness, May 26, 1703.

Though he lived in an age when religious duties were too generally neglected, and even ridiculed, Mr. Pepys retained the habit, acquired in his earliest youth, of constantly attending the service of the Church of England, and receiving the Holy Sacrament.† It is further gratifying to

* Far different was the conduct of Josiah Burchett, and James Southerne, who had both been footboys in Mr. Pepys's service; and rising, through his interest, to high stations in the Admiralty, lived to forget their benefactor, and even treat him with neglect and disrespect.

† Upon this subject, the Certificate which follows, copied from the original in the Bodleian Library, appears too interesting to be omitted:—

his Biographer, to be able to trace in the Correspondence, that, as he advanced in years, he turned his mind more earnestly to serious thoughts,

May 22, 1681.

I, Daniel Milles, Doctor in Divinity, present (and for above twenty yeares last past) Rector of the parish of St. Olave's, Hart Street, London, doe hereby certify, that Samuel Pepys, Esq. some time one of the principall Officers and Commissioners of his Majestie's Navy, and since Secretary of the Admiralty of England, became (with his family) an inhabitant of the said Parish, about the month of June, in the yeare of our Lord, 1660, and so continued (without intermission) for the space of thirteen yeares, viz. untill about the same month in the yeare 1673, when he was called thence to attend his Majesty in his said Secretaryship: during all which time, the said Mr. Pepys and his whole family were constant attenders upon the publick worship of God and his holy Ordinances, (under my ministration,) according to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, established by Law, without the least appearance or suggestion had of any inclination towards Popery, either in himself or any of his family; his Lady receiving the Holy Sacrament (in company with him, the said Mr. Pepys, her husband, and others) from my hand, according to the rites of the Church of England, upon her death-bed few houres before her decease, in the yeare 1669.

And I doe hereby further certify, that the said Mr. Pepys hath, from the determination of his said residence in this parish, continued to receive the Holy Communion with the

and devoutly prepared for the change which awaited him. Nor could the example of the virtuous Evelyn, whose friendship and society he had so long enjoyed, and cultivated to the last moments of his life, have been useless or unprofitable, in this particular. The tranquillity of mind, and pious resignation, which he evinced on his death-bed, with some interesting details on the subject of his last illness, are so well related in the following letters, that no apology can be deemed necessary for their insertion.

inhabitants thereof, to this day; so that I verily beleeve, hee never failed, within the whole space of one and twenty yeares last past, (viz. from June 1660,) to this instant 22d of May, (being Whitsunday in the yeare 1681,) of communicating publickly in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper with the inhabitants of the Parish, from my hand, at any of the solemn Feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, (besides his frequent monthly communicatings therein,) saving on Whitsunday 1679, when, being a prisoner in the Tower, he appears to have received it in the publick Chappell there; and at Easter last, when, by a violent sicknesse, (which confined him to his bed,) hee was to my particular knowledge rendered incapable of attending it. Witnesse my Hand, the day and the yeare above written.

D. Milles, D. D. Rect^{r} of S^{t} Olave,
Hart Street, Lond.

MR JACKSON TO MR EVELYN.*

Clapham, May 28th, 1703,
HONOURED SIR, Friday night.

'Tis no small addition to my grief, to be obliged to interrupt the quiet of your happy recess with the afflicting tidings of my Uncle Pepys's death; knowing how sensibly you will partake with me herein. But I should not be faithful to his desires, if I did not beg your doing the honour to his memory of accepting mourning from him, as a small instance of his most affectionate respect and honour for you. I have thought myself extremely unfortunate to be out of the way at that only time when you were pleased lately to touch here, and express so great a desire of taking your leave of my Uncle; which could not but have been admitted by him as a most welcome exception to his general orders against being interrupted; and I could most heartily wish that the circumstances of your health, and distance, did not forbid me to ask the

* From a copy of the original letter, communicated by Mr. W. Upcott.

favour of your assisting in the holding up of the pawll at his interment, which is intended to be on Thursday next; for if the manes are affected with what passes below, I am sure this would have been very grateful to his.

I must not omit acquainting you, Sir, that upon opening his body, (which the uncommonness of his case required of us, for our own satisfaction as well as public good,) there was found in his left kidney a nest of no less than seven stones, of the most irregular figures your imagination can frame, and weighing together four ounces and a half, but all fast linked together, and adhering to his back; whereby they solve his having felt no greater pains upon motion, nor other of the ordinary symptoms of the stone. Some other lesser defects there also were in his body, proceeding from the same cause. But his stamina, in general, were marvellously strong, and not only supported him, under the most exquisite pains, weeks beyond all expectations; but, in the conclusion, contended for near forty hours (unassisted by any nourishment) with the very agonies

of death, some few minutes excepted before his expiring, which were very calm.

There remains only for me, under this affliction, to beg the consolation and honour of succeeding to your patronage, for my Uncle's sake; and leave to number myself, with the same sincerity he ever did, among your greatest honourers, which I shall esteem as one of the most valuable parts of my inheritances from him; being also, with the faithfullest wishes of health and a happy long life to you,

Honoured Sir,

Your most obedient and
Most humble Servant,
J. JACKSON.

Mr. Hewer, as my Uncle's Executor, and equally your faithful Servant, joines with me in every part hereof.

The time of my good Uncle's departure was about three-quarters past three on Wednesday morning last.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM D^R HICKES* TO D^R CHARLETT.†

June 5, 1703.

LAST night, at 9 a clock, I did the last office for your and my good friend, M^r Pepys, at S^t Olave's Church, where he was laid in a vault of his own makeing, by his wife and brother.

The greatness of his behaviour, in his long and sharp tryall before his death, was in every respect answerable to his great life; and I believe no man ever went out of this world with greater contempt of it, or a more lively faith in every thing that was revealed of the world to come. I administered the Holy Sacrament twice in his illnesse to him, and had administered it a third

* George Hickes, D. D. deprived of the Deanery of Worcester, which he had held five years, from February 1689-90, for refusing to take the oaths to King William. He was a person of universal learning, and author of several works upon the old Northern Languages, in which he was deeply read. Ob. 1714, æt. suæ 74.

† From the original in the Bodleian Library, communicated by Dr. Bandinel.

time, but for a sudden fit of illness that happened at the appointed time of administering of it. Twice I gave him the absolution of the Church, which he desired, and received with all reverence and comfort, and I never attended any sick, or dying person, that dyed with so much Christian greatnesse of mind, or a more lively sense of immortality, or so much fortitude and patience, in so long and sharp a tryall, or greater resignation to the will, which he most devoutly acknowledged to be the wisdom of God; and I doubt not but he is now a very blessed spirit, according to his motto, MENS CUJUSQUE, IS EST QUISQUE.

GEORGE HICKES.

Mr. Pepys, by his will bearing date May, 1703, left his estate at Brampton, and the residue of his property, charged with a few legacies, to his nephew John Jackson; to whom he also gave the use of his valuable Library* and

* It is in contemplation to print a Catalogue of the Pepysian Library; on which account, no farther details respecting the literary treasures which it contains are here introduced.

Collection of Prints, for his life, and directed that they should afterwards be removed to Magdalene College, Cambridge, and placed for ever, subject to certain restrictions and regulations, in the sole custody of the Master for the time being. He seemed conscious that his heirs would not feel satisfied with his testamentary dispositions, and accordingly inserted the following clause in his will:—

"I earnestly recommend it to my said Nephews to join with me in not repining at any disappointment they may, by the late public Providence of God, meet with in what they might otherwise have reasonably hoped for from me at my death; but to receive with thankfulness, from God's hands, whatsoever it will prove, remembering it to be more than what either myself, or they, were born to, and therefore endeavouring, on their part, by all humble and honest endeavours to improve the same."

He died, in fact, in very reduced circum-

stances; nor could it be otherwise, since he never received any pension or remuneration for his long official labours, subsequently to his retirement at the Revolution; while the habits of generosity and hospitality, in which he had indulged, when his means were more ample, terminated only with his life: and these expenses, added to the charges entailed upon him for the education of his Nephews, and the extensive collections which he was constantly making for his library, would have absorbed a larger income than he had ever possessed. There was also a balance of 28,007*l.* 2*s.* 1¼*d.* due to him from the Crown, on a long unsettled account, which had grown up during his employments as Treasurer for Tangier, Clerk of the Acts, and Secretary to the Admiralty; and which he bequeathed specifically to be laid out in the purchase of lands for the use of his Nephew and his heirs. The original vouchers relating to this transaction, as verified on oath by the claimant himself, before Chief Baron Warde, are still in the possession of Mr. S. P. Cockerel, the representative of the family; but the times which immediately pre-

ceded and followed his decease were not favourable to the liquidation of the debt, however due as an act of justice, as well as a tribute to the memory of so good and faithful a servant of the public. It is farther to be remarked, that though Mr. Pepys's funeral was conducted in a manner suitable to the station which he had adorned,* no stone, however humble, marks the spot within St. Olave's church in which his remains were deposited; the vault is, however, probably contiguous to the monument erected by him to his wife, still to be seen.

In conclusion, I cannot resist inserting the character of Mr. Pepys, as given in the Supplement to Collier's Dictionary, from which article I am bound to acknowledge that I have already

* "London, June 5. Yesterday in the evening were performed the obsequies of Samuel Pepys, Esq., in Crutched-Friars' Church; whither his corpse was brought in a very honourable and solemn manner from Clapham, where he departed this life, the 26th day of the last Month."—*Post Boy, No.* 1257. *June* 5, 1703.

drawn largely, in my attempt to compile this hasty and imperfect Memoir.

"It may be affirmed of this Gentleman," (says his contemporaneous Biographer,) "that he was, without exception, the greatest and most useful Minister that ever filled the same situations in England; the Acts and Registers of the Admiralty proving this fact beyond contradiction. The principal rules and establishments in present use in those offices are well known to have been of his introducing, and most of the officers serving therein, since the Restoration, of his bringing up. He was a most studious promoter and strenuous assertor of order and discipline through all their dependencies. Sobriety, diligence, capacity, loyalty, and subjection to command, were essentials required in all whom he advanced. Where any of these were found wanting, no interest or authority were capable of moving him in favour of the highest pretender; the Royal command only excepted, of which he was also very watchful, to prevent any undue procure-

ments. Discharging his duty to his Prince and Country with a religious application and perfect integrity, he feared no one, courted no one, neglected his own fortune. Besides this, he was a person of universal worth, and in great estimation among the Literati, for his unbounded reading, his sound judgment, his great elocution, his mastery in method, his singular curiosity, and his uncommon munificence towards the advancement of learning, arts, and industry, in all degrees: to which were joined the severest morality of a philosopher, and all the polite accomplishments of a gentleman, particularly those of music, languages, conversation, and address. He assisted, as one of the Barons of the Cinque Ports, at the Coronation of James II., and was a standing Governor of all the principal houses of charity in and about London, and sat at the head of many other honourable bodies, in divers of which, as he deemed their constitution and methods deserving, he left lasting monuments of his bounty and patronage."

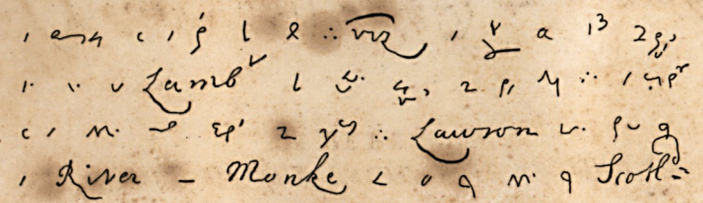
Annexed is an engraving of a richly chased silver cup, presented by Mr. Pepys to the Cloth-workers' Company,—of which he was Master in 1677,—and still constantly used at their Festivals.





FAC SIMILE OF AN EXTRACT FROM THE SHORT-HAND M.S. DIARY.

(Vide Page 13rd sentence)



The condition of the State was thus - viz. The Rump after being disturbed by my Lord Lambert, was lately returned to sit again. The Officers of the Army all forced to yield. Lawson lies still in the River, & Monk is with his Army in Scotland.

FAC SIMILE OF THE USUAL HAND-WRITING OF
MR. PEPYS

I am (I bless God) restored to a perfect degree of Health, at least as perfect as at this Time of Day, I can ever expect to be, & (I bless God) it is a good One.

This whole family alsoe, with y^e whole Num^r of y^o^r friends talking in my Way, are well, & on all Opportunitys ever y^o^r Kinde Remembrers. The God keepe you. Adieu.

Your truly affect^e. Friend

S. Pepys

(Dated Clapham July 1st 1700)

Engraved by Sidl. Hall, Bury Str.t Bloomsb.y

London, Published by Henry Colburn, New Burlington Str.t Dec.r 1827.

DIARY.

1659-60. BLESSED be God, at the end of the last year I was in very good health, without any sense of my old pain, but upon taking of cold. I lived in Axe Yard, having my wife, and servant Jane, and no other in family than us three.

The condition of the State was thus; viz. the Rump, after being disturbed by my Lord Lambert,* was lately returned to sit again. The officers of the Army all forced to yield. Lawson† lies still in the river, and Monk‡ is with his army

* Sufficiently known by his services as a Major-general in the Parliament forces during the Civil War, and condemned as a traitor after the Restoration; but reprieved and banished to Guernsey, where he lived in confinement thirty years.

† Sir John Lawson, the son of a poor man at Hull, rose to the rank of Admiral, and distinguished himself during the Protectorate; and, though a republican in his heart, readily closed with the design of restoring the King. He was mortally wounded in the sea-fight in 1665.

‡ George Monk, afterwards Duke of Albemarle.

in Scotland. Only my Lord Lambert is not yet come into the Parliament, nor is it expected that he will without being forced to it. The new Common Council of the City do speak very high; and had sent to Monk their sword-bearer, to acquaint him with their desires for a free and full Parliament, which is at present the desires, and the hopes, and the expectations of all. Twenty-two of the old secluded members having been at the House-door the last week to demand entrance, but it was denied them; and it is believed that neither they nor the people will be satisfied till the House be filled. My own private condition very handsome, and esteemed rich, but indeed very poor; besides my goods of my house, and my office, which at present is somewhat certain. Mr. Downing* master of my office.†

* George Downing, son of Calibute Downing, D.D. and Rector of Hackney. Wood calls him a sider with all times and changes; skilled in the common cant, and a preacher occasionally. He was sent by Cromwell to Holland as resident there. About the Restoration he espoused the King's cause, and was knighted and elected M.P. for Morpeth in 1661. Afterwards, becoming Secretary to the Treasury and Commissioner of Customs, he was in 1663 created a Baronet of East Hatley, in Cambridgeshire.

† The office appears to have been in the Exchequer, and connected with the pay of the army.

Jan. 1st, (Lord's day.) This morning (we living lately in the garret,) I rose, put on my suit with great skirts, having not lately worn any other clothes but them. Went to Mr. Gunning's* chapel at Exeter House,† where he made a very good sermon upon these words:—"That in the fulness of time God sent his Son, made of a woman," &c.; showing, that, by "made under the law," is meant the circumcision, which is solemnized this day. Dined at home in the garret, where my wife dressed the remains of a turkey, and in the doing of it she burned her hand. I staid at home the whole afternoon, looking over my accounts; then went with my wife to my father's, and in going observed the great posts which the City workmen set up at the Conduit in Fleet-street.

2d. Walked a great while in Westminster Hall, where I heard that Lambert was coming

* Peter Gunning, afterwards master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and successively Bishop of Chichester and Ely: ob. 1684. He had continued to read the Liturgy at the chapel at Exeter House when the Parliament was most predominant, for which Cromwell often rebuked him.—*Wood's Athenæ.*

† Essex-street in the Strand was built on the site of Exeter House.

up to London; that my Lord Fairfax was in the head of the Irish brigade, but it was not certain what he would declare for. The House was to-day upon finishing the act for the Council of State, which they did; and for the indemnity to the soldiers; and were to sit again thereupon in the afternoon. Great talk that many places had declared for a free Parliament; and it is believed that they will be forced to fill up the House with the old members. From the Hall I called at home, and so went to Mr. Crewe's* (my wife she was to go to her father's), and Mr. Moore and I and another gentleman went out and drank a cup of ale together in the new market, and there I eat some bread and cheese for my dinner.

3d. To White Hall, where I understood that the Parliament had passed the act for indemnity for the soldiers and officers that would come in, in so many days, and that my Lord Lambert should have benefit of the said act. They had also voted that all vacancies in the House, by the death of any of the old members, should be filled

* John Crewe, Esq., created Baron Crewe of Stene at the coronation of Charles II. He married Jemima, daughter and co-heir to Edward Walgrave, Esq., of Lawford, co. Essex.

up; but those that are living shall not be called in.

4th. Strange the difference of men's talk! Some say that Lambert must of necessity yield up; others, that he is very strong, and that the Fifth-monarchy-men will stick to him, if he declares for a free Parliament. Chillington was sent yesterday to him with the vote of pardon and indemnity from the Parliament. Went and walked in the Hall, where I heard that the Parliament spent this day in fasting and prayer; and in the afternoon came letters from the North, that brought certain news that my Lord Lambert his forces were all forsaking him, and that he was left with only fifty horse, and that he did now declare for the Parliament himself; and that my Lord Fairfax* did also rest satisfied, and had laid down his arms, and that what he had done was only to secure the country against my Lord Lambert his raising of money, and free quarter.

5th. I dined with Mr. Shepley, at my Lord's† lodgings, upon his turkey-pie. And so to my

* Thomas Lord Fairfax, Generalissimo of the Parliament forces. After the Restoration he retired to his country seat, where he lived in private till his death in 1671.

† Admiral Sir Edward Montagu, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, uniformly styled "My Lord" throughout the Diary.

office again; where the Excise money was brought, and some of it told to soldiers till it was dark. Then I went home, after writing to my Lord the news that the Parliament had this night voted that the members that were discharged from sitting in the years 1648 and 49, were duly discharged; and that there should be writs issued presently for the calling of others in their places, and that Monk and Fairfax were commanded up to town, and that the Prince's lodgings were to be provided for Monk at Whitehall. Mr. Fage and I did discourse concerning public business; and he told me it is true the City had not time enough to do much, but they are resolved to shake off the soldiers; and that unless there be a free Parliament chosen, he did believe there are half the Common Council will not levy any money by order of this Parliament.

6th. This morning Mr. Shepley and I did eat our breakfast at Mrs. Harper's, (my brother John being with me,) upon a cold turkey-pie and a goose.

9th. I rose early this morning, and looked over and corrected my brother John's speech, which he is to make the next opposition.* I met

* Declamations at St. Paul's school, in which there were opponents and respondents.

with W. Simons, Muddiman, and Jack Price, and went with them to Harper's and staid till two of the clock in the afternoon. I found Muddiman a good scholar, an arch rogue; and owns that though he writes new books for the Parliament, yet he did declare that he did it only to get money; and did talk very basely of many of them. Among other things, W. Simons told me how his uncle Scobell* was on Saturday last called to the bar, for entering in the journal of the House, for the year 1653, these words: "This day his Excellence the Lord G. Cromwell dissolved this House;" which words the Parliament voted a forgery, and demanded of him how they came to be entered. He said that they were his own hand-writing, and that he did it by rights of his office, and the practice of his predecessor; and that the intent of the practice was to let posterity know how such and such a Parliament was dissolved, whether by the command of the King, or by their own neglect, as the last House of Lords was; and that to this end, he had said and writ that it was dissolved by his Excellence the Lord G.; and that for the word dissolved, he never at

* H. Scobell, clerk to the House of Commons.

the time did hear of any other term; and desired pardon if he would not dare to make a word himself what it was six years after, before they came themselves to call it an interruption; that they were so little satisfied with this answer, that they did chuse a committee to report to the House, whether this crime of Mr. Scobell's did come within the act of indemnity or no. Thence into the Hall, where I heard for certain that Monk was coming to London, and that Bradshaw's* lodgings were preparing for him. I heard Sir H. Vane† was this day voted out of the House, and to sit no more there; and that he would retire himself to his house at Raby, as also all the rest of the nine officers that had their commissions formerly taken away from them, were commanded to their furthest houses from London during the pleasure of the Parliament.

10th. To the Coffee-house, where were a great confluence of gentlemen; viz. Mr. Har-

* John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, President of the High Court of Justice.

† Son of a statesman of both his names, and one of the most turbulent enthusiasts produced by the Rebellion, and an inflexible republican. His execution, in 1662, for conspiring the death of Charles I. was much called in question as a measure of great severity.

rington,* Poultny,† chairman, Gold, Dr. Petty,‡ &c., where admirable discourse till 9 at night. Thence with Doling to Mother Lam's, who told me how this day Scott,§ was made Intelligencer, and that the rest of the members that were objected against last night were to be heard this day se'nnight.

13th. Coming in the morning to my office, I met with Mr. Fage and took him to the Swan. He told me how he, Haselrigge ||, and Morley,¶ the last night began at my Lord Mayor's to exclaim against the City of London, saying that

* James Harrington, the political writer, author of "Oceana," and founder of a club called The Rota, in 1659, which met at Miles's coffee-house in Old Palace Yard, and lasted only a few months. In 1661 he was sent to the Tower, on suspicion of treasonable designs. His intellects appear to have failed afterwards, and he died 1677.

† Sir William Poultny, subsequently M.P. for Westminster, and a Commissioner of the Privy Seal under King William. Ob. 1691.

‡ Sir William Petty, an eminent physician, and celebrated for his proficiency in every branch of science. Ob. 1687.

§ Thomas Scott, M. P. made Secretary of State to the Commonwealth Jan. 17th following.

|| Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Bart. of Nosely, co. Leicester, Colonel of a regiment in the Parliament army, and much esteemed by Cromwell. Ob. 1660.

¶ Probably Colonel Morley, Lieutenant of the Tower.

they had forfeited their charter. And how the Chamberlain of the City did take them down, letting them know how much they were formerly beholding to the City, &c. He also told me that Monk's letter that came by the sword-bearer was a cunning piece, and that which they did not much trust to; but they were resolved to make no more applications to the Parliament, nor to pay any money, unless the secluded members be brought in, or a free Parliament chosen.

16th. In the morning I went up to Mr. Crewe's, who did talk to me concerning things of state; and expressed his mind how just it was that the secluded members should come to sit again. From thence to my office, where nothing to do; but Mr. Downing came and found me all alone; and did mention to me his going back into Holland, and did ask me whether I would go or no, but gave me little encouragement, but bid me consider of it; and asked me whether I did not think that Mr. Hawley could perform the work of my office alone. I confess I was at a great loss, all the day after, to bethink myself how to carry this business. I staid up till the bell-man came by with his bell just under my window as I was writing of this very line, and cried, "Past

one of the clock, and a cold, frosty, windy morning."

17th. In our way to Kensington, we understood how that my Lord Chesterfield * had killed another gentleman about half an hour before, and was fled. I went to the Coffee Club, and heard very good discourse; it was in answer to Mr. Harrington's answer, who said that the state of the Roman government was not a settled government, and so it was no wonder that the balance of prosperity was in one hand, and the command in another, it being therefore always in a posture of war; but it was carried by ballot, that it was a steady government, though it is true by the voices it had been carried before that it was an unsteady government; so to-morrow it is to be proved by the opponents that the balance lay in one hand, and the government in another. Thence I went to Westminster, and met Shaw and Washington, who told me how this day Sydenham† was voted out of the House for sitting any more this Par-

* Philip, second Earl of Chesterfield, born 1634, ob. 1713.

† Colonel Sydenham had been an active officer during the Civil Wars, on the Parliament side. M.P. for Dorsetshire, and Governor of Melcombe, and one of the Committee of Safety.

liament, and that Salloway* was voted out likewise and sent to the Tower, during the pleasure of the House. At Harper's Jack Price told me, among other things, how much the Protector is altered, though he would seem to bear out his trouble very well, yet he is scarce able to talk sense with a man; and how he will say that "Who should a man trust, if he may not trust to a brother and an uncle;" and "how much those men have to answer before God Almighty, for their playing the knave with him as they did." He told me also, that there was 100,000*l.* offered, and would have been taken for his restitution, had not the Parliament come in as they did again; and that he do believe that the Protector will live to give a testimony of his valour and revenge yet before he dies, and that the Protector will say so himself sometimes.

18th. All the world is at a loss to think what Monk will do: the City saying that he will be for them, and the Parliament saying he will be for them.

19th. This morning I was sent for to Mr. Downing, and at his bed side he told me, that he had a kindness for me, and that he thought that

* In the Journals of that date Major Salwey.

he had done me one; and that was, that he had got me to be one of the Clerks of the Council; at which I was a little stumbled, and could not tell what to do, whether to thank him or no; but by and by I did; but not very heartily, for I feared that his doing of it was only to ease himself of the salary which he gives me. Mr. Moore and I went to the French Ordinary, where Mr. Downing this day feasted Sir Arth. Haselrigge, and a great many more of the Parliament, and did stay to put him in mind of me. Here he gave me a note to go and invite some other members to dinner to-morrow. So I went to White Hall, and did stay at Marsh's with Simons, Luellin, and all the rest of the Clerks of the Council, who I hear are all turned out, only the two Leighs, and they do all tell me that my name was mentioned last night, but that nothing was done in it.

20th. In the morning I met Lord Widdrington* in the street, going to seal the patents for the Judges to-day, and so could not come to dinner. This day three citizens of London went to

* Sir Thomas Widdrington, Knight, Sergeant-at-Law, one of Cromwell's Commissioners of the Treasury, appointed Speaker 1656, and first Commissioner for the Great Seal, January, 1659; he was M.P. for York.

meet Monk from the Common Council. Received my 25*l.* due by bill for my trooper's pay. At the Mitre, in Fleet-street, in our way calling on Mr. Fage, who told me how the City have some hopes of Monk. This day Lenthall * took his chair again, and the House resolved a declaration to be brought in on Monday to satisfy the world what they intend to do.

22d. To church in the afternoon to Mr. Herring, where a lazy poor sermon. This day I began to put on buckles to my shoes.

23d. This day the Parliament sat late, and resolved of the declaration to be printed for the people's satisfaction, promising them a great many good things.

24th. Came Mr. Southerne, clerk to Mr. Blackburne, and with him Lambert, lieutenant of my Lord's ship, and brought with them the declaration that came out to-day from the Parliament, wherein they declare for law and gospel, and for tythes; but I do not find people apt to believe them. This day the Parliament gave orders that the late Committee of Safety should come before

* William Lenthall, Speaker of the Long or Rump Parliament, and made Keeper of the Great Seal to the Commonwealth, ob, 1662.

them this day se'nnight, and all their papers, and their model of Government that they had made, to be brought in with them.

25th. Coming home heard that in Cheapside there had been but a little before a gibbet set up, and the picture of Huson* hung upon it in the middle of the street. I called at Paul's Churchyard, where I bought Buxtorf's Hebrew Grammar; and read a declaration of the gentlemen of Northampton which came out this afternoon.

26th. Called for some papers at Whitehall for Mr. Downing, one of which was an Order of the Council for 1800*l.* per annum, to be paid monthly; and the other two, Orders to the Commissioners of Customs, to let his goods pass free. Home from my office to my Lord's lodgings where my wife had got ready a very fine dinner —viz. a dish of marrow bones; a leg of mutton; a loin of veal; a dish of fowl, three pullets, and a dozen of larks all in a dish; a great tart, a neat's tongue, a dish of anchovies; a dish of prawns and cheese. My company was my father, my uncle

* John Hewson, who had been a shoemaker, became a Colonel in the Parliament Army, and sat in judgment on the King: he escaped hanging by flight, and died in 1662, at Amsterdam.

Fenner, his two sons, Mr. Pierce, and all their wives, and my brother Tom.* The news this day is a letter that speaks absolutely Monk's concurrence with this Parliament, and nothing else, which yet I hardly believe.

28th. I went to Mr. Downing, who told me that he was resolved to be gone for Holland this morning. So I to my office again, and dispatch my business there, and came with Mr. Hawley to Mr. Downing's lodging, and took Mr. Squib from White Hall in a coach thither with me, and there we waited in his chamber a great while, till he came in; and in the mean time, sent all his things to the barge that lays at Charing-Cross stairs. Then came he in, and took a very civil leave of me, beyond my expectations, for I was afraid that he would have told me something of removing me from my office; but he did not, but that he would do me any service that lay in his power. So I went down and sent a porter to my house for my best fur cap, but he coming too late with it I did not present it to him; and so I returned and went to Heaven,† where Luellin and I dined.

* Ob. 1663.

† A place of entertainment in Old Palace-Yard, on the site of which the Committee-Rooms of the House of Com-

29th. In the morning I went to Mr. Gunning's, where he made an excellent sermon upon the 2d of the Galatians, about the difference that fell between St. Paul and St. Peter, whereby he did prove, that, contrary to the doctrine of the Roman Church, St. Paul did never own any dependance, or that he was inferior to St. Peter, but that they were equal, only one a particular charge of preaching to the Jews, and the other to the Gentiles.

30th. This morning, before I was up, I fell a-singing of my song, "Great, good and just," &c.* and put myself thereby in mind that this was the fatal day, now ten years since, his Majesty died. There seems now to be a general cease of talk, it being taken for granted that Monk do resolve to stand to the Parliament, and nothing else.

mons now stand. It is called in Hudibras, "False Heaven, at the end of the Hall."

* This is the beginning of Montrose's verses on the execution of Charles the First, which Pepys had probably set to music:—

Great, good, and just, could I but rate
My grief and thy too rigid fate,
I 'd weep the world to such a strain
That it should deluge once again.
But since thy loud-tongued blood demands supplies
More from Briareus' hands, than Argus' eyes,
I 'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet sounds,
And write thy epitaph with blood and wounds.

31st. After dinner to Westminster Hall, where all we clerks had orders to wait upon the Committee, at the Star-chamber that is to try Colonel Jones,* and to give an account what money we had paid him; but the Committee did not sit to-day. Called in at Harper's with Mr. Pulford, servant to Mr. Waterhouse, who tells me, that whereas my Lord Fleetwood† should have answered to the Parliament to-day, he wrote a letter and desired a little more time, he being a great way out of town. And how that he is quite ashamed of himself, and confesses how he had deserved this, for his baseness to his brother. And that he is like to pay part of the money, paid out of the Exchequer during the Committee of Safety, out of his own purse again, which I am glad on. I could find nothing in Mr. Downing's letter,

* Colonel John Jones, impeached, with General Ludlow and Miles Corbet, for treasonable practices in Ireland.

† Charles Fleetwood, Lord Deputy of Ireland during the Usurpation, became Cromwell's son-in-law by his marriage with Ireton's widow, and a member of the Council of State. He seemed disposed to have espoused Charles the Second's interests; but had not resolution enough to execute his design. At the Restoration he was excepted out of the Act of Indemnity, and spent the remainder of his life in obscurity, dying soon after the Revolution.

which Hawley brought me, concerning my office; but I could discern that Hawley had a mind that I would get to be Clerk of the Council, I suppose that he might have the greater salary; but I think it not safe yet to change this for a public employment.

February 1st. Took Gammer East, and James the porter, a soldier, to my Lord's lodgings, who told me how they were drawn into the field to-day, and that they were ordered to march away to-morrow to make room for General Monk; but they did shout their Colonel Fitch,* and the rest of the officers out of the field, and swore they would not go without their money, and if they would not give it them, they would go where they might have it, and that was the City. So the Colonel went to the Parliament, and commanded what money could be got, to be got against to-morrow for them, and all the rest of the soldiers in town, who in all places made a mutiny this day, and do agree together.

2d. To my office, where I found all the officers of the regiments in town, waiting to receive money that their soldiers might go out of town,

* Thomas Fitch, Colonel of a regiment of foot in 1658, M. P. for Inverness.

and what was in the Exchequer they had. Harper, Luellin, and I went to the Temple to Mr. Calthrop's chamber, and from thence had his man by water to London Bridge to Mr. Calthrop a grocer, and received 60*l.* for my Lord. In our way we talked with our waterman, White, who told us how the watermen had lately been abused by some that had a desire to get in to be watermen to the State, and had lately presented an address of nine or ten thousand hands to stand by this Parliament, when it was only told them that it was a petition against hackney coaches; and that to-day they had put out another to undeceive the world and to clear themselves. After I had received the money we went homewards, but over against Somerset House, hearing the noise of guns, we landed and found the Strand full of soldiers. So I took my money and went to Mrs. Johnson, my Lord's sempstress, and giving her my money to lay up, Doling and I went up stairs to a window, and looked out and saw the foot face the horse and beat them back, and stood bawling and calling in the street for a free Parliament and money By and by a drum was heard to beat a march coming towards them, and they got all ready again and

faced them, and they proved to be of the same mind with them; and so they made a great deal of joy to see one another. After all this I went home on foot to lay up my money, and change my stockings and shoes. I this day left off my great skirt suit, and put on my white suit with silver lace coat, and went over to Harper's, where I met with W. Simons, Doling, Luellin and three merchants, one of which had occasion to use a porter, so they sent for one, and James the soldier came, who told us how they had been all day and night upon their guard at St. James's, and that through the whole town they did resolve to stand to what they had began, and that to-morrow he did believe they would go into the City, and be received there. After this we went to a sport called, selling of a horse for a dish of eggs and herrings, and sat talking there till almost twelve at night.

3d. Drank my morning draft at Harper's, and was told there that the soldiers were all quiet upon promise of pay. Thence to St. James's Park, back to Whitehall, where in a guard-chamber I saw about thirty or forty 'prentices of the City, who were taken at twelve o'clock last night and brought prisoners hither. Thence to my

office, where I paid a little more money to some of the soldiers under Lieut.-Col. Miller (who held out the Tower against the Parliament after it was taken away from Fitch by the Committee of Safety, and yet he continued in his office). About noon Mrs. Turner came to speak with me and Joyce, and I took them and shewed them the manner of the Houses sitting, the door-keeper very civilly opening the door for us. We went walking all over White Hall, whither General Monk was newly come, and we saw all his forces march by in very good plight and stout officers. After dinner I went to hear news, but only found that the Parliament House was most of them with Monk at White Hall, and that in his passing through the town he had many calls to him for a free Parliament, but little other welcome. I saw in the Palace Yard how unwilling some of the old soldiers were yet to go out of town without their money, and swore if they had it not in three days, as they were promised, they would do them more mischief in the country than if they had staid here; and that is very likely, the country being all discontented. The town and guards are already full of Monk's soldiers.

4th. All the news to-day is, that the Parlia-

ment this morning voted the House to be made up four hundred forthwith.

6th. To Westminster, where we found the soldiers all set in the Palace Yard, to make way for General Monk to come to the House. I stood upon the steps and saw Monk go by, he making observance to the judges as he went along.

7th. To the Hall, where in the Palace I saw Monk's soldiers abuse Billing and all the Quakers, that were at a meeting-place there, and indeed the soldiers did use them very roughly and were to blame. This day Mr. Crewe told me that my Lord St. John is for a free Parliament, and that he is very great with Monk, who hath now the absolute command and power to do any thing that he hath a mind to do.

9th. Before I was out of my bed, I heard the soldiers very busy in the morning, getting their horses ready when they lay at Hilton's, but I knew not then their meaning in so doing. In the Hall I understand how Monk is this morning gone into London with his army; and Mr. Fagè told me that he do believe that Monk is gone to secure some of the Common-council of the City, who were very high yesterday there, and did vote that they would not pay any taxes till the House

was filled up. I went to my office, where I wrote to my Lord after I had been at the Upper Bench, where Sir Robert Pye this morning came to desire his discharge from the Tower; but it could not be granted. I called at Mr. Harper's, who told me how Monk had this day clapt up many of the Common-council, and that the Parliament had voted that he should pull down their gates and portcullisses, their posts and their chains, which he do intend to do, and do lie in the City all night.

To Westminster Hall, where I heard an action very finely pleaded between my Lord Dorset* and some other noble persons, his lady and other ladies of quality being there, and it was about 330*l.* *per annum*, that was to be paid to a poor Spittal, which was given by some of his predecessors; and given on his side.

10th. Mr. Fage told me what Monk had done in the City, how he had pulled down the most part of the gates and chains that they could break down, and that he was now gone back to White Hall. The City look mighty blank, and cannot tell what in the world to do; the Parliament having this day ordered that the Common-council

* Richard, 5th Earl of Dorset, ob. 1677.

sit no more, but that new ones be chosen according to what qualifications they shall give them.

11th. I heard the news of a letter from Monk, who was now gone into the City again, and did resolve to stand for the sudden filling up of the House, and it was very strange how the countenance of men in the Hall was all changed with joy in half an hour's time. So I went up to the lobby, where I saw the Speaker reading of the letter; and after it was read, Sir. A. Haselrigge came out very angry, and Billing standing at the door, took him by the arm, and cried, "Thou man, will thy beast carry thee no longer? thou must fall!" We took coach for the City to Guildhall, where the Hall was full of people expecting Monk and Lord Mayor to come thither, and all very joyfull. Met Monk coming out of the chamber where he had been with the Mayor and Aldermen, but such a shout I never heard in all my life, crying out, "God bless your Excellence." Here I met with Mr. Lock, and took him to an ale-house: when we were come together, he told us the substance of the letter that went from Monk to the Parliament; wherein, after complaints that he and his officers were put upon such offices against the City as they could not do with any content or

honour, it states, that there are many members now in the House that were of the late tyrannical Committee of Safety. That Lambert and Vane are now in town, contrary to the vote of Parliament. That many in the House do press for new oaths to be put upon men; whereas we have more cause to be sorry for the many oaths that we have already taken and broken. That the late petition of the fanatique people presented by Barebone, for the imposing of an oath upon all sorts of people, was received by the House with thanks. That therefore he* did desire that all writs for filling up of the House be issued by Friday next, and that in the mean time, he would retire into the City and only leave them guards for the security of the House and Council. The occasion of this was the order that he had last night, to go into the City and disarm them, and take away their charter; whereby he and his officers said, that the House had a mind to put them upon things that should make them odious; and so it would be in their power to do what they would with them. We were told that the Parliament had sent Scott and Robinson to Monk this afternoon, but he

* Monk.

would not hear them.' And that the Mayor and Aldermen had offered their own houses for himself and his officers; and that his soldiers would lack for nothing. And indeed I saw many people give the soldiers drink and money, and all along the streets cried, "God bless them!" and extraordinary good words. Hence we went to a merchant's house hard by, where I saw Sir Nich. Crisp,* and so we went to the Star Tavern, (Monk being then at Benson's.) In Cheapside there was a great many bonfires, and Bow bells and all the bells in all the churches as we went home were a-ringing. Hence we went homewards, it being about ten at night. But the common joy that was every where to be seen! The number of bonfires, there being fourteen between St. Dunstan's and Temple Bar, and at Strand Bridge I could at one time tell thirty-one fires. In King-street seven or eight; and all along burning, and roasting, and drinking for rumps. There being rumps tied upon sticks and carried up and down. The butchers at the May Pole in the Strand rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their

* An eminent merchant and one of the Farmers of the Customs. He had advanced large sums to assist Charles I., who created him a Baronet. He died February, 1667, aged 67.

rump. On Ludgate Hill there was one turning of the spit that had a rump tied upon it, and another basting of it. Indeed it was past imagination, both the greatness and the suddenness of it. At one end of the street you would think there was a whole lane of fire, and so hot that we were fain to keep on the further side.

12th. In the morning, it being Lord's day, to White Hall, where Dr. Hones preached; but I staid not to hear, but walking in the court, I heard that Sir Arth. Haselrigge was newly gone into the City to Monk, and that Monk's wife removed from White Hall last night. After dinner I heard that Monk had been at Paul's in the morning, and the people had shouted much at his coming out of the church. In the afternoon he was at a church in Broad-street, whereabout he do lodge. To my father's, where Charles Glascocke was overjoyed to see how things are now; who told me the boys had last night broke Barebone's* windows.

13th. This day Monk was invited to White

* Praise God Barebones, an active member of the Parliament called by his name. About this period he had appeared at the head of a band of fanatics, and alarmed Monk, who well knew his influence.

Hall to dinner by my Lords; not seeming willing, he would not come. I went to Mr. Fage from my father's, who had been this afternoon with Monk, who did promise to live and die with the City, and for the honour of the City; and indeed the City is very open-handed to the soldiers, that they are most of them drunk all day, and had money given them.

14th. To Westminster Hall, there being many new remonstrances and declarations from many counties to Monk and the City, and one coming from the North from Sir Thomas Fairfax.* I heard that the Parliament had now changed the oath so much talked of to a promise; and that among other qualifications for the members that are to be chosen, one is, that no man, nor the son of any man that hath been in arms during the life of the father, shall be capable of being chosen to sit in Parliament. This day, by an order of the House, Sir H. Vane was sent out of town to his house in Lincolnshire.

15th. No news to-day, but all quiet to see what the Parliament will do about the issuing of the writs to-morrow for the filling up of the House, according to Monk's desire.

* Thomas Lord Fairfax, mentioned before.

17th. To Westminster Hall, where I heard that some of the members of the House was gone to meet with some of the secluded members and General Monk in the City. Hence to White Hall, thinking to hear more news, where I met with Mr. Hunt, who told me how Monk had sent for all his goods that he had here, into the City; and yet again he told me, that some of the members of the House had this day laid in firing into their lodgings at Whitehall for a good while, so that we are at a great stand to think what will become of things, whether Monk will stand to the Parliament or no.

18th. This day two soldiers were hanged in the Strand for their late mutiny at Somerset-house.

19th. Lord's day. To Mr. Gunning's, and heard an excellent sermon. Here I met with Mr. Moore, and went home with him to dinner, where he told me the discourse that happened between the secluded members and the members of the House, before Monk last Friday. How the secluded said, that they did not intend by coming in to express revenge upon these men, but only to meet and dissolve themselves, and only to issue writs for a free Parliament. He told me how Haselrigge was afraid to have the candle carried before

him, for fear that the people seeing him, would do him hurt; and that he is afraid to appear in the City. That there is great likelihood that the secluded members will come in, and so Mr. Crewe and my Lord are likely to be great men, at which I was very glad. After dinner there was many secluded members come in to Mr. Crewe, which, it being the Lord's day, did make Mr. Moore believe that there was something extraordinary in the business.

20th. I went forth to Westminster Hall, where I met with Chetwind, Simons, and Gregory.* They told me how the Speaker Lenthall do refuse to sign the writs for choice of new members in the place of the excluded; and by that means the writs could not go out to-day. In the evening Simons and I to the Coffee House, where I heard Mr. Harrington, and my Lord of Dorset and another Lord, talking of getting another place at the Cockpit, and they did believe it would come to something.

21st. In the morning I saw many soldiers going towards Westminster Hall, to admit the secluded members again. So I to Westminster Hall, and in Chancery I saw about twenty of them who

* Mr. Gregory was, in 1672, Clerk of the Cheque at Chatham.

had been at White Hall with General Monk, who came thither this morning, and made a speech to them, and recommended to them a Commonwealth, and against Charles Stuart. They came to the House and went in one after another, and at last the Speaker came. But it is very strange that this could be carried so private, that the other members of the House heard nothing of all this, till they found them in the House, insomuch that the soldiers that stood there to let in the secluded members, they took for such as they had ordered to stand there to hinder their coming in. Mr. Prin* came with an old basket-hilt sword on, and had a great many shouts upon his going into the Hall. They sat till noon, and at their coming out Mr. Crewe saw me, and bid me come to his house and dine with him, which I did; and he very joyful told me that the House had made General Monk, General of all the Forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that upon Monk's desire, for the service that Lawson had lately done in pulling down the Committee of Safety, he had the command of the Sea for the

* William Prynne, the lawyer, well known by his voluminous publications, and the persecution which he endured. He was M. P. for Bath, 1660, and died 1669.

time being. He advised me to send for my Lord forthwith, and told me that there is no question that, if he will, he may now be employed again; and that the House do intend to do nothing more than to issue writs, and to settle a foundation for a free Parliament. After dinner I back to Westminster Hall with him in his coach. Here I met with Mr. Lock and Pursell,* Master of Musique, and went with them to the Coffee House, into a room next the water, by ourselves, where we spent an hour or two till Captain Taylor come and told us, that the House had voted the gates of the City to be made up again, and the members of the City that are in prison to be set at liberty; and that Sir G. Booth's† case be brought into the House to-morrow. Here we had variety of brave Italian and Spanish songs, and a canon for eight voices, which Mr. Lock had lately made on these words: "Domine salvum fac Regem." Here out of the window it was a most pleasant sight to see the City from one end to the other with a glory about it, so high was the light of the bonfires, and

* Matthew Locke and Henry Purcell, both celebrated Composers.

† Of Dunham Massey, Bart., created Baron Delamer, 1661, for his services in behalf of the King.

so thick round the City, and the bells rang every where.

22d. Walking in the Hall, I saw Major General Brown,* who had a long time been banished by the Rump, but now with his beard overgrown, he comes abroad and sat in the House. To White Hall, where I met with Will. Simons and Mr. Mabbot at Marsh's, who told me how the House had this day voted that the gates of the City should be set up at the cost of the State. And that Major-General Brown's being proclaimed a traitor be made void, and several other things of that nature. I observed this day how abominably Barebone's windows are broke again last night.

23d. Thursday, my birth-day, now twenty-seven years. To Westminster Hall, where, after the House rose, I met with Mr. Crewe, who told me that my Lord was chosen by 73 voices, to be one of the Council of State. Mr. Pierpoint† had the most, 101, and himself the next, 100.

24th. I rose very early, and taking horse at

* Richard Brown, a Major-General of the Parliament forces, Governor of Abingdon, and Member for London in the Long Parliament. He had been imprisoned by the Rump Faction.

† William Pierrepont, M. P. of Thoresby, second son to Robert, first Earl of Kingston, ob. 1679, aged 71.

Scotland Yard, at Mr. Garthwayt's stable, I rode to Mr. Pierce's: we both mounted, and so set forth about seven of the clock; at Puckridge we baited, the way exceeding bad from Ware thither. Then up again and as far as Foulmer, within six miles of Cambridge, my mare being almost tired: here we lay at the Chequer. I lay with Mr. Pierce, who we left here the next morning upon his going to Hinchingbroke to speak with my Lord before his going to London, and we two come to Cambridge by eight o'clock in the morning. I went to Magdalene College to Mr. Hill, with whom I found Mr. Zanchy, Burton and Hollins, and took leave on promise to sup with them. To the Three Tuns, where we drank pretty hard and many healths to the King, &c.: then we broke up and I and Mr. Zanchy went to Magdalene College, where a very handsome supper at Mr. Hill's chambers, I suppose upon a club among them, where I could find that there was nothing at all left of the old preciseness in their discourse, specially on Saturday nights. And Mr. Zanchy told me that there was no such thing now-a-days among them at any time.

26th. Found Mr. Pierce at our Inn, who told us that he had lost his journey, for my Lord was

gone from Hinchingbroke to London on Thursday last, at which I was a little put to a stand.

27th. Up by four o'clock: Mr. Blayton and I took horse and straight to Saffron Walden, where at the White Hart, we set up our horses, and took the master of the house to shew us Audly End House, who took us on foot through the park, and so to the house, where the housekeeper shewed us all the house, in which the stateliness of the ceilings, chimney-pieces, and form of the whole was exceedingly worth seeing. He took us into the cellar, where we drank most admirable drink, a health to the King. Here I played on my flageolette, there being an excellent echo. He shewed us excellent pictures; two especially, those of the four Evangelists and Henry VIII. In our going, my landlord carried us through a very old hospital or almshouse, where forty poor people was maintained; a very old foundation; and over the chimney-piece was an inscription in brass: "Orate pro animâ Thomæ Bird," &c.* They brought me a draft of their drink in a brown bowl, tipt with silver, which I drank off, and at the bottom was a picture of the Virgin with the

* The inscription and the bowl are still to be seen in the almshouse.

child in her arms, done in silver. So we took leave, the road pretty good, but the weather rainy to Eping.

28th. Up in the morning. Then to London through the forest, where we found the way good, but only in one path, which we kept as if we had rode through a kennel all the way. We found the shops all shut, and the militia of the red regiment in arms at the old Exchange, among whom I found and spoke to Nich. Osborne, who told me that it was a thanksgiving-day through the City for the return of the Parliament. At Paul's I light, Mr. Blayton holding my horse, where I found Dr. Reynolds in the pulpit, and General Monk there, who was to have a great entertainment at Grocers' Hall.

29th. To my office. Mr. Moore told me how my Lord is chosen General at Sea by the Council, and that it is thought that Monk will be joined with him therein. This day my Lord came to the House, the first time since he come to town; but he had been at the Council before.

March 1st. I went to Mr. Crewe's, whither Mr. Thomas was newly come to town, being sent with Sir H. Yelverton, my old school-fellow at Paul's School, to bring the thanks of the county

to General Monk for the return of the Parliament.

2d. I went early to my Lord at Mr. Crewe's where I spoke to him. Here were a great many come to see him, as Secretary Thurloe,* who is now by the Parliament chosen again Secretary of State. To Westminster Hall, where I saw Sir G. Booth at liberty. This day I hear the City militia is put into good posture, and it is thought that Monk will not be able to do any great matter against them now, if he had a mind. I understand that my Lord Lambert did yesterday send a letter to the Council, and that to-night he is to come and appear to the Council in person. Sir Arthur Haselrigge do not yet appear in the House. Great is the talk of a single person, and that it would now be Charles, George, or Richard again. For the last of which, my Lord St. John is said to speak high. Great also is the dispute now in the House, in whose name the writs shall run for the next Parliament; and it is said that Mr. Prin, in open House, said, "In King Charles's."

3d. To Westminster Hall, where I found that

* John Thurloe, who had been Secretary of State to the two Protectors, but was never employed after the Restoration, though the King solicited his services. Ob 1668.

my Lord was last night voted one of the Generals at Sea, and Monk the other. I met my Lord in the Hall, who bid me come to him at noon. After dinner I to Warwick House, in Holborne, to my Lord, where he dined with my Lord of Manchester,* Sir Dudley North,† my Lord Fiennes,‡ and my Lord Barkly.§ I staid in the great hall, talking with some gentlemen there, till they all come out. Then I, by coach with my Lord, to Mr. Crewe's, in our way talking of publick things. He told me he feared there was new design hatching, as if Monk had a mind to get into the saddle. Returning, met with Mr. Gifford who told me, as I hear from many, that things are in a very doubtful posture, some of the Parliament being willing to keep the power in

* The Parliamentary General, afterwards particularly instrumental in the King's Restoration, became Chamberlain of the Household, K. G., a Privy Counsellor, and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. He died in 1671, having been five times married.

† Sir Dudley North, K. B. became the 4th Lord North, on the death of his father in 1666. Ob. 1677.

‡ John, third son of William, 1st Viscount Say and Sele, and one of Oliver's Lords.

§ George, 13th Lord Berkeley, created Earl Berkeley 1679. He was a Privy Counsellor and had afterwards the management of the Duke of York's family. Ob. 1698.

their hands. After I had left him, I met with Tom Harper; he talked huge high that my Lord Protector would come in place again, which indeed is much discoursed of again, though I do not see it possible.

4th. Lord's day. To Mr. Gunning's, an excellent sermon upon charity.

5th. To Westminster by water, only seeing Mr. Pinkny at his own house, where he shewed me how he had alway kept the Lion and Unicorne, in the back of his chimney, bright, in expectation of the King's coming again. At home I found Mr. Hunt, who told me how the Parliament had voted that the Covenant be printed and hung in churches again. Great hopes of the King's coming again.

6th. Shrove Tuesday. I called Mr. Shepley and we both went up to my Lord's lodgings at Mr. Crewe's, where he bid us to go home again, and get a fire against an hour after. Which we did at White Hall, whither he came, and after talking with him about our going to sea, he called me by myself into the garden, where he asked me how things were with me; he bid me look out now at this turn some good place, and he would use all his own, and all the interest of his friends

that he had in England, to do me good. And asked me whether I could, without too much inconvenience, go to sea as his secretary, and bid me think of it. He also began to talk of things of State, and told me that he should want one in that capacity at sea, that he might trust in, and therefore he would have me to go. He told me also, that he did believe the King would come in, and did discourse with me about it, and about the affection of the people and City, at which I was full glad. Wrote by the post, by my Lord's command, for I. Goods to come up presently. For my Lord intends to go forth with Goods to the Swiftsure till the Nazeby be ready. This day I hear that the Lords do intend to sit, a great store of them are now in town, and I see in the Hall to-day. Overton at Hull do stand out, but can it is thought do nothing; and Lawson, it is said, is gone with some ships thither, but all that is nothing. My Lord told me, that there was great endeavours to bring in the Protector again; but he told me, too, that he did believe it would not last long if he were brought in; no, nor the King neither, (though he seems to think that he will come in), unless he carry himself very soberly and well. Every body now

drink the King's health without any fear, whereas before it was very private that a man dare do it. Monk this day is feasted at Mercers' Hall, and is invited one after another to all the twelve Halls in London. Many think that he is honest yet, and some or more think him to be a fool that would raise himself, but think that he will undo himself by endeavouring it.

7th. Ash Wednesday. Going homeward, my Lord overtook me in his coach, and called me in, and so I went with him to St. James's, and G. Montagu* being gone to White Hall, we walked over the Park thither, all the way he discoursing of the times, and of the change of things since the last year, and wondering how he could bear with so great disappointment as he did. He did give me the best advice that he could what was best for me, whether to stay or go with him, and offered all the ways that could be, how he might do me good, with the greatest liberty and love. This day, according to order, Sir Arthur† appeared at the House; what was done I know not, but there

* George Montagu, afterwards M. P. for Dover, second son of Edward, second Earl of Manchester, and father of the first Earl of Halifax.

† Haselrigge.

was all the Rumpers almost come to the House to-day. My Lord did seem to wonder much why Lambert was so willing to be put into the Tower, and thinks he has some design in it; but I think that he is so poor that he cannot use his liberty for debts, if he were at liberty; and so it is as good and better for him to be there, than any where else.

8th. To Westminster Hall, where there was a general damp over men's minds and faces upon some of the Officers of the Army being about making a remonstrance upon Charles Stuart or any single person; but at noon it was told, that the General had put a stop to it, so all was well again. Here I met with Jasper who was to bring me to my Lord at the lobby; whither sending a note to my Lord, he comes out to me and gives me directions to look after getting some money for him from the Admiralty, seeing that things are so unsafe, that he would not lay out a farthing for the State, till he had received some money of theirs. This afternoon, some of the Officers of the Army, and some of the Parliament, had a conference at White Hall to make all right again, but I know not what is done. At the Dog tavern, in comes Mr. Wade and Mr. Sterry, secretary to

the plenipotentiary in Denmark, who brought the news of the death of the King of Sweden* at Gottenburgh the 3rd of last month.

9th. To my Lord at his lodging, and came to Westminster with him in the coach; and Mr. Dudley and he in the Painted Chamber walked a good while; and I telling him that I was willing and ready to go with him to sea, he agreed that I should, and advised me what to write to Mr. Downing about it. This day it was resolved that the writs do go out in the name of the Keepers of the Liberty, and I hear that it is resolved privately that a treaty be offered with the King. And that Monk did check his soldiers highly for what they did yesterday.

13th. At my Lord's lodgings, who told me that I was to be secretary, and Crewe deputy treasurer to the Fleet. This day the Parliament voted all that had been done by the former Rump against the House of Lords be void, and to-night that the writs go out without any qualification. Things seem very doubtful what will be the end of all; for the Parliament seems to be strong for the King, while the soldiers do all talk against.

* Charles Gustavus

14th. To my Lord's, where infinity of applications to him and to me. To my great trouble, my Lord gives me all the papers that was given to him, to put in order and to give him an account of them. I went hence to St. James's to speake with Mr. Clerke, Monk's secretary, about getting some soldiers removed out of Huntingdon to Oundle, which my Lord told me he did to do a courtesy to the town, that he might have the greater interest in them, in the choice of the next Parliament; not that he intends to be chosen himself, but that he might have Mr. G. Montagu and my Lord Mandevill chose there in spite of the Bernards. I did promise to give my wife all that I have in the world, but my books, in case I should die at sea. After supper I went to Westminster Hall, and the Parliament sat till ten at night, thinking and being expected to dissolve themselves to-day, but they did not. Great talk to-night that the discontented officers did think this night to make a stir, but prevented.

16th. To Westminster Hall, where I heard how the Parliament had this day dissolved themselves, and did pass very cheerfully through the Hall, and the Speaker without his mace. The whole Hall, was joyfull thereat, as well as them-

selves, and now they begin to talk loud of the King. To-night I am told, that yesterday, about five o'clock in the afternoon, one came with a ladder to the Great Exchange, and wiped with a brush the inscription that was on King Charles, and that there was a great bonfire made in the Exchange, and people called out "God bless King Charles the Second!"

19th. Early to my Lord, where infinity of business to do, which makes my head full; and indeed, for these two or three days, I have not been without a great many cares. After that to the Admiralty, where a good while with Mr. Blackburne, who told me that it was much to be feared that the King would come in, for all good men and good things were now discouraged. Thence to Wilkinson's, where Mr. Shepley and I dined; and while we were at dinner, my Lord Monk's lifeguard come by with the Serjeant at Armes before them, with two Proclamations, that all Cavaliers do depart the town: but the other that all officers that were lately disbanded should do the same. The last of which Mr. R. Creed, I remember, said, that he looked upon it as if they had said, that all God's people should depart the town. All the discourse now-a-day is, that the King will come

again; and for all I see, it is the wishes of all; and all do believe that it will be so.

21st. To my Lord's, but the wind very high against us; here I did very much business, and then to my Lord Widdrington's from my Lord, with his desire that he might have the disposal of the writs of the Cinque Ports. My Lord was very civil to me, and called for wine, and writ a long letter in answer.

22d. To Westminster, and received my warrant of Mr. Blackburne, to be Secretary to the two Generals of the Fleet.

23rd. My Lord, Captain Isham, Mr. Thomas, John Crewe, W. Howe, and I to the Tower, where the barges staid for us; my Lord and the Captain in one, and W. Howe and I, &c., in the other, to the Long Reach, where the Swiftsure lay at anchor; (in our way we saw the great breach which the late high water had made, to the loss of many 1000*l.* to the people about Limehouse.) Soon as my Lord on board, the guns went off bravely from the ships. And a little while after comes the Vice-Admiral Lawson, and seemed very respectful to my Lord, and so did the rest of the Commanders of the frigates that were thereabouts. We were late writing of orders for the getting of

ships ready, &c.; and also making of others to all the sea-ports between Hastings and Yarmouth, to stop all dangerous persons that are going or coming between Flanders and there.

24th. At work hard all the day writing letters to the Council, &c.

25th. About two o'clock in the morning, letters came from London by our Coxon, so they waked me, but I bid him stay till morning, which he did, and then I rose and carried them into my Lord, who read them a-bed. Among the rest, there was the writ and mandate for him to dispose to the Cinque Ports for choice of Parliament-men. There was also one for me from Mr. Blackburne, who with his own hand superscribes it to S. P. Esq., of which God knows I was not a little proud. I wrote a letter to the Clerk of Dover Castle, to come to my Lord about issuing of those writs.

26th. This day it is two years since it pleased God that I was cut for the stone at Mrs. Turner's* in Salisbury Court. And did resolve while I live to keep it a festival, as I did the last year at my house, and for ever to have Mrs. Turner and her company with me. But now it pleased God that

* Mrs. Turner was the sister of Edward Pepys.

I am prevented to do it openly; only within my soul I can and do rejoice, and bless God, being at this time, blessed be his holy name, in as good health as ever I was in my life. This morning I rose early, and went about making of an establishment of the whole Fleet, and a list of all the ships, with the number of men and guns. About an hour after that, we had a meeting of the principal commanders and seamen, to proportion out the number of these things. All the afternoon very many orders were made, till I was very weary.

27th. This morning, the wind came about, and we fell into the Hope. I sat the first time with my Lord at table since my coming to sea. All the afternoon exceeding busy in writing of letters and orders. In the afternoon, Sir Harry Wright* come on board us, about his business of being chosen a Parliament-man. My Lord brought him to see my cabbin, when I was hard a-writing. At night supped with my Lord too, with the Captain.

* M. P. for Harwich. He married Anne, daughter of Lord Crewe, and sister to Lady Sandwich, and resided at Dagenham, Essex; he was created a Baronet by Cromwell, 1658, and by Charles II., 1660.

28th. This morning and the whole day busy. At night there was a gentleman very well bred, his name was Banes, going for Flushing, who spoke French and Latin very well, brought by direction from Captain Clerke hither, as a prisoner, because he called out of the vessel that he went in, "Where is your King, we have done our business, Vive le Roi." He confessed himself a Cavalier in his heart, and that he and his whole family, had fought for the King; but that he was then drunk, having been taking his leave at Gravesend the night before, and so could not remember what it was that he said; but in his words and carriage showed much of a gentleman. My Lord had a great kindness for him, but did not think it safe to release him. But a while after, he sent a letter down to my Lord, which my Lord did like very well, and did advise with me that the gentleman was to be released. So I went up and sat and talked with him in Latin and French; and about eleven at night he took boat again, and so God bless him. This day we had news of the election at Huntingdon for Bernard* and Pedly, at which

* John Bernard and Nicholas Pedley, re-elected in the next Parliament.

my Lord was much troubled for his friends' missing of it.

29th. We lie still a little below Gravesend. At night Mr. Shepley returned from London, and told us of several elections for the next Parliament. That the King's effigies was new making to be set up in the Exchange again. This evening was a great whispering that some of the Vice-Admiral's captains were dissatisfied, and did intend to fight themselves, to oppose the General. But it was soon hushed, and the Vice-Admiral did wholly deny any such thing, and protested to stand by the General.

30th. This day, while my Lord and we were at dinner, the Nazeby came in sight towards us, and at last come to anchor close by us. My Lord and many others went on board her, where every thing was out of order, and a new chimney made for my Lord in his bed-chamber, which he was much pleased with. My Lord, in his discourse, discovered a great deal of love to this ship.*

April 1st, (Lord's day.) Mr. Ibbot† preached

* Lord Sandwich's flag was on board the Nazeby when he went to the Sound.

† Minister of Deal, 1676.—*Pepys's MS. Letters.*

very well. After dinner my Lord did give me a private list of all the ships that were to be set out this summer, wherein I do discover that he hath made it his care to put by as much of the Anabaptists as he can. By reason of my Lord and my being busy to send away the packet by Mr. Cooke of the Nazeby, it was four o'clock before we could begin sermon again. This day Captain Guy come on board from Dunkirk, who tells me that the King will come in, and that the soldiers at Dunkirk do drink the King's health in the streets.

2d. Up very early, and to get all my things and my boy's packed up. Great concourse of commanders here this morning to take leave of my Lord upon his going into the Nazeby. This morning comes Mr. Ed. Pickering,* he tells me that the King will come in, but that Monk did resolve to have the doing of it himself, or else to hinder it.

3d. There come many merchants to get convoy to the Baltique, which a course was taken for. They dined with my Lord, and one of them by name Alderman Wood talked much to my Lord

* Brother to Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bart.

of the hopes that he had now to be settled, (under the King he meant); but my Lord took no notice of it. This day come the Lieutenant of the Swiftsure (who was sent by my Lord to Hastings, one of the Cinque Ports, to have got Mr. Edward Montagu to have been one of their burgesses, but could not, for they were all promised before.)

4th. This morning come Colonel Thomson with the wooden leg, and G. Pen, and dined with my Lord and Mr. Blackburne, who told me that it was certain now that the King must of necessity come in, and that one of the Council told him there is something doing in order to a treaty already among them. And it was strange to hear how Mr. Blackburne did already begin to commend him for a sober man, and how quiet he would be under his government, &c. The Commissioners come to-day, only to consult about a further reducement of the Fleet, and to pay them as fast as they can. At night, my Lord resolved to send the Captain of our ship to Waymouth and promote his being chosen there, which he did put himself into readiness to do the next morning.

9th. This afternoon I first saw France and Calais, with which I was much pleased, though it was at a distance.

11th. A Gentleman came from my Lord of Manchester to my Lord for a pass for Mr. Boyle,* which was made him. All the news from London is that things go on further towards a King. That the Skinners' Company the other day at their entertaining of General Monk had took down the Parliament Arms in their Hall, and set up the King's. My Lord and I had a great deal of discourse about the several Captains of the Fleet and his interest among them, and had his mind clear to bring in the King. He confessed to me that he was not sure of his own Captain, to be true to him, and that he did not like Capt. Stokes.

14th. This day I was informed that my Lord Lambert is got out of the Tower, and that there is 100*l.* proffered to whoever shall bring him forth to the Council of State. My Lord is chosen at Waymouth this morning; my Lord had his freedom brought him by Capt. Tiddiman of the port of Dover, by which he is capable of being elected for them. This day I heard that the Army had in general declared to stand by what the next Parliament shall do.

* The celebrated Robert Boyle, youngest son of Richard first Earl of Cork.

15th. (Lord's day.) To sermon, and then to dinner, where my Lord told us that the University of Cambridge had a mind to choose him for their burgess, which he pleased himself with, to think that they do look upon him as a thriving man, and said so openly at table. At dinner-time Mr. Cooke came back from London with a packet which caused my Lord to be full of thoughts all day, and at night he bid me privately to get two commissions ready, one for Capt. Robert Blake to be captain of the Worcester, in the room of Capt. Dekings, an anabaptist, and one that had witnessed a great deal of discontent with the present proceedings. The other for Capt. Coppin to come out of that into the Newbury in the room of Blake, whereby I perceive that General Monk do resolve to make a thorough change, to make way for the King. From London I hear that since Lambert got out of the Tower, the Fanatiques had held up their heads high, but I hope all that will come to nothing.

17th. All the morning getting ready commissions for the Vice-Admiral and the R. Admiral, wherein my Lord was very careful to express the utmost of his own power, commanding them to

obey what orders they should receive from the Parliament, &c., or both or either of the Generals. My Lord told me clearly his thoughts that the King would carry it, and that he did think himself very happy that he was now at sea, as well for his own sake, as that he thought he might do his country some service in keeping things quiet.

18th. Mr. Cooke returned from London, bringing me this news, that the Cavaliers are something unwise to talk so high on the other side as they do. That the Lords do meet every day at my Lord of Manchester's, and resolve to sit the first day of the Parliament. That it is evident now that the General and the Council do resolve to make way for the King's coming. And it is clear that either the Fanatiques must now be undone, or the gentry and citizens throughout England, and clergy must fall, in spite of their militia and army, which is not at all possible I think.

19th. At dinner news brought us that my Lord was chosen at Dover.

20th. This evening come Mr. Boyle on board, for whom I writ an order for a ship to transport him to Flushing. He supped with my Lord, my Lord using him as a person of honour. Mr. Shepley told me that he heard for certain at Dover

that Mr. Edw. Montagu * did go beyond sea when he was here first the other day, and I am apt to believe that he went to speak with the King. This day one told me how that at the election at Cambridge for knights of the shire, Wendby and Thornton by declaring to stand for the Parliament and a King and the settlement of the Church, did carry it against all expectation against Sir Dudley North and Sir Thomas Willis. †

21st. This day dined Sir John Boys ‡ and some other gentlemen formerly great Cavaliers, and among the rest one Mr. Norwood, § for whom my Lord give a convoy to carry him to the Brill, but he is certainly going to the King. For my Lord commanded me that I should not enter his name in my book. My Lord do show them and that sort of people great civility. All their discourse and others are of the King's coming, and we begin to speak of it very freely. And heard how

* Eldest son of Edward, second Lord Montagu, of Boughton, killed at Berghen, 1685.

† He had represented Cambridgeshire in the preceding Parliament.

‡ Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber.

§ A Major Norwood had been Governor of Dunkirk; and a person of the same name occurs, as one of the Esquires of the body at the Coronation of Charles the Second.

in many churches in London, and upon many signs there, and upon merchants' ships in the river, they had set up the King's arms. This night there came one with a letter from Mr. Edw. Montagu to my Lord, with command to deliver it to his own hands. I do believe that he do carry some close business on for the King. This day I had a large letter from Mr. Moore, giving me an account of the present dispute at London that is like to be at the beginning of the Parliament, about the House of Lords, who do resolve to sit with the Commons, as not thinking themselves dissolved yet. Which, whether it be granted or no, or whether they will sit or no, it will bring a great many inconveniencies. His letter I keep, it being a very well writ one.

22d. Several Londoners, strangers, friends of the Captains, dined here, who, among other things told us, how the King's Arms are every day set up in houses and churches, particularly in Allhallows Church in Thames-street, John Simpson's church, which being privately done was a great eye-sore to his people when they came to church and saw it. Also they told us for certain, that the King's statue is making by

the Mercers' Company (who are bound to do it) to set up in the Exchange.

23d. In the evening for the first time, extraordinary good sport among the seamen, after my Lord had done playing at nine-pins.

24th. We were on board the London, which hath a state-room much bigger than the Nazeby, but not so rich. After that, with the Captain on board our own ship, where we were saluted with the news of Lambert's being taken, which news was brought to London on Sunday last. He was taken in Northamptonshire by Colonel Ingoldsby,* in the head of a party, by which means their whole design is broke, and things now very open and safe. And every man begins to be merry and full of hopes.

25th. Dined to-day with Captain Clerke on board the Speaker (a very brave ship) where was the Vice-Admiral, R. Admiral, and many other commanders. After dinner home, not a little

* Colonel Richard Ingoldsby had been Governor of Oxford under his kinsman Cromwell, and one of Charles the First's Judges; but was pardoned for the service here mentioned, and made K. B. at the Coronation of Charles II. He afterwards retired to his seat at Lethenborough, Bucks, and died 1685.

contented to see how I am treated, and with what respect made a fellow to the best commander in the Fleet.

26th. This day come Mr. Donne back from London, who brought letters with him that signify the meeting of the Parliament yesterday. And in the afternoon by other letters I hear, that about twelve of the Lords met and had chosen my Lord of Manchester Speaker of the House of Lords (the young Lords that never sat yet, do forbear to sit for the present); and Sir Harbottle Grimstone,* Speaker for the House of Commons, which, after a little debate, was granted. Dr. Reynolds preached before the Commons before they sat. My Lord told me how Sir H. Yelverton† (formerly my schoolfellow) was chosen in the first place for Northamptonshire and Mr. Crewe in the second. And told me how he did believe that the Cavaliers have now the upper hand clear of the Presbyterians.

27th. After dinner came on board Sir Thomas

* He was made Master of the Rolls, November following, and died 1683.

† Of Easton Mauduit, Bart., grandson to the Attorney General of both his names. Ob. 1679.

Hatton* and Sir R. Maleverer†, going for Flushing; but all the world know that they go where the rest of the many gentlemen go that every day flock to the King at Breda. They supped here, and my Lord treated them as he do the rest that go thither, with a great deal of civility. While we were at supper a packet came, wherein much news from several friends. The chief is that, that I had from Mr. Moore, viz. that he fears the Cavaliers in the House will be so high, that the other will be forced to leave the House and fall in with General Monk, and so offer things to the King so high on the Presbyterian account that he may refuse, and so they will endeavour some more mischief; but when I told my Lord it, he shook his head and told me, that the Presbyterians are deceived, for the General is certainly for the King's interest, and so they will not be able to prevail that way with him. After supper the two knights went on board the Grantham, that is to convey them to Flushing. I am informed that the Exchequer is now so low, that there is not 20*l.* there, to give the messenger that brought the news of Lambert's being taken;

* Of Long Stanton, co. Cambridge, Bart.

† Of Allerton Maleverer, Yorkshire, Bart.

which story is very strange that he should lose his reputation of being a man of courage now at one blow, for that he was not able to fight one stroke, but desired of Colonel Ingoldsby several times to let him escape. Late reading my letters, my mind being much troubled to think that, after all our hopes, we should have any cause to fear any more disappointments therein.

29th. After sermon in the morning Mr. Cooke came from London with a packet, bringing news how all the young lords that were not in arms against the Parliament do now sit. That a letter is come from the King to the House, which is locked up by the Council 'till next Thursday that it may be read in the open House when they meet again, they having adjourned till then to keep a fast to-morrow. And so the contents is not yet known. 13,000*l.* of the 20,000*l.* given to General Monk is paid out of the Exchequer, he giving 12*l.* among the teller's clerks of Exchequer. My Lord called me into the great cabbin below, where he told me that the Presbyterians are quite mastered by the Cavaliers, and that he fears Mr. Crewe did go a little too far the other day in keeping out the young lords from sitting. That he do expect that the King should be brought

over suddenly, without staying to make any terms at all, saying that the Presbyterians did intend to have brought him in with such conditions as if he had been in chains. But he shook his shoulders when he told me how Monk had betrayed him, for it was he that did put them upon standing to put out the lords and other members that come not within the qualifications, which he did not like, but however he had done his business, though it be with some kind of baseness. After dinner I walked a great while upon the deck with the chyrurgeon and purser, and other officers of the ship, and they all pray for the King's coming, which I pray God send.

May 1st. To-day I hear they were very merry at Deale, setting up the King's flags upon one of their maypoles, and drinking his health upon their knees in the streets, and firing the guns, which the soldiers of the Castle threatened, but durst not oppose.

2d. Mr. Dunne from London, with letters that tell us the welcome news of the Parliament's votes yesterday, which will be remembered for the happiest May-day that hath been many a year to England. The King's letter was read in the House, wherein he submits himself and all things

to them, as to an Act of Oblivion to all, unless they shall please to except any, as to the confirming of the sales of the King's and Church lands, if they see good. The House upon reading the letter, ordered 50,000*l.* to be forthwith provided to send to His Majesty for his present supply; and a committee chosen to return an answer of thanks to His Majesty for his gracious letter; and that the letter be kept among the records of the Parliament; and in all this not so much as one No. So that Luke Robinson* himself stood up and made a recantation for what he had done, and promises to be a loyal subject to his Prince for the time to come. The City of London have put out a Declaration, wherein they do disclaim their owning any other government but that of a King, Lords, and Commons. Thanks was given by the House to Sir John Greenville†, one of the bedchamber to the King, who brought the letter, and they continued bare all the time it was read-

* Of Pickering Lyth, in Yorkshire, M. P. for Scarborough; discharged from sitting in the House of Commons, July 21, 1660.

† Created Earl of Bath, 1661, son of Sir Bevil Grenville, killed at the battle of Newbury, and said to have been the only person entrusted by Charles II. and Monk in bringing about the Restoration.

ing. Upon notice from the Lords to the Commons, of their desire that the Commons would join with them in their vote for King, Lords, and Commons; the Commons did concur and voted that all books whatever that are out against the Government of King, Lords, and Commons, should be brought into the House and burned. Great joy all yesterday at London, and at night more bonfires than ever, and ringing of bells, and drinking of the King's health upon their knees in the streets, which methinks is a little too much. But every body seems to be very joyfull in the business, insomuch that our sea-commanders now begin to say so too, which a week ago they would not do. And our seamen, as many as had money or credit for drink, did do nothing else this evening. This day come Mr. North* (Sir Dudley North's son) on board, to spend a little time here, which my Lord was a little troubled at, but he seems to be a fine gentleman, and at night did play his part exceeding well at first sight.

3d. This morning my Lord showed me the King's declaration and his letter to the two Generals to be communicated to the fleet. The con-

* Charles, eldest son of Dudley, afterwars fourth Lord North.

tents of the latter are his offer of grace to all that will come in within forty days, only excepting them that the Parliament shall hereafter except. That the sales of lands during these troubles, and all other things, shall be left to the Parliament, by which he will stand. The letter dated at Breda, April $\frac{4}{14}$ 1660, in the 12th year of his reign. Upon the receipt of it this morning by an express, Mr. Phillips, one of the messengers of the Council from General Monk, my Lord summoned a council of war, and in the mean time did dictate to me how he would have the vote ordered which he would have pass this council. Which done, the Commanders all came on board, and the council sat in the coach * (the first council of war that had been in my time), where I read the letter and declaration; and while they were discoursing upon it, I seemed to draw up a vote, which being offered, they passed. Not one man seemed to say no to it, though I am confident many in their hearts were against it. After this was done, I went up to the quarter-deck with my Lord and the Commanders, and there read both the papers and the vote; which

* Coach, on board a man-of-war, "The Council Chamber."

done, and demanding their opinion, the seamen did all of them cry out, "God bless King Charles!" with the greatest joy imaginable. That being done, Sir R. Stayner,* who had invited us yesterday, took all the Commanders and myself on board him to dinner, which not being ready, I went with Captain Hayward to the Plimouth and Essex, and did what I had to do and returned, where very merry at dinner. After dinner, to the rest of the ships quite through the fleet. Which was a very brave sight to visit all the ships, and to be received with the respect and honour that I was on board them all; and much more to see the great joy that I brought to all men; not one through the whole fleet showing the least dislike of the business. In the evening as I was going on board the Vice-Admiral, the General began to fire his guns, which he did all that he had in the ship, and so did all the rest of the Commanders, which was very gallant, and to hear the bullets go hissing over our heads as we were in the boat. This done and finished my Proclamation, I returned to the Nazeby, where

* Knighted and made a Vice-Admiral by Cromwell, 1657, and sent by Charles II. to command at Tangier till the Governor arrived.

my Lord was much pleased to hear how all the fleet took it in a transport of joy, showed me a private letter of the King's to him, and another from the Duke of York in such familiar style as their common friend, with all kindness imaginable. And I found by the letters, and so my Lord told me too, that there had been many letters passed between them for a great while, and I perceive unknown to Monk. And among the rest that had carried these letters Sir John Boys is one, and Mr. Norwood, which had a ship to carry him over the other day, when my Lord would not have me put down his name in the book. The King speaks of his being courted to come to the Hague, but do desire my Lord's advice where to come to take ship. And the Duke offers to learn the seaman's trade of him, in such familiar words as if Jack Cole and I had writ them. This was very strange to me, that my Lord should carry all things so wisely and prudently as he do, and I was over joyful to see him in so good condition, and he did not a little please himself to tell me how he had provided for himself so great a hold on the King.

After this to supper, and then to writing of letters till twelve at night, and so up again at

three in the morning. My Lord seemed to put great confidence in me, and would take my advice in many things. I perceive his being willing to do all the honour in the world to Monk, and to let him have all the honour of doing the business, though he will many times express his thoughts of him to be but a thick-sculled fool. So that I do believe there is some agreement more than ordinary between the King and my Lord to let Monk carry on the business, for it is he that can do the business, or at least that can hinder it, if he be not flattered and observed. This, my Lord will hint himself sometimes. My Lord, I perceive by the King's letter, had writ to him about his father, Crewe*, and the King did speak well of him; but my Lord tells me, that he is afraid that he hath too much concerned himself with the Presbyterians against the House of Lords, which will do him a great discourtesy.

4th. I wrote this morning many letters, and to all the copies of the vote of the council of war I put my name, that if it should come in print my name may be to it. I sent a copy of the vote to Doling, inclosed in this letter:—

* He had married Jemima, daughter of John Crewe, Esq., created afterwards Baron Crewe of Stene.

"SIR,

"He that can fancy a fleet (like ours) in her pride, with pendants loose, guns roaring, caps flying, and the loud "Vive le Roy's," echoed from one ship's company to another, he, and he only, can apprehend the joy this inclosed vote was received with, or the blessing he thought himself possessed of that bore it, and is

"Your humble servant."

About nine o'clock I got all my letters done, and sent them by the messenger that come yesterday. This morning come Captain Isham on board with a gentleman going to the King, by whom very cunningly, my Lord tells me, he intends to send an account of this day's and yesterday's actions here, notwithstanding he had writ to the Parliament to have leave of them to send the King the answer of the fleete. Since my writing of the last paragraph, my Lord called me to him to read his letter to the King, to see whether I could find any slips in it or no. And as much of the letter as I can remember, is thus :—

"May it please your Most Excellent Majesty," and so begins.

That he yesterday received from General Monk his Majesty's letter and direction; and that General Monk had desired him to write to the Parliament to have leave to send the vote of the seamen before he did send it to him, which he had done by writing to both Speakers; but for his private satisfaction he had sent it thus privately, (and so the copy of the proceedings yesterday was sent him) and that this come by a gentleman that come this day on board, intending to wait upon his Majesty, that he is my Lord's countryman, and one whose friends have suffered much on his Majesty's behalf. That [my Lords Pembroke * and Salisbury † are put out of the House of Lords. That my Lord is very joyful that other countries do pay him the civility and respect due to him; and that he do much rejoice to see that the King do receive none of their assistance (or some such words,) from them, he having strength enough in the love and loyalty of his own

* Philip, fifth Earl of Pembroke, and second Earl of Montgomery, ob. 1669. Clarendon says, "This young Earl's affections were entire for his Majesty."

† Williams, second Earl of Salisbury. After Cromwell had put down the House of Peers, he was chosen a Member of the House of Commons, and sat with them, ob. 1668.

subjects to support him. That his Majesty had chosen the best place, Scheveling, for his embarking, and that there is nothing in the world of which he is more ambitious, than to have the honour of attending his Majesty, which he hoped would be speedy. That he had commanded the vessel to attend at Helversluce till this gentleman returns, that so if his Majesty do not think it fit to command the fleete himself, yet that he may be there to receive his commands and bring them to his Lordship. He ends his letter, that he is confounded with the thoughts of the high expressions of love to him in the King's letter, and concludes,

"Your most loyall, dutifull, faithfull and obedient subject and servant, "E. M."

After supper at the table in the coach, my Lord talking concerning the uncertainty of the places of the Exchequer to them that had them now; he did at last think of an office which do belong to him in case the King do restore every man to his places that ever had been patent, which is to be one of the clerks of the signet, which will be a fine employment for one of his sons.

In the afternoon come a minister on board, one Mr. Sharpe, who is going to the King; who tells me that Commissioners are chosen both of the

Lords and Commons to go to the King; and that Dr. Clarges * is going to him from the Army, and that he will be here to-morrow. My letters at night tell me, that the House did deliver their letter to Sir John Greenville, in answer to the King's sending, and that they give him 500*l.* for his pains, to buy him a jewel, and that besides the 50,000*l.* ordered to be borrowed of the City for the present use of the King, the twelve companies of the City do give every one of them to his Majesty, as a present, 1000*l.*

5th. All the morning very busy writing letters to London, and a packet to Mr. Downing, to acquaint him with what had been done lately in the fleet. And this I did by my Lord's command, who, I thank him, did of himself think of doing it, to do me a kindness, for he writ a letter himself to him, thanking him for his kindness to me. This evening come Dr. Clarges to Deale, going to the King; where the townes-people strewed the streets with herbes against his coming, for joy of his going. Never was there so general a content as there is now. I cannot but remember that

* Thomas Clarges, physician to the Army, created a Baronet, 1674, ob. 1695. He had been previously knighted; his sister Anne married General Monk.

our parson did, in his prayer to-night, pray for the long life and happiness of our King and dread Soveraigne, that may last as long as the sun and moon endureth.

6th. It fell very well to-day, a stranger preached here for Mr. Ibbot, one Mr. Stanley, who prayed for King Charles, by the Grace of God, &c., which gave great contentment to the gentlemen that were on board here, and they said they would talk of it, when they come to Breda, as not having it done yet in London so publickly. After they were gone from on board, my Lord writ a letter to the King and give it me to carry privately to Sir William Compton,* on board the Assistance, which I did, and after a health to his Majesty on board there, I left them under sail for Breda.

7th. My Lord went this morning about the flag-ships in a boat, to see what alterations there must be, as to the armes and flags. He did give me orders also to write for silk flags and scarlett waistcloathes.† For a rich barge; for a noise of

* Sir William Compton, third son of Spencer, Earl of Northampton, a Privy Counsellor and Master of the Ordnance, ob. 1663, aged 39.

† Clothes hung about the cage-work of a ship's hull to protect the men in action.

trumpets, and a set of fidlers. Very great deal of company come to-day, among others Mr. Bellasses,* Sir Thomas Lenthropp, Sir Henry Chichley, Colonel Philip Honiwood, and Captain Titus,† the last of whom my Lord showed all our cabbins, and I suppose he is to take notice what room there will be for the King's entertainment.

8th. My letters to-day tell me how it was intended that the King should be proclaimed to-day in London, with a great deal of pomp. I had also news who they are that are chosen of the Lords and Commons to attend the King. And also the whole story of what we did the other day in the fleet, at reading of the King's declaration, and my name at the bottom of it.

9th. Up very early, writing a letter to the King, as from the two Generals of the fleet, in answer to his letter to them, wherein my Lord do give most humble thanks for his gracious letter and declaration; and promises all duty and obedience to him. This letter was carried this morning to Sir Peter Killigrew,‡ who come hither this

* Henry, eldest son of Lord Bellasis, made K. B. at Charles the Second's Coronation.

† Colonel Silas Titus, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles II., author of "Killing no Murder."

‡ Knight, of Arwenach, Cornwall, M. P. for Camelford, 1660.

morning early to bring an order from the Lords' House to my Lord, giving him power to write an answer to the King. This morning my Lord St. John and other persons of honour were here to see my Lord, and so away to Flushing. As we were sitting down to dinner, in comes Noble with a letter from the House of Lords to my Lord, to desire him to provide ships to transport the Commissioners to the King, which are expected here this week. He brought us certain news that the King was proclaimed yesterday with great pomp, and brought down one of the Proclamations, with great joy to us all; for which God be praised. This morning come Mr. Saunderson, that writ the story of the King, hither, who is going over to the King.

10th. At night, while my Lord was at supper, in comes my Lord Lauderdale* and Sir John Greenville, who supped here, and so went away. After they were gone, my Lord called me into his cabbin, and told me how he was commanded to

* John, second Earl and afterwards created Duke of Lauderdale, Earl of Guilford (in England,) and K. G. He became sole Secretary of State for Scotland in 1661, and was a Gentleman of His Majesty's Bedchamber, and died in 1682, s. p.

set sail presently for the King, and was very glad thereof. I got him afterwards to sign things in bed.

11th. This morning we began to pull down all the State's arms in the fleet, having first sent to Dover for painters and others to come to set up the King's. There dined here my Lord Crafford * and my Lord Cavendish,† and other Scotchmen whom I afterwards ordered to be received on board the Plymouth, and to go along with us. After dinner we set sail from the Downes. In the afternoon overtook us three or four gentlemen; two of the Berties, and one Mr. Dormerhay,‡ a Scotch gentleman, who, telling my Lord that they heard the Commissioners were come out of London to-day, my Lord dropt anchor over against Dover Castle, (which give us about thirty guns in passing,) and upon a high debate with the Vice and Rear-Admiral whether it were safe to go and not stay for the Commissioners, he did resolve to send Sir R. Stayner to Dover, to enquire of my Lord Winchelsea,§ whether or no they are come

* John, fourteenth Earl of Crauford, restored in 1661 to the office of High Treasurer of Scotland, which he had held eight years under Charles the First.

† Afterwards fourth Earl and first Duke of Devonshire.

‡ Probably Dalmahoy.

§ Heneage, second Earl of Winchelsea, constituted by

out of London, and then to resolve to-morrow morning of going or not. Which was done.

12th. My Lord give me many orders to make for direction for the ships that are left in the Downes, giving them the greatest charge in the world to bring no passengers with them, when they come after us to Scheveling Bay, excepting Mr. Edward Montagu, Mr. Thomas Crewe, and Sir H. Wright. Sir R. Stayner told my Lord, that my Lord Winchelsea understands by letters, that the Commissioners are only to come to Dover to attend the coming over of the King. So my Lord did give order for weighing anchor, which we did, and sailed all day.

13th. To the quarter-deck, at which the taylors and painters were at work, cutting out some pieces of yellow cloth in the fashion of a crown and C. R. and put it upon a fine sheet, and that into the flag instead of the State's arms, which after dinner was finished and set up. This morn Sir J. Boys and Capt. Isham met us in the Nonsuch, the first of whom, after a word or two with my Lord, went forward, the other staid. I heard

General Monk, Governor of Dover Castle, July, 1660; made Lord Lieutenant of Kent, and afterwards ambassador to Turkey. Ob. 1689.

by them how Mr. Downing had never made any address to the King, and for that was hated exceedingly by the Court, and that he was in a Dutch ship which sailed by us, then going to England with disgrace. Also how Mr. Morland* was knighted by the King this week, and that the King did give the reason of it openly, that it was for his giving him intelligence all the time he was clerk to Secretary Thurloe. In the afternoon a council of war, only to acquaint them that the Harp must be taken out of all their flags, it being very offensive to the King. Late at night we writ letters to the King of the news of our coming, and Mr. Edward Pickering† carried them. Capt. Isham went on shore, nobody showing of him any respect; so the old man very fairly took leave of my Lord, and my Lord very coldly bid him "God be with you," which was very strange, but that I

* Samuel Morland, successively scholar and fellow of Magdalene College, and Mr. Pepys's tutor there, became afterwards one of Thurloe's Under Secretaries, and was employed in several embassies by Cromwell, whose interests he betrayed, by secretly communicating with Charles the Second. In consideration of these services he was created a baronet of Sulhamstead Banister, Berks, after the Restoration. He was an ingenious mechanic, supposed by some persons to have invented the Steam Engine, and lived to an advanced age.

† Sir Gilbert Pickering's eldest son.

hear that he keeps a great deal of prating and talking on shore, on board, at the King's Courts, what command he had with my Lord, &c.

14th. In the morning the Hague was clearly to be seen by us. My Lord went up in his night-gown into the cuddy, to see how to dispose thereof for himself and us that belong to him, to give order for our removal to-day. Some nasty Dutch-men came on board to proffer their boats to carry things from us on shore, &c. to get money by us. Before noon some gentlemen came on board from the shore to kiss my Lord's hands. And by and by Mr. North and Dr. Clerke went to kiss the Queen of Bohemia's hands, from my Lord, with twelve attendants from on board to wait on them, among which I sent my boy, who, like myself, is with child to see any strange thing. After noon they came back again after having kissed the Queen of Bohemia's* hand, and were sent again by my Lord to do the same to the Prince of Orange.† So I got the Captain to ask leave for me to go, which my Lord did give, and I taking my boy and Judge Advocate with me, went in company with them. The weather bad; we were

* Daughter of James the First.

† Afterwards William the Third.

sadly washed when we come near the shore, it being very hard to land there. The shore is so, all the country between that and the Hague, all sand. The Hague is a most neat place in all respects. The houses so neat in all places and things as is possible. Here we walked up and down a great while, the town being now very full of Englishmen, for that the Londoners were come on shore to-day. But going to see the Prince,* he was gone forth with his governor, and so we walked up and down the town and court to see the place; and by the help of a stranger, an Englishman, we saw a great many places, and were made to understand many things, as the intention of may-poles, which we saw there standing at every great man's door, of different greatness according to the quality of the person. About ten at night the Prince comes home, and we found an easy admission. His attendance very inconsiderable as for a prince; but yet handsome, and his tutor a fine man, and himself a very pretty boy.

15th. Coming on board we found all the Commissioners of the House of Lords at dinner with my Lord, who after dinner went away for shore.

* Henry Duke of Gloucester, Charles the Second's youngest brother.

Mr. Morland, now Sir Samuel, was here on board, but I do not find that my Lord or any body did give him any respect, he being looked upon by him and all men as a knave. Among others he betrayed Sir Rich. Willis that married Dr. F. Jones's daughter, who had paid him 1000*l.* at one time by the Protector's and Secretary Thurloe's order, for intelligence that he sent concerning the King. In the afternoon my Lord called me on purpose to show me his fine cloathes which are now come hither, and indeed are very rich as gold and silver can make them, only his sword he and I do not like. In the afternoon my Lord and I walked together in the coach two hours, talking together upon all sorts of discourse: as religion, wherein he is, I perceive, wholly sceptical, saying, that indeed the Protestants as to the Church of Rome are wholly fanatiques: he likes uniformity and form of prayer: about State-business, among other things he told me that his conversion to the King's cause (for I was saying that I wondered from what time the King could look upon him to become his friend,) commenced from his being in the Sound, when he found what usage he was likely to have from a Commonwealth. My Lord, the Captain, and I supped in my Lord's chamber,

where I did perceive that he did begin to show me much more respect than ever he did yet. After supper, my Lord sent for me, intending to have me play at cards with him, but I not knowing cribbage, we fell into discourse of many things, and the ship rolled so much that I was not able to stand, and so he bid me go to bed.

May 16th. Come in some with visits, among the rest one from Admiral Opdam,* who spoke Latin well, but not French nor English, whom my Lord made me to entertain. Commissioner Pett† was now come to take care to get all things ready for the King on board. My Lord in his best suit, this the first day, in expectation to wait upon the King. But Mr. Edw. Pickering coming from the King brought word that the King would not put my Lord to the trouble of coming to him; but that he would come to the shore to look upon the fleet to-day, which we expected, and had our guns ready to fire, and our scarlet waist-cloathes out and silk pendants, but he did not come. This evening came Mr. John Pickering on board, like an asse, with his feathers and new suit that he had made at the Hague. My Lord very angry

* The celebrated Dutch Admiral.

† Naval Commissioner at Chatham.

for his staying on shore, bidding me a little before to send for him, telling me that he was afraid that for his father's sake he might have some mischief done him, unless he used the General's name. This afternoon Mr. Edwd. Pickering told me in what a sad, poor condition for clothes and money the King was, and all his attendants, when he came to him first from my Lord, their clothes not being worth forty shillings the best of them. And how overjoyed the King was when Sir J. Greenville brought him some money; so joyful, that he called the Princess Royal* and Duke of York to look upon it as it lay in the portmanteau before it was taken out. My Lord told me, too, that the Duke of York is made High Admiral of England.

17th. Dr. Clerke came to me to tell me that he heard this morning, by some Dutch that are come on board already to see the ships, that there was a Portuguese taken yesterday at the Hague, that had a design to kill the King. But this I heard afterwards was only the mistake upon one

* Mary, eldest daughter of Charles I., and widow of the Prince of Orange who died 1646-7. She was carried off by the small-pox, December 1660, leaving a son, afterwards King William III.

being observed to walk with his sword naked, he having lost his scabbard. Before dinner Mr. Edw. Pickering and I, W. Howe, Pim, and my boy, to Scheveling, where we took coach, and so to the Hague, where walking, intending to find one that might show us the King incognito, I met with Captn. Whittington (that had formerly brought a letter to my Lord from the Mayor of London) and he did promise me to do it, but first we went and dined. At dinner in came Dr. Cade, a merry mad parson of the King's. And they two got the child and me (the others not being able to crowd in) to see the King, who kissed the child very affectionately. Then we kissed his, and the Duke of York's, and the Princess Royal's hands. The King seems to be a very sober man; and a very splendid Court he hath in the number of persons of quality that are about him; English very rich in habit. From the King to the Lord Chancellor, who did lie bed-rid of the gout: he spoke very merrily to the child and me. After that, going to see the Queen of Bohemia, I met Dr. Fuller, whom I sent to a tavern with Mr. Edw. Pickering, while I and the rest went to see the Queen, who used us very respectfully: her hand we all kissed. She seems a very debonaire, but a plain

lady. In a coach we went to see a house of the Princess Dowager's* in a park about a mile from the Hague, where there is one of the most beautiful rooms for pictures in the whole world. She had here one picture upon the top, with these words, dedicating it to the memory of her husband:—"Incomparabili marito, inconsolabilis vidua."

18th. Very early up, and, hearing that the Duke of York, our Lord High Admiral, would go on board to-day, Mr. Pickering and I took waggon for Scheveling. But the wind being so very high that no boats could get off from shore, we returned to the Hague (having breakfasted with a gentleman of the Duke's, and Commissioner Pett, sent on purpose to give notice to my Lord of his coming); we got a boy of the town to go along with us, and he showed us the church where Van Trump lies entombed with a very fine monument. His epitaph is concluded thus:—"Tandem Bello Anglico tantum non victor, certe invictus, vivere et vincere desiit." There is a sea-fight cut in marble, with the smoake, the best expressed that ever I saw in my life. From thence to the great church, that stands in a fine great market-place,

* Mary, daughter of Charles I.

over against the Stadt-house, and there I saw a stately tombe of the old Prince of Orange, of marble and brass; wherein among other rarities there are the angels with their trumpets expressed as it were crying. Here were very fine organs in both the churches. It is a most sweet town, with bridges, and a river in every street. We met with Commissioner Pett going down to the water-side with Major Harly, who is going upon a dispatch into England.

19th. Up early and went to Scheveling, where I found no getting on board, though the Duke of York sent every day to see whether he could do it or no. By waggon to Lausdune, where the 365 children were born. We saw the hill where they say the house stood wherein the children were born. The basins wherein the male and female children were baptized do stand over a large table that hangs upon a wall, with the whole story of the thing in Dutch and Latin, beginning, "Margarita Herman Comitissa," &c. The thing was done about 200 years ago.

20th. Commissioner Pett at last came to our lodging, and caused the boats to go off; so some in one boat and some in another we all bid adieu to the shore. But through the badness of weather

we were in great danger, and a great while before we could get to the ship. This hath not been known four days together such weather this time of year, a great while. Indeed our fleet was thought to be in great danger, but we found all well.

21st. The weather foul all this day also. After dinner, about writing one thing or other all day, and setting my papers in order, hearing by letters that came hither in my absence, that the Parliament had ordered all persons to be secured, in order to a trial, that did sit as judges in the late King's death, and all the officers attending the Court. Sir John Lenthall moving in the House, that all that had borne arms against the King should be exempted from pardon, he was called to the bar of the House, and after a severe reproof he was degraded his knighthood. At Court I find that all things grow high. The old Clergy talk as being sure of their lands again, and laugh at the Presbytery; and it is believed that the sales of the King's and Bishops' lands will never be confirmed by Parliament, there being nothing now in any man's power to hinder them and the King from doing what they had a mind, but every body willing to submit to any thing.

We expect every day to have the King and Duke on board as soon as it is fair. My Lord does nothing now, but offers all things to the pleasure of the Duke as Lord High Admiral. So that I am at a loss what to do.

22d. News brought that the two Dukes are coming on board, which, by and by, they did, in a Dutch boat, the Duke of York in yellow trimmings, the Duke of Gloucester in grey and red. My Lord went in a boat to meet them, the Captain, myself, and others, standing at the entering port. So soon as they were entered we shot the guns off round the fleet. After that they went to view the ship all over, and were most exceedingly pleased with it. They seem to be very fine gentlemen. After that done, upon the quarter-deck table, under the awning, the Duke of York and my Lord, Mr. Coventry* and I, spent an

* Sir William Coventry, to whom Mr. Pepys became so warmly attached afterwards, was the youngest son of Thomas first Lord Coventry, and Lord Keeper. He entered at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1642; and on his return from his travels was made Secretary to the Duke of York, and elected M. P. for Yarmouth. In 1662 he was appointed a Commissioner of the Admiralty; in 1665 knighted and sworn a privy Counsellor; and in 1667, constituted a Commissioner of the Treasury, but having been forbid the Court, on account of his challenging the Duke of Buckingham, he

hour at allotting to every ship their service, in their return to England; which being done, they went to dinner, where the table was very full: the two Dukes at the upper end, my Lord Opdam next on one side, and my Lord on the other. Two guns given to every man while he was drinking the King's health, and so likewise to the Duke's health. I took down Monsieur d'Esquier to the great cabbin below, and dined with him in state along with only one or two friends of his. All dinner the harper belonging to Captain Sparling played to the Dukes. After dinner, the Dukes and my Lord to sea, the Vice and Rear-Admirals and I in a boat after them. After that done, they made to the shore in the Dutch boat that brought them, and I got into the boat with them; but the shore was full of people to expect their coming. When we came near the shore, my Lord left them and come into his own boat, and Pen and I with him; my Lord being very well pleased with this day's work. By the time

retired into the country, nor could he subsequently be prevailed upon to accept of any official employment. Burnet calls Sir W. C. the best speaker in the House of Commons, and a man of great notions and eminent virtues; and Mr. Pepys never omits an opportunity of paying a tribute to his public and private worth. Ob. 1686, aged 60.

we came on board again, news is sent us that the King is on shore; so my Lord fired all his guns round twice, and all the fleet after him. The gun over against my cabbin I fired myself to the King, which was the first time that he had been saluted by his own ships since this change; but holding my head too much over the gun, I had almost spoiled my right eye. Nothing in the world but giving of guns almost all this day. In the evening we began to remove cabbins; I to the carpenter's cabbin, and Dr. Clerke with me. Many of the King's servants come on board to-night; and so many Dutch of all sorts come to see the ship till it was quite dark, that we could not pass by one another, which was a great trouble to us all. This afternoon Mr. Downing (who was knighted yesterday by the King) was here on board, and had a ship for his passage into England, with his lady and servants. By the same token he called me to him when I was going to write the order, to tell me that I must write him Sir G. Downing. My Lord lay in the roundhouse to-night. This evening I was late writing a French letter by my Lord's order to Monsieur Wragh, Embassador de Denmarke à la Haye, which my Lord signed in bed.

23d. In the morning come infinity of people on board from the King to go along with him. My Lord, Mr. Crewe, and others, go on shore to meet the King as he comes off from shore, where Sir R. Stayner, bringing His Majesty into the boat, I hear that His Majesty did with a great deal of affection kiss my Lord upon his first meeting. The King, with the two Dukes and Queen of Bohemia, Princesse Royalle, and Prince of Orange, come on board, where I in their coming in kissed the King's, Queen's and Princesse's hands, having done the other before. Infinite shooting off of the guns, and that in a disorder on purpose, which was better than if it had been otherwise. All day nothing but Lords and persons of honour on board, that we were exceeding full. Dined in a great deal of state, the Royalle company by themselves in the coach, which was a blessed sight to see. After dinner the King and Duke altered the name of some of the ships, viz. the Nazeby into Charles;* the Richard, James; the Speaker, Mary; the Dunbar (which was not

* The Naseby now no longer England's shame,
But better to be lost in Charles his name.
Dryden's Astræa Redux.

in company with us), the Henry; Winsly, Happy Return; Wakefield, Richmond; Lambert, the Henrietta; Cheriton, the Speedwell; Bradford, the Successe. That done, the Queen, Princesse Royalle, and Prince of Orange, took leave of the King, and the Duke of York went on board the London, and the Duke of Gloucester, the Swiftsure. Which done, we weighed anchor, and with a fresh gale and most happy weather we set sail for England. All the afternoon the King walked here and there, up and down (quite contrary to what I thought him to have been) very active and stirring. Upon the quarter-deck he fell into discourse of his escape from Worcester, where it made me ready to weep to hear the stories that he told of his difficulties that he had passed through, as his travelling four days and three nights on foot, every step up to his knees in dirt, with nothing but a green coat and a pair of country breeches on, and a pair of country shoes that made him so sore all over his feet, that he could scarce stir. Yet he was forced to run away from a miller and other company, that took them for rogues. His sitting at table at one place, where the master of the house, that had not seen

him in eight years, did know him, but kept it private; when at the same table there was one that had been of his own regiment at Worcester, could not know him, but made him drink the King's health, and said that the King was at least four fingers higher than he. At another place he was by some servants of the house made to drink, that they might know that he was not a Roundhead, which they swore he was. In another place at his inn, the master of the house, as the King was standing with his hands upon the back of a chair by the fire-side, kneeled down and kissed his hand, privately, saying, that he would not ask him who he was, but bid God bless him whither he was going. Then the difficulties in getting a boat to get into France, where he was fain to plot with the master thereof to keep his design from the foreman and a boy (which was all the ship's company,) and so get to Fecamp in France. At Rouen he looked so poorly, that the people went into the rooms before he went away to see whether he had not stole something or other. In the evening I went up to my Lord to write letters for England, which we sent away with word of our coming, by Mr. Edw. Pickering. The King supped alone in the coach; after that I got a dish,

and we four supped in my cabbin, as at noon. About bed-time my Lord Bartlett * (who I had offered my service to before) sent for me to get him a bed, who with much ado I did get to bed to my Lord Middlesex † in the great cabbin below, but I was cruelly troubled before I could dispose of him, and quit myself of him. So to my cabbin again, where the company still was, and were talking more of the King's difficulties; as how he was fain to eat a piece of bread and cheese out of a poor body's pocket; how, at a Catholique house, he was fain to lie in the priest's hole a good while in the house for his privacy. After that our company broke up. We have all the Lords Commissioners on board us, and many others. Under sail all night, and most glorious weather.

24th. Up, and made myself as fine as I could, with the linning stockings on and wide canons that I bought the other day at Hague. Extraordinary press of noble company, and great mirth all the day. There dined with me in my cabbin

* A mistake, for Lord Berkeley, who had been deputed with Lord Middlesex and four other Peers by the House of Lords, to present an address of congratulation to the King.

† Lionel, third and last Earl of Middlesex. Ob. 1674.

(that is, the carpenter's) Dr. Earle * and Mr. Hollis, the King's Chaplins, Dr. Scarborough,† Dr. Quarterman,‡ and Dr. Clerke, Physicians, Mr. Daray, and Mr. Fox,§ (both very fine gentlemen) the King's servants, where we had brave discourse. Walking upon the decks, where persons of honour all the afternoon, among others, Thomas Killigrew,‖ (a merry droll, but a gentleman of great esteem with the King,) who told us many merry stories. At supper the three Drs. of Physique again at my cabbin; where I put Dr. Scarborough in mind of what I heard him say, that children do, in every day's experience, look several

* John Earle, Dean of Westminster, successively Bishop of Worcester and Salisbury. Ob. 1665.

† Charles Scarborough, M. D., principal Physician to Charles II., (by whom he was knighted in 1669.) James II., and William III., a learned and incomparable anatomist.

‡ William Quarterman, M. D., of Pembroke College, Oxford.

§ Afterwards Sir Stephen Fox, Knight, Paymaster to the Forces.

‖ Thomas Killigrew, younger son to Sir Robert Killigrew, of Hanworth, Middlesex, Page of Honour to Charles I., and Groom of the Bedchamber to Charles II., whose fortunes he had followed. He was Resident at Venice, 1651; a great favourite with the King on account of his uncommon vein of humour, and author of several plays. Ob. 1682.

ways with both their eyes, till custom teaches them otherwise. And that we do now see but with one eye, our eyes looking in parallel lynes. After this discourse I was called to write a pass for my Lord Mandeville* to take up horses to London, which I wrote in the King's name, and carried it to him to sign, which was the first and only one that ever he signed in the ship Charles. To bed, coming in sight of land a little before night.

25th. By the morning we were come close to the land, and every body made ready to get on shore. The King and the two Dukes did eat their breakfast before they went, and there being set some ship's diet, they eat of nothing else but pease and pork, and boiled beef. Dr. Clerke, who eat with me, told me how the King had given 50*l.* to Mr. Shepley for my Lord's servants, and 500*l.* among the officers and common men of the ship. I spoke to the Duke of York about business, who called me Pepys by name, and upon my desire did promise me his future favour. Great expectation of the King's making some Knights, but there was none. About noon (though the brigantine that Beale made was there ready to carry him) yet he would go in my Lord's

* Eldest son of the Earl of Manchester.

barge with the two Dukes. Our Captn. steered, and my Lord went along bare with him. I went, and Mr. Mansell, and one of the King's footmen, and a dog that the King loved, in a boat by ourselves, and so got on shore when the King did, who was received by General Monk with all imaginable love and respect at his entrance upon the land of Dover. Infinite the crowd of people and the horsemen, citizens, and noblemen of all sorts. The Mayor of the town come and gave him his white staffe, the badge of his place, which the King did give him again. The Mayor also presented him from the town a very rich Bible, which he took and said it was the thing that he loved above all things in the world. A canopy was provided for him to stand under, which he did, and talked awhile with General Monk and others, and so into a stately coach there set for him, and so away through the towne towards Canterbury, without making any stay at Dover. The shouting and joy expressed by all is past imagination. Seeing that my Lord did not stir out of his barge, I got into a boat, and so into his barge. My Lord almost transported with joy that he had done all this without any the least blur or obstruction in the world, that could give offence

to any, and with the great honour he thought it would be to him. Being overtook by the brigantine, my Lord and we went out of our barge into it, and so went on board with Sir W. Batten* and the Vice and Rear-Admirals. At night I supped with the Captn., who told me what the King had given us. My Lord returned late, and at his coming did give me order to cause the marke to be gilded, and a Crowne and C. R. to be made at the head of the coach table, where the King to-day with his own hand did marke his height, which accordingly I caused the painter to do, and is now done as is to be seen.

26th. My Lord dined with the Vice-Admiral to-day, (who is as officious, poor man! as any spaniel can be; but I believe all to no purpose, for I believe he will not hold his place;) so I dined commander at the coach table to-day, and all the officers of the ship with me, and Mr. White of Dover. After a game or two at nine-pins, to work all the afternoon, making above twenty orders. In the evening my Lord having been a-shore, the first time that he hath been a-shore since he come out of the Hope, (having resolved

* A Commissioner of the Navy, and in 1661 M. P. for Rochester.

not to go till he had brought his Majesty into England,) returned on board with a great deal of pleasure. The Captain told me that my Lord had appointed me 30*l.* out of the 1000 ducats which the King had given to the ship.

27th. (Lord's day.) Called up by John Goods to see the Garter and Heralds coate, which lay in the coach, brought by Sir Edward Walker, King at Armes, this morning, for my Lord. My Lord had summoned all the Commanders on board him, to see the ceremony, which was thus: Sir Edward putting on his coate, and having laid the George and Garter, and the King's letter to my Lord, upon a crimson cushion, (in the coach, all the Commanders standing by,) makes three congees to him, holding the cushion in his arms. Then laying it down with the things upon it upon a chair, he takes the letter, and delivers it to my Lord, which my Lord breaks open and gives him to read. It was directed to our trusty and well beloved Sir Edward Montagu, Knight, one of our Generals at sea, and our Companion elect of our Noble Order of the Garter. The contents of the letter is to show that the Kings of England have for many years made use of this honour, as a special mark of favour, to persons of

good extraction and valour, (and that many Emperors, Kings and Princes of other countries have borne this honour,) and that whereas my Lord is of a noble family, and hath now done the King such service by sea, at this time, as he hath done; he do send him this George and Garter to wear as Knight of the Order, with a dispensation for the other ceremonies of the habit of the Order, and other things, till hereafter, when it can be done. So the herald putting the ribbon about his neck, and the Garter on his left leg, he saluted him with joy as Knight of the Garter. And after that was done he took his leave of my Lord, and so to shore again to the King at Canterbury, where he yesterday gave the like honour to General Monk, who are the only two for many years that have had the Garter given them, before they had honours of Earldome, or the like, excepting only the Duke of Buckingham, who was only Sir George Villiers when he was made Knight of the Garter.*

29th. Abroad to shore with my Lord, (which he offered me of himself, saying that I had a great deal of work to do this month, which was very true.) On shore we took horses, my Lord and

* A.D. 1616.

Mr. Edward, Mr. Hetly and I, and three or four servants, and had a great deal of pleasure in riding. At last we came upon a very high cliffe by the sea-side, and rode under it, we having laid great wagers, I and Dr. Mathews, that it was not so high as Paul's; my Lord and Mr. Hetly, that it was. But we riding under it, my Lord made a pretty good measure of it with two sticks, and found it to be not above thirty-five yards high, and Paul's is reckoned to be about ninety. From thence toward the barge again, and in our way found the people at Deale going to make a bonfire for joy of the day, it being the King's birthday, and had some guns which they did fire at my Lord's coming by. For which I did give twenty shillings among them to drink. While we were on the top of the cliffe, we saw and heard our guns in the fleet go off for the same joy. And it being a pretty fair day we could see above twenty miles into France. Being returned on board, my Lord called for Mr. Shepley's book of Paul's, by which we were confirmed in our wager. This day, it is thought, the King do enter the City of London.

30th. All this morning making up my accounts, in which I counted that I had made myself now worth about 80*l.*, at which my heart was glad, and blessed God.

June 1st. At night Mr. Cooke comes from London with letters, leaving all things there very gallant and joyful. And brought us word that the Parliament had ordered the 29th of May, the King's birth-day, to be for ever kept as a day of thanksgiving for our redemption from tyranny, and the King's return to his Government, he entering London that day.

2d. Being with my Lord in the morning about business in his cabbin, I took occasion to give him thanks for his love to me in the share that he had given me of his Majesty's money, and the Duke's. He told me he hoped to do me a more lasting kindness, if all things stand as they are now between him and the King, but, says he, "We must have a little patience and we will rise together; in the mean time I will do yet all the good jobs I can." Which was great content for me to hear from my Lord. All the morning with the Captain, computing how much the thirty ships that come with the King from Scheveling their pay comes to for a month (because the King promised to give them all a month's pay), and it comes to 6,538*l.*, and the Charles particularly 777*l.* I wish we had the money.

3d. Captaine Holland is come to get an order for the setting out of his ship, and to renew his

commission. He tells me how every man goes to the Lord Mayor to set down their names, as such as do accept of his Majesty's pardon, and showed me a certificate under the Lord Mayor's hand, that he had done so.

At sermon in the morning; after dinner into my cabbin, to cast my accounts up, and find myself to be worth near 100*l.* for which I bless Almighty God, it being more than I hoped for so soon, being I believe not clearly worth 25*l.* when I come to sea besides my house and goods.

4th. This morning the King's Proclamation against drinking, swearing, and debauchery, was read to our ships' companies in the fleet, and indeed it gives great satisfaction to all.

6th. In the morning I had letters come, that told me among other things, that my Lord's place of Clerke of the Signet was fallen to him, which he did most lovingly tell me that I should execute, in case he could not get a better employment for me at the end of the year. Because he thought that the Duke of York would command all, but he hoped that the Duke would not remove me but to my advantage.

My letters tell me, that Mr. Calamy* had

* Edward Calamy, the celebrated Nonconformist Divine,

preached before the King in a surplice (this I heard afterwards to be false); that my Lord, Gen. Monk, and three more Lords, are made Commissioners for the Treasury; that my Lord had some great place conferred on him, and they say Master of the Wardrobe; that the two Dukes do haunt the Park much, and that they were at a play, Madam Epicene,* the other day; that Sir Ant. Cooper,† Mr. Hollis, and Mr. Annesly, late Presidents of the Council of State, are made Privy Councillors to the King.

7th. After dinner come Mr. John Wright and Mr. Moore, with the sight of whom my heart was very glad. They brought an order for my Lord's coming up to London, which my Lord resolved to do to-morrow. All the afternoon geting my things in order to set forth to-morrow. At night walked up and down with Mr. Moore, who did give me an account of all things at London. Among others, how the Presbyterians would be angry if they durst, but they will not be able to do any thing.

born 1616, appointed Chaplain to Charles the Second 1660. Ob. 1666.

* Epicene, or the Silent Woman, a Comedy, by Ben. Jonson.

† Afterwards Chancellor, and created Earl of Shaftesbury.

8th. Out early, took horses at Deale.

9th. To White Hall with my Lord and Mr. Edwd. Montagu. Found the King in the Park. There walked. Gallantly great.

11. With my Lord to Dorset House* to the Chancellor.

13th. By water with my Lord in a boat to Westminster, and to the Admiralty, now in a new place.

15th. My Lord told me how the King has given him the place of the great wardrobe.

16th. To my Lord, and so to White Hall with him about the Clerk of the Privy Seale's place, which he is to have. Then to the Admiralty, where I wrote some letters. Here Coll. Thompson told me, as a great secret, that the Nazeby was on fire when the King was there, but that is not known; when God knows it is quite false.

17th, (Lord's day). To Mr. Messinn's; a good sermon. This day the organs did begin to play

* Dorset-House, in Salisbury Court, at this time occupied by the Chancellor, once the residence of the Bishops of Salisbury, one of whom (Jewel) alienated it to the Sackville family. The house being afterwards pulled down, a theatre was built on its site, in which the Duke of York's troop performed.

at White Hall before the King. After dinner to Mr. Messinn's again, and so in the garden, and heard Chippell's father preach, that was Page to the Protector.

18th. To my Lord's, where much business. With him to the Parliament House, where he did intend to have made his appearance to-day, but he met Mr. Crewe upon the stairs, and would not go in. He went to Mrs. Brown's, and staid till word was brought him what was done in the House. This day they made an end of the twenty men to be excepted from pardon to their estates. By barge to Stepny with my Lord, where at Trinity House we had great entertainment. With my Lord there went Sir W. Pen, Sir H. Wright, Hetly, Pierce, Creed, Hill, I and other servants. Back again to the Admiralty, and so to my Lord's lodgings, where he told me that he did look after the place of the Clerk of the Acts for me.

19th. Much business at my Lord's. This morning my Lord went into the House of Commons, and there had the thanks of the House, in the name of the Parliament and Commons of England, for his late service to his King and Country. A motion was made for a reward for him, but it was quashed by Mr. Annesly, who,

above most men, is engaged to my Lord's and Mr. Crewe's favours. My Lord went at night with the King to Baynard's Castle to supper, and I home.

20th. With my Lord (who lay long in bed this day, because he came home late from supper with the King) to the Parliament House, and, after that, with him to General Monk's, where he dined at the Cock-pit. Thence to the Admiralty, and despatched away Mr. Cooke to sea; whose business was a letter from my Lord about Mr. G. Montagu to be chosen as a Parliament-man in my Lord's room at Dover; and another to the Vice-Admiral to give my Lord a constant account of all things in the fleet, merely that he may thereby keep up his power there; another letter to Captn. Cuttance to send the barge that brought the King on shore, to Hinchingbroke by Lynne.

21st. To my Lord, much business. With him to the Council Chamber, where he was sworne; and the charge of his being admitted Privy Counsellor is 26*l.* To White Hall, where, the King being gone abroad, my Lord and I walked a great while discoursing of the simplicity of the Protector, in his losing all that his father had left him. My Lord told me, that the last words that he parted

with the Protector with, (when he went to the Sound), were, that he should rejoice more to see him in his grave at his return home, than that he should give way to such things as were then in hatching, and afterwards did ruine him: and that the Protector said, that whatever G. Montagu, my Lord Broghill,* Jones, and the Secretary, would have him to do, he would do it, be it what it would.

22d. To my Lord, where much business. With him to White Hall, where the Duke of York not being up, we walked a good while in the Shield Gallery. Mr. Hill (who for these two or three days hath constantly attended my Lord) told me of an offer of 500*l.* for a Baronet's dignity, which I told my Lord of in the balcone of this gallery, and he said he would think of it. My dear friend Mr. Fuller of Twickenham and I dined alone at the Sun Tavern, where he told me how he had the grant of being Dean of St. Patrick's, in Ireland; and I told him my condition, and both rejoiced one for another. Thence to my Lord's, and had the great coach to Brigham's, who told me how my Lady Monk deals with him and others for

* Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, created Earl of Orrery, 1660. Ob. 1679.

their places, asking him 500*l.*, though he was formerly the King's coach-maker, and sworn to it.

23d. To my Lord's lodgings, where Tom Guy come to me, and there staid to see the King touch people for the King's evil. But he did not come at all, it rayned so; and the poor people were forced to stand all the morning in the rain in the garden. Afterward he touched them in the banquetting-house. With my Lord, to my Lord Frezendorfe's * where he dined to-day. He told me that he had obtained a promise of the Clerke of the Acts place for me, at which I was glad.

25th. With my Lord at White Hall all the morning. I spoke with Mr. Coventry about my business, who promised me all the assistance I could expect. Dined with young Mr. Powell, lately come from the Sound, being amused at our great charges here, and Mr. Southerne, now Clerke to Mr. Coventry, at the Leg in King-street. Thence to the Admiralty, where I met Mr. Turner, of the Navy-office, who did look after the place of Clerke of the Acts. He was very civil to me, and I to him, and shall be so. There come a

* John Frederic de Friesendorff, Embassador from Sweden to Charles the Second, who created him a Baronet, 1661.

letter from my Lady Monk to my Lord about it this evening, but he refused to come to her, but meeting in White Hall, with Sir Thomas Clarges, her brother, my Lord returned answer, that he could not desist in my business; and that he believed that General Monk would take it ill if my Lord should name the officers in his army; and therefore he desired to have the naming of one officer in the fleete. With my Lord by coach to Mr. Crewe's, and very merry by the way, discoursing of the late changes and his good fortune. Thence home, and then with my wife to Dorset-House, to deliver a list of the names of the justices of peace for Huntingdonshire.

26th. My Lord dined at his lodgings all alone to-day. I went to Secretary Nicholas to carry him my Lord's resolutions about his title, which he had chosen, and that is Portsmouth.

To Backewell* the goldsmith's, and there we chose a 100*l.* worth of plate for my Lord to give Secretary Nicholas.

27th. With my Lord to the Duke, where he

* Edward Bakewell, an Alderman of London, and opulent banker, ruined by the shutting up of the Exchequer in 1672, when he retired to Holland, where he died.

spoke to Mr. Coventry to despatch my business of the Acts, in which place every body gives me joy, as if I were in it, which God send.

28th. To Sir G. Downing, the first visit I have made him since he come. He is so stingy a fellow I care not to see him; I quite cleared myself of his office, and did give him liberty to take any body in. After all this to my Lord, who lay a-bed till eleven o'clock, it being almost five before he went to-bed, they supped so late last night with the King. This morning I saw poor Bishop Wren * going to Chappel, it being a thanksgiving-day for the King's returne.

29th. Up and to White Hall, where I got my warrant from the Duke to be Clerke of the Acts. Also I got my Lord's warrant from the Secretary for his honour of Earle of Portsmouth, and Viscount Montagu of Hinchingbroke. So to my Lord, to give him an account of what I had done. Then to Sir Geffery Palmer,† who told me that my Lord must have some good Latinist to make the preamble to his Patent, which must express his late service in the best terms that he can, and

* Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely. Ob. 1667, aged 82.

† Sir Geoffrey Palmer, Attorney-General, and Chief Justice of Chester, 1660; created a Baronet, 1661. Ob. 1670.

he told me in what high flaunting terms Sir J. Greenville had caused his to be done, which he do not like; but that Sir Richard Fanshawe * had done General Monk's very well. Then to White Hall, where I was told by Mr. Hutchinson at the Admiralty, that Mr. Barlow, my predecessor, Clerke of the Acts, is yet alive, and coming up to town to look after his place, which made my heart sad a little. At night told my Lord thereof, and he bad me get possession of my Patent; and he would do all that could be done to keep him out. This night my Lord and I looked over the list of the Captains, and marked some that my Lord had a mind to put out.

30th. By times to Sir R. Fanshawe to draw up the preamble to my Lord's Patent. So to my Lord, and with him to White Hall, where I saw a great many fine antique heads of marble, that my Lord Northumberland † had given the King. To White Hall with Mr. Moore, where I met with a letter from Mr. Turner, offering me 150*l.* to be

* Sir Richard Fanshawe, Knight and Baronet, Secretary to Charles the Second in Scotland, and after the Restoration employed on several embassies. He was a good linguist, and translated the Lusiad and Pastor Fido.

† Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland.

joined with me in my patent, and to advise me how to improve the advantage of my place, and to keep off Barlow. This day come Will,* my, boy to me: the maid continuing lame.

July 1st. This morning come home my fine Camlett cloak, with gold buttons, and a silk suit, which cost me much money, and I pray God to make me able to pay for it. In the afternoon to the Abbey, where a good sermon by a stranger, but no Common Prayer yet.

2d. All the afternoon with my Lord, going up and down the town; at seven at night he went home, and there the principal Officers of the Navy,† among the rest myself was reckoned one.

* William Hewer, respecting whose origin I can only make out, that he was nephew to Mr. Blackburne, so often mentioned in these pages, where his father's death, of the plague, also occurs. He became afterwards a Commissioner of the Navy, and Treasurer for Tangier; and was the constant companion of Mr. Pepys, who died in his house at Clapham, previously the residence of Sir Dennis Gauden. Mr. Hewer was buried in the old Church at Clapham, where there is a large monument of marble in alto relievo erected to his memory. See the Appendix for the inscription.

† A list of the Officers of the Admiralty, 31st May, 1660.

From a MS. in the Pepysian Library.

His Royal Highness James, Duke of York, Lord High Admiral.

Sir George Carteret, Treasurer.

Sir Robert Slingsby, (soon after) Comptroller.

We had order to meet to-morrow, to draw up such an order of the Council as would put us into action before our patents were passed. At which my heart was glad. At night supped with my Lord, he and I together, in a great dining-room alone by ourselves.

3d. The Officers and Commissioners of the Navy met at Sir G. Carteret's * chamber, and agreed upon orders for the Council to supersede the old ones, and empower us to act. Dined with Mr. Stephens, the Treasurer of the Navy, and Mr. Turner, to whom I offered 50*l.* out of my own purse for one year, and the benefit of a

Sir William Batten, Surveyor.
Samuel Pepys, Esq. Clerk of the Acts.
John, Lord Berkeley,
Sir William Penn,
Peter Pett, Esq. } Commissioners.

* Sir George Carteret, Knight, had originally been bred to the sea service, and became Comptroller of the Navy to Charles the First, and Governor of Jersey, where he obtained considerable reputation by his gallant defence of that Island against the Parliament forces. At the Restoration he was made Vice Chamberlain to the King, Treasurer of the Navy, and a Privy Councillor, and in 1661 M. P. for Portsmouth. He continued in favour with his Sovereign till 1679, when he died in his 80th year. He married his cousin Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Philip Carteret, Knight, of St. Ouen, and had issue three sons and five daughters.

Clerke's allowance beside, which he thanked me for; but I find he hath some design yet in his head, which I could not think of. In the afternoon my heart was quite pulled down, by being told that Mr. Barlow was to enquire to-day for Mr. Coventry; but at night I met with my Lord, who told me that I need not fear, for he would get me the place against the world. And when I come to W. Howe, he told me that Dr. Petty had been with my Lord, and did tell him that Barlow was a sickly man, and did not intend to execute the place himself, which put me in great comfort again.

4th. To Mr. Backewell's, the goldsmith, where I took my Lord's 100*l.* in plate for Mr. Secretary Nicholas, and my own piece of plate, being a state dish and cup in chased work for Mr. Coventry, cost me above 19*l.* Carried these and the money by coach to my Lord's at White Hall, and from thence carried Nicholas's plate to his house and left it there, intending to speak with him anon. So to my Lord's, and walking all the afternoon in White Hall Court, in expectation of what shall be done in the Council as to our business. It was strange to see how all the people flocked together bare, to see the King looking out of the Council

window. At night my Lord told me how my orders that I drew last night about giving us power to act, are granted by the Council. At which I was very glad.

5th. This morning my brother Tom brought me my jackanapes coat with silver buttons. It rained this morning, which makes us fear that the glory of this day will be lost; the King and Parliament being to be entertained by the City to-day with great pomp. Mr. Hater was with me to-day, and I agreed with him to be my clerke. Being at White Hall, I saw the King, the Dukes, and all their attendants go forth in the rain to the City, and it spoiled many a fine suit of clothes. I was forced to walk all the morning in White Hall, not knowing how to get out because of the rain. Met with Mr. Cooling,* my Lord Chamberlain's secretary, who took me to dinner among the gentleman waiters, and after dinner into the wine-cellar. He told me how he had a project for all us Secretaries to join together, and get money by

* Richard Cooling or Coling, A. M., of All-Souls College, Secretary to the Earls of Manchester and Arlington, when they filled the office of Lord Chamberlain, and a Clerk of the Privy Council in ordinary. There is a mezzotinto print of him in the Pepysian Collection.

bringing all business into our hands. Thence to the Admiralty, where Mr. Blackburne and I (it beginning to hold up) went and walked an hour or two in the Park, he giving of me light in many things in my way in this office that I go about. And in the evening I got my presents of plate carried to Mr. Coventry's. At my Lord's at night comes Dr. Petty to me, to tell me that Barlow was come to town, and other things, which put me into a despair, and I went to bed very sad.

6th. In the afternoon my Lord and I, and Mr. Coventry and Sir G. Carteret, went and took possession of the Navy-Office, whereby my mind was a little cheered, but my hopes not great. From thence Sir G. Carteret and I to the Treasurer's Office, where he set some things in order.

8th, (Lord's day.) To White Hall chapel, where I got in with ease by going before the Lord Chancellor with Mr. Kipps. Here I heard very good musique, the first time that ever I remember to have heard the organs and singing-men in surplices in my life. The Bishop of Chichester * preached before the King, and made a great flat-

* Henry King, Dean of Rochester, advanced to the See of Chichester, 1641. Ob. 1669.

tering sermon, which I did not like that the Clergy should meddle with matters of state. Dined with Mr. Luellin and Salisbury at a cook's shop. Home, and staid all the afternoon with my wife till after sermon. There till Mr. Fairebrother * come to call us out to my father's to supper. He told me how he had perfectly procured me to be made Master in Arts by proxy,† which did somewhat please me, though I remember my cousin Roger Pepys ‡ was the other day persuading me from it.

9th. To the Navy-office, § where in the after-

* William Fairbrother, in 1661 made D. D. at Cambridge per regias litteras.

† The Grace which passed the University, on this occasion, is preserved in Kennett's Chronicle, and commenced as follows:—Cum Sam. Pepys, Coll. Magd. Inceptor in Artibus in Regiâ Classe existat e Secretis, exindeq. apud mare adeo occupatissimus ut Comitiis proxime futuris interesse non possit; placet vobis ut dictus S. P. admissionem suam necnon creationem recipiat ad gradum Magistri in Artibus sub personâ Timothei Wellfit, Inceptoris, &c. &c.—June 26, 1660.

‡ Roger Pepys, a Barrister, M. P. for Cambridge, 1661 and afterwards Recorder of that town.

§ The Navy Office was erected on the site of Lumley House, formerly belonging to the Fratres Sanctæ Crucis (or Crutched Friars), and all business connected with Naval concerns was transacted there, till its removal to Somerset House.

The

noon we met and sat, and there I begun to sign bills in the Office the first time.

10th. This day I put on my new silk suit, the first that ever I wore in my life. Home, and called my wife, and took her to Clodins's to a great wedding of Nan Hartlib to Mynheer Roder, which was kept at Goring House* with very great state, cost, and noble company. But among all the beauties there, my wife was thought the greatest. And finding my Lord in White Hall garden, I got him to go to the Secretary's, which he did, and desired the dispatch of his and my bills to be signed by the King. His bill is to be Earle of Sandwich, Viscount Hinchingbroke, and Baron of St. Neot's. Home, with my mind pretty quiet: not returning, as I said I would, to see the bride put to bed.

11th. With Sir W. Pen† by water to the Navy-

The ground is now occupied by the East India Company's warehouses.

* Goring House was burnt in 1674, at which time Lord Arlington resided in it.

† Sir William Pen was born at Bristol in 1621, of the ancient family of the Pens, of Pen Lodge, Wilts. He was Captain at the age of 21; Rear-Admiral of Ireland at 23; Vice-Admiral of England, and General in the first Dutch war at 32. He was subsequently M. P. for Weymouth, Governor of Kinsale, and Vice-Admiral of Munster. After the Dutch fight in 1665, where he distinguished himself as

office, where we met, and dispatched business. And that being done, we went all to dinner to the Dolphin, upon Major Brown's invitation. After that to the office again, where I was vexed, and so was Commissioner Pett, to see a busy fellow come to look out the best lodgings for my Lord Barkley, and the combining between him and Sir W. Pen; and, indeed, was troubled much at it.

12. Up early and by coach to White Hall with Commissioner Pett, where, after we had talked with my Lord, I went to the Privy Seale and got my bill perfected there, and at the Signet: and then to the House of Lords, and met with Mr. Kipps, who directed me to Mr. Beale to get my patent engrossed; but he not having time to get it done in Chancery-hand, I was forced to run all up and down Chancery-lane, and the Six Clerks' Office, but could find none that could write the hand, that were at leisure. And so in despair went to the Admiralty, where we met the first

second in command under the Duke of York, he took leave of the sea, but continued to act as a Commissioner for the Navy till 1669, when he retired on account of his bodily infirmities to Wanstead, and died there September 16, 1670, aged 49.

time there, my Lord Montagu, my Lord Barkley, Mr. Coventry, and all the rest of the principal Officers and Commissioners, except only the Controller, who is not yet chosen.

13th. Up early, the first day that I put on my black camlett coat with silver buttons. To Mr. Spong, whom I found in his night-gown writing of my patent. It being done, we carried it to Worcester House,* to the Chancellor, where Mr. Kipps got me the Chancellor's recepi to my bill; and so carried it to Mr. Beale for a dockett; but he was very angry, and unwilling to do it, because he said it was ill writ, (because I had got it writ by another hand, and not by him); but by much importunity I got Mr. Spong to go to his office and make an end of my patent; and in the mean time Mr. Beale to be preparing my dockett, which being done, I did give him two pieces, after which it was strange how civil and tractable he was to me. Met with Mr. Spong, who still would be giving me council of getting my patent out, for fear of another change, and my Lord Montagu's fall. After that to Worcester House, where by

* The Earls of Worcester had a large house between Durham Place and the Savoy, which Lord Clarendon rented at 5*l.* per annum, while his own was building.

Mr. Kipps's means, and my pressing in General Montagu's name to the Chancellor, I did, beyond all expectation, get my seal passed; and while it was doing in one room, I was forced to keep Sir G. Carteret (who by chance met me there, ignorant of my business) in talk. I to my Lord's, where I dispatched an order for a ship to fetch Sir R. Honywood home. Late writing letters; and great doings of musique at the next house, which was Whally's; the King and Dukes there with Madame Palmer,* a pretty woman that they had a fancy to. Here at the old door that did go into his lodgings, my Lord, I, and W. Howe, did stand listening a great while to the musique.

14th. Comes in Mr. Pagan Fisher,† the poet, and promises me what he had long ago done, a

* Barbara Villiers, daughter of William Viscount Grandison, wife of Roger Palmer, Esq., created Earl of Castlemaine, 1661. She became the King's mistress soon after the Restoration, and was in 1670 made Duchess of Cleveland. She died 1709, aged 69.

† Payne Fisher, who styled himself Paganus Piscator, was born in 1616, in Dorsetshire, and removed from Hart Hall, Oxford, of which he had been a commoner, to Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1634; and there took a degree of B. A., and first discovered a turn for poetry. He was afterwards a Captain in the King's service at Marston Moor fight; but leaving his command, employed his pen against the cause which he had supported with his sword, and became a

book in praise of the King of France, with my armes, and a dedication to me very handsome.

15th. My wife and I mightily pleased with our new house that we hope to have. My patent has cost me a great deal of money; about 40*l.* In the afternoon to Henry the Seventh's Chapel, where I heard a sermon.

17th. This morning (as indeed all the mornings now-a-days) much business at my Lord's. There come to my house before I went out Mr. Barlow, an old consumptive man, and fair conditioned. After much talk, I did grant him what he asked, viz. 50*l.* per annum, if my salary be not increased, and 100*l.* per annum, in case it be 350*l.* at which he was very well pleased to be paid as I received my money, and not otherwise, so I brought him to my Lord's, and he and I did agree together.

18th. This morning we met at the office: I dined at my house in Seething Lane.

19th. We did talk of our old discourse when

favourite of Cromwell's. After the King's return, he obtained a scanty subsistence by flattering men in power, and was frequently imprisoned for debt. He died 1693. He published several poems, chiefly in Latin; and, in 1682, printed a book of Heraldry, with the arms of such of the gentry as he had waited upon with presentation copies. He was a man of talents, but vain, unsteady, and conceited, and a great time-server.

we did use to talk of the King, in the time of the Rump, privately; after that to the Admiralty Office, in White Hall, where I staid and writ my late observations for these four days last past. Great talk of the difference between the Episcopal and Presbyterian Clergy, but I believe it will come to nothing.

22d. After dinner to White Hall, where I find my Lord at home, and walked in the garden with him, he showing me all respect. I left him and went to walk in the inward Park, but could not get in; one man was basted by the keeper, for carrying some people over on his back, through the water. Home, and at night had a chapter read; and I read prayers out of the Common Prayer Book, the first time that ever I read prayers in this house. So to bed.

23d. After dinner to my Lord, who took me to Secretary Nicholas;* and before him and Secretary Morris,† my Lord and I upon our

* Sir Edward Nicholas, many years principal Secretary of State to Charles the First and Second; dismissed from his office through the intrigues of Lady Castlemaine in 1663, and ob. 1669, aged 77.

† Sir William Morris, Secretary of State from 1660 to 1668. Ob. 1676. He was kinsman to General Monk.

knees together took our oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; and the Oath of the Privy Seale, of which I was much glad, though I am not likely to get any thing by it at present; but I do desire it, for fear of a turn-out of our office.

24th. To White Hall, where I did acquaint Mr. Watkins with my being sworn into the Privy Seale, at which he was much troubled, but did offer me a kinsman of his to be my clerk. In the afternoon I spent much time in walking in White Hall Court with Mr. Bickerstaffe,* who was very glad of my Lord's being sworn, because of his business with his brother Baron,* which is referred to my Lord Chancellor, and to be ended to-morrow. Baron had got a grant beyond sea, to come in before the reversionary of the Privy Seale.

25th. I got my certificate of my Lord's and my being sworn. This morning my Lord took leave of the House of Commons, and had the thanks of the House for his great service to his country. †

* They were both clerks of the Privy Seal.

† In the Journals this is stated to have taken place July 24th.

26th. Early to White Hall, thinking to have a meeting of my Lord and the principal officers, but my Lord could not, it being the day that he was to go and be admitted in the House of Lords, his patent being done, which he presented upon his knees to the Speaker; and so it was read in the House, and he took his place. T. Doling carried me to St. James's Fair, and there meeting with W. Symons and his wife, and Luellin, and D. Scobell's wife and cousin, we went to Wood's at the Pell Mell (our old house for clubbing), and there we spent till ten at night.

28th. A boy brought me a letter from Poet Fisher, who tells me that he is upon a panegyrique of the King, and desired to borrow a piece of me; and I sent him half a piece. To Westminster, and there met Mr. Henson, who had formerly had the brave clock that went with bullets (which is now taken away from him by the King, it being his goods.)

29th. With my Lord to White Hall Chapel, where I heard a cold sermon of the Bishop of Salisbury's, Duppa's,* and the ceremonies did not

* Brian Duppa, successively bishop of Chichester, Salisbury, and Winchester. Ob. 1662.

please me, they do so overdo them. My Lord went to dinner at Kensington with my Lord Camden.*

30th. This afternoon I got my 50*l.*, due to me for my first quarter's salary as Secretary to my Lord, paid to Tho. Hater for me, which he received and brought home to me, of which I felt glad. The sword-bearer of London (Mr. Man) came to ask for us, with whom we sat late, discoursing about the worth of my office of Clerke of the Acts, which he hath a mind to buy, and I asked four years' purchase.

31st. To White Hall, where my Lord and the principal officers met, and had a great discourse about raising of money for the Navy, which is in very sad condition, and money must be raised for it. I back to the Admiralty, and there was doing things in order to the calculating of the debts of the Navy and other business, all the afternoon. At night I went to the Privy Seale, where I found Mr. Crofts and Mathews making up all their things to leave the office to-morrow, to those that come to wait the next month.

* Baptist, second Viscount Campden, Lord Lieutenant of Rutlandshire. Ob. 1683.

August 1st. In the afternoon at the office, where we had many things to sign; and I went to the Council Chamber, and there got my Lord to sign the first bill, and the rest all myself; but received no money to-day.

2d. To Westminster by water with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen, (our servants in another boat) to the Admiralty; and from thence I went to my Lord's to fetch him thither, where we stayed in the morning about ordering of money for the victuallers, and advising how to get a sum of money to carry on the business of the Navy. From thence W. Hewer and I to the office of Privy Seale, where I stayed all the afternoon, and received about 40*l.* for yesterday and to-day, at which my heart rejoiced for God's blessing to me, to give me this advantage by chance, there being of this 40*l.* about 10*l.* due to me for this day's work. So great is the present profit of this office, above what it was in the King's time; there being the last month about 300 bills, whereas in the late King's time it was much to have 40. I went and cast up the expense that I laid out upon my former house, (because there are so many that are desirous of it, and I am, in my mind, loth to let it go out of my hands, for fear of a turn.) I find

my layings-out to come to about 20*l.* which with my fine will come to about 22*l.* to him that shall hire my house of me.

4th. To White Hall, where I found my Lord gone with the King by water to dine at the Tower with Sir J. Robinson,* Lieutenant. I found my Lady Jemimah,† at my Lord's, with whom I staid and dined, all alone; after dinner to the Privy Seale Office, where I did business. So to a Committee of Parliament, (Sir Hen. Finch,‡ Chairman), to give them an answer to an order of theirs, "that we could not give them any account of the Accounts of the Navy in the years 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, as they desire."

6th. This night Mr. Man offered me 1000*l.* for my office of Clerke of the Acts, which made my mouth water; but yet I dare not take it till I speak with my Lord to have his consent.

7th. Mr. Moore and myself dined at my Lord's with Mr. Shepley. While I was at dinner in

* Sir John Robinson, created a Baronet for his services to Charles II., 1660, and had an augmentation to his arms. He was Lord Mayor of London, 1663.

† Lady Jemimah Montagu.

‡ Solicitor-General, 1660; Lord Keeper, 1673; Chancellor, 1675; created Earl of Nottingham, 1681. Ob. 1682.

come Sam. Hartlibb* and his brother-in-law, now knighted by the King, to request my promise of a ship for them to Holland, which I had promised to get for them. After dinner to the Privy Seale all the afternoon. At night, meeting Sam. Hartlibb, he took me by coach to Kensington, to my Lord of Holland's; I staid in the coach while he went in about his business.

9th. With Judge Advocate Fowler, Mr. Creed, and Mr. Shepley to the Rhenish Wine-house, and Captain Hayward of the Plymouth, who is now ordered to carry my Lord Winchelsea, Embassador to Constantinople. We were very merry, and Judge Advocate did give Captain Hayward his Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy.

10th. With Mr. Moore and Creed to Hide-parke by coach, and saw a fine foot-race three times round the Park, between an Irishman and Crow, that was once my Lord Claypoole's† foot-

* Samuel Hartlib, son of a Polish merchant, and author of several ingenious Works on Agriculture, for which he had a pension from Cromwell.—*Vide Chalmers's Biog. Dict.*

† John Lord Claypoole married, in 1645, Mary, second daughter of Oliver Cromwell, to whom he became Master of the Horse, and a Lord of the Bedchamber: he was also placed in his Father-in-Law's Upper House. During Richard Cromwell's time he retained all his places at Court; and at

man. By the way I cannot forget that my Lord Claypoole did the other day make enquiry of Mrs. Hunt, concerning my House in Axe-yard, and did set her on work to get it of me for him, which methinks is a very great change. But blessed be God for my good chance of the Privy Seale, where I get every day I believe about 3*l*. This place my Lord did give me by chance, neither he nor I thinking it to be of the worth that he and I find it to be.

12th. (Lord's day.) To my Lord, and with him to White Hall Chapel, where Mr. Calamy preached, and made a good sermon upon these words "To whom much is given, of him much is required." He was very officious with his three reverences to the King, as others do. After sermon a brave anthem of Captain Cooke's,* which he himself sung, and the King was well pleased with it. My Lord dined at my Lord Chamberlin's.†

the Restoration, never having made an enemy whilst his relations were in power, he was not molested, and lived till 1688. His father had been proceeded against in the Star Chamber, for resisting the payment of Ship Money, and was by Cromwell constituted Clerk of the Hanaper, and created a Baronet.

* Henry Cooke, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, and an excellent musician. Ob. 1672.

† The Earl of Manchester.

14th. To the Privy Seale, and thence to my Lord's, where Mr. Pin the taylor, and I agreed upon making me a velvet coat. From thence to the Privy Seale again, where Sir Samuel Morland come with a Baronet's grant to pass, which the King had given him to make money of. Here we staid with him a great while; and he told me the whole manner of his serving the King in the time of the Protector; and how Thurloe's bad usage made him to do it; how he discovered Sir R. Willis, and how he had sunk his fortune for the King; and that now the King had given him a pension of 500*l.* per annum out of the Post Office for life, and the benefit of two Baronets; all which do make me begin to think that he is not so much a fool as I took him to be. I did make even with Mr. Fairebrother for my degree of Master of Arts, which cost me about 9*l.* 16*s.*

15th. To the office, and after dinner by water to White Hall, where I found the King gone this morning by five of the clock to see a Dutch pleasure-boat below bridge, where he dines, and my Lord with him. The King do tire all his people that are about him with early rising since he come.

18th. Captain Ferrers took me and Creed to

the Cockpitt play, the first that I have had time to see since my coming from sea, "The Loyall Subject,"* where one Kinaston,† a boy, acted the Duke's sister, but made the loveliest lady that ever I saw in my life.

20th. This afternoon at the Privy Seale, where reckoning with Mr. Moore, he had got 100*l.* for me together, which I was glad of, guessing that the profit of this month would come to 100*l.* With W. Hewer by coach to Worcester House, where I light, sending him home with the 100*l.* that I received to-day. Here I staid, and saw my Lord Chancellor come into his Great Hall, where wonderful how much company there was to expect him. Before he would begin any business, he took my papers of the state of the debts of the Fleet, and there viewed them before all the people, and did give me his advice privately how to order things, to get as much money as we can of the Parliament.

21st. I met Mr. Crewe and dined with him,

* A Tragi-comedy by Beaumont and Fletcher.

† Edward Kynaston, engaged by Sir W. Davenant in 1660, to perform the principal female characters: he afterwards assumed the male ones in the first parts of tragedy, and continued on the stage till the end of King William's reign. The period of his death is not known.

where there dined one Mr. Hickeman, an Oxford man, who spoke very much against the height of the now old clergy, for putting out many of the religious fellows of Colleges, and inveighing against them for their being drunk. It being post-night, I wrote to my Lord to give him notice that all things are well; that General Monk is made Lieutenant of Ireland, which my Lord Roberts * (made Deputy) do not like of, to be Deputy to any man but the King himself.

22d. In the House, after the Committee was up, I met with Mr. G. Montagu, and joyed him in his entrance (this being his 3d day) for Dover. Here he made me sit all alone in the House, none but he and I, half an hour, discoursing how there was like to be many factions at Court between Marquis Ormond,† General Monk, and the Lord Roberts, about the business of Ireland; as there is already between the two Houses about the Act of Indemnity; and in the House of Commons, between the Episcopalian and Presbyterian men.

23d. By water to Doctors' Commons to Dr.

* John, second Lord Robartes, advanced to the dignity of Earl of Radnor, 1679. Ob. 1685.

† James, afterwards created Duke of Ormond, and K. G. and twice Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Walker,* to give him my Lord's papers to view over, concerning his being empowered to be Vice-Admiral under the Duke of York. Thence by water to White Hall, to the Parliament House, where I spoke with Colonel Birch,† and so to the Admiralty chamber, where we and Mr. Coventry had a meeting about several businesses. Amongst others, it was moved that Phineas Pett,‡ (kinsman to the commissioner,) of Chatham, should be suspended his employment till he had answered some articles put in against him, as that he should formerly say that the King was a bastard and his mother a strumpet.

25th. This night W. Hewer brought me home from Mr. Pim's my velvet coat and cap, the first that ever I had.

28th. Colonel Scroope § is this day excepted out of the Act of Indemnity, which has been now

* One of the Judges of the Admiralty.

† Colonel John Birch represented Leominster at that time, and afterwards Penryn. He was an active Member of Parliament.

‡ Phineas Pett, an eminent ship-builder employed by the Admiralty.

§ Colonel Adrian Scroope, one of the persons who sat in judgment upon Charles I.

long in coming out, but it is expected to-morrow. I carried home 80*l.* from Privy Seale, by coach.

30th. To White Hall, where I met with the Act of Indemnity, (so long talked-of and hoped for,) with the Act of Rate for Pole-money, and for judicial proceedings. This the first day that ever I saw my wife wear black patches since we were married.

September 1st. All this afternoon sending express to the fleet, to order things against my Lord's coming; and taking direction of my Lord about some rich furniture to take along with him for the Princesse.* And talking after this, I hear by Mr. Townsend, that there is the greatest preparation against the Prince de Ligne's coming over from the King of Spain, that ever was in England for their Embassador.

3d. Up and to Mr. ——, the goldsmith, and there, with much ado, got him to put a gold ring to the jewell, which the King of Sweden did give my Lord: out of which my Lord had now taken the King's picture, and intends to make a George of it. About noon my Lord, having taken leave of the King in the Shield Gallery, (where I saw

* The Princess of Orange. See note page 84.

with what kindnesse the King did hugg my Lord at his parting,) I went over with him and saw him in his coach at Lambeth, and there took leave of him, he going to the Downes.

5th. Great newes now-a-day of the Duke d'Anjou's* desire to marry the Princesse Henrietta. Hugh Peters is said to be taken. The Duke of Gloucester is ill, and it is said it will prove the small-pox.

13th. This day the Duke of Gloucester died of the small-pox, by the great negligence of the doctors.

15th. To Westminster, where I met with Dr. Castles, who chidd me for some error in our Privy-Seale business; among the rest, for letting the fees of the six judges pass unpaid, which I know not what to say to, till I speak to Mr. Moore. I was much troubled, for fear of being forced to pay the money myself. Called at my father's going home, and bespoke mourning for myself, for the death of the Duke of Gloucester.

16th. My Lord of Oxford† is also dead of the

* Only brother to Louis XIV.; became Duke of Orleans on the death of his uncle.

† This must be a mistake for some other person, Robert, nineteenth Earl of Oxford, having died in 1632, and Aubrey de Vere, his successor, the twentieth Earl, living till 1703.

small-pox; in whom his family dyes, after 600 years having that honour in their family and name. To the Park, where I saw how far they had proceeded in the Pell-mell, and in making a river through the Park, which I had never seen before since it was begun. Thence to White Hall garden, where I saw the King in purple mourning for his brother.

18th. This day I heard that the Duke of York, upon the news of the death of his brother yesterday, came hither by post last night.

To the Miter taverne in Wood-streete (a house of the greatest note in London,) where I met W. Symons, and D. Scobell, and their wives, Mr. Samford Luellin, Chetwind, one Mr. Vivion, and Mr. White,* formerly chaplin to the Lady Protectresse, (and still so, and one they say that is likely to get my Lady Francesse for his wife). Here some of us fell to handycapp, a sport that I never knew before.

20th. To Major Hart's lodgings in Cannon-streete, who used me very kindly with wine and

* According to Noble, Jeremiah White married Lady Frances Cromwell's waiting-woman, in Oliver's life-time, and they lived together fifty-years. Lady Frances had two husbands, Mr. Robert Rich, and Sir John Russell, the last of whom she survived fifty-two years, dying 1721-2.

good discourse, particularly upon the ill method which Col. Birch and the Committee use in defending of the army and the navy; promising the Parliament to save them a great deal of money, when we judge that it will cost the King more than if they had nothing to do with it, by reason of their delayes and scrupulous enquirys into the account of both.

21st. Upon the water saw the corpse of the Duke of Gloucester brought down Somerset House stairs, to go by water to Westminster, to be buried.

22d. I bought a pair of short black stockings, to wear over a pair of silk ones for mourning; and I met with The: Turner and Joyce, buying of things to go into mourning too for the Duke, which is now the mode of all the ladies in towne. This day Mr. Edw. Pickering is come from my Lord, and says that he left him well in Holland, and that he will be here within three or four days.

23d. This afternoon, the King having news of the Princesse being come to Margatte, he and the Duke of York went down thither in barges to her.

24th. I arose from table and went to the Tem-

ple church, where I had appointed Sir W. Batten to meet him; and there at Sir Heneage Finch Solliciter General's chambers, before him and Sir W. Wilde, Recorder of London (whom we sent for from his chamber) we were sworn justices of peace for Middlesex, Essex, Kent, and Southampton; with which honour I did find myself mightily pleased, though I am wholly ignorant in the duties of a justice of peace.

25th. I did send for a cup of tee (a China drink) of which I never had drank before, and went away (the King and the Princesse coming up the river this afternoon as we were at our pay). My Lord told me how the ship that brought the Princesse and him (The Tredagh) did knock six times upon the Kentish Knock, which put them in great fear for the ship; but got off well. He told me also how the King had knighted Vice-admiral Lawson and Sir Richard Stayner.

29th. This day or yesterday, I hear, Prince Rupert* is come to Court; but welcome to nobody.

October 2d. At Will's I met with Mr. Spicer,

* Son of Frederic, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, afterwards styled King of Bohemia, by Elizabeth, only sister to Charles I. Ob. 1682.

and with him to the Abbey to see them at vespers. There I found but a thin congregation.

3d. To my Lord's, who sent a great iron chest to White Hall; and I saw it carried into the King's closet, where I saw most incomparable pictures. Among the rest a book open upon a desk, which I durst have sworn was a reall book. Back again to my Lord, and dined all alone with him, who did treat me with a great deal of respect; and after dinner did discourse an hour with me, saying that he believed that he might have any thing that he would ask of the King. This day I heard the Duke speak of a great design that he and my Lord of Pembroke have, and a great many others, of sending a venture to some parts of Africa to dig for gold ore there. They intend to admit as many as will venture their money, and so make themselves a company. 250*l.* is the lowest share for every man. But I do not find that my Lord do much like it.

4th. I and Lieut. Lambert to Westminster Abbey, where we saw Dr. Frewen* translated to the Archbishoprick of York. Here I saw the Bishops

* Dr. Accepted Frewen, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.

of Winchester,* Bangor,† Rochester,‡ Bath and Wells,§ and Salisbury,‖ all in their habits, in King Henry Seventh's chapel. But, Lord! at their going out, how people did most of them look upon them as strange creatures, and few with any kind of love or respect.

6th. Col. Slingsby and I at the office getting a catch ready for the Prince de Ligne to carry his things away to-day, who is now going home again. I was to give my Lord an account of the stacions and victualls of the fleet, in order to the choosing of a fleet fit for him to take to sea, to bring over the Queen.

7th, (Lord's day). To White Hall on foot, calling at my father's to change my long black cloake for a short one (long cloakes being now quite out); but he being gone to church, I could not get one. I heard Dr. Spurstow¶ preach before the King a poor dry sermon; but a very good anthem of

* Brian Duppa, translated from Salisbury.

† William Roberts.

‡ John Warner, ob. 1666, aged 86.

§ William Pierce, translated from Peterborough, 1632.

‖ Humphrey Henchman, afterwards Bishop of London.

¶ William Spurstow, D. D. Vicar of Hackney and Master of Katherine Hall, Cambridge, both which pieces of perferment he lost for nonconformity, 1662.

Captn. Cooke's afterwards. To my Lord's and dined with him; he all dinner-time talking French to me, and telling me the story how the Duke of York hath got my Lord Chancellor's daughter with child, and that she do lay it to him, and that for certain he did promise her marriage, and had signed it with his blood, but that he by stealth had got the paper out of her cabinett. And that the King would have him to marry her, but that he will not. So that the thing is very bad for the Duke, and them all; but my Lord do make light of it, as a thing that he believes is not a new thing for the Duke to do abroad. After dinner to the Abbey, where I heard them read the church-service, but very ridiculously. A poor cold sermon of Dr. Lamb's, one of the prebends, in his habitt, come afterwards, and so all ended.

9th. This morning Sir W. Batten with Coll. Birch to Deptford, to pay off two ships. Sir W. Pen and I staid to do business, and afterwards together to White Hall, where I went to my Lord, and saw in his chamber his picture, very well done; and am with child till I get it copied out, which I hope to do when he is gone to sea.

10th. At night comes Mr. Moore and tells me

how Sir Hards. Waller * (who only pleads guilty), Scott, Coke,† Peters,‡ Harrison, &c. were this day arraigned at the bar of the Sessions House, there being upon the bench the Lord Mayor, General Monk, my Lord of Sandwich, &c.; such a bench of noblemen as had not been ever seen in England! They all seem to be dismayed, and will all be condemned without question. In Sir Orlando Bridgman's charge,§ he did wholly rip up the unjustnesse of the war against the King from the beginning, and so it much reflects upon all the Long Parliament, though the King had pardoned them, yet they must hereby confess that the King do look upon them as traytors. To-morrow they are to plead what they have to say.

11th. To walk in St. James's Park, where we observed the several engines at work to draw up water, with which sight I was very much pleased.

* Sir Hardress Waller, Knt., one of Charles 1st's Judges. His sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life.

† Coke was Solicitor to the people of England.

‡ Hugh Peters, the fanatical preacher.

§ Eldest son of John Bridgeman, Bishop of Chester, became, after the Restoration, successively Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and was created a Baronet.

Above all the rest, I liked that which Mr. Greatorex* brought, which do carry up the water with a great deal of ease. Here, in the Park, we met with Mr. Salisbury, who took Mr. Creed and me to the Cockpitt to see "The Moore of Venice," which was well done. Burt acted the Moore;† by the same token, a very pretty lady that sat by me, called out, to see Desdemona smothered.

13th. I went out to Charing Cross, to see Major-general Harrison‡ hanged, drawn, and quartered; which was done there, he looking as cheerful as any man could do in that condition. He was presently cut down, and his head and heart shown to the people, at which there was great shouts of joy. It is said, that he said that he was sure to come shortly at the right hand of Christ to judge them that now had judged him; and that his wife do expect his coming again. Thus it was my chance to see the King beheaded

* A mathematical instrument-maker.

† Burt ranked in the list of good actors after the Restoration, though he resigned the part of Othello to Hart. *Davis's Dramatic Misc.*

‡ Thomas Harrison, son of a butcher at Newcastle-under-Line, appointed by Cromwell to convey Charles I. from Windsor to White Hall, in order to his trial, and afterwards sat as one of his judges.

at White Hall, and to see the first blood shed in revenge for the King at Charing Cross.

14th. To White Hall chappell, where one Dr. Crofts made an indifferent sermon, and after it an anthem, ill sung, which made the King laugh. Here I first did see the Princesse Royall since she came into England. Here I also observed, how the Duke of York and Mrs. Palmer did talk to one another very wantonly through the hangings that parts the King's closet and the closet where the ladies sit.

15th. This morning Mr. Carew* was hanged and quartered at Charing Cross; but his quarters, by a great favour, are not to be hanged up.

16th. Being come home, Will. told me that my Lord had a mind to speak with me to-night; so I returned by water, and, coming there, it was only to enquire how the ships were provided with victuals that are to go with him to fetch over the Queen, which I gave him a good account of. He seemed to be in a melancholy humour, which, I was told by W. Howe, was for that he had lately lost a great deal of money at cards, which he fears he do too much addict himself to now-a-days.

* John Carew, one of the regicides.

18th. This morning, it being expected that Colonel Hacker* and Axtell† should die, I went to Newgate, but found they were reprieved till to-morrow.

19th. This morning my dining-room was finished with greene serge hanging and gilt leather, which is very handsome. This morning Hacker and Axtell were hanged and quartered, as the rest are. This night I sat up late to make up my accounts ready against to-morrow for my Lord.

20th. I dined with my Lord and Lady; he was very merry, and did talk very high how he would have a French cooke, and a master of his horse, and his lady and child to wear black patches; which methought was strange, but he is become a perfect courtier; and, among other things, my Lady saying that she could get a good merchant for her daughter Jem., he answered, that he would rather see her with a pedlar's pack at her back, so she married a gentleman, than she should marry a citizen. This afternoon, going through London, and calling at Crowe's the up-

* Col. Francis Hacker commanded the guards at the King's execution.

† Axtell had guarded the High Court of Justice.

holsterer's, in Saint Bartholomew's, I saw limbs of some of our new traytors set upon Aldersgate, which was a sad sight to see; and a bloody week this and the last have been, there being ten hanged, drawn, and quartered.

21st. George Vines carried me up to the top of his turret, where there is Cooke's head set up for a traytor, and Harrison's set up on the other side of Westminster Hall. Here I could see them plainly, as also a very fair prospect about London.

22d. All preparing for my Lord's going to sea to fetch the Queen to-morrow. At night my Lord come home, with whom I staid long, and talked of many things. He told me there hath been a meeting before the King and my Lord Chancellor, of some Episcopalian and Presbyterian Divines; but what had passed he could not tell me.

23d. About eight o'clock my Lord went; and going through the garden, Mr. William Montagu told him of an estate of land lately come into the King's hands, that he had a mind my Lord should beg. To which end my Lord writ a letter presently to my Lord Chancellor to do it for him, which (after leave taken of my Lord at White Hall bridge) I did carry to Warwick House to

him; and had a fair promise of him, that he would do it this day for my Lord. In my way thither I met the Lord Chancellor and all the Judges riding on horseback and going to Westminster Hall, it being the first day of the terme.

24th. Mr. Moore tells me, among other things, that the Duke of York is now sorry for his amour with my Lord Chancellor's daughter, who is now brought to bed of a boy. To Mr. Lilly's,* where, not finding Mr. Spong, I went to Mr. Greatorex, where I met him, and where I bought of him a drawing pen; and he did show me the manner of the lamp-glasses, which carry the light a great way, good to read in bed by, and I intend to have one of them. So to Mr. Lilly's with Mr. Spong, where well received, there being a clubb to-night among his friends. Among the rest Esquire Ashmole,† who I found was a very ingenious gentleman. With him we two sang afterward in Mr. Lilly's study. That done, we all parted; and I home by coach, taking Mr. Rooker with me, who did tell me a great many fooleries, which may be done by nativities, and blaming Mr. Lilly for

* William Lilly, the astrologer and almanack-maker.

† Elias Ashmole, the antiquarian.

writing to please his friends and to keep in with the times, (as he did formerly to his own dishonour,) and not according to the rules of art, by which he could not well erre, as he had done.

26th. By Westminster to White Hall, where I saw the Duke de Soissons go from his audience with a very great deal of state: his own coach all red velvet covered with gold lace, and drawn by six barbes, and attended by twenty pages very rich in clothes. To Westminster Hall, and bought, among other books, one of the Life of our Queen, which I read at home to my wife; but it was so sillily writ, that we did nothing but laugh at it: among other things it is dedicated to that paragon of virtue and beauty, the Duchess of Albemarle. Great talk as if the Duke of York do now own the marriage between him and the Chancellor's daughter. To Westminster Abbey, where with much difficulty, going round to the cloysters, I got in; this day being a great day for the consecrating of five Bishopps, which was done after sermon; but I could not get into Henry the Seventh's chappel. After dinner to White Hall chappel; my Lady and my Lady Jemimah and I up to the King's closet, (who is now gone to meet

the Queen). So meeting with one Mr. Hill, that did know my Lady, he did take us into the King's closet, and there we did stay all service-time.

29th. I up early, it being my Lord Mayor's day (Sir Richd. Browne,) and neglecting my office, I went to the Wardrobe, where I met my Lady Sandwich and all the children; and after drinking of some strange and incomparable good clarett of Mr. Remball's,* he and Mr. Townsend* did take us, and set the young Lords at one Mr. Neville's, a draper in Paul's church-yard; and my Lady and my Lady Pickering† and I to one Mr. Isaacson's, a linen-draper at the Key in Cheapside; where there was a company of fine ladies, and we were very civilly treated, and had a very good place to see the pageants, which were many, and I believe good, for such kind of things, but in themselves but poor and absurd.

30th. I went to the Cockpit all alone, and there saw a very fine play called "The Tamer tamed;"‡ very well acted. I hear nothing yet of my Lord,

* Officers of the Wardrobe.

† Elizabeth Montagu, sister to the Earl of Sandwich, who had married Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bart. of Nova Scotia, and of Tichmersh, co. Northampton.

‡ "The Woman's Prize, or Tamer Tamed," a comedy by John Fletcher.

whether he be gone for the Queen from the Downes or no; but I believe he is, and that he is now upon coming back again.

November 1st. This morning Sir W. Pen and I were mounted early, and had very merry discourse all the way, he being very good company. We come to Sir W. Batten's, where he lives like a prince, and we were made very welcome. Among other things he showed me my Lady's closet, wherein was great store of rarities; as also a chair, which he calls King Harry's chaire, where he that sits down is catched with two irons, that come round about him, which makes good sport. Here dined with us two or three more country gentlemen; among the rest Mr. Christmas, my old school-fellow, with whom I had much talk. He did remember that I was a great Roundhead when I was a boy, and I was much afraid that he would have remembered the words that I said the day the King was beheaded (that, were I to preach upon him, my text should be—"The memory of the wicked shall rot"); but I found afterwards that he did go away from school before that time.

2d. To White Hall, where I saw the boats coming very thick to Lambeth, and all the stairs

to be full of people. I was told the Queen was a-coming; so I got a sculler for sixpence to carry me thither and back again, but I could not get to see the Queen; so come back, and to my Lord's, where he was come; and I supt with him, he being very merry, telling me stories of the country mayors, how they entertained the King all the way as he come along; and how the country gentlewomen did hold up their heads to be kissed by the King, not taking his hand to kiss as they should do. I took leave of my Lord and Lady, and so took coach at White Hall and carried Mr. Childe as far as the Strand, and myself got as far as Ludgate by all the bonfires, but with a great deal of trouble; and there the coachman desired that I would release him, for he durst not go further for the fires. In Paul's church-yard I called at Kirton's, and there they had got a masse book for me, which I bought and cost me twelve shillings; and, when I come home, sat up late and read in it with great pleasure to my wife, to hear that she was long ago acquainted with it. I observed this night very few bonfires in the City, not above three in all London, for the Queen's coming; whereby I guess that (as I believed before) her coming do please but very few.

3d. Saturday. In the afternoon to White Hall, where my Lord and Lady were gone to kiss the Queen's hand.

4th. (Lord's day.) In the morn to our own church, where Mr. Mills* did begin to nibble at the Common Prayer, by saying "Glory be to the Father, &c." after he had read the two psalms: but the people had been so little used to it, that they could not tell what to answer. This declaration of the King's do give the Presbyterians some satisfaction, and a pretence to read the Common Prayer, which they would not do before because of their former preaching against it. After dinner to Westminster, where I went to my Lord's, and, having spoke with him, I went to the Abbey, where the first time that ever I heard the organs in a cathedral, My wife seemed very pretty to-day, it being the first time I had given her leave to weare a black patch.

5th. At the office at night, to make up an account of what the debts of nineteen of the twenty-five ships that should have been paid off, is in-

* Daniel Milles, D. D., thirty-two years rector of St. Olave's Hart-Street, and buried there October 1689, aged sixty-three. In 1667 Sir Robert Brooks presented him to the rectory of Wanstead, which he also held till his death.

creased since the adjournment of the Parliament, they being to sit again to-morrow. This 5th of November is observed exceeding well in the City; and at night great bonfires and fireworks.

6th. Mr. Chetwind told me that he did fear that this late business of the Duke of York's would prove fatal to my Lord Chancellor. To our office, where we met all, for the sale of two ships by an inch of candle (the first time that ever I saw any of this kind), where I observed how they do invite one another, and at last how they all do cry, and we have much to do to tell who did cry last. The ships were the Indian, sold for 1300*l.* and the Half-moone, sold for 830*l.*

7th. Went by water to my Lord, where I dined with him, and he in a very merry humour (present Mr. Borfett and Childe) at dinner: he, in discourse of the great opinion of the virtue—gratitude, (which he did account the greatest thing in the world to him, and had, therefore, in his mind been often troubled in the late times how to answer his gratitude to the King, who raised his father,) did say it was that did bring him to his obedience to the King; and did also bless himself with his good fortune, in comparison to what it was when I was with him in the Sound, when he

durst not own his correspondence with the King; which is a thing that I never did hear of to this day before; and I do from this raise an opinion of him, to be one of the most secret men in the world, which I was not so convinced of before. After dinner he bid all go out of the room, and did tell me how the King had promised him 4000*l.* per annum for ever, and had already given him a bill under his hand (which he showed me) for 4000*l.* that Mr. Fox is to pay him. My Lord did advise with me how to get this received, and to put out 3000*l.* into safe hands at use, and the other he will make use of for his present occasion. This he did advise with me about with great secresy. After all this he called for the fiddles and books, and we two and W. Howe, and Mr. Childe, did sing and play some psalmes of Will. Lawes's,* and some songs; and so I went away. Notwithstanding this was the first day of the King's proclamation against hackney coaches coming into the streets to stand to be hired, yet I got one to carry me home.

* Brother to Henry Lawes the celebrated composer, and himself a chamber musician to Charles I., in whose service he took up arms, and was killed at the siege of Chester, 1645. The King regretted his loss severely, and used to call him the father of music.

10th. The Comtroller* and I to the coffee-house, where he showed me the state of his case; how the King did owe him above 6000*l.* But I do not see great likelihood for them to be paid, since they begin already in Parliament to dispute the paying off the just sea-debts, which were already promised to be paid, and will be the undoing of thousands if they be not paid.

15th. My Lord did this day show me the King's picture which was done in Flanders, that the King did promise my Lord before he ever saw him, and that we did expect to have had at sea before the King come to us; but it come but to-day, and indeed it is the most pleasant and the most like him that ever I saw picture in my life. To Sir W. Batten's to dinner, he having a couple of servants married to-day; and so there was a great number of merchants, and others of good quality on purpose after dinner to make an offering, which, when dinner was done, we did, and I did give ten shillings and no more, though I believe most of the rest did give more, and did believe that I did so too.

19th. I went with the Treasurer in his coach to White Hall, and in our way, in discourse, do

* Sir R. Slingsby.

find him a very good-natured man; and, talking of those men who now stand condemned for murdering the King, he says that he believes, that, if the law would give leave, the King is a man of so great compassion that he would wholly acquit them.

20th. Mr. Shepley and I to the new play-house near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields (which was formerly Gibbon's tennis-court), where the play of "Beggar's Bush"* was newly begun; and so we went in and saw it well acted: and here I saw the first time one Moone,† who is said to be the best actor in the world, lately come over with the King, and indeed it is the finest play-house, I believe, that ever was in England. This morning I found my Lord in bed late, he having been with the King, Queen, and Princesse, at the Cockpit all night, where General Monk treated them; and after supper a play, where the King did put a great affront upon Singleton's musique, he bidding them stop and made the French musique play, which, my Lord says, do much outdo all ours.

* The "Beggar's Bush," a comedy by Beaumont and Fletcher.

† Mohun, or Moone, the celebrated actor, who had borne a Major's commission in the King's Army. The period of his death is uncertain.

22d. This morning come the carpenters to make me a door at the other side of my house, going into the entry. To Mr. Fox's, where we found Mrs. Fox * within, and an alderman of London paying 1000*l.* or 1400*l.* in gold upon the table for the King. Mr. Fox come in presently and did receive us with a great deal of respect; and then did take my wife and I to the Queen's presence-chamber, where he got my wife placed behind the Queen's chaire, and the two Princesses come to dinner. The Queen a very little plain old woman, and nothing more in her presence in any respect nor garbe than any ordinary woman. The Princesse of Orange I had often seen before. The Princesse Henrietta is very pretty, but much below my expectation; and her dressing of herself with her haire frized short up to her eares, did make her seem so much the less to me. But my wife standing near her with two or three black patches on, and well dressed, did seem to me much handsomer than she.

To White Hall at about nine at night, and there, with Laud the page that went with me, we could not get out of Henry the Eighth's gallery

* Elizabeth, daughter of William Whittle, Esq., of Lancashire, wife of Stephen Fox, Esq., who was knighted in 1665.

into the further part of the boarded gallery, where my Lord was walking with my Lord Ormond; and we had a key of Sir S. Morland's, but all would not do; till at last, by knocking, Mr. Harrison the door-keeper did open us the door, and, after some talk with my Lord about getting a catch to carry my Lord St. Albans's* goods to France, I parted and went home on foot.

25th. I had a letter brought me from my Lord to get a ship ready to carry the Queen's things over to France, she being to go within five or six days.

27th. To Westminster Hall, and in King Street there being a great stop of coaches, there was a falling out between a drayman and my Lord Chesterfield's coachman, and one of his footmen killed. Mr. Moore told me how the House had this day voted the King to have all the Excise for ever. This day I do also hear that the Queen's going to France is stopt, which do like me well, because then the King will be in town the next month, which is my month again at the Privy Seale.

* Henry Jermyn, created Lord Jermyn 1614, advanced to the Earldom of St. Alban's 1660, K. G. Ob. 1683. s. p. He was supposed to be married to the Queen Dowager.

30th. Sir G. Carteret did give us an account how Mr. Holland do intend to prevail with the Parliament to try his project of discharging the seamen all at present by ticket, and so promise interest to all men that will lend money upon them at eight per cent., for so long as they are unpaid; whereby he do think to take away the growing debt, which do now lie upon the kingdom for lack of present money to discharge the seamen.

December 4th. This day the Parliament voted that the bodies of Oliver, Ireton, Bradshaw, &c., should be taken up out of their graves in the Abbey, and drawn to the gallows, and there hanged and buried under it: which (methinks) do trouble me that a man of so great courage as he was, should have that dishonour, though otherwise he might deserve it enough.

9th. I went to the Duke. And first calling upon Mr. Coventry at his chamber, I went to the Duke's bed-side, who had sat up late last night, and lay long this morning. This being done, I went to chapel, and sat in Mr. Blagrave's pew, and there did sing my part along with another before the King, and with much ease.

10th. It is expected that the Duke will marry the Lord Chancellor's daughter at last; which is

likely to be the ruine of Mr. Davis and my Lord Barkley, who have carried themselves so high against the Chancellor; Sir Chas. Barkley swearing that he and others had intrigued with her often, which all believe to be a lie.

16th. In the afternoon I to White Hall, where I was surprised with the news of a plot against the King's person and my Lord Monk's; and that since last night there are about forty taken up on suspicion; and, amongst others, it was my lot to meet with Simon Beale, the Trumpeter, who took me and Tom Doling into the Guard in Scotland Yard, and showed us Major-General Overton.* Here I heard him deny that he is guilty of any such things; but that whereas it is said that he is found to have brought many armes to towne, he says it is only to sell them, as he will prove by oath.

21st. They told me that this is St. Thomas's, and that by an old custome, this day the Exchequer men had formerly, and do intend this night to have a supper; which if I could I promised to come to, but did not. To my Lady's, and dined with her: she told me how dangerously ill the

* One of Oliver Cromwell's Major-Generals: a high Republican.

Princesse Royal is: and that this morning she was said to be dead. But she hears that she hath married herself to young Jermyn,* which is worse than the Duke of York's marrying the Chancellor's daughter, which is now publicly owned.

26th. To White Hall by water, and dined with my Lady Sandwich, who at table did tell me how much fault was laid upon Dr. Frazer and the rest of the Doctors, for the death of the Princesse. My Lord did dine this day with Sir Henry Wright, in order to his going to sea with the Queen.

31st. In Paul's Church-yard I bought the play of Henry the Fourth, and so went to the new Theatre and saw it acted; but my expectation being too great, it did not please me, as otherwise I believe it would; and my having a book, I believe did spoil it a little. That being done I went to my Lord's, where I found him private at cards with my Lord Lauderdale and some persons of honour.

1660-61. At the end of the last and the beginning of this year, I do live in one of the houses

* Henry Jermyn, Master of the Horse to the Duke of York.

belonging to the Navy Office, as one of the principal officers, and have done now about half-a-year; my family being, myself, my wife, Jane, Will. Hewer, and Wayneman, my girl's brother. Myself in constant good health, and in a most handsome and thriving condition. Blessed be Almighty God for it. As to things of State.—The King settled, and loved of all. The Duke of York matched to my Lord Chancellor's daughter, which do not please many. The Queen upon her returne to France with the Princesse Henrietta.* The Princesse of Orange lately dead, and we into new mourning for her. We have been lately frighted with a great plot, and many taken up on it, and the fright not quite over. The Parliament, which had done all this great good to the King, beginning to grow factious, the King did dissolve it December 29th last, and another likely to be chosen speedily.

1660-61. January 1st. Mr. Moore and I went to Mr. Pierce's; in our way seeing the Duke of York bring his Lady to-day to wait upon the

* Youngest daughter of Charles I., married soon after to Philip Duke of Orleans, only brother of Louis XIV. She died suddenly in 1670, not without suspicion of having been poisoned.

Queen, the first time that ever she did since that business; and the Queen is said to receive her now with much respect and love.

2d. My Lord did give me many commands in his business. As about taking care to write to my uncle that Mr. Barnewell's papers should be locked up, in case he should die, he being now suspected to be very ill. Also about consulting with Mr. W. Montagu* for the settling of the 4000*l.* a-year that the King had promised my Lord. As also about getting Mr. George Montagu to be chosen at Huntingdon this next Parliament, &c. That done, he to White Hall stairs with much company, and I with him; where we took water for Lambeth, and there coach for Portsmouth. The Queen's things were all in White Hall Court ready to be sent away, and her Majesty ready to be gone an hour after to Hampton Court to-night, and so to be at Portsmouth on Saturday next. This day I left Sir W. Batten and Captn. Rider my chine of beefe for to serve to-morrow at Trinity House, the Duke of Albemarle being to be there, and all the rest of the

* William, third son to Lord Montagu of Boughton; afterwards Attorney-General to the Queen; and made Chief Baron of the Exchequer, 1676.

Brethren, it being a great day for the reading over of their new Charter, which the King hath newly given them.

3d. To the Theatre, where was acted "Beggars' Bush," it being very well done; and here the first time that ever I saw women come upon the stage.

4th. I had been early this morning at White Hall, at the Jewell Office, to choose a piece of gilt plate for my Lord, in returne of his offering to the King (which it seems is usual at this time of year, and an Earle gives twenty pieces in gold in a purse to the King). I chose a gilt tankard, weighing 31 ounces and a half, and he is allowed 30; so I paid 12s. for the ounce and half over what he is to have: but strange it was for me to see what a company of small fees I was called upon by a great many to pay there, which, I perceive, is the manner that courtiers do get their estates.

7th. This morning, news was brought to me to my bed-side, that there had been a great stir in the City this night by the Fanatiques, who had been up and killed six or seven men, but all are fled. My Lord Mayor and the whole City had been in armes, above 40,000. Tom and I and my wife to the Theatre, and there saw "The Silent Woman." Among other things here, Kinaston

the boy had the good turn to appear in three shapes: first, as a poor woman in ordinary clothes, to please Morose; then in fine clothes, as a gallant; and in them was clearly the prettiest woman in the whole house: and lastly, as a man; and then likewise did appear the handsomest man in the house. In our way home we were in many places strictly examined, more than in the worst of times, there being great fears of these Fanatiques rising again: for the present I do not hear that any of them are taken.

8th. Some talk to-day of a head of Fanatiques that do appear about, but I do not believe it. However, my Lord Mayor, Sir Richd. Browne, hath carried himself very honourably, and hath caused one of their meeting-houses in London to be pulled down.

9th. Waked in the morning about six o'clock, by people running up and down in Mr. Davis's house, talking that the Fanatiques were up in armes in the City. And so I rose and went forth; where in the street I found every body in armes at the doors. So I returned and got my sword and pistol, which, however, I had no powder to charge; and went to the door, where I found Sir

R. Ford,* and with him I walked up and down as far as the Exchange, and there I left him. In our way, the streets full of train-bands, and great stir. What mischief these rogues have done! and I think near a dozen had been killed this morning on both sides. The shops shut, and all things in trouble.

10th. After dinner Will. comes to tell me that he had presented my piece of plate to Mr. Coventry, who takes it very kindly, and sends me a very kind letter, and the plate back again; of which my heart is very glad. Mr. Davis told us the particular examinations of these Fanatiques that are taken: and in short it is this, these Fanatiques that have routed all the train-bands that they met with, put the King's life-guards to the run, killed about twenty men, broke through the City gates twice; and all this in the day-time, when all the City was in armes;—are not in all above 31. Whereas we did believe them (because they were seen up and down in every place almost in the City, and had been in Highgate two or three days, and in several other places) to be at least 500. A

* Lord Mayor of London, 1671.

thing that never was heard of, that so few men should dare and do so much mischief. Their word was, "The King Jesus, and their heads upon the gates." Few of them would receive any quarter, but such as were taken by force and kept alive; expecting Jesus to come here and reign in the world presently, and will not believe yet. The King this day come to towne.

11th. (Office day.) This day comes news, by letters from Portsmouth, that the Princesse Henrietta is fallen sick of the meazles on board the London, after the Queen and she was under sail. And so was forced to come back again into Portsmouth harbour; and in their way, by negligence of the pilot, run upon the Horse sand. The Queen and she continue aboard, and do not intend to come on shore till she sees what will become of the young Princesse. This newes do make people think something indeed, that three of the Royal Family should fall sick of the same disease, one after another. This morning likewise, we had order to see guards set in all the King's yards; and so Sir Wm. Batten goes to Chatham, Colonel Slingsby and I to Deptford and Woolwich. Portsmouth being a garrison, needs none.

12th. We fell to choosing four captains to command the guards, and choosing the place where to keep them, and other things in order thereunto. Never till now did I see the great authority of my place, all the captains of the fleete coming cap in hand to us.

13th. After sermon to Deptford again; where, at the Commissioner's and the Globe, we staid long. But no sooner in bed, but we had an alarme, and so we rose: and the Comptroller comes into the Yard to us; and seamen of all the ships present repair to us, and there we armed with every one a handspike, with which they were as fierce as could be. At last we hear that it was five or six men that did ride through the guard in the towne, without stopping to the guard that was there; and, some say, shot at them. But all being quiet there, we caused the seamen to go on board again.

15th. This day I hear the Princesse is recovered again. The King hath been this afternoon at Deptford, to see the yacht that Commissioner Pett is building, which will be very pretty; as also that his brother at Woolwich is making.

19th. To the Comptroller's, and with him by

coach to White Hall; in our way meeting Venner* and Pritchard upon a sledge, who with two more Fifth Monarchy men were hanged to-day, and the two first drawn and quartered.

21st. It is strange what weather we have had all this winter; no cold at all; but the ways are dusty, and the flyes fly up and down, and the rose-bushes are full of leaves, such a time of the year as was never known in this world before here. This day many more of the Fifth Monarchy men were hanged.

22d. I met with Dr. Thos. Fuller. He tells me of his last and great book that is coming out: that is, the History of all the Families in England; and could tell me more of my owne, than I knew myself. And also to what perfection he hath now brought the art of memory; that he did lately to four eminently great scholars dictate together in Latin, upon different subjects of their proposing, faster than they were able to write, till they were tired; and that the best way of beginning a sentence, if a man should be out and forget

* Thomas Venner, a cooper, and preacher to a conventicle in Coleman-street. He was a violent enthusiast and leader in the Insurrection on the 7th of January before mentioned. He was much wounded before he could be taken, and fought with courage amounting to desperation.

his last sentence, (which he never was,) that then his last refuge is to begin with an Utcunque.

27th. (Lord's day.) Before I rose, letters come to me from Portsmouth, telling me that the Princesse is now well, and my Lord Sandwich set sail with the Queen and her yesterday from thence to France. This day the parson read a proclamation at church, for the keeping of Wednesday next, the 30th of January, a fast for the murther of the late King.

30th. (Fast day.) The first time that this day hath been yet observed: and Mr. Mills made a most excellent sermon, upon "Lord forgive us our former iniquities;" speaking excellently of the justice of God in punishing men for the sins of their ancestors. To my Lady Batten's;* where my wife and she are lately come back again from being abroad, and seeing of Cromwell, Ireton,† and Bradshaw hanged and buried at Tyburne.

* Elizabeth Woodcock, married Feb. 3, 1658-9, to Sir W. Batten; and subsequently became, in 1671, the wife of a foreigner called in the Register of Battersea parish, Lord Leyenburg. Lady Leighenberg was buried at Walthamstow, Sept. 16, 1681.—*Lysons' Environs.*

† Henry Ireton, married Bridget, daughter to Oliver Cromwell, and was afterwards one of Charles the First's Judges, and of the Committee who superintended his execution. He died at the siege of Limerick, 1651.

31st. To the Theatre, and there sat in the pitt among the company of fine ladys, &c.; and the house was exceeding full, to see Argalus and Parthenia,* the first time that it hath been acted: and indeed it is good, though wronged by my over great expectations, as all things else are.

Feb. 2d. Home; where I found the parson and his wife gone. And by and by the rest of the company very well pleased, and I too; it being the last dinner I intend to make a great while.

3d. (Lord's day.) This day I first begun to go forth in my coate and sword, as the manner now among gentlemen is. To White Hall; where I staid to hear the trumpets and kettle drums, and then the other drums, which are much cried up, though I think it dull, vulgar musick. So to Mr. Fox's, unbidd; where I had a good dinner and special company. Among other discourse, I observed one story, how my Lord of Northwich,† at a public audience before the King of France, made the Duke of Anjou cry, by making ugly faces as he was stepping to the King, but undis-

* Argalus and Parthenia, a pastoral, by Henry Glapthorn, taken from Sydney's Arcadia.

† George Lord Goring, created Earl of Norwich 1644; died 1662.

covered. And how Sir Phillip Warwick's* lady did wonder to have Mr. Daray send for several dozen bottles of Rhenish wine to her house, not knowing that the wine was his. Thence to my Lord's; where I am told how Sir Thomas Crew's† Pedro, with two of his countrymen more, did last night kill one soldier of four that quarrelled with them in the street, about ten o'clock. The other two are taken; but he is now hid at my Lord's till night, that he do intend to make his escape away.

5th. Into the Hall; and there saw my Lord Treasurer‡ (who was sworn to-day at the Exchequer, with a great company of Lords and persons of honour to attend him) go up to the Treasury Offices, and take possession thereof; and also saw the heads of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton, set up at the further end of the Hall.

* Sir Philip Warwick, Secretary to Charles I. when in the Isle of Wight, and Clerk of the Signet, to which place he was restored in 1660; knighted, and elected M. P. for Westminster. He was also Secretary to the Treasury under Lord Southampton till 1667. Ob. 1682-3. His second wife here mentioned was Joan, daughter to Sir Henry Fanshawe, and widow of Sir William Botteler, Bart.

† Eldest son of Mr. afterwards Lord Crewe, whom he succeeded in that title.

‡ Earl of Southampton.

7th. To Westminster Hall. And after a walk to my Lord's; where, while I and my Lady were in her chamber in talk, in comes my Lord from sea, to our great wonder. He had dined at Havre de Grace on Monday last, and come to the Downes the next day, and lay at Canterbury that night; and so to Dartford, and thence this morning to White Hall. Among others, Mr. Creed and Captn. Ferrers tell me the stories of my Lord Duke of Buckingham's and my Lord's falling out at Havre de Grace, at cards; they two and my Lord St. Alban's playing. The Duke did, to my Lord's dishonour, often say that he did in his conscience know the contrary to what he then said, about the difference at cards; and so did take up the money that he should have lost to my Lord. Which my Lord resenting, said nothing then, but that he doubted not but there were ways enough to get his money of him. So they parted that night; and my Lord sent Sir R. Stayner the next morning to the Duke, to know whether he did remember what he said last night, and whether he would owne it with his sword and a second; which he said he would, and so both sides agreed. But my Lord St. Alban's, and the Queen, and Ambassador Montagu, did way-lay them at their

lodgings till the difference was made up, to my Lord's honour; who hath got great reputation thereby.

8th. Captn. Cuttle, and Curtis, and Mootham, and I, went to the Fleece Taverne to drink; and there we spent till four o'clock, telling stories of Algiers, and the manner of life of slaves there. And truly Captn. Mootham and Mr. Dawes (who have been both slaves there) did make me fully acquainted with their condition there: as, how they eat nothing but bread and water. At their redemption they pay so much for the water they drink at the public fountaynes, during their being slaves. How they are beat upon the soles of their feet and bellies at the liberty of their padron. How they are all, at night, called into their master's Bagnard; and there they lie. How the poorest men do love their slaves best. How some rogues do live well, if they do invent to bring their masters in so much a week by their industry or theft; and then they are put to no other work at all. And theft there is counted no great crime at all.

12th. By coach to the Theatre, and there saw "The Scornfull Lady,"* now done by a woman,

* A Comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

which makes the play appear much better than ever it did to me.

14th. The talk of the towne now is, who the King is like to have for his Queene: and whether Lent shall be kept with the strictnesse of the King's proclamation; which is thought cannot be, because of the poor, who cannot buy fish. And also the great preparation for the King's crowning is now much thought upon and talked of.

18th. It is much talked that the King is already married to the niece of the Prince de Ligne, and that he hath two sons already by her: which I am sorry to hear; but yet am gladder that it should be so, than that the Duke of York and his family should come to the crowne, he being a professed friend to the Catholiques. Met with Sir G. Carteret: who afterwards, with the Duke of York, my Lord Sandwich, and others, went into a private room to consult: and we were a little troubled that we were not called in with the rest. But I do believe it was upon something very private. We staid walking in the gallery; where we met with Mr. Slingsby, who showed me the stamps of the King's new coyne; which is strange to see, how good they are in the stamp and bad in

the money, for lack of skill to make them. But he says Blondeau will shortly come over, and then we shall have it better, and the best in the world. He tells me, he is sure that the King is not yet married, as it is said; nor that it is known who he will have.

22d. My wife to Sir W. Batten's, and there sat a while; he having yesterday sent my wife half-a-dozen pair of gloves, and a pair of silk stockings and garters, for her Valentines.

23d. This my birthday, 28 years. Mr. Hartlett told me how my Lord Chancellor had lately got the Duke of York and Duchesse, and her woman, my Lord Ossory,* and a Doctor, to make oath before most of the Judges of the kingdom, concerning all the circumstances of their marriage. And in fine, it is confessed that they were not fully married till about a month or two before she was brought to bed; but that they were contracted long before, and time enough for the child to be legitimate. But I do not hear that it was put to the Judges to determine whether it was so or no. To the Play-house, and there saw

* Thomas Earl of Ossory, son of the Duke of Ormond. Ob. 1680, aged 46.

"The Changeling,"* the first time it hath been acted these twenty years, and it takes exceedingly. Besides, I see the gallants do begin to be tyred with the vanity and pride of the theatre actors, who are indeed grown very proud and rich. I also met with the Comptroller, who told me how it was easy for us all, the principall officers, and proper for us, to labour to get into the next Parliament; and would have me to ask the Duke's letter, but I shall not endeavour it. This is now 28 years that I am born. And blessed be God, in a state of full content, and a great hope to be a happy man in all respects, both to myself and friends.

27th. I called for a dish of fish, which we had for dinner, this being the first day of Lent; and I do intend to try whether I can keep it or no.

28th. Notwithstanding my resolution, yet for want of other victualls, I did eat flesh this Lent, but am resolved to eat as little as I can. This month ends with two great secrets under dispute but yet known to very few: first, Who the King will marry; and What the meaning of this fleet

* "The Changeling," a Tragedy, by Thomas Middleton. The plot is taken from a story in "God's Revenge against Murder."

is which we are now sheathing to set out for the southward. Most think against Algier against the Turke, or to the East Indys against the Dutch who, we hear, are setting out a great fleet thither.

March 1st. After dinner Mr. Shepley and I in private talking about my Lord's intentions to go speedily into the country, but to what end we know not. We fear he is to go to sea with his fleet now preparing. But we wish that he could get his 4000*l.* per annum settled before he do go. To White-fryars, and saw "The Bondman"* acted; an excellent play and well done. But above all that ever I saw, Beterton do the Bondman the best.

2d. After dinner I went to the theatre, where I found so few people (which is strange, and the reason I do not know) that I went out again, and so to Salsbury Court, where the house as full as could be; and it seems it was a new play, "The Queen's Maske,"† wherein there are some good humours: among others, a good jeer to the old story of the Siege of Troy, making it to be a

* By Massinger.

† "Love's Mistress, or The Queen's Masque," by T. Heywood.

common country tale. But above all it was strange to see so little a boy as that was to act Cupid, which is one of the greatest parts in it.

4th. My Lord went this morning on his journey to Hinchingbroke, Mr. Parker with him; the chief business being to look over and determine how, and in what manner, his great work of building shall be done. Before his going he did give me some jewells to keep for him, viz. that that the King of Sweden did give him, with the King's own picture in it, most excellently done; and a brave George, all of diamonds.

8th. All the morning at the office. At noon Sir W. Batten, Col. Slingsby and I by coach to the Tower, to Sir John Robinson's, to dinner; where great good cheer. High company; among others the Duchesse of Albemarle,* who is ever a plain homely dowdy. After dinner, to drink all the afternoon. Towards night the Duchesse and ladies went away. Then we set to it again till it was very late. And at last come in Sir William Wale, almost fuddled; and because I was set between him and another, only to keep

* Anne Clarges, daughter of a blacksmith, and bred a milliner; mistress and afterwards wife of General Monk, over whom she possessed the greatest influence.

them from talking and spoiling the company (as we did to others,) he fell out with the Lieutenant of the Tower; but with much ado we made him understand his error, and then all quiet.

9th. To my Lord's, where we found him lately come from Hinchingbroke. I staid and dined with him. He took me aside, and asked me what the world spoke of the King's marriage. Which I answering as one that knew nothing, he enquired no further of me. But I do perceive by it that there is something in it that is ready to come out that the world knows not of yet.

11th. After dinner I went to the theatre, and there saw "Love's Mistress" done by them, which I do not like in some things as well as their acting in Salsbury Court.

15th. This day my wife and Pall went to see my Lady Kingston, her brother's * lady.

18th. This day an ambassador from Florence was brought into the towne in state. Yesterday was said to be the day that the Princesse Henrietta was to marry the Duke d'Anjou in France. This day I found in the newes-booke that Roger Pepys is chosen at Cambridge for the towne, the

* Balthazar St. Michel is the only brother of Mrs. Pepys, mentioned in the Diary.

first place that we hear of to have made their choice yet.

20th. To White Hall to Mr Coventry, where I did some business with him, and so with Sir W. Pen (who I found with Mr. Coventry teaching of him the map to understand Jamaica.) The great talk of the towne is the strange election that the City of London made yesterday for Parliament-men; viz. Fowke, Love, Jones, and . . . . . ,* men that, so far from being episcopall, are thought to be Anabaptists; and chosen with a great deal of zeale, in spite of the other party that thought themselves so strong, calling out in the Hall, "No Bishops! no Lord Bishops!" It do make people to fear it may come to worse, by being an example to the country to do the same. And indeed the Bishops are so high, that very few do love them.

23d. To the Red Bull (where I had not been since plays come up again) up to the tireing-room, where strange the confusion and disorder that there is among them in fitting themselves, especially here, where the clothes are very poore, and the actors but common fellows. At last into the pitt, where I think there was not above ten more

* Sir W. Thompson was the fourth member.

than myself, and not one hundred in the whole house. And the play, which is called "All's lost by Lust,"* poorly done; and with so much disorder, among others, in the musique-room the boy that was to sing a song, not singing it right, his master fell about his eares and beat him so, that it put the whole house in an uprore. Met my uncle Wight, and with him Lieut.-Col. Baron, who told us how Crofton, the great Presbyterian minister that had preached so highly against Bishops, is clapped up this day in the Tower. Which do please some, and displease others exceedingly.

April 2d. To St. James's Park, where I saw the Duke of York playing at Pelemele, the first time that ever I saw the sport. Then to the Dolphin to Sir W. Batten, and Pen, and other company; among others Mr. Delabar; where strange how these men, who at other times are all wise men, do now, in their drink, betwitt and reproach one another with their former conditions, and their actions as in public concerns, till I was ashamed to see it.

3d. I hear that the Dutch have sent the King a great present of money, which we think will

* A Tragedy, by W. Rowley.

stop the match with Portugal; and judge this to be the reason that our so great haste in sending the two ships to the East Indys is also stayed.

7th. To White Hall, and there I met with Dr. Fuller* of Twickenham, newly come from Ireland; and took him to my Lord's, where he and I dined; and he did give my Lord and me a good account of the condition of Ireland, and how it come to pass, through the joyning of the Fanatiques and the Presbyterians, that the latter and the former are in their declaration put together under the names of Fanatiques.

9th. At the sale of old stores at Chatham; and among other things sold there was all the State's armes, which Sir. W. Batten bought; intending to set up some of the images in his garden, and the rest to burn on the Coronacion night.

10th. Then to Rochester, and there saw the Cathedrall, which is now fitting for use, and the organ then a-tuning. Then away thence, observing the great doors of the church, as they say, covered with the skins of the Danes.

* William Fuller, of Magdalene Hall, Oxford, was a schoolmaster at Twickenham during the Rebellion; and at the Restoration became Dean of St. Patrick's; and in 1663, Bishop of Limerick; and in 1667 was translated to Lincoln. Ob. 1675.

13th. Met my Lord with the Duke; and after a little talk with him, I went to the Banquet-house, and there saw the King heale, the first time that ever I saw him do it; which he did with great gravity, and it seemed to me to be an ugly office and a simple one.

20th. Comes my boy to tell me that the Duke of York had sent for all the principall officers, &c. to come to him to-day. So I went by water to Mr. Coventry's, and there staid and talked a good while with him till all the rest come. We went up and saw the Duke dress himself, and in his night habitt he is a very plain man. Then he sent us to his closett, where we saw among other things two very fine chests, covered with gold and Indian varnish, given him by the East Indy Company of Holland. The Duke comes; and after he had told us that the fleet was designed for Algier (which was kept from us till now,) we did advise about many things as to the fitting of the fleet, and so went away to White Hall; and in the Banqueting-house saw the King create my Lord Chancellor and several others, Earles, and Mr. Crewe and several others, Barons: the first being led up by Heralds and five old Earles to the King, and there the patent is read, and the King puts on

his vest, and sword, and coronett, and gives him the patent. And then he kisseth the King's hand, and rises and stands covered before the King. And the same for each Baron, only he is led up by three of the old Barons. And they are girt with swords before they go to the King. To the Cockpitt; and there, by the favour of one Mr. Bowman, he and I got in, and there saw the King and Duke of York and his Duchesse, (which is a plain woman, and like her mother, my Lady Chancellor.) And so saw "The Humersome Lieutenant"* acted before the King, but not very well done. But my pleasure was great to see the manner of it, and so many great beauties, but above all Mrs. Palmer, with whom the King do discover a great deal of familiarity.

21st. Dined with Doctor Thos. Pepys† and Dr. Fayrebrother; and all our talk about to-morrow's showe, and our trouble that it is like to be a wet day. All the way is so thronged with people to see the triumphall arches, that I could hardly pass for them.

22d. The King's going from the Tower to White Hall. Up early and made myself as fine

* "The Humorous Lieutenant," a Tragi-comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

† Doctor in Civil Law.

as I could, and put on my velvet coat, the first day that I put it on, though made half a year ago. And being ready, Sir W. Batten, my Lady, and his two daughters and his son and wife, and Sir W. Pen and his son and I, went to Mr. Young's, the flag-maker, in Corne-hill; and there we had a good room to ourselves, with wine and good cake, and saw the show very well. In which it is impossible to relate the glory of this day, expressed in the clothes of them that rid, and their horses and horses-clothes. Among others, my Lord Sandwich's embroidery and diamonds were not ordinary among them. The Knights of the Bath was a brave sight of itself; and their Esquires, among which Mr. Armiger was an Esquire to one of the Knights. Remarquable were the two men that represent the two Dukes of Normandy and Aquitane. The Bishops come next after Barons, which is the higher place; which makes me think that the next Parliament they will be called to the House of Lords. My Lord Monk rode bare after the King, and led in his hand a spare horse, as being Master of the Horse. The King, in a most rich embroidered suit and cloak, looked most noble. Wadlow the vintner, at the Devil, in Fleet-street, did lead a

fine company of soldiers, all young comely men, in white doublets. There followed the Vice-Chamberlain, Sir G. Carteret, a company of men all like Turkes; but I know not yet what they are for. The streets all gravelled, and the houses hung with carpets before them, made brave show, and the ladies out of the windows. So glorious was the show with gold and silver, that we were not able to look at it, our eyes at last being so much overcome. Both the King and the Duke of York took notice of us, as they saw us at the window. In the evening, by water to White Hall to my Lord's, and there I spoke with my Lord. He talked with me about his suit, which was made in France, and cost him 200*l.*, and very rich it is with embroidery.

CORONACON DAY.

23d. About four I rose and got to the Abbey, where I followed Sir J. Denham,* the Surveyor, with some company that he was leading in. And with much ado, by the favour of Mr. Cooper, his man, did get up into a great scaffold across the North end of the Abbey, where with a great deal

* Created at the Restoration K. B., and Surveyor-General of all the King's buildings; better known as the Author of "Cooper's Hill." Ob. 1668.

of patience I sat from past four till eleven before the King come in. And a great pleasure it was to see the Abbey raised in the middle, all covered with red, and a throne (that is a chaire) and footstoole on the top of it; and all the officers of all kinds, so much as the very fidlers, in red vests. At last comes in the Dean and Prebends of Westminster, with the Bishops, (many of them in cloth of gold copes,) and after them the Nobility, all in their Parliament robes, which was a most magnificent sight. Then the Duke, and the King with a scepter (carried by my Lord Sandwich) and sword and wand before him, and the crowne too. The King in his robes, bare-headed, which was very fine. And after all had placed themselves, there was a sermon and the service; and then in the Quire at the high altar, the King passed through all the ceremonies of the Coronacon, which to my great grief I and most in the Abbey could not see. The crowne being put upon his head, a great shout begun, and he come forth to the throne, and there passed through more ceremonies: as taking the oath, and having things read to him by the Bishopp; and his lords (who put on their caps as soon as the King put on his crowne) and bishops come, and kneeled before

him. And three times the King at Armes went to the three open places on the scaffold, and proclaimed, that if any one could show any reason why Charles Stewart should not be King of England, that now he should come and speak. And a Generall Pardon also was read by the Lord Chancellor, and meddalls flung up and down by my Lord Cornwallis,* of silver, but I could not come by any. But so great a noise that I could make but little of the musique; and indeed, it was lost to every body. I went out a little while before the King had done all his ceremonies, and went round the Abbey to Westminster Hall, all the way within rayles, and 10,000 people with the ground covered with blue cloth; and scaffolds all the way. Into the Hall I got, where it was very fine with hangings and scaffolds one upon another full of brave ladies; and my wife in one little one, on the right hand. Here I staid walking up and down, and at last upon one of the side stalls I stood and saw the King come in with all the persons (but the soldiers) that were yester-

* Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Bart., had been created a Baron three days before the Coronation. He was Treasurer of His Majesty's Household, and a Privy Counsellor. Ob. Jan. 31, 1661-2.

day in the cavalcade; and a most pleasant sight it was to see them in their several robes. And the King come in with his crowne on, and his sceptre in his hand, under a canopy borne up by six silver staves, carried by Barons of the Cinque Ports, and little bells at every end. And after a long time, he got up to the farther end, and all set themselves down at their several tables; and that was also a brave sight: and the King's first course carried up by the Knights of the Bath. And many fine ceremonies there was of the Heralds leading up people before him, and bowing; and my Lord of Albemarle's going to the kitchin and eating a bit of the first dish that was to go to the King's table. But, above all, was these three Lords, Northumberland, and Suffolke,* and the Duke of Ormond, coming before the courses on horseback, and staying so all dinner-time, and at last bringing up (Dymock) the King's Champion, all in armour on horseback, with his speare and targett carried before him. And a Herald proclaims "That if any dare deny Charles Stewart to be lawful King of England, here was a Champion that would fight with him;" and with these words, the Champion flings down his gauntlet, and all

* James Howard, third Earl of Suffolk.

this he do three times in his going up towards the King's table. To which when he is come, the King drinks to him, and then sends him the cup which is of gold, and he drinks it off, and then rides back again with the cup in his hand. I went from table to table to see the Bishops and all others at their dinner, and was infinitely pleased with it. And at the Lords' table, I met with William Howe, and he spoke to my Lord for me, and he did give him four rabbits and a pullet, and so Mr. Creed and I got Mr. Minshell to give us some bread, and so we at a stall eat it, as every body else did what they could get. I took a great deal of pleasure to go up and down, and look upon the ladies, and to hear the musique of all sorts, but above all, the 24 violins. About six at night they had dined, and I went up to my wife. And strange it is to think, that these two days have held up fair till now that all is done, and the King gone out of the Hall; and then it fell a-raining and thundering and lightening as I have not seen it do for some years: which people did take great notice of; God's blessing of the work of these two days, which is a foolery to take too much notice of such things. I observed little disorder in all this, only the King's footmen had got

hold of the canopy, and would keep it from the Barons of the Cinque Ports, which they endeavoured to force from them again, but could not do it till my Lord Duke of Albemarle caused it to be put into Sir R. Pye's * hand till to-morrow to be decided. At Mr. Bowyer's; a great deal of company, some I knew, others I did not. Here we staid upon the leads and below till it was late, expecting to see the fire-works, but they were not performed to-night: only the City had a light like a glory round about it with bonfires. At last I went to King-streete, and there sent Crockford to my father's and my house, to tell them I could not come home to-night, because of the dirt, and a coach could not be had. And so I took my wife and Mrs. Frankleyn (who I profered the civility of lying with my wife at Mrs. Hunt's to-night) to Axe-yard, in which at the further end there were three great bonfires, and a great many great gallants, men and women; and they laid hold of us, and would have us drink the King's health upon our knees, kneeling upon a faggot, which we all did, they drinking to us one after another. Which

* Sir Robert Pye, Bart., of Faringdon House, Berks; married Ann, daughter of the celebrated John Hampden. They lived together 60 years, and died in 1701, within a few weeks of each other.

we thought a strange frolique; but these gallants continued there a great while, and I wondered to see how the ladies did tipple. At last I sent my wife and her bedfellow to bed, and Mr. Hunt and I went in with Mr. Thornbury (who did give the company all their wine, he being yeoman of the wine-cellar to the King); and there, with his wife and two of his sisters, and some gallant sparks that were there, we drank the King's health, and nothing else, till one of the gentlemen fell down stark drunk, and there lay; and I went to my Lord's pretty well. Thus did the day end with joy every where; and blessed be God, I have not heard of any mischance to any body through it all, but only to Serjt. Glynne,* whose horse fell upon him yesterday, and is like to kill him, which people do please themselves to see how just God is to punish the rogue at such a time as this: he being now one of the King's Serjeants, and rode in the cavalcade with Maynard,† to whom people wish the

* He had been Recorder of London; and during the Protectorate was made Chief Justice of the Upper Bench; nevertheless he did Charles II. great service, and was in consequence knighted and appointed King's Serjeant, and his son created a Baronet. Ob. 1666.

† John Maynard, an eminent lawyer; made Serjeant to Cromwell in 1653, and afterwards King's Serjeant by

same fortune. There was also this night in King-streete, a woman had her eye put out by a boy's flinging a firebrand into the coach. Now, after all this, I can say, that, besides the pleasure of the sight of these glorious things, I may now shut my eyes against any other objects, nor for the future trouble myself to see things of state and showe, as being sure never to see the like again in this world.

24th. At night, set myself to write down these three days' diary, and while I am about it, I hear the noise of the chambers,* and other things of the fire-works, which are now playing upon the Thames before the King; and I wish myself with them, being sorry not to see them.

30th. This morning my wife and I and Mr. Creed, took coach, and in Fish-street took up Mr. Hater and his wife, who through her maske seemed at first to be an old woman, but afterwards I found her to be a very pretty modest black woman. We got a small bait at Leatherhead, and so to Godlyman,† where we lay all-night. I

Charles II., who knighted him. In 1661 he was chosen Member for Berealston, and sat in every Parliament till the Revolution. Ob. 1690, aged 88.

* Chamber, a species of great gun.

† Godalming.

am sorry that I am not at London, to be at Hide-parke to-morrow, among the great gallants and ladies, which will be very fine.

May 1st. Up early, and bated at Petersfield, in the room which the King lay in lately at his being there. Here very merry, and played with our wives at bowles. Then we set forth again, and so to Portsmouth, seeming to me to be a very pleasant and strong place; and we lay at the Red Lyon, where Haselrigge and Scott and Walton did hold their councill, when they were here, against Lambert and the Committee of Safety.

2d. To see the room where the Duke of Buckingham was killed by Felton.

6th. I hear to-night that the Duke of York's son is this day dead, which I believe will please every body; and I hear that the Duke and his Lady themselves are not much troubled at it.

12th. At the Savoy heard Dr. Fuller preach upon David's words, "I will wait with patience all the days of my appointed time until my change comes;" but methought it was a poor dry sermon. And I am afraid my former high esteem of his preaching was more out of opinion than judgment. Met with Mr. Creed, with whom I went and walked in Grayes-Inn-walks, and from thence to

Islington, and there eate and drank at the house my father and we were wont of old to go to; and after that walked homeward, and parted in Smithfield: and so I home, much wondering to see how things are altered with Mr. Creed, who, twelve months ago, might have been got to hang himself almost as soon as go to a drinking-house on a Sunday.

18th. I went to Westminster; where it was very pleasant to see the Hall in the condition it is now, with the Judges on the benches at the further end of it, which I had not seen all this terme till now.

19th. (Lord's day.) I walked in the morning towards Westminster, and, seeing many people at York House, I went down and found them at masse, it being the Spanish ambassador's; and so I got into one of the gallerys, and there heard two masses done, I think, not in so much state as I have seen them heretofore. After that into the garden, and walked an hour or two, but found it not so fine a place as I always took it for by the outside. Capt. Ferrers and Mr. Howe and myself to Mr. Wilkinson's at the Crowne: then to my Lord's, where we went and sat talking and laughing in the drawing-room a great while. All

our talk upon their going to sea this voyage, which Capt. Ferrers is in some doubt whether he shall do or no, but swears that he would go, if he were sure never to come back again; and I, giving him some hopes, he grew so mad with joy that he fell a-dancing and leaping like a madman. Now it fell out that the balcone windows were open, and he went to the rayle and made an offer to leap over, and asked what if he should leap over there. I told him I would give him 40*l.* if he did not go to sea. With that thought I shut the doors, and W. Howe hindered him all we could; yet he opened them again, and, with a vault, leaps down into the garden:—the greatest and most desperate frolic that ever I saw in my life. I run to see what was become of him, and we found him crawled upon his knees, but could not rise; so we went down into the garden and dragged him to a bench, where he looked like a dead man, but could not stir; and, though he had broke nothing, yet his pain in his back was such as he could not endure. With this, my Lord (who was in the little new room) come to us in amaze, and bid us carry him up, which, by our strength, we did, and so laid him in East's bed-room, by the doore; where he lay in great pain. We sent for a doctor

and chyrurgeon, but none to be found, till by-and-by by chance comes in Dr. Clerke, who is afraid of him.* So we went for a lodging for him.

21st. Up early, and, with Sir R. Slingsby, (and Major Waters the deafe gentleman, his friend for company's sake) to the Victualling-office (the first time that I ever knew where it was), and there staid while he read a commission for enquiry into some of the King's lands and houses thereabouts, that are given his brother. And then we took boat to Woolwich, where we staid and gave order for the fitting out of some more ships presently. And then to Deptford, where we did the same; and so took barge again, and were overtaken by the King in his barge, he having been down the river with his yacht this day for pleasure to try it; and, as I hear, Commissioner Pett's do prove better than the Dutch one, and that, that his brother built. While we were upon the water, one of the greatest showers of rain fell that ever I saw. The Comptroller and I landed with our barge at the Temple, and from thence I went to my father's, and there did give order about some clothes to be made.

23d. In my black silk suit (the first day I have

* He recovered.

put it on this year) to my Lord Mayor's by coach, with a great deal of honourable company, and great entertainment. At table I had very good discourse with Mr. Ashmole, wherein he did assure me that frogs and many insects do often fall from the sky, ready formed. Dr. Bates's singularity in not rising up nor drinking the King's nor other healths at the table was very much observed. From thence we all took coach, and to our office, and there sat till it was late; and so I home and to bed by day-light. This day was kept a holy-day through the towne; and it pleased me to see the little boys walk up and down in procession with their broom-staffs in their hands, as I had myself long ago done.

26th. Sir W. Batten told me how Mr. Prin (among the two or three that did refuse to-day to receive the sacrament upon their knees) was offered by a mistake the drinke afterwards, which he did receive, being denied the drinke by Dr. Gunning, unless he would take it on his knees; and after that by another the bread was brought him, and he did take it sitting, which is thought very preposterous.

28th. With Mr. Shepley to the Exchange about business, and there, by Mr. Rawlinson's favour, got

into a balcone over against the Exchange; and there saw the hangman burn, by vote of Parliament, two old acts, the one for constituting us a Commonwealth, and the other * I have forgot.

29th. (King's birth-day.) Rose early, and put six spoons and a porringer of silver in my pocket to give away to-day. Sir W. Pen and I took coach, and (the weather and way being foule) went to Walthamstow; and being come there heard Mr. Radcliffe, my former school fellow at Paul's, (who is yet a merry boy,) preach upon "Nay, let him take all, since my Lord the King is returned," &c. He read all, and his sermon very simple. Back to dinner at Sir William Batten's; and then, after a walk in the fine gardens, we went to Mrs. Browne's, where Sir W. Pen and I were godfathers, and Mrs. Jordan and Shipman godmothers to her boy. And there, before and after the christening, we were with the woman above in her chamber; but whether we carried ourselves well or ill, I know not; but I was directed by young Mrs. Batten. One passage of a lady that eate wafers with her dog did a little displease me. I did give the midwife 10*s.* and the nurse 5*s.* and the maid of the house 2*s.* But

* It was an Act for subscribing the Engagement.

for as much I expected to give the name to the childe, but did not, (it being called John,) I forbore then to give my plate.

30th. This day, I hear, the Parliament have ordered a bill to be brought in for restoring the Bishops to the House of Lords; which they had not done so soon but to spite Mr. Prin, who is every day so bitter against them in his discourse in the House.

31st. Great talk now how the Parliament intend to make a collection of free gifts to the King through the Kingdom; but I think it will not come to much.

June 4th. To my Lord Crewe's to dinner, and had very good discourse about having of young noblemen and gentlemen to think of going to sea, as being as honourable service as the land war. And among other things he told us how, in Queen Elizabeth's time, one young nobleman would wait with a trencher at the back of another till he come to age himself. And witnessed in my young Lord of Kent, that then was, who waited upon my Lord Bedford at table, when a letter come to my Lord Bedford that the Earldome of Kent was fallen to his servant the young Lord; and so he rose from table, and made him sit down in his

place, and took a lower for himself, for so he was by place to sit.

9th. To White Hall, and there met with Dean Fuller, and walked a great while with him; among other things discoursed of the liberty the Bishop (by name he of Galloway) takes to admit into orders any body that will; among others, Roundtree, a simple mechanique that was a person formerly of the fleet. He told me he would complain of it.

10th. Early to my Lord's, who privately told me how the King had made him Embassador in the bringing over the Queen. That he is to go to Algier, &c., to settle the business, and to put the fleet in order there; and so to come back to Lisbone with three ships, and there to meet the fleet that is to follow him. He sent for me, to tell me that he do intrust me with the seeing of all things done in his absence as to this great preparation, as I shall receive orders from my Lord Chancellor and Mr. Edward Montagu. At all which my heart is above measure glad; for my Lord's honour, and some profit to myself, I hope. By and by, out with Mr. Shepley, Walden,* Parliament-man for Huntingdon, Rolt, Mackworth, and

* Lionel.

Alderman Backwell, to a house hard by, to drink Lambeth ale. So I back to the Wardrobe, and there found my Lord going to Trinity House, this being the solemn day of choosing Master, and my Lord is chosen.

11th. At the office this morning, Sir G. Carteret with us; and we agreed upon a letter to the Duke of York, to tell him the sad condition of this office for want of money; how men are not able to serve us more without some money; and that now the credit of the office is brought so low, that none will sell us any thing without our personal security given for the same.

12th. Wednesday, a day kept between a fast and a feast, the Bishops not being ready enough to keep the fast for foule weather before fair weather come; and so they were forced to keep it between both. Then to White Hall, where I met my Lord, who told me he must have 300*l.* laid out in cloth, to give in Barbary, as presents among the Turkes.

27th. This day Mr. Holden sent me a bever, which cost me 4*l.* 5*s.*

28th. Went to Moorefields, and there walked, and stood and saw the wrestling, which I never

saw so much of before, between the north and west countrymen.

29th. Mr. Chetwind fell commending of "Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity," as the best book, and the only one that made him a Christian, which puts me upon the buying of it, which I will do shortly.

30th. (Lord's day.) To church, where we observe the trade of briefs is come now up to so constant a course every Sunday, that we resolve to give no more to them. This day the Portuguese Embassador come to White Hall to take leave of the King; he being now going to end all with the Queen, and to send her over.

July 2d. Went to Sir William Davenant's * Opera; this being the fourth day that it hath begun, and the first that I have seen it. To-day was acted the second part of "The Siege of Rhodes." † We staid a very great while for the King and the Queen of Bohemia. And by the breaking of a board over our heads, we had a great deal of dust fell into the ladies' necks and the

* Sir William Davenant, the celebrated dramatic writer, and patentee of the Duke's Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Ob. 1668, aged 64.

† Of which Sir W. Davenant was the author.

men's haire, which made good sport. The King being come, the scene opened; which indeed is very fine and magnificent, and well acted, all but the Eunuche, who was so much out that he was hissed off the stage.

3d. Dined with my Lady, who is in some* mourning for her brother, Mr. Saml. Crewe, who died yesterday of the spotted fever.

4th. I went to the theatre, and there I saw "Claracilla"† (the first time I ever saw it,) well acted. But strange to see this house, that used to be so thronged, now empty since the Opera begun; and so will continue for a while, I believe.

6th. Waked this morning with news, brought me by a messenger on purpose, that my uncle Robert‡ is dead; so I set out on horseback, and got well by nine o'clock to Brampton, where I found my father well. My uncle's corps in a coffin standing upon joynt-stooles in the chimney in the hall; but it begun to smell, and so I caused it to be set forth in the yard all night, and watched by my aunt.

7th. (Lord's day.) In the morning my father

* Probably meant for handsome in the MS.

† A tragi-comedy by Thomas Killigrew.

‡ Of Brampton, in Huntingdonshire.

and I read the will; where, though he gives me nothing at present till my father's death, or at least very little, yet I am glad to see that he hath done so well for us all, and well to the rest of his kindred. After that done, we went about getting things, as ribbands and gloves, ready for the burial. Which in the afternoon was done; where, it being Sunday, all people far and near come in; and in the greatest disorder that ever I saw, we made shift to serve them with what we had o wine and other things; and then to carry him to the church, where Mr. Taylor buried him, and Mr. Turner preached a funerall sermon.

14th. To Hinchingbroke, which is now all in dirt, because of my Lord's building, which will make it very magnificent. Back to Brampton.

15th. Up by three o'clock this morning, and rode to Cambridge to King's College chappel, where I found the scholars in their surplices at the service with the organs, which is a strange sight to what it used in my time to be here. Rode to Impington, where I found my old uncle* sitting all alone, like a man out of the world: he can hardly see; but all things else he do pretty livelyly.

* Talbot Pepys.

22d. I come to Hatfield before twelve o'clock, and walked all alone to the Vineyard, which is now a very beautiful place again; and coming back I met with Mr. Looker, my Lord's gardener, (a friend of Mr. Eglin's) who showed me the house, the chappel with brave pictures, and, above all, the gardens, such as I never saw in all my life; nor so good flowers, nor so great gooseburys, as big as nutmegs. To horse again, and with much ado got to London.

26th. Mr. Hill of Cambridge tells me, that yesterday put a change to the whole state of England as to the Church; for the King now would be forced to favour Presbytery, or that the City would leave him: but I heed not what he says, though upon enquiry I do find that things in the Parliament are in a great disorder.

27th. To Westminster Hall, where it was expected that the Parliament was to have been adjourned for two or three months, but something hinders it for a day or two. In the lobby I spoke with Mr. George Montagu, and advised about a ship to carry my Lord Hinchingbroke and the rest of the young gentlemen to France, and they have resolved of going in a hired vessell from Rye, and

not in a man of war. He told me in discourse, that my Lord Chancellor is much envied, and that many great men, such as the Duke of Buckingham and my Lord of Bristoll,* do endeavour to undermine him, and that he believes it will not be done; for that the King (though he loves him not in the way of a companion, as he do these young gallants that can answer him in his pleasures,) yet cannot be without him, for his policy and service.

30th. After my singing-master had done with me this morning, I went to White Hall and Westminster Hall, where I found the King expected to come and adjourne the Parliament. I found the two Houses at a great difference, about the Lords challenging their privileges not to have their houses searched, which makes them deny to pass the House of Commons' Bill for searching for pamphlets and seditious books. Thence by water to the Wardrobe (meeting the King upon the water going in his barge to adjourne the House) where I dined with my Lady.

August 2d. I made myself ready to get a-horseback for Cambridge.

* George second Earl of Bristol.

3d. At Cambridge Mr. Pechell,* Sanchy, and others, tell me how high the old doctors are in the University over those they found there, though a great deal better scholars than themselves; for which I am very sorry, and, above all, Dr. Gunning. At night I took horse, and rode with Roger Pepys and his two brothers to Impington.

4th. To church, and had a good plain sermon. At our coming in the country-people all rose with so much reverence; and when the parson begins, he begins "Right worshipfull and dearly beloved" to us. To church again, and, after supper, to talk about publique matters, wherein Roger Pepys told me how basely things have been carried in Parliament by the young men, that did labour to oppose all things that were moved by serious men. That they are the most prophane swearing fellows that ever he heard in his life, which makes him think that they will spoil all, and bring things into a warr again if they can.

6th. Took horse for London, and with much ado, the ways being very bad, got to Baldwick.† I find that both here, and every where else that I

* John Pechell, made Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, 1679.

† Baldock.

come, the Quakers do still continue, and rather grow than lessen.

9th. I to White Hall, where, after four o'clock, comes my Lord Privy Seale;* and so we went up to his chamber over the gate at White Hall, where he asked me what deputacon I had from my Lord. I told him none; but that I am sworn my Lord's deputy by both of the Secretarys, which did satisfye him. So he caused Mr. Moore to read over all the bills, and all ended very well.

11th. To Grayes-Inn walks, and there staid a good while; where I met with Ned Pickering, who told me what a great match of hunting of a stagg the King had yesterday; and how the King tired all their horses, and come home with not above two or three able to keep pace with him.

14th. This morning Sir W. Batten, and Sir W. Penn and I, waited upon the Duke of York in his chamber, to give him an account of the condition of the Navy for lack of money, and how our own very bills are offered upon the Exchange, to be sold at 20 in the 100 loss. He is much

* William, first Viscount, and second Baron Say and Sele, made Lord Privy Seal at the Restoration. Ob. April, 1662.

troubled at it, and will speak to the King and Council of it this morning.

15th. To the Opera, which begins again to-day with "The Witts,*" never acted yet with scenes; and the King and Duke and Duchesse were there (who dined to-day with Sir H. Finch, reader at the Temple, in great state); and indeed it is a most excellent play, and admirable scenes.

16th. At the office all the morning, though little to do; because all our clerkes are gone to the buriall of Tom Whitton, one of the Controller's clerkes, a very ingenious, and a likely young man to live, as any in the Office. But it is such a sickly time both in the City and country every where (of a sort of fever), that never was heard of almost, unless it was in a plague-time. Among others, the famous Tom Fuller† is dead of it; and Dr. Nichols, ‡ Dean of Paul's; and my Lord General Monk is very dangerously ill.

17th. At the Privy Seale, where we had a seale this morning. Then met with Ned Pickering,

* A Comedy, by Sir W. Davenant.

† D. D., Author of the "Worthies of England," Chaplain to the King, and Prebendary of Salisbury.

‡ Matthew Nicholas, D. D., installed Dean of St. Paul's, July, 1660. Ob. August 14, 1661. He was brother to Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State.

and walked with him into St. James's Park (where I had not been a great while), and there found great and very noble alterations. And, in our discourse, he was very forward to complain and to speak loud of the lewdnesse and beggary of the Court, which I am sorry to hear, and which I am afraid will bring all to ruin again. I to the Opera, and saw "The Witts" again, which I like exceedingly. The Queen of Bohemia was here, brought by my Lord Craven.*

18th. To White Hall, and there hear that my Lord General Monk continues very ill; and then to walk in St. James's Park, and saw a great variety of fowle which I never saw before. At night fell to read in "Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity," which Mr. Moore did give me last Wednesday very handsomely bound; and which I shall read with great pains and love for his sake.

19th. I am sent for to the Privy Seale, and there I found a thing of my Lord Chancellor's to be sealed this afternoon, and so I am forced to go to Worcester House, where severall Lords are met in Council this afternoon. And while

* William, first Earl of Craven, a Privy Councillor, and Colonel of the Coldstream Guards; supposed to be married to the Queen of Bohemia. Ob. 1697, aged 88.

I am waiting there, in comes the King in a plain common riding-suit and velvet cap, in which he seemed a very ordinary man to one that had not known him.

27th. My wife and I to the theatre, and there saw "The Joviall Crew," * where the King, Duke and Duchesse, and Madame Palmer, were; and my wife, to her great content, had a full sight of them all the while.

31st. At Court things are in very ill condition, there being so much emulacion, poverty, and the vices of drinking, swearing, and loose amours, that I know not what will be the end of it, but confusion. And the Clergy so high, that all people that I meet with do protest against their practice. In short, I see no content or satisfaction any where, in any one sort of people. The Benevolence † proves so little, and an occasion of so much discontent every where, that it had better it had never been set up. I think to subscribe 20*l*. We are at our Office quiet, only for lack of money all things go to rack. Our very bills offered to be sold upon the Exchange at

* Or the "Merry Beggars," a Comedy, by Richard Brome.

† A voluntary contribution made by the subjects to their Sovereign.

10 per cent. loss. We are upon getting Sir R. Ford's house added to our Office. But I see so many difficulties will follow in pleasing of one another in the dividing of it, and in becoming bound personally to pay the rent of 200*l.* per annum, that I do believe it will yet scarce come to pass. The season very sickly every where of strange and fatal fevers.

September 1st. Captn. Holmes and I by coach to White Hall; in our way, I found him by discourse, to be a great friend of my Lord's, and he told me there was a many did seek to remove him; but they were old seamen, such as Sir J. Minnes,* (but he would name no more, though he do believe Sir W. Batten is one of them that do envy him,) but he says he knows that the King do so love him, and the Duke of York too, that there is no fear of him. He seems to be very well acquainted with the King's mind, and with all the several factions at Court, and spoke all with so much franknesse, that I do take him to be my Lord's good friend, and one able to do him great service, being a cunning fellow, and one (by his own confession to me) that can put on two several faces, and look his enemies in the

* A Vice-Admiral, and afterwards Comptroller of the Navy.

face with as much love as his friends. But, good God! what an age is this, and what a world is this! that a man cannot live without playing the knave and dissimulation.

2d. I find that there are endeavours to get my Lord out of play at sea, which I believe Mr. Coventry and the Duke do think will make them more absolute; but I hope, for all this, they will not be able to do it.

3d. Dined at home, and then with my wife to the Wardrobe, where my Lady's child was christened, (my Lord Crewe and his Lady, and my Lady Montagu, my Lord's mother-in-law, were the witnesses), and named Katherine (the Queen elect's name); but to my and all our trouble, the Parson of the parish christened her, and did not sign the child with the sign of the cross. After that was done, we had a very fine banquet.

7th. Having appointed the young ladies at the Wardrobe to go with them to the play to-day, my wife and I took them to the theatre, where we seated ourselves close by the King, and Duke of York, and Madame Palmer, which was great content; and, indeed, I can never enough admire

her beauty. And here was "Bartholomew Fayre,"* with the puppet-showe, acted to-day, which had not been these forty years, (it being so satyricall against puritanism, they durst not till now, which is strange they should already dare to do it, and the King do countenance it,) but I do never a whit like it the better for the puppets, but rather the worse. Thence home with the ladies, it being by reason of our staying a great while for the King's coming, and the length of the play, near nine o'clock before it was done.

11th. To Dr. Williams, who did carry me into his garden, where he hath abundance of grapes: and he did show me how a dog that he hath do kill all the cats that come thither to kill his pigeons, and do afterwards bury them; and do it with so much care that they shall be quite covered; that if the tip of the tail hangs out he will take up the cat again, and dig the hole deeper. Which is very strange; and he tells me, that he do believe that he hath killed above 100 cats.

12th. To my Lady's to dinner at the Wardrobe; and in my way upon the Thames, I saw the King's new pleasure-boat that is come now

* A Comedy, by Ben. Jonson; first acted in 1614.

for the King to take pleasure in above bridge; and also two Gundaloes * that are lately brought, which are very rich and fine.

24th. Letters from sea, that speak of my Lord's being well; and his action, though not considerable of any side, at Argier.

25th. Sir W. Pen told me that I need not fear any reflection upon my Lord for their ill successe at Argier, for more could not be done. To my Lord Crewe's, and dined with him, where I was used with all imaginable kindness both from him and her. And I see that he is afraid my Lord's reputacon will a little suffer in common talk by this late successe; but there is no help for it now. The Queen of England, (as she is now owned and called) I hear doth keep open Court, and distinct at Lisbone.

27th. At noon, met my wife at the Wardrobe; and there dined, where we found Captn. Country, (my little Captain that I loved, who carried me to the Sound,) with some grapes and millons from my Lord at Lisbone. The first that ever I saw; but the grapes are rare things. In the

* Gondolas. Davenant uses the expression, "Step into one of your peascod boats, whose tilts are not so sumptuous as the roofs of Gundaloes."

afternoon comes Mr. Edwd. Montagu (by appointment this morning) to talk with my Lady and me about the provisions fit to be bought, and sent to my Lord along with him. And told us, that we need not trouble ourselves how to buy them, for the King would pay for all, and that he would take care to get them: which put my Lady and me into a great deal of ease of mind. Here we staid and supped too, and, after my wife had put up some of the grapes in a basket for to be sent to the King, we took coach and home, where we found a hampire of millons sent to me also.

30th. This morning up by moone-shine, at 5 o'clock, to White Hall, to meet Mr. Moore at the Privy Seale, and there I heard of a fray between the two Embassadors of Spaine* and France;† and that, this day, being the day of the entrance of an Embassador from Sweden, they intended to fight for the precedence. Our King, I heard, ordered that no Englishman should meddle in the

* The Baron de Vatteville.

† Godfrey, Count D'Estrades, Marshal of France, and Viceroy of America. He proved himself, upon many occasions, an able diplomatist, and particularly at the conferences of Nimeguen when acting as ambassador in 1673. Ob. 1686, æt. suæ. 79.—*Vide his Letters to Louis* XIV. *in the Append.*

business, but let them do what they would. And to that end all the soldiers in the town were in arms all the day long, and some of the train-bands in the City; and a great bustle through the City all the day. Then we took coach (which was the business I come for) to Chelsey, to my Lord Privy Seale, and there got him to seal the business. Here I saw by day-light two very fine pictures in the gallery, that a little while ago I saw by night; and did also go all over the house, and found it to be the prettiest contrived house that ever I saw in my life. So back again; and at White Hall light, and saw the soldiers and people running up and down the streets. So I went to the Spanish Embassador's and the French, and there saw great preparations on both sides; but the French made the most noise and ranted most, but the other made no stir almost at all; so that I was afraid the other would have too great a conquest over them. Then to the Wardrobe, and dined there, and then abroad and in Cheapside hear that the Spanish hath got the best of it, and killed three of the French coach-horses and several men, and is gone through the City next to our King's coach; at which, it is strange to see how all the City did rejoice. And indeed we do

naturally all love the Spanish, and hate the French. But I, as I am in all things curious, presently got to the water-side, and there took oares to Westminster Palace, and run after them through all the dirt and the streets full of people; till at last, at the Mewes, I saw the Spanish coach go, with fifty drawn swords at least to guard it, and our soldiers shouting for joy. And so I followed the coach, and then met it at York House,* where the embassador lies; and there it went in with great state. So then I went to the French house, where I observe still, that there is no men in the world of a more insolent spirit where they do well, nor before they begin a matter, and more abject if they do miscarry, than these people are; for they all look like dead men, and not a word among them, but shake their heads. The truth is, the Spaniards were not only observed to fight most desperately, but also they did outwitt them;

* York House belonged to the See of York till James 1st's time, when Toby Matthews exchanged it with the Crown. Chancellors Egerton and Bacon resided there, after which it was granted to Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Subsequently to the Restoration his son occupied the house some years, and disposing of the premises, they were converted into the streets still bearing his names, and the general appellation of York Buildings.

first in lining their own harnesse with chains of iron that they could not be cut, then in setting their coach in the most advantageous place, and to appoint men to guard every one of their horses, and others for to guard the coach, and others the coachmen. And, above all, in setting upon the French horses and killing them, for by that means the French were not able to stir. There were several men slain of the French, and one or two of the Spaniards, and one Englishman by a bullet. Which is very observable, the French were at least four to one in number, and had near 100 case of pistols among them, and the Spaniards had not one gun among them; which is for their honour for ever, and the others' disgrace. So, having been very much daubed with dirt, I got a coach, and home; where I vexed my wife in telling of her this story, and pleading for the Spaniards against the French. So ends this month; myself and family in good condition of health, but my head full of my Lord's and my own and the office business; where we are now very busy about sending forces to Tangier, and the fleet of my Lord of Sandwich, who is now at Lisbone to bring over the Queene. The business of Argier hath of late troubled me, be-

cause my Lord hath not done what he went for, though he did as much as any man in the world could have done. The want of money puts all things, and above all, the Navy, out of order; and yet I do not see that the King takes care to bring in any money, but thinks of new designs to lay out money.

October 4th. By coach to White Hall with Sir W. Pen. So to Mr. Montagu, where his man, Mons. Eschar, makes a great complaint against the English, that they did help the Spaniards against the French the other day; and that their Embassador do demand justice of our King, and that he do resolve to be gone for France the next week; which I, and all that I met with, are glad of.

17th. Captn. Cock, a man of great observation and repute, did tell me, that he was confident that the Parliament, when it comes the next month to sit again, would bring trouble with it, and enquire how the King had disposed of offices and money, before they will raise more; which, I fear, will bring all things to ruin again. Dined with Captain Lambert and his father-in-law, and had much talk of Portugall; from whence he is lately come, and he tells me it is a very poor dirty

place; I mean the City and Court of Lisbone; that the King is a very rude and simple fellow; and, for reviling of somebody a little while ago, had been killed, had he not told them that he was their king. That there are no glass windows, nor will they have any; which makes sport among our merchants there to talk of an English factor that, being newly come thither, writ into England that glasse would be a good commodity to send thither, &c. That the King has his meat sent up by a dozen of lazy guards and in pipkins, sometimes, to his own table; and sometimes nothing but fruits, and, now-and-then, half a hen. And that now the Infanta is become our Queen, she is come to have a whole hen or goose to her table.

18th. To White Hall, to Mr. Montagu's, where I met with Mr. Pierce the purser, to advise about the things to be sent to my Lord for the Queene's provision; now there is all haste made, for the fleete's going.

20th. To Sir W. Batten, who is to go to Portsmouth to-morrow to wait upon the Duke of York, who goes to take possession and to set in order the garrison there.

26th. This morning Sir W. Pen and I should have gone out of town with my Lady Batten, to

have met Sir William coming back from Portsmouth, at Kingston, but could not, by reason that my Lord of Peterborough* (who is to go Governor of Tangier†) come this morning, with Sir G. Carteret, to advise with us about completing of the affairs and preparacions for that place. News was brought that Sir R. Slingsby, our Comptroller (who hath this day been sick a week), is dead; which put me into so great a trouble of mind, that all the night I could not sleep, he being a man that loved me, and had many qualitys that made

* Henry, second Earl of Peterborough, a Privy Councillor, and in 1685 made Groom of the Stole. He was also K. G., and died 1697.

† This place, so often mentioned by Mr. Pepys, was first given up to the English Fleet under Lord Sandwich, by the Portuguese, Jan. 30, 1662; and Lord Peterborough left Governor, with a garrison. The greatest pains were afterwards taken to preserve the fortress, and a fine Mole was constructed, at a vast expense, to improve the harbour. At length, after immense sums of money had been wasted there, the House of Commons expressed a dislike to the management of the garrison, (which they suspected to be a nursery for a Popish army,) and seemed disinclined to maintain it any longer. The King consequently, in 1683, sent Lord Dartmouth to bring home the troops, and destroy the works; which he performed most effectually, and Tangier fell into the hands of the Moors, its importance having ceased with the demolition of the Mole.

me to love him above all the officers and commissioners in the Navy.

27th. (Lord's day.) At church in the morning; where in pew both Sir Williams and I had much talk about the death of Sir Robert, which troubles me much; and them in appearance, though I do not believe it; because I know that he was a cheque to their engrossing the whole trade of the Navy-office.

29th. This day I put on my half cloth black stockings and my new coate of the fashion, which pleases me well, and with my beaver I was (after office was done) ready to go to my Lord Mayor's feast, as we are all invited; but the Sir Williams were both loth to go, because of the crowd, and so none of us went. This Lord Mayor, it seems, brings up again the custom of Lord Mayors going the day of their instalment to Paul's, and walking round about the Crosse, and offering something at the altar.

30th. Sir Henry Vane, Lambert, and others, are lately sent suddenly away from the Tower, prisoners to Scilly; but I do not think there is any plot as is said, but only a pretence; as there was once pretended often against the Cavaliers.

November 1st. Sir Wm. sent for his son Mr. Wm. Pen* lately come from Oxford.

2d. At the office all the morning; where Sir John Minnes, our new comptroller, was fetched by Sir Wm. Pen and myself from Sir Wm. Batten's, and led to his place in the office. The first time that he had come thither, and he seems in a good fair condition, and one that I am glad hath the office.

4th. With my wife to the Opera, where we saw "The Bondman," which of old we both did so doate on, and do still; though to both our thinking not so well acted here, (having too great expectations) as formerly at Salisbury-court. But for Beterton,† he is called by us both the best actor in the world.

* The celebrated Quaker, and Founder of Pennsylvania.

† Thomas Betterton, the celebrated actor, born in 1635, was the son of an under cook to Charles I., and first appeared on the stage at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, in 1659. After the Restoration, two distinct theatres were established by Royal Authority; one in Drury Lane, called the King's Company, under a patent granted to Killigrew: the other in Lincoln's Inn Fields, styled the Duke's Troop, the patentee of which was Sir W. Davenant, who engaged Mr. Betterton in 1662. Mr. B. died in 1710, and was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey.

8th. This morning up early, and to my Lord Chancellor's with a letter to him from my Lord, and did speak with him; and he did ask me whether I was son to Mr. Talbot Pepys* or no, (with whom he was once acquainted in the Court of Requests), and spoke to me with great respect.

10th. At St. Gregory's, where I hear our Queene Katherine, the first time by name publickly prayed for.

12th. This day Holmes come to town; and we do expect hourly to hear what usage he hath from the Duke and the King about his late business of letting the Swedish Embassador go by him without striking his flag.

13th. By appointment, we all went this morning to wait upon the Duke of York, which we did in his chamber, as he was dressing himself in his riding suit to go this day by sea to the Downes. He is in mourning for his wife's grandmother, which is thought a great piece of fondness. After we had given him our letter relating the bad condition of the Navy for want of money, he referred it to his coming back and so parted. Thence on foot to my Lord Crewe's; here I was well received by my Lord and Sir Thomas; with whom

* Of Impington, great uncle to our Author.

I had great talk: and he tells me in good earnest that he do believe the Parliament, (which comes to sit again the next week,) will be troublesome to the Court and Clergy, which God forbid! But they see things carried so by my Lord Chancellor and some others, that get money themselves, that they will not endure it.

17th. To church; and heard a simple fellow upon the praise of Church musique, and exclaiming against men's wearing their hats on in the church.

20th. To Westminster Hall by water in the morning, where I saw the King going in his barge to the Parliament House; this being the first day of their meeting again. And the Bishops, I hear, do take their places in the Lords' House this day. I walked longe in the Hall, but hear nothing of newes, but what Ned Pickering tells me, which I am troubled at, that Sir J. Minnes should send word to the King, that if he did not remove all my Lord Sandwich's captains out of this fleet, he believed the King would not be master of the fleet at its coming again: and so do endeavour to bring disgrace upon my Lord. But I hope all that will not do, for the King loves him.

21st. At the office all the afternoon; it being

the first afternoon that we have sat, which we are now to do always, so long as the Parliament sits, who this day have voted the King 120,000*l.** to be raised to pay his debts.

28th. Letters from my Lord Sandwich, from Tangier; where he continues still, and hath done some execution upon the Turks, and retaken an Englishman from them, one Mr. Parker, a merchant in Marke-lane.

29th. I lay long in bed, till Sir Williams both sent me word that we were to wait upon the Duke of York to-day; and that they would have me to meet them at Westminster Hall, at noon: so I rose and went thither; and there I understand that they are gone to Mr. Coventry's lodgings, in the Old Palace Yard, to dinner (the first time that I knew he had any); and there I met them, and Sir G. Carteret, and had a very fine dinner, and good welcome, and discourse; and so, by water, after dinner to White Hall to the Duke, who met us in his closet; and there he did discourse upon the business of Holmes, and did desire of us to know what hath been the common practice about making of forrayne ships to strike sail to us, which they did all do as much as they could; but I could

* According to the Journals 1,200,000*l.*

say nothing to it, which I was sorry for. After we were gone from the Duke, I told Mr. Coventry that I had heard Mr. Selden often say, that he could prove that in Henry the 7th's time, he did give commission to his captains to make the King of Denmark's ships to strike to him in the Baltique.

30th. This is the last day for the old State's coyne to pass in common payments, but they say it is to pass in publique payments to the King three months still.

December 1st. There hath lately been great clapping up of some old statesmen, such as Ireton, Moyer,* and others, and they say, upon a great plot, but I believe no such thing; but it is but justice that they should be served as they served the poor Cavaliers; and I believe it will oftentimes be so as long as they live, whether there be cause or no.

6th. To White Hall, where, at Sir G. Carteret's, Sir Williams both and I dined very pleasantly; and after dinner, by appointment, came the Governors of the East India Company, to sign and seal the contract between us (in the King's name) and them. And, that done, we all went to the King's closet, and there spoke with the King and

* Samuel Moyer, one of the Council of State, 1653.

the Duke of York, who promise to be very careful of the India trade to the utmost.

7th. To the Privy Seale, and sealed there; and, among other things that passed, there was a patent for Roger Palmer (Madam Palmer's husband) to be Earle of Castlemaine * and Baron of Limbricke in Ireland; but the honor is tied up to the males got of the body of this wife, the Lady Barbary: the reason whereof every body knows. That done, by water to the office, where I found Sir W. Pen, and with him Captn. Holmes, who had wrote his case, and gives me a copy, as he hath many among his friends, and presented the same to the King and Council. Which I have made use of in my attempt of writing something concerning the business of striking sail, which I am now about. But he do cry out against Sir John Minnes, as the veriest knave and rogue and coward in the world.

9th. At noon to dinner at the Wardrobe; where my Lady Wright † was, who did talk much upon the worth and the desert of gallantry; and that there was none fit to be courtiers, but such as have been abroad and know fashions. Which I endeavoured to oppose; and was troubled to hear

* Ob. July, 1705. † See note to page 49.

her talk so, though she be a very wise and discreet lady in other things.

15th. I am now full of study about writing something about our making of strangers strike to us at sea; and so am altogether reading Selden and Grotius, and such other authors to that purpose.

16th. After dinner to the Opera, where there was a new play, (Cutter of Coleman Street) made in the year 1658, with reflections much upon the late times; and it being the first time the pay was doubled, and so to save money, my wife and I went into the gallery, and there sat and saw very well; and a very good play it is. It seems of Cowly's making.

21st. To White Hall to the Privy Seale, as my Lord Privy Seale did tell me he could seale no more this month, for he goes thirty miles out of towne to keep his Christmas. At which I was glad, but only afraid lest any thing of the King's should force us to go after him to get a seale in the country. I spoke to Mr. Falconberge to look whether he could out of Domesday Book, give me any thing concerning the sea, and the dominion thereof; which he says he will look after.

27th. In the morning to my Bookseller's to

bespeak a Stephens' Thesaurus, for which I offer 4*l.*, to give to Paul's School, and from thence to Paul's Church; and there I did hear Dr. Gunning preach a good sermon upon the day, (being St. John's day,) and did hear him tell a story, which he did persuade us to believe to be true, that St. John and the Virgin Mary did appear to Gregory, a Bishopp, at his prayer to be confirmed in the faith, which I did wonder to hear from him.

28th. At home all the morning; and in the afternoon all of us at the office, upon a letter from the Duke for the making up of a speedy estimate of all the debts of the Navy, which is put into good forwardness.

31st. To the office; and there late finishing our estimate of the debts of the Navy to this day; and it come to near 374,000*l.* I suppose myself to be worth about 500*l.* clear in the world, and my goods of my house my owne, and what is coming to me from Brampton, when my father dies, which God defer. But, by my uncle's death, the whole care and trouble, and settling of all lies upon me, which is very great, because of law-suits, especially that with T. Frice, about the interest of 200*l.* I am upon writing a little treatise to present to the Duke, about our privilege in the seas, as to other nations striking their flags to us.

January 2d, 1661-62. I went forth, by appointment, to meet with Mr. Grant, who promised to bring me acquainted with Cooper,* the great limner in little. Sir Richd. Fanshaw is come suddenly from Portugall, and nobody knows what his business is about.

To Faithorne's,† and there bought some pictures of him; and while I was there, comes by the King's life-guard, he being gone to Lincoln's Inne this afternoon to see the Revells there; there being, according to an old custome, a prince and all his nobles, and other matters of sport and charge.

11th. To the Exchange, and there all the news is of the French and Dutch joyning against us; but I do not think it yet true. In the afternoon, to Sir W. Batten's, where in discourse I heard the custome of the election of the Duke of Genoa, who for two years is every day attended in the greatest state, and four or five hundred men always waiting upon him as a king; and when the two years are out, and another is chose, a messenger is sent to him, who stands at the bottom of the stairs, and he at the top, and says, "V^a. Illustrissima Serenita sta finita, et puede an-

* Samuel Cooper, the celebrated miniature painter. Ob. 1672.

† William Faithorne, the well-known engraver. Ob. 1691.

dar en casa."—"Your serenity is now ended; and now you may be going home:" and so claps on his hat. And the old Duke (having by custom sent his goods home before,) walks away, it may be but with one man at his heels; and the new one brought immediately in his room, in the greatest state in the world. Another account was told us, how in the Dukedom of Ragusa, in the Adriatique, (a State that is little, but more ancient, they say, than Venice, and is called the mother of Venice, and the Turkes lie round about it,) that they change all the officers of their guard, for fear of conspiracy, every twenty-four hours, so that nobody knows who shall be captain of the guard to-night; but two men come to a man, and lay hold of him as a prisoner, and carry him to the place; and there he hath the keys of the garrison given him, and he presently issues his orders for that night's watch: and so always from night to night. Sir Wm. Rider told the first of his own knowledge; and both he and Sir W. Batten confirm the last.

13th. Before twelve o'clock comes, by appointment, Mr. Peter and the Dean,* and Colonel

* Michael Honywood, installed Dean of Lincoln, 1660. Ob. 1681, aged 85.

Honiwood, brothers, to dine with me; but so soon that I was troubled at it. Mr. Peter did show us the experiment (which I had heard talke of) of the chymicall glasses, which break all to dust by breaking off a little small end; which is a great mystery to me.

15th. Mr. Berkenshaw * asked me whether we had not committed a fault in eating to-day; telling me that it is a fast day ordered by the Parliament, to pray for more seasonable weather; it having hitherto been summer weather, that it is, both as to warmth and every other thing, just as if it were the middle of May or June, which do threaten a plague (as all men think) to follow, for so it was almost the last winter; and the whole year after hath been a very sickly time to this day.

16th. Towards Cheapside; and in Paul's Church-yard saw the funeral of my Lord Cornwallis, late Steward of the King's House, go by. Stoakes told us, that notwithstanding the country of Gambo is so unhealthy, yet the people of the place live very long, so as the present King there is 150 years old, which they count by rains: because every year it rains continually four months

* Mr. Pepys's music master.

together. He also told us, that the Kings there have above 100 wives a-piece.

18th. Comes Mr. Moore to give me an account how Mr. Montagu* was gone away of a sudden with the fleet, in such haste that he hath left behind some servants, and many things of consequence; and among others, my Lord's commission for Embassador. Whereupon he and I took coach, and to White Hall to my Lord's lodgings, to have spoke with Mr. Ralph Montagu,† his brother; (and here we staid talking with Sarah and the old man,) but by and by hearing that he was in Covent Garden, we went thither: and at my Lady Harvy's, his sister, I spoke with him, and he tells me that the Commission is not left behind.

22d. After musique-practice, to White Hall, and thence to Westminster, in my way calling at Mr. George Montagu's, to condole on the loss of his son, who was a fine gentleman. After this discourse he told me, among other news, the great jealousys that are now in the Parliament House.

* Edward Montagu.

† Ralph, eldest son of Edward, second Baron Montagu, of Boughton; created Duke of Montagu, and died 1709. His sister Elizabeth had married Sir D. Harvey, Knt., Ambassador to Constantinople.

The Lord Chancellor, it seems, taking occasion from this late plot to raise fears in the people, did project the raising of an army forthwith, besides the constant militia, thinking to make the Duke of York General thereof. But the House did, in very open termes, say, they were grown too wise to be fooled again into another army; and said they had found how that man that hath the command of an army is not beholden to any body to make him King. There are factions (private ones at Court) about Madam Palmer; but what it is about I know not. But it is something about the King's favour to her now that the Queene is coming. He told me, too, what sport the King and Court do make at Mr. Edwd. Montagu's leaving his things behind him. But the Chancellor (taking it a little more seriously) did openly say to my Lord Chamberlaine, that had it been such a gallant as my Lord Mandeville* his son, it might have been taken as a frolique; but for him that would be thought a grave coxcombe, it was very strange. Thence to the Hall, where I heard the House had ordered all the King's murderers,

* Lord Mandeville was a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles II. He became Earl of Manchester on his father's death, and died at Paris in 1682.

that remain, to be executed, but Fleetwood * and Downes.

25th. At home and the office all the morning. Walking in the garden to give the gardener directions what to do this year (for I intend to have the garden handsome), Sir W. Pen come to me, and did break a business to me about removing his son from Oxford to Cambridge to some private college. I proposed Magdalene, but cannot name a tutor at present; but I shall think and write about it. Thence with him to the Trinity-house to dinner; where Sir Richd. Brown, one of the clerkes of the Council, and who is much concerned against Sir N. Crisp's project of making a great sasse† in the King's lands about Deptford, to be a wett-dock to hold 200 sail of ships. But the ground, it seems, was long since given by the King to Sir Richard. After the Trinity-house men had done their business, the master, Sir Wm.

* Charles, son of Sir Wm. Fleetwood, Knt., General and Commander in Chief to the Protector Richard, whose sister, Bridget, widow of Ireton, he had married. After the King's return he lived in contemptible obscurity, and died circa 1689.

† "Sasse, a sluice, or lock, used in water-works."—*Bailey's Dictionary*. This project is mentioned by Evelyn, and Lysons, *Environs*, vol. iv. p. 392.

Rider, come to bid us welcome; and so to dinner. Comes Mr. Moore with letters from my Lord Sandwich, speaking of his lying still at Tangier, looking for the fleet; which, we hope, is now in a good way thither.

27th. This morning, both Sir Williams and I by barge to Deptford-yard to give orders in business there; and called on several ships, also to give orders. Going to take water upon Tower-hill, we met with three sleddes standing there to carry my Lord Monson * and Sir H. Mildmay † and another, to the gallows and back again, with ropes about their necks; which is to be repeated every year, this being the day of their sentencing the King.

February 1st. This morning with Commissioner

* William, second son of Sir Thomas Monson, Bart.; created by Charles I. Viscount Castlemaine of the kingdom of Ireland; notwithstanding which, he was instrumental in his Majesty's death: and in 1661, being degraded of his honours, was sentenced, with Sir Henry Mildmay and Mr. Robert Wallop, to be drawn on sledges, with ropes round their necks, to Tyburn, and back to the Tower, there to remain prisoners for life. None of their names were subscribed to the King's sentence.

† Sir H. Mildmay had enjoyed the confidence of Charles I., who made him Master of the Jewels; but he sat a few days as one of the King's Judges. He died at Antwerp.

Pett to the office; and he staid there writing, while I and Sir W. Pen walked in the garden talking about his business of putting his son to Cambridge; and to that end I intend to write to-night to Dr. Fairebrother, to give me an account of Mr. Burton* of Magdalene. Thence with Mr. Pett to the Paynter's; and he likes our pictures very well, and so do I. Thence he and I to the Countesse of Sandwich, to lead him to her to kiss her hands: and dined with her, and told her the news (which Sir W. Pen told me to do) that expresse is come from my Lord with letters, that by a great storm and tempest the mole of Argier is broken down, and many of their ships sunk into the mole. So that God Almighty hath now ended that unlucky business for us; which is very good news.

4th. To Westminster Hall, where it was full terme. Here all the morning, and at noon to my Lord Crewe's, where one Mr. Templer (an ingenious man and a person of honour he seems to be) dined; and, discoursing of the nature of serpents, he told us some in the waste places of Lancashire do grow to a great bigness, and do feed upon larkes, which they take thus:—They observe

* Hezekiah Burton, S. T. B. 1661.

when the lark is soared to the highest, and do crawl till they come to be just underneath them; and there they place themselves with their mouth uppermost, and there, as is conceived, they do eject poyson upon the bird; for the bird do suddenly come down again in its course of a circle, and falls directly into the mouth of the serpent; which is very strange. He is a great traveller; and, speaking of the tarantula, he says that all the harvest long (about which times they are most busy) there are fidlers go up and down the fields every where, in expectation of being hired by those that are stung. This afternoon, going into the office, one met me and did serve a subpœnâ upon me for one Field, whom we did commit to prison the other day for some ill words he did give the office. The like he had for others, but we shall scoure him for it.

5th. To the Playhouse, and there saw "Rule a Wife and have a Wife;"* very well done. And here also I did look long upon my Lady Castlemaine, who, notwithstanding her sickness, continues a great beauty.

7th. I hear the prisoners in the Tower that are to die are come to the Parliament-house this

* A Comedy, by J. Fletcher.

morning. To the Wardrobe to dinner with my Lady; where a civitt cat, parrot, apes, and many other things, are come from my Lord by Captain Hill, who dined with my Lady with us to-day. Thence to the Paynter's, and am well pleased with our pictures.

10th. To Paul's Church-yard, and there I met with Dr. Fuller's "England's Worthys," the first time that I ever saw it; and so I sat down reading in it; being much troubled that (though he had some discourse with me about my family and armes) he says nothing at all, nor mentions us either in Cambridgeshire or Norfolke. But I believe, indeed, our family were never considerable.

13th. Mr. Blackburne do tell me plain of the corruption of all our Treasurer's officers, and that they hardly pay any money under ten per cent.; and that the other day for a mere assignation of 200*l.* to some counties, they took 15*l.* which is very strange. Last night died the Queene of Bohemia.

15th. With the two Sir Williams to the Trinity-house; and there in their society had the business debated of Sir Nicholas Crisp's sasse at Deptford. After dinner I was sworn a Younger Brother;

Sir W. Rider being Deputy-Master for my Lord of Sandwich; and after I was sworn, all the Elder Brothers shake me by the hand: it is their custom, it seems. No news yet of our fleet gone to Tangier, which we now begin to think long.

17th. This morning, both Sir Williams, myself, and Captn. Cock, and Captn. Tinker of the Covertine, which we are going to look upon, (being intended with these ships fitting for the East Indys) down to Deptford; and thence, after being on ship-board, to Woolwich, and there eat something. The Sir Williams being unwilling to eat flesh, Captn. Cock and I had a breast of veale roasted.

18th. Having agreed with Sir Wm. Pen to meet him at the Opera, and finding by my walking in the streets, which were every where full of brick-bates and tyles flung down by the extraordinary winde the last night, (such as hath not been in memory before, unless at the death of the late Protector,) that it was dangerous to go out of doors; and hearing how several persons had been killed to-day by the fall of things in the streets, and that the pageant in Fleet-streete is most of it blown down, and hath broke down part of several houses, among others Dick Brigden's; and that

one Lady Sanderson, a person of quality in Covent-Garden, was killed by the fall of the house, in her bed, last night; I sent my boy to forbid him to go forth. But he bringing me word that he is gone, I went thither and saw "The Law against Lovers,"* a good play and well performed, especially the little girl's (whom I never saw act before) dancing and singing; and were it not for her, the losse of Roxalana would spoil the house.

20th. Letters from Tangier from my Lord, telling me how, upon a great defete given to the Portuguese there by the Moors, he had put in 300 men into the towne, and so he is in possession, of which we are very glad, because now the Spaniards' designs of hindering our getting the place are frustrated. I went with the letter inclosed to my Lord Chancellor to the House of Lords, and did give it him in the House. Went by promise to Mr. Savill's, and there sat the first time for my picture in little, which pleaseth me well.

22d. This evening I wrote letters to my father; among other things acquainted him with the unhappy accident which hath happened lately to my Lord of Dorset's two oldest sons, who, with two

* A tragi-comedy by Sir William Davenant; taken from "Measure for Measure," and "Much Ado about Nothing."

Belasses and one Squire Wentworth, were lately apprehended for killing and robbing of a tanner about Newington on Wednesday last, and are all now in Newgate. I am much troubled for it, and for the grief and disgrace it brings to their familys and friends.*

23d. This day by God's mercy I am 29 years of age, and in very good health, and like to live and get an estate; and if I have a heart to be contented, I think I may reckon myself as happy a man as any in the world, for which God be praised. So to prayers and to bed.

25th. Great talk of the effects of this late great wind; and I heard one say that he had five great

* The following account of this transaction is abridged from the *Mercurius Publicus* of the day:—"Charles Lord Buckhurst, Edward Sackville, Esq., his brother; Sir Henry Belasyse, K.B., eldest son of Lord Belasyse; John Belasyse, brother to Lord Faulconberg; and Thomas Wentworth, Esq., only son of Sir G. Wentworth, whilst in pursuit of thieves near Waltham Cross, mortally wounded an innocent tanner named Hoppy, whom they had endeavoured to secure, suspecting him to have been one of the robbers; and as they took away the money found on his person, under the idea that it was stolen property, they were soon after apprehended on the charges of robbery and murder; but the Grand Jury found a bill for manslaughter only." By a subsequent allusion in the Diary to their trial, it seems probable that a verdict of acquittal was pronounced.

trees standing together blown down; and, beginning to lop them, one of them, as soon as the lops were cut off, did, by the weight of the root, rise again and fasten. We have letters from the forest of Deane, that above 1000 oakes and as many beeches are blown down in one walke there. And letters from my father tell me of 20*l.* hurt done to us at Brampton. This day in the news-booke I find that my Lord Buckhurst* and his fellows have printed their case as they did give it in upon examination to a Justice of Peace, wherein they make themselves a very good tale that they were in pursuit of thieves, and that they took this man for one of them, and so killed him; and that he himself confessed it was the first time of his robbing; and that he did pay dearly for it, for he was a dead man. But I doubt things will be proved otherwise than they say.

March 1. To the Opera, and there saw "Romeo and Juliet," the first time it was ever acted. I am resolved to go no more to see the first time of acting, for they were all of them out more or less.

* Charles Lord Buckhurst, eldest son of Richard, fifth Earl of Dorset; created Earl of Middlesex soon after his uncle's death, in 1675, and succeeded his father in 1677. Ob. 1705-6.

3d. I am told that this day the Parliament hath voted 2*s.* per annum for every chimney in England, as a constant revenue for ever to the Crowne.

7th. Early to White Hall to the chapel, where by Mr. Blagrave's means I got into his pew, and heard Dr. Creeton, the great Scotchman, and chaplain in ordinary to the King, preach before the King, and Duke and Duchesse, upon the words of Micah:—"Roule yourselves in dust." He made a most learned sermon upon the words; but, in his application, the most comical man that ever I heard in my life. Just such a man as Hugh Peters; saying that it had been better for the poor Cavalier never to have come with the King into England again; for he that hath the impudence to deny obedience to the lawful magistrate, and to swear to the oath of allegiance, &c., was better treated now-a-days in Newgate, than a poor Royalist, that hath suffered all his life for the King, is at White Hall among his friends.

8th. By coach with both Sir Williams to Westminster; this being a great day there in the House to pass the business for chimney-money, which was done. In the Hall I met with Surgeon Pierce; and he told me how my Lady Monk hath disposed of all the places which Mr. Edwd. Montagu hoped to have had, as he was Master of the

Horse to the Queene; which I am afraid will undo him, because he depended much upon the profit of what he should make by these places. He told me, also, many more scurvy stories of him and his brother Ralph, which troubles me to hear of persons of honour as they are. Sir W. Pen and I to the office, whither afterward come Sir G. Carteret; and we sent for Sir Thos. Allen, one of the Aldermen of the City,* about the business of one Colonel Appesly, whom we had taken counterfeiting of bills with all our hands and the officers of the yards, so well that I should never have mistrusted them. We staid about this business at the office till ten at night, and at last did send him with a constable to the Counter; and did give warrants for the seizing of a complice of his, one Blinkinsopp.

12th. This morning we had news from Mr. Coventry, that Sir G. Downing† (like a perfidious rogue, though the action is good and of service to the King, yet he cannot with a good conscience do it) hath taken Okey,‡ Corbet, and Barkestead

* Probably Sheriff of London, 1654.

† According to Hume, Downing had once been Chaplain to Okey's regiment.

‡ John Okey, Miles Corbet, and John Barkstead, three of the regicides; executed April 19th following.

at Delfe, in Holland, and sent them home in the Blackmore. Sir W. Pen, talking to me this afternoon of what a strange thing it is for Downing to do this, he told me of a speech he made to the Lords States of Holland, telling them to their faces that he observed that he was not received with the respect and observance now, that he was when he came from the traitor and rebell Cromwell: by whom, I am sure, he hath got all he hath in the world, — and they know it too.

14th. Home to dinner. In the afternoon come the German Dr. Knuffler, to discourse with us about his engine to blow up ships. We doubted not the matter of fact, it being tried in Cromwell's time, but the safety of carrying them in ships; but he do tell us, that when he comes to tell the King his secret, (for none but the Kings, successively, and their heirs must know it,) it will appear to be of no danger at all. We concluded nothing; but shall discourse with the Duke of York to-morrow about it.

16th. Walked to White Hall; and an houre or two in the Parke, which is now very pleasant. Here the King and Duke come to see their fowle play. The Duke took very civil notice of me.

17th. Last night the Blackmore pinke brought the three prisoners, Barkestead, Okey, and Corbet, to the Tower, being taken at Delfe in Holland; where, the Captain tells me, the Dutch were a good while before they could be persuaded to let them go, they being taken prisoners in their land. But Sir G. Downing would not be answered so: though all the world takes notice of him for a most ungrateful villaine for his pains.

21st. To Westminster Hall; and there walked up and down and heard the great difference that hath been between my Lord Chancellor and my Lord of Bristol, about a proviso that my Lord Chancellor would have brought into the Bill for Conformity, that it shall be in the power of the King, when he sees fit, to dispense with the Act of Conformity; and though it be carried in the House of Lords, yet it is believed it will hardly pass in the Commons.

23d. To White Hall, and there met with Captn. Isham, this day come from Lisbone, with letters from the Queene to the King. And he did give me letters which speak that our fleet is all at Lisbone; and that the Queene do not intend to embarque sooner than to-morrow come fortnight.

24th. By and by comes La Belle Pierce to see my wife, and to bring her a pair of peruques of hair, as the fashion now is for ladies to wear; which are pretty, and are of my wife's own hair, or else I should not endure them.

April 6th. (Lord's day.) By water to White Hall, to Sir G. Carteret, to give him an account of the backwardnesse of the ships we have hired to Portugall: at which he is much troubled. Thence to the Chapel, and there, though crowded, heard a very honest sermon before the King by a Canon of Christ Church, upon these words, "Having a form of godlinesse, but denying," &c. Among other things, he did much insist upon the sin of adultery: which methought might touch the King, and the more because he forced it into his sermon, besides his text. So up and saw the King at dinner; and thence with Sir G. Carteret to his lodgings to dinner, with him and his lady. All their discourse, which was very much, was upon their sufferings and services for the King. Yet not without some trouble, to see that some that had been much bound to them, do now neglect them; and others again most civil that have received least from them: and I do believe that he hath been a good servant to the King.

Thence to the Parke, where the King and Duke did walk.

7th. To the Lord's House, and stood within the House, while the Bishops and Lords did stay till the Chancellor's coming, and then we were put out. I sent in a note to my Lord Privy Seale, and he come out to me; and I desired he would make another deputy for me, because of my great business of the Navy this month; but he told me he could not do it without the King's consent, which vexed me. The great talk is, that the Spaniards and the Hollanders do intend to set upon the Portugais by sea, at Lisbone, as soon as our fleet is come away; and by that means our fleet is not likely to come yet these two months or three; which I hope is not true.

9th. Sir George* showed me an account in French of the great famine, which is to the greatest extremity in some part of France at this day; which is very strange.

10th. Yesterday come Col. Talbot with letters from Portugall, that the Queene is resolved to embarque for England this week. Thence to the office all the afternoon. My Lord Windsor† come

* Carteret.

† Thomas Baron Windsor, Lord Lieutenant of Worcester-

to us to discourse of his affairs, and to take his leave of us; he being to go Governor of Jamaica with this fleet that is now going.

11th. With Sir W. Pen by water to Deptford; and among the ships now going to Portugall with men and horse, to see them dispatched. So to Greenwich; and had a fine pleasant walk to Woolwich, having in our company Captn. Minnes, whom I was much pleased to hear talk. Among other things, he and the Captains that were with us tell me that negros drowned look white and lose their blackness, which I never heard before. At Woolwich, up and down to do the same business; and so back to Greenwich by water. Sir William and I walked into the Parke, where the King hath planted trees and made steps in the hill up to the Castle, which is very magnificent. So up and down the house, which is now repayring in the Queene's lodgings.

13th. To Grayes Inn walkes; and there met Mr. Pickering. His discourse most about the pride of the Duchesse of York; and how all the ladies envy my Lady Castlemaine. He intends to go to Portsmouth to meet the Queene this week;

shire; advanced to the Earldom of Plymouth, 1682. Ob. 1687.

which is now the discourse and expectation of the towne.

15th. With my wife, by coach, to the New Exchange, to buy her some things; where we saw some new-fashion pettycoats of sarcenett, with a black broad lace printed round the bottom and before, very handsome, and my wife had a mind to one of them.

19th. This morning, before we sat, I went to Aldgate; and at the corner shop, a draper's, I stood, and did see Barkestead, Okey, and Corbet, drawne towards the gallows at Tiburne; and there they were hanged and quartered. They all looked very cheerful; but I hear they all die defending what they did to the King to be just; which is very strange.

20th. (Lord's-day.) My intention being to go this morning to White Hall to hear Louth, my Lord Chancellor's chaplain, the famous preacher and oratour of Oxford, (who the last Lord's-day did sink down in the pulpit before the King, and could not proceed,) it did rain, and the wind against me, that I could by no means get a boat or coach to carry me; and so I staid at Paul's, where the Judges did all meet, and heard a ser-

mon, it being the first Sunday of the terme; but they had a very poor sermon.

21st. At noon dined with my Lord Crewe; and after dinner went up to Sir Thos. Crewe's chamber, who is still ill. He tells me how my Lady Duchesse of Richmond* and Castlemaine had a falling out the other day; and she calls the latter Jane Shore, and did hope to see her come to the same end. Coming down again to my Lord, he told me that news was come that the Queene is landed; at which I took leave, and by coach hurried to White Hall, the bells ringing in several places; but I found there no such matter, nor any thing like it.

22d. We come to Gilford.

23d. Up early, and to Petersfield; and thence got a countryman to guide us by Havant, to avoid going through the Forest; but he carried us much out of the way. I lay at Wiard's, the chyrurgeon's, in Portsmouth.

24th. All of us to the Pay-house; but the books not being ready, we went to church to the lecture, where there was my Lord Ormond and

* Mary, daughter to George Duke of Buckingham; wife of James, fourth Duke of Lennox, and third Duke of Richmond.

Manchester, and much London company, though not so much as I expected. Here we had a very good sermon upon this text: "In love serving one another;" which pleased me very well. No news of the Queene at all. So to dinner; and then to the Pay all the afternoon. Then W. Pen and I walked to the King's Yard.

26th. Sir George and I, and his clerk Mr. Stephens, and Mr. Holt our guide, over to Gosport; and so rode to Southampton. In our way, besides my Lord Southampton's* parks and lands, which in one viewe we could see 6000*l.* per annum, we observed a little church-yard, where the graves are accustomed to be all sowed with sage. At Southampton. The towne is one most gallant street, and is walled round with stone, &c., and Bevis's picture upon one of the gates; many old walls of religious houses, and the keye, well worth seeing.

* Tichfield House, erected by Sir Thomas Wriothesley, on the site of an Abbey of Premonstratenses, granted to him with their estates, 29th Henry VIII. Upon the death of his descendant, Thomas, Earl of Southampton, and Lord Treasurer, without issue male, the house and manor were allotted to his eldest daughter Elizabeth, wife of Edmund, 1st Earl of Gainsborough; and their only son dying *s. p. m.*, the property devolved to his sister Elizabeth, married to Henry, Duke of Portland, whose grandson, the 3d Duke, alienated it to Mr. Delme.

27th. I rode to church, and met my Lord Chamberlaine upon the walls of the garrison, who owned and spoke to me. I followed him in the crowde of gallants through the Queene's lodgings to chapel; the rooms being all rarely furnished, and escaped hardly being set on fire yesterday. At chapel we had a most excellent and eloquent sermon. By coach to the Yard, and then on board the Swallow in the dock, where our navy chaplain preached a sad sermon, full of nonsense and false Latin; but prayed for the Right Honourable the principall officers. Visited the Mayor, Mr. Timbrell, our anchor-smith, who showed us the present they have for the Queene; which is a salt-sellar of silver, the walls christall, with four eagles and four greyhounds standing up at the top to bear up a dish; which indeed is one of the neatest pieces of plate that ever I saw, and the case is very pretty also.* This evening come a merchantman in the harbour, which we hired at London to carry horses to Portugall; but Lord! what running there was to the sea-side to hear what news, thinking it had come from the Queene.

* A salt-sellar answering this description is preserved at the Tower.

May 1st. Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. Pen, and myself, with our clerks, set out this morning from Portsmouth very early, and got by noon to Petersfield; several officers of the Yard accompanying us so far. At dinner comes my Lord Carlingford * from London, going to Portsmouth: tells us that the Duchesse of York is brought to bed of a girle, at which I find nobody pleased; and that Prince Rupert and the Duke of Buckingham are sworne of the Privy Councell.

7th. Walked to Westminster; where I understand the news that Mr. Montagu is last night come to the King with news, that he left the Queene and fleete in the Bay of Biscay, coming this wayward; and that he believes she is now at the Isle of Scilly. Thence to Paul's Church Yard; where seeing my Ladys Sandwich and Carteret, and my wife (who this day made a visit the first time to my Lady Carteret), come by coach, and going to Hide Parke, I was resolved to follow them; and so went to Mrs. Turner's: and thence at the Theatre, where I saw the last act of the "Knight of the Burning Pestle,"†

* Theobald second Viscount Taafe, created Earl of Carlingford, co. Louth, 1661-2.

† A Comedy by Beaumont and Fletcher.

(which pleased me not at all). And so after the play done, she and The: Turner and Mrs. Lucin and I, in her coach to the Parke; and there found them out, and spoke to them; and observed many fine ladies, and staid till all were gone almost.

8th. Sir G. Carteret told me, that the Queene and the fleet were in Mount's Bay on Monday last; and that the Queene endures her sickness pretty well. He also told me how Sir John Lawson hath done some execution upon the Turkes in the Straight, of which I was glad, and told the news the first on the Exchange, and was much followed by merchants to tell it. Sir G. Carteret, among other discourse, tells me that it is Mr. Coventry that is to come to us as a Commissioner of the Navy; at which he is much vexed, and cries out upon Sir W. Pen, and threatens him highly. And looking upon his lodgings, which are now enlarging, he in a passion cried, "Guarda mi spada; for, by God, I may chance to keep him in Ireland, when he is there:" for Sir W. Pen is going thither with my Lord Lieutenant. But it is my design to keep much in with Sir George; and I think I have begun very well towards it.

9th. The Duke of York went last night to

Portsmouth; so that I believe the Queene is near.

10th. At noon to the Wardrobe; there dined. My Lady told me how my Lady Castlemaine do speak of going to lie in at Hampton Court; which she and all our ladies are much troubled at, because of the King's being forced to show her countenance in the sight of the Queene when she comes. In the evening Sir G. Carteret and I did hire a ship for Tangier, and other things together; and I find that he do single me out to join with me apart from the rest, which I am much glad of.

11th. In the afternoon to White Hall; and there walked an houre or two in the Parke, where I saw the King now out of mourning, in a suit laced with gold and silver, which it is said was out of fashion. Thence to the Wardrobe; and there consulted with the ladies about our going to Hampton Court to-morrow.

12th. Mr. Townsend called us up by four o'clock; and by five the three ladies, my wife and I, and Mr. Townsend, his son and daughter, were got to the barge and set out. We walked from Mortlake to Richmond, and so to boat again.

And from Teddington to Hampton Court Mr. Townsend and I walked again. And then met the ladies, and were showed the whole house by Mr. Marriott; which is indeed nobly furnished, particularly the Queene's bed, given her by the States of Holland; a looking-glasse sent by the Queene-mother from France, hanging in the Queene's chamber, and many brave pictures. And so to barge again; and got home about eight at night very well.

14th. Dined at the Wardrobe; and after dinner, sat talking an hour or two alone with my Lady. She is afraid that my Lady Castlemaine will keep still with the King.

15th. To Westminster; and at the Privy Seale I saw Mr. Coventry's seal for his being Commissioner with us. At night, all the bells of the towne rung, and bonfires made for the joy of the Queene's arrival, who landed at Portsmouth last night. But I do not see much true joy, but only an indifferent one, in the hearts of people, who are much discontented at the pride and luxury of the Court, and running in debt.

18th. (Whitsunday.) By water to White Hall, and there to chapel in my pew belonging to me as Clerke of the Privy Seale; and there I heard a

most excellent sermon of Dr. Hacket,* Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, upon these words: "He that drinketh this water shall never thirst." We had an excellent anthem, sung by Captn. Cooke and another, and brave musique. And then the King come down and offered, and took the sacrament upon his knees; a sight very well worth seeing. After dinner to chapel again; and there had another good anthem of Captn. Cooke's. Thence to the Councell-chamber; where the King and Councell sat till almost eleven o'clock at night, and I forced to walk up and down the gallerys till that time of night. They were reading all the bills over that are to pass to-morrow at the House, before the King's going out of towne and proroguing the House. At last the Councell risen, Sir G. Carteret told me what the Councell hath ordered about the ships designed to carry horse from Ireland to Portugall, which is now altered.

19th. I hear that the House of Commons do think much that they should be forced to huddle over business this morning against afternoon, for the King to pass their Acts, that he may go out

* John Hacket, elected Bishop of that see 1661. Ob. 1670.

of towne. But he, I hear since, was forced to stay till almost nine o'clock at night before he could have done, and then prorogued them; and so to Gilford, and lay there.

20th. Sir W. Pen and I did a little business at the office, and so home again. Then comes Dean Fuller;* and I am most pleased with his company and goodness.

21st. My wife and I to my Lord's lodging; where she and I staid walking in White Hall garden. And in the Privy-garden saw the finest smocks and linnen petticoats of my Lady Castlemaine's, laced with rich lace at the bottom, that ever I saw; and did me good to look at them. Sarah told me how the King dined at my Lady Castlemaine's, and supped, every day and night the last week; and that the night that the bonfires were made for joy of the Queene's arrivall, the King was there; but there was no fire at her door, though at all the rest of the doors almost in the street; which was much observed: and that the King and she did send for a pair of scales and weighed one another; and she, being with child, was said to be heaviest. But she is now a most

* Dean of St. Patrick's.

disconsolate creature, and comes not out of doors, since the King's going.

22d. This morning comes an order from the Secretary of State, Nicholas, for me to let one Mr. Lee, a Councellor, view what papers I have relating to passages of the late times, wherein Sir H. Vane's hand is employed, in order to the drawing up his charge; which I did.

23d. To the Wardrobe, reading of the King's and Chancellor's late speeches at the proroguing of the Houses of Parliament. And while I was reading, news was brought me that my Lord Sandwich is come and gone up to my Lady's chamber; which by and by he did, and looks very well. He very merry, and hath left the King and Queene at Portsmouth, and is come up to stay here till next Wednesday, and then to meet the King and Queene at Hampton Court. So to dinner; and my Lord mighty merry; among other things, saying that the Queene is a very agreeable lady, and paints well. After dinner I showed him my letter from Teddiman about the news from Argier, which pleases him exceedingly; and he writ one to the Duke of York about it, and sent it express.

24th. Abroad with Mr. Creed, of whom I informed myself of all I had a mind to know. Among other things, the great difficulty my Lord hath been in all this summer for lack of good and full orders from the King: and I doubt our Lords of the Councell do not mind things as the late powers did, but their pleasure or profit more. That the Bull Feasts are a simple sport, yet the greatest in Spaine. That the Queene hath given no rewards to any of the captains or officers, but only to my Lord Sandwich; and that was a bag of gold, which was no honorable present, of about 1400*l.* sterling. How recluse the Queene hath ever been, and all the voyage never come upon the deck, nor put her head out of her cabin; but did love my Lord's musique, and would send for it down to the state-room, and she sit in her cabin within hearing of it. But my Lord was forced to have some clashing with the Council of Portugall about payment of the portion, before he could get it; which was, besides Tangier and a free trade in the Indys, two millions of crownes, half now, and the other half in twelve months. But they have brought but little money; but the rest in sugars and other commoditys, and bills of ex-

change. That the King of Portugall is a very foole almost, and his mother do all, and he is a very poor Prince.

25th. To church, and heard a good sermon of Mr. Woodcocke's at our church; only in his latter prayer for a woman in childbed, he prayed that God would deliver her from the hereditary curse of childe-bearing, which seemed a pretty strange expression. Out with Captn. Ferrers to Charing Cross; and there at the Triumph taverne he showed me some Portugall ladys, which are come to towne before the Queene. They are not handsome, and their farthingales a strange dress. Many ladies and persons of quality come to see them. I find nothing in them that is pleasing; and I see they have learnt to kiss and look freely up and down already, and I do believe will soon forget the recluse practice of their own country. They complain much for lack of good water to drink. The King's guards and some City companies do walk up and downe the towne these five or six days; which makes me think, and they do say, there are some plots in laying.

26th. To the Trinity House; where the Brethren have been at Deptford choosing a new Master; which is Sir J. Minnes, notwithstanding Sir

W. Batten did contend highly for it: at which I am not a little pleased, because of his proud lady.

29th. This day, being the King's birth-day, was very solemnly observed; and the more, for that the Queene this day comes to Hampton Court. In the evening, bonfires were made, but nothing to the great number that was heretofore at the burning of the Rump.

31st. The Queene is brought a few days since to Hampton Court; and all people say of her to be a very fine and handsome lady, and very discreet; and that the King is pleased enough with her: which, I fear, will put Madam Castlemaine's nose out of joynt. The Court is wholly now at Hampton. A peace with Argier is lately made; which is also good news. My Lord Sandwich is lately come with the Queene from sea, very well and in good repute. The Act for Uniformity is lately printed, which, it is thought, will make mad work among the Presbyterian ministers. People of all sides are very much discontented; some thinking themselves used, contrary to promise, too hardly; and the other, that they are not rewarded so much as they expected by the King.

June 3d. At the office, and Mr. Coventry

brought his patent and took his place with us this morning. To the Wardrobe, where I found my lady come from Hampton Court, where the Queene hath used her very civilly; and my lady tells me is a most pretty woman. Yesterday (Sir R. Ford told me) the Aldermen of the City did attend her in their habits, and did present her with a gold cupp and 1000*l.* in gold therein. But, he told me, that they are so poor in their Chamber, that they were fain to call two or three Aldermen to raise fines to make up this sum.

4th. Povy* and Sir W. Batten and I by water to Woolwich; and there saw an experiment made of Sir R. Ford's Holland's yarne, (about which we have lately had so much stir; and I have much concerned myself for our rope-maker, Mr. Hughes, who represented it so bad,) and we found it to be very bad, and broke sooner than, upon a fair triall, five threads of that against four of Riga yarne; and also that some of it had old stuffe that had been tarred, covered over with new hempe, which is such a cheat as hath not been heard of.

* Thomas Povy, M. P. for Bossiney, 1658, and Treasurer for Tangier. Evelyn mentions his house in Lincoln's Inn-fields; and he appears, from an ancient plan of Whitehall Palace, to have had apartments there.

7th. To the office. I find Mr. Coventry is resolved to do much good, and to enquire into all the miscarriages of the office. At noon with him and Sir W. Batten to dinner at Trinity House; where, among others, Sir. J. Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, was, who says that yesterday Sir H. Vane had a full hearing at the King's Bench, and is found guilty; and that he did never hear any man argue more simply than he in all his life, and so others say. Sent for to Sir. G. Carteret's. I perceive, as he told me, were it not that Mr. Coventry had already feathered his nest in selling of places, he do like him very well, and hopes great good from him. But he complains so of lack of money, that my heart is very sad, under the apprehension of the fall of the office.

10th. All the morning much business; and great hopes of bringing things, by Mr. Coventry's means, to a good condition in the office.

12th. I tried on my riding cloth suit with close knees, the first that ever I had; and I think they will be very convenient. At the office all the morning. Among other businesses, I did get a vote signed by all, concerning my issuing of warrants, which they did not smell the use I intend to make of it; but it is to plead for my clerks

to have their right of giving out all the warrants. A great difference happened between Sir G. Carteret and Mr. Coventry, about passing the Victualler's account, and whether Sir George is to pay the Victualler his money, or the Exchequer; Sir George claiming it to be his place to save his threepences. It ended in anger, and I believe will come to be a question before the King and Council.

13th. Up by 4 o'clock in the morning, and read Cicero's Second Oration against Catiline, which pleased me exceedingly; and more I discern therein than ever I thought was to be found in him; but I perceive it was my ignorance, and that he is as good a writer as ever I read in my life. By and by to Sir G. Carteret's, to talk with him about yesterday's difference at the office; and offered my service to look into my old books or papers that I have, that may make for him. He was well pleased therewith, and did much inveigh against Mr. Coventry; telling me how he had done him service in the Parliament, when Prin had drawn up things against him for taking of money for places; that he did at his desire, and upon his letters, keep him off from doing it. And many other things he told me, as how the King

was beholden to him, and in what a miserable condition his family would be, if he should die before he hath cleared his accounts. Upon the whole, I do find that he do much esteem of me, and is my friend.

14th. About 11 o'clock, having a room got ready for us, we all went out to the Tower-hill; and there, over against the scaffold, made on purpose this day, saw Sir Henry Vane brought. A very great press of people. He made a long speech, many times interrupted by the Sheriffe and others there; and they would have taken his paper out of his hand, but he would not let it go. But they caused all the books of those that writ after him to be given the Sheriffe; and the trumpets were brought under the scaffold that he might not be heard. Then he prayed, and so fitted himself, and received the blow; but the scaffold was so crowded that we could not see it done. But Boreman, who had been upon the scaffold, told us, that first he began to speak of the irregular proceeding against him; that he was, against Magna Charta, denied to have his exceptions against the indictment allowed; and that there he was stopped by the Sheriffe. Then he drew out his paper of

notes, and begun to tell them first his life; that he was born a gentleman; he had been, till he was seventeen years old, a good fellow, but then it pleased God to lay a foundation of grace in his heart, by which he was persuaded, against his worldly interest, to leave all preferment and go abroad, where he might serve God with more freedom. Then he was called home, and made a member of the Long Parliament; where he never did, to this day, any thing against his conscience, but all for the glory of God. Here he would have given them an account of the proceedings of the Long Parliament, but they so often interrupted him, that at last he was forced to give over: and so fell into prayer for England in generall, then for the churches in England, and then for the City of London: and so fitted himself for the block, and received the blow. He had a blister, or issue, upon his neck, which he desired them not to hurt: he changed not his colour or speech to the last, but died justifying himself and the cause he had stood for; and spoke very confidently of his being presently at the right hand of Christ; and in all things appeared the most resolved man that ever died in that manner, and showed more of heate

than cowardize, but yet with all humility and gravity. One asked him why he did not pray for the King. He answered, "You shall see I can pray for the King: I pray God bless him!" The King had given his body to his friends; and, therefore, he told them that he hoped they would be civil to his body when dead; and desired they would let him die like a gentleman and a Christian, and not crowded and pressed as he was. So to the office a little, and to the Trinity-house, and there all of us to dinner; and to the office again all the afternoon till night. This day, I hear, my Lord Peterborough is come unexpected from Tangier, to give the King an account of the place, which, we fear, is in none of the best condition. We had also certain news to-day that the Spaniard is before Lisbone with thirteen sayle; six Dutch, and the rest his own ships; which will, I fear, be ill for Portugall. I writ a letter of all this day's proceedings to my Lord, at Hinchingbroke.

18th. Up early; and after reading a little in Cicero, to my office. To my Lord Crewe's and dined with him; where I hear the courage of Sir H. Vane at his death is talked on every where as

a miracle. I walked to Lilly's,* the painter's, where I saw among other rare things, the Duchesse of York, her whole body, sitting in state in a chair, in white sattin, and another of the King's, that is not finished; most rare things. I did give the fellow something that showed them us, and promised to come some other time, and he would show me Lady Castlemaine's, which I could not then see, it being locked up! Thence to Wright's,† the painter's: but, Lord! the difference that is between their two works.

20th. Drew up the agreement between the King and Sir John Winter‡ about the Forrest of Deane; and having done it, he come himself, (I did not know him to be the Queene's Secretary before, but observed him to be a man of fine parts); and we read it, and both liked it well. That done, I turned to the Forrest of Deane, in Speede's Mapps, and there he showed me how it lies; and the Sea-bayly, with the great charge of carrying it to Lydny, and many other things worth

* Peter Lely, the celebrated painter, afterwards knighted. Ob. 1680.

† Michael Wright, a native of Scotland, and portrait-painter of some note, settled in London.

‡ Secretary and Chancellor to the Queen Dowager.

my knowing; and I do perceive that I am very short in my business by not knowing many times the geographical part of my business.

I went to the Exchange, and I hear that the merchants have a great fear of a breach with the Spaniard; for they think he will not brook our having Tangier, Dunkirke, and Jamaica; and our merchants begin to draw home their estates as fast as they can.

21st. At noon, Sir W. Pen and I to the Trinity House; where was a feast made by the Wardens. Great good cheer, and much but ordinary company. The Lieutenant of the Tower, upon my demanding how Sir H. Vane died, told me that he died in a passion; but all confess with so much courage as never man did.

22d. This day I am told of a Portugall lady, at Hampton Court, that hath dropped a child already since the Queene's coming, and the King would not have them searched whose it is; and so it is not commonly known yet. Coming home to-night, I met with Will. Swan, who do talk as high for the Fanatiques as ever he did in his life; and do pity my Lord Sandwich and me that we should be given up to the wickedness of the world; and that a fall is coming upon us all; for he finds

that he and his company are the true spirit of the nation, and the greater part of the nation too, who will have liberty of conscience in spite of this "Act of Uniformity," or they will die; and if they may not preach abroad, they will preach in their own houses. He told me that certainly Sir H. Vane must be gone to Heaven, for he died as much a martyr and saint as ever man did; and that the King hath lost more by that man's death, than he will get again a good while. At all which I know not what to think; but, I confess, I do think that the Bishops will never be able to carry it so high as they do. Meeting with Frank Moore, my Lord Lambeth's man formerly, we, and two or three friends of his did go to a taverne; but one of our company, a talking fellow, did in discourse say much of this Act against Seamen, for their being brought to account; and that it was made on purpose for my Lord Sandwich, who was in debt 100,000*l.* and hath been forced to have pardon oftentimes from Oliver for the same: at which I was vexed.

24th. At night news is brought me that Field the rogue hath this day cast me at Guildhall in 30*l.* for his imprisonment, to which I signed his commitment with the rest of the officers; but

they having been parliament-men, he do begin the law with me; but threatens more.

26th. Mr. Nicholson,* my old fellow-student at Magdalene, come, and we played three or four things upon the violin and basse.

27th. To my Lord, who rose as soon as he heard I was there; and in his night-gowne and shirt stood talking with me alone two hours, I believe, concerning his greatest matters of state and interest.—Among other things, that his greatest design is, first, to get clear of all debts to the King for the Embassy money, and then a pardon. Then, to get his land settled; and then to discourse and advise what is best for him, whether to keep his sea employment longer or no. For he do discern that the Duke would be willing to have him out, and that by Coventry's means. And here he told me, how the terms at Argier were wholly his; and that he did plainly tell Lawson and agree with him, that he would have the honour of them, if they should ever be agreed to; and that accordingly they did come over hither entitled, "Articles concluded on by Sir J. Lawson, according to instructions received from His Royal Highness James Duke of York, &c. and

* Thomas Nicholson, A. M., 1672.

from His Excellency the Earle of Sandwich." (Which however was more than needed; but Lawson tells my Lord in his letter, that it was not he, but the Council of Warr that would have "His Royal Highness" put into the title, though he did not contribute one word to it.) But the Duke of York did yesterday propose them to the Council, to be printed with this title: "Concluded on by Sir J. Lawson, Knt." and my Lord quite left out. Here I find my Lord very politique; for he tells me, that he discerns they design to set up Lawson as much as they can: and that he do counterplot them by setting him up higher still; by which they will find themselves spoiled of their design, and at last grow jealous of Lawson. This he told me with much pleasure; and that several of the Duke's servants, by name my Lord Barkeley, Mr. Talbot, and others, had complained to my Lord, of Coventry, and would have him out. My Lord do acknowledge that his greatest obstacle is Coventry. He did seem to hint such a question as this: "Hitherto I have been supported by the King and Chancellor against the Duke; but what if it should come about, that it should be the Duke and Chancellor against the King;" which, though he said it in several plain words,

yet I could not fully understand it; but may more hereafter. My Lord did also tell me, that the Duke himself at Portsmouth did thank my Lord for all his pains and care; and that he perceived it must be the old Captains that must do the business; and that the new ones would spoil all. And that my Lord did very discreetly tell the Duke, (though quite against his judgement and inclination) that, however, the King's new captaines ought to be borne with a little and encouraged. By which he will oblige that party, and prevent, as much as may be, their envy; but he says certainly things will go to rack if ever the old captains should be wholly out, and the new ones only command.

I met Sir W. Pen: he told me the day now was fixed for his going into Ireland; and that whereas I had mentioned some service he could do a friend of mine there, Saml. Pepys,* he told me he would most readily do what I would command him.

28th. Great talk there is of a fear of a war with the Dutch; and we have order to pitch upon twenty ships to be forthwith set out; but I hope it is but a scare-crow to the world, to let them see that we can be ready for them; though, God

* Mentioned elsewhere as "My cousin in Ireland."

knows! the King is not able to set out five ships at this present without great difficulty, we neither having money, credit, nor stores.

30th. Told my Lady (Carteret) how my Lady Fanshaw * is fallen out with her only for speaking in behalf of the French, which my Lady wonders at, they having been formerly like sisters. Thence to my house, where I took great pride to lead her through the Court by the hand, she being very fine, and her page carrying up her train.

OBSERVATIONS.

This I take to be as bad a juncture as ever I observed. The King and his new Queene minding their pleasures at Hampton Court. All people discontented; some that the King do not gratify them enough; and the others, Fanatiques of all sorts, that the King do take away their liberty of conscience; and the height of the Bishops, who I fear will ruin all again. They do much cry up the manner of Sir H. Vane's death, and he deserves it. Much clamour against the chimney-money; and the people say, they

* Anne, daughter of Sir John Harrison, wife of Sir Richard Fanshawe. She wrote Memoirs of her life.—*Vide Seward's Anecdotes.*

will not pay it without force. And in the mean time, like to have war abroad; and Portugall to assist, when we have not money to pay for any ordinary layings-out at home.

July 2d. Up while the chimes went four, and so put down my journal. So to my office, to read over such instructions as concern the officers of the Yard; for I am much upon seeing into the miscarriages there. By and by, by appointment, comes Commissioner Pett; and then a messenger from Mr. Coventry, who sits in his boat expecting us. So we down to him at the Tower, and there took water all, and to Deptford, (he in our passage taking notice how much difference there is between the old Captains for obedience and order, and the King's new Captains, which I am very glad to hear him confess); and there we went into the Store-house, and viewed first the provisions there, and then his books, (but Mr. Davis himself was not there); and I do not perceive that there is one-third of their duties performed; but I perceive, to my great content, Mr. Coventry will have things performed. In the evening come Mr. Lewis to me, and very ingeniously did enquire whether I ever did look into the business of

the Chest at Chatham; and after my readiness to be informed did appear to him, he did produce a paper, wherein he stated the government of the Chest to me; and upon the whole did tell me how it hath ever been abused, and to this day is; and what a meritorious act it would be to look after it; which I am resolved to do, if God bless me; and do thank him very much for it.

3d. Dined with the Officers of the Ordnance; where Sir W. Compton, Mr. O'Neale, and other great persons, were. After dinner, was brought to Sir W. Compton a gun to discharge seven times; the best of all devices that ever I saw, and very serviceable, and not a bawble; for it is much approved of, and many thereof made.

6th. To supper with my Lady (Sandwich); who tells me, with much trouble, that my Lady Castlemaine is still as great with the King, and that the King comes as often to her as ever he did. Jack Cole, my old friend, found me out at the Wardrobe; and, among other things, he told me that certainly most of the chief ministers of London would fling up their livings; and that, soon or late, the issue thereof would be sad to the King and Court.

8th. To the Wardrobe; where, all alone with my Lord above an hour; and he do seem still to

have his old confidence in me; and tells me to boot, that Mr. Coventry hath spoke of me to him to great advantage; wherein I am much pleased. By and by comes in Mr. Coventry to visit my Lord; and so my Lord and he and I walked together in the great chamber a good while; and I found him a most ingenuous man and good company.

16th. This day I was told that my Lady Castlemaine (being quite fallen out with her husband) did yesterday go away from him, with all her plate, jewels, and other best things; and is gone to Richmond to a brother of her's; which, I am apt to think, was a design to get out of town, that the King might come at her the better.

17th. To my office, and by and by to our sitting; where much business. Mr. Coventry took his leave, being to go with the Duke over for the Queene-Mother.

19th. In the afternoon I went upon the river: it raining hard upon the water, I put ashore and sheltered myself, while the King come by in his barge, going down towards the Downes to meet the Queene: the Duke being gone yesterday. But methought it lessened my esteem of a king, that he should not be able to command the rain.

21st. To Woolwich to the Rope-yard; and there

looked over several sorts of hemp, and did fall upon my great survey of seeing the working and experiments of the strength and the charge in the dressing of every sort; and I do think have brought it to so great a certainty, as I have done the King some service in it: and do purpose to get it ready against the Duke's coming to towne to present to him. I see it is impossible for the King to have things done as cheap as other men.

22d. I had letters from the Downes from Mr. Coventry; who tells me of the foul weather they had last Sunday, that drove them back from near Bologne, whither they were going for the Queene, back again to the Downes, with the loss of their cables, sayles, and masts; but are all safe, only my Lord Sandwich, who went before with the yacht: they know not what is become of him, which do trouble me much; but I hope he got ashore before the storm begun; which God grant!

23d. Much disturbed, by reason of the talk up and downe the towne, that my Lord Sandwich is lost; but I trust in God the contrary.

24th. I hear, to my great content, that my Lord Sandwich is safe landed in France.

26th. I had a letter from Mr. Creed, who hath

escaped narrowly in the King's yacht, and got safe to the Downes after the late storm; and he says that there the King do tell him, that he is sure my Lord is landed in Callis safe. This afternoon I went to Westminster; and there hear that the King and Queene intend to come to White Hall from Hampton Court next week, for all winter. Thence to Mrs. Sarah,* and there looked over my Lord's lodgings, which are very pretty; and White Hall garden and the Bowling-ally (where lords and ladies are now at bowles), in brave condition. Mrs. Sarah told me how the falling out between my Lady Castlemaine and her Lord was about christening of the child lately, which he would have, and had done by a priest: and, some days after, she had it again christened by a minister; the King, and Lord of Oxford,† and Duchesse of Suffolk ‡ being witnesses: and christened with a proviso, that it had not already been christened. Since that she left her Lord, carrying away every thing in the house; so much as every dish, and cloth, and servant but the porter. He is gone

* Lord Sandwich's housekeeper.

† Aubrey de Vere, twentieth and last Earl of Oxford. Ob. 1702-3. s. p.

‡ Perhaps a mistake for Countess, as there was no Duchess of Suffolk at that period.

discontented into France, they say, to enter a monastery; and now she is coming back again to her house in King-streete. But I hear that the Queene did prick her out of the list presented her by the King; desiring that she might have that favour done her, or that he would send her from whence she come: and that the King was angry and the Queene discontented a whole day and night upon it; but that the King hath promised to have nothing to do with her hereafter. But I cannot believe that the King can fling her off so, he loving her too well: and so I writ this night to my Lady to be my opinion; she calling her my lady, and the lady I admire. Here I find that my Lord hath lost the garden to his lodgings, and that it is turning into a tennis-court.

27th. I to walk in the Parke, which is now every day more and more pleasant, by the new works upon it.

28th. Walked to the water-side, and there took boat for the Tower; hearing that the Queene-Mother is come this morning already as high as Woolwich: and that my Lord Sandwich was with her; at which my heart was glad.

30th. By water to White Hall, and there waited upon my Lord Sandwich; and joyed him,

at his lodgings, of his safe coming home after all his danger, which he confesses to be very great. And his people do tell me how bravely my Lord did carry himself, while my Lord Crofts * did cry; and I perceive all the town talk how poorly he carried himself. But the best was of one Mr. Rawlins, a courtier, that was with my Lord; and in the greatest danger cried, "My Lord I won't give you three-pence for your place now." But all ends in the honour of the pleasure-boats; which, had they not been very good boats, they could never have endured the sea as they did.

31st. At noon Mr. Coventry and I by his coach to the Exchange together; and in Lumbard-streete met Captn. Browne of the Rose-bush: at which he was cruel angry; and did threaten to go to-day to the Duke at Hampton Court, and get him turned out because he was not sailed.

August 3d. This day Commissioner Pett told me how despicable a thing it is to be a hangman in Poland, although it be a place of credit. And that, in his time, there was some repairs to be made of the gallows there, which was very fine of

* William Crofts, created Baron Crofts of Saxham in Suffolk 1658, and died s. p. 1677.

stone; but nobody could be got to mend it till the Burgo-master, or Mayor of the towne, with all the companies of those trades which were necessary to be used about those repairs, did go in their habits with flags, in solemn procession to the place, and there the Burgo-master did give the first blow with the hammer upon the wooden work; and the rest of the Masters of the Companys upon the works belonging to their trades; that so workmen might not be ashamed to be employed upon doing of the gallows works.

6th. By water to White Hall; and so to St. James's; but there found Mr. Coventry gone to Hampton Court. So to my Lord's; and he is also gone: this being a great day at the Council about some business before the King. Here Mr. Pierce, the chyrurgeon, told me how Mr. Edward Montagu hath lately had a duell with Mr. Cholmely, that is first gentleman-usher to the Queene, and was a messenger to her from the King of Portugall, and is a fine gentleman; but had received many affronts from Mr. Montagu, and some unkindness from my Lord, upon his score, (for which I am sorry.) He proved too hard for Montagu, and drove him so far backward that he fell into a ditch, and dropt his sword, but with

honour would take no advantage over him; but did give him his life: and the world says Mr. Montagu did carry himself very poorly in the business, and hath lost his honour for ever with all people in it. This afternoon Mr. Waith was with me, and did tell me much concerning the Chest, which I am resolved to look into; and I perceive he is sensible of Sir W. Batten's carriage; and is pleased to see any thing work against him.

8th. Dined with Mr. Falconer; thence we walked talking all the way to Greenwich, and I do find excellent discourse from him. Among other things, his rule of suspecting every man that proposes any thing to him to be a knave; or, at least, to have some ends of his own in it. Being led thereto by the story of Sir John Millicent, that would have had a patent from King James for every man to have had leave to have given him a shilling; and that he might take it of every man that had a mind to give it; and what he would do to them that would not give him. He answered, he would not force them; but that they should come to the Council of State, to give a reason why they would not. Another rule is a proverb that he hath been taught, which is that a man that cannot sit still in his chamber, (the reason of which I did not

understand,) and he that cannot say no, (that is, that is of so good a nature that he cannot deny any thing, or cross another in doing any thing) is not fit for business. The last of which is a very great fault of mine, which I must amend in. ahem!

9th. Mr. Coventry and I alone sat at the office all the morning upon business. And so to dinner to Trinity House, and thence by his coach towards White Hall; but there being a stop at the Savoy, we light and took water, and my Lord Sandwich being out of towne, we parted there.

10th. I walked to St. Dunstan's, the church being now finished; and here I heard Dr. Bates,* who made a most eloquent sermon; and I am sorry I have hitherto had so low an opinion of the man, for I have not heard a neater sermon a great while, and more to my content. My uncle Fenner told me the new service-booke (which is now lately come forth) was laid upon their deske at St. Sepulchre's for Mr. George to read; but he laid it aside, and would not meddle with it: and I perceive the Presbyters do all prepare to give over all against Bartholomewtide. Mr. Herring, being lately turned out at St. Bride's, did read the psalme to the people while they sung at Dr.

* Dr. Bates, a celebrated Nonconformist divine.

Bates's, which methought is a strange turn. After dinner, to St. Bride's, and there heard one Carpenter, an old man, who, they say, hath been a Jesuite priest, and is come over to us; but he preached very well. Mr. Calamy hath taken his farewell this day of his people, and others will do so the next Sunday. Mr. Turner,* the draper, I hear, is knighted, made Alderman, and pricked for Sheriffe, with Sir Thomas Bluddel,† for the next year, by the King, and so are called with great honour the King's Sheriffes.

13th. Up early, and to my office. By and by we met on purpose to enquire into the business of flag-makers, where I am the person that do chiefly manage the business against them on the King's part; and I do find it the greatest cheat that I have yet found; they having eightpence per yard allowed them by pretence of a contract, where no such thing appears; and it is threepence more than was formerly paid, and than I now offer the Board to have them done. To Lambeth; and there saw the little pleasure-boat in building by the King, my Lord Brunkard,‡ and the virtuosoes

* Sir William Turner, Lord Mayor of London, 1669.

† A mistake for Bludworth.

‡ William, second Lord Brouncker, Viscount of Castle

of the towne, according to new ines, which Mr. Pett cries up mightily, but how it will prove we shall soon see.

14th. Commissioner Pett and I being invited, went by Sir John Winter's coach sent for us, to the Miter, in Fanchurch-street, to a venison-pasty; where I found him a very worthy man; and good discourse. Most of which was concerning the Forest of Deane, and the timber there, and iron-workes with their great antiquity, and the vast heaps of cinders, which they find, and are now of great value, being necessary for the making of iron at this day; and without which they cannot work: with the age of many trees there left at a great fall in Edward the Third's time, by the name of forbid-trees, which at this day, are called vorbid trees.

15th. I went to Paul's Church Yard to my bookseller's; and there I hear that next Sunday will be the last of a great many Presbyterian ministers in towne, who, I hear, will give up all.

Lyons; created M. D., in 1642, at Oxford: Keeper of the Great Seal to the Queen; a Commissioner of the Admiralty; and Master of St. Catherine's Hospital. He was a man of considerable talents, and some years President of the Royal Society. Ob. 1684, aged 64.

I pray God the issue may be good, for the discontent is great. My mind well pleased with a letter that I found at home from Mr. Coventry, expressing his satisfaction in a letter I writ last night, and sent him this morning, to be corrected by him in order to its sending down to all the Yards as a charge to them.

17th. This being the last Sunday that the Presbyterians are to preach, unless they read the new Common Prayer and renounce the Covenant, I had a mind to hear Dr. Bates's farewell sermon; and walked to St. Dunstan's, where, it not being seven o'clock yet, the doors were not open; and so I walked an hour in the Temple-garden. At eight o'clock I went, and crowded in at a back door among others, the church being half-full almost before any doors were open publicly; and so got into the gallery, beside the pulpit, and heard very well. His text was, "Now the God of Peace ———;" the last Hebrews, and the 20th verse: he making a very good sermon, and very little reflections in it to any thing of the times. To Madam Turner's, and dined with her. She had heard Parson Herring take his leave; tho' he, by reading so much of the Common Prayer as he did, hath cast himself out of the good opinion of both

sides. After dinner to St. Dunstan's again; and the church quite crowded before I come, which was just at one o'clock; but I got into the gallery again, but stood in a crowd. He* pursued his text again very well; and only at the conclusion told us, after this manner: "I do believe that many of you do expect that I should say something to you in reference to the time, this being the last time that possibly I may appear here. You know not it is not my manner to speak any thing in the pulpit that is extraneous to my text and business; yet this I shall say, that it is not my opinion, fashion, or humour that keeps me from complying with what is required of us; but something after much prayer, discourse, and study yet remains unsatisfied, and commands me herein. Wherefore, if it is my unhappinesse not to receive such an illuminacion as should direct me to do otherwise, I know no reason why men should not pardon me in this world, as I am confident that God will pardon me for it in the next." And so he concluded. Parson Herring read a psalme and chapters before sermon; and one was the chapter in the Acts, where the story of Ananias and Sapphira is. And after he had

* Dr. Bates.

done, says he, "This is just the case of England at present. God he bids us to preach, and men bid us not to preach; and if we do, we are to be imprisoned and further punished. All that I can say to it is, that I beg your prayers, and the prayers of all good Christians, for us." This was all the exposition he made of the chapter in these very words, and no more. I was much pleased with Bates's manner of bringing in the Lord's Prayer after his owne; thus, "In whose comprehensive words we sum up all our imperfect desires; saying, 'Our Father,'" &c. I hear most of the Presbyters took their leaves to-day, and that the City is much dissatisfied with it. I pray God keep peace among men in their rooms, or else all will fly a-pieces; for bad ones will not go down with the City.

18th. Mr. Deane * of Woolwich and I rid into Waltham Forest, and there we saw many trees of the King's a-hewing; and he showed me the whole mystery of off square, wherein the King is abused in the timber that he buys, which I shall with much pleasure be able to correct. We rode to Illford, and there, while dinner was getting

* Anthony Deane, afterwards knighted and M. P. for Harwich; a Commissioner of the Navy, 1672.

ready, he and I practised measuring of the tables and other things till I did understand measure of timber and board very well.

19th. At the office; and Mr. Coventry did tell us of the duell between Mr. Jermyn,* nephew to my Lord St. Alban's, and Colonel Giles Rawlins, the latter of whom is killed, and the first mortally wounded, as it is thought. They fought against Captain Thomas Howard,† my Lord Carlisle's brother, and another unknown; who, they say, had armor on that they could not be hurt, so that one of their swords went up to the hilt against it. They had horses ready, and are fled. But what is most strange, Howard sent one challenge before, but they could not meet till yesterday at the old Pall Mall at St. James's, and he would not to the last tell Jermyn what the quarrel was; nor do any body know. The Court is much concerned in this fray, and I am glad of it; hoping that it will cause some good laws against it. After sitting, Sir G. Carteret

* He became Baron Jermyn on the death of his uncle, the Earl of St. Alban's, 1683; and died unmarried, 1703.

† According to Collins, Lord Carlisle's brother's name was Charles.

did tell me how he had spoke of me to my Lord Chancellor, and that if my Lord Sandwich would ask my Lord Chancellor, he should know what he had said of me to him to my advantage.

20th. To my Lord Sandwich, whom I found in bed. Among other talk, he do tell me that he hath put me into commission with a great many great persons in the business of Tangier, which is a very great honour to me, and may be of good concernment to me. By and by comes in Mr. Coventry to us, whom my Lord tells that he is also put into the commission, and that I am there, of which he said he was glad; and did tell my Lord that I was indeed the life of this office, and much more to my commendation beyond measure. And that, whereas before he did bear me respect for his sake, so he do it now much more for my own; which is a great blessing to me. Sir G. Carteret having told me what he did yesterday concerning his speaking to my Lord Chancellor about me. So that on all hands, by God's blessing, I find myself a very rising man. By and by comes my Lord Peterborough in, with whom we talked a good while, and he is going to-morrow toward Tangier again. I perceive there is yet good

hopes of peace with Guyland,* which is of great concernment to Tangier.

23d. Mr. Coventry and I did walk together a great while in the Garden, where he did tell me his mind about Sir G. Carteret's having so much the command of the money, which must be removed. And indeed it is the bane of all our business. He observed to me also how Sir W. Batten begins to struggle and to look after his business. I also put him upon getting an order from the Duke for our inquiries into the Chest, which he will see done.

Mr. Creed and I walked down to the Tylt Yard, and so all along Thames-street, but could not get a boat: I offered eight shillings for a boat to attend me this afternoon, and they would not, it being the day of the Queene's coming to town from Hampton Court. So we fairly walked it to White Hall, and through my Lord's lodgings we got into White Hall garden, and so to the Bowling-greene, and up to the top of the new Banqueting House there, over the Thames, which was a most pleasant place as any I could have got; and all the show consisted chiefly in the number of

* A Moorish usurper, who had put himself at the head of an army for the purpose of attacking Tangier.

boats and barges; and two pageants, one of a King, and another of a Queene, with her Maydes of Honour sitting at her feet very prettily; and they tell me the Queene is Sir Richard Ford's daughter. Anon come the King and Queene in a barge under a canopy with 1000 barges and boats I know, for we could see no water for them, nor discern the King nor Queene. And so they landed at White Hall Bridge, and the great guns on the other side went off. But that which pleased me best was, that my Lady Castlemaine stood over against us upon a piece of White Hall. But methought it was strange to see her Lord and her upon the same place walking up and down without taking notice one of another, only at first entry he put off his hat, and she made him a very civil salute, but afterwards took no notice one of another; but both of them now and then would take their child, which the nurse held in her armes, and dandle it. One thing more; there happened a scaffold below to fall, and we feared some hurt, but there was none, but she of all the great ladies only run down among the common rabble to see what hurt was done, and did take care of a child that received some little hurt, which methought was so noble. Anon there

come one there booted and spurred that she talked long with. And by and by, she being in her haire, she put on his hat, which was but an ordinary one, to keep the wind off. But it become her mightily, as every thing else do.

24th. Walked to my uncle Wight's: here I staid supper, and much company there was; among others, Dr. Burnett, Mr. Cole the lawyer, Mr. Rawlinson, and Mr. Sutton. Among other things they tell me that there hath been a disturbance in a church in Friday-street; a great many young people knotting together and crying out "Porridge" often and seditiously in the Church, and they took the Common Prayer Book, they say, away; and, some say, did tear it; but it is a thing which appears to me very ominous. I pray God avert it.

31st. To Mr. Rawlinson's, and there supped with him. Our discourse of the discontents that are abroad, among, and by reason of the Presbyters. Some were clapped up to-day, and strict watch is kept in the City by the train-bands, and abettors of a plot are taken. God preserve us, for all these things bode very ill.

September 1st. With Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen by coach to St. James's, this being the

first day of our meeting there by the Duke's order; but when we come, we found him going out by coach with his Duchesse, and he told us he was to go abroad with the Queene to-day, (to Durdan's, it seems, to dine with my Lord Barkeley,* where I have been very merry when I was a little boy;) so we went and staid a little at Mr. Coventry's chamber, and I to my Lord Sandwich's, who is gone to wait upon the King and Queene to-day.

Sept. 3d. Mr. Coventry told us how the Fanatiques and Presbyters, that did intend to rise about this time, did choose this day as the most auspicious to them in their endeavours against monarchy: it being fatal twice to the King, and the day of Oliver's death. But, blessed be God! all is likely to be quiet, I hope. Dr. Fairbrother tells me, what I heard confirmed since, that it was fully resolved by the King's new Council that an indulgence should be granted the Presbyters; but upon the Bishop of London's † speech, (who is now one of the most powerful men in England with the King,) their minds were wholly turned. And it is said that my Lord Albemarle did oppose

* Lord Berkeley's seat near Epsom.

† Gilbert Sheldon.

him most; but that I do believe is only an appearance. He told me also that most of the Presbyters now begin to wish they had complied, now they see that no indulgence will be granted them, which they hoped for; and that the Bishop of London hath taken good care that places are supplied with very good and able men, which is the only thing that will keep all quiet.

4th. At noon to the Trinity House, where we treated, very dearly I believe, the officers of the Ordnance; where was Sir W. Compton and the Lieutenant of the Tower. We had much and good musique. Sir Wm. Compton I heard talk with great pleasure of the difference between the fleet now and in Queene Elizabeth's days; where, in 88, she had but 36 sail great and small, in the world; and ten rounds of powder was their allowance at that time against the Spaniard.

5th. By water to Woolwich: in my way saw the yacht lately built by our virtuosoes (my Lord Brunkard and others, with the help of Commissioner Pett also,) set out from Greenwich with the little Dutch bezan, to try for mastery; and before they got to Woolwich the Dutch beat them half-a-mile; (and I hear this afternoon, that, in coming home, it got above three miles;) which all our

people are glad of. To Mr. Bland's, the merchant, by invitation; where I found all the officers of the Customs, very grave fine gentlemen, and I am very glad to know them; viz.—Sir Job Harvy, Sir John Wolstenholme,* Sir John Jacob,† Sir Nicholas Crisp, Sir John Harrison, and Sir John Shaw:‡ very good company. And among other discourse, some was of Sir Jerom Bowes, Embassador from Queene Elizabeth to the Emperor of Russia;§ who, because some of the noblemen there would go up-stairs to the Emperor before him, he would not go up till the Emperor had ordered those two men to be dragged down-

* Sir John Wolstenholme; created a Baronet, 1664. An intimate friend of Lord Clarendon's; and collector outward for the Port of London. Ob. 1679.

† Sir John Jacob of Bromley, Middlesex; created a Baronet, 1664, for his loyalty and zeal for the Royal Family. Ob. 1665-6.

‡ Sir John Shaw was created a Baronet in 1665, for his services in lending the King large sums of money during his exile. Ob. 1679 80.

§ In 1583: the object of his mission being to persuade the Muscovite to a peace with John, King of Sweden. He was also employed to confirm the trade of the English with Russia; and, having incurred some personal danger, was received with favour on his return by the Queen. He died in 1616. There is a portrait of him in Lord Suffolk's collection at Charlton.

stairs, with their heads knocking upon every stair till they were killed. And when he was come up, they demanded his sword of him before he entered the room. He told them, if they would have his sword, they should have his boots too. And so caused his boots to be pulled off, and his night-gown and night-cap and slippers to be sent for; and made the Emperor stay till he could go in his night-dress, since he might not go as a soldier. And lastly, when the Emperor in contempt, to show his command of his subjects, did command one to leap from the window down and broke his neck in the sight of our Embassador, he replied that his mistress did set more by, and did make better use of the necks of her subjects: but said, that, to show what her subjects would do for her, he would, and did, fling down his gantlett before the Emperor; and challenged all the nobility there to take it up, in defence of the Emperor against his Queene: for which, at this very day, the name of Sir Jerom Bowes is famous and honoured there. I this day heard that Mr. Martin Noell is knighted by the King, which I much wonder at; but yet he is certainly a very useful man.

7th. Home with Mr. Fox and his lady; and

there dined with them. Most of our discourse was what ministers are flung out that will not conform: and the care of the Bishop of London that we are here supplied with very good men. Meeting Mr. Pierce, the chyrurgeon, he took me into Somersett House; and there carried me into the Queene-Mother's presence-chamber, where she was with our own Queene sitting on her left hand (whom I did never see before); and though she be not very charming, yet she hath a good, modest, and innocent look, which is pleasing. Here I also saw Madam Castlemaine, and, which pleased me most, Mr. Crofts,* the King's bastard, a most pretty sparke of about 15 years old, who, I perceive, do hang much upon my Lady Castlemaine, and is always with her; and, I hear, the Queenes both are mighty kind to him. By and by in comes the King, and anon the Duke and his Duchesse; so that, they being all together, was such a sight as I never could almost have happened to see with so much ease and leisure. They staid till it was dark, and then went away; the King and his

* James, son of Charles II. by Mrs. Lucy Waters; who bore the name of Crofts till he was created Duke of Monmouth in 1662, previously to his marriage with Lady Anne Scot, daughter to Francis, Earl of Buccleuch.

Queene, and my Lady Castlemaine and young Crofts, in one coach and the rest in other coaches. Here were great stores of great ladies, but very few handsome. The King and Queene were very merry; and he would have made the Queene-Mother believe that his Queene was with child, and said that she said so. And the young Queene answered, "You lye;" which was the first English word that I ever heard her say: which made the King good sport; and he would have made her say in English, "Confess and be hanged."

8th. With Mr Coventry to the Duke; who, after he was out of his bed, did send for us in; and, when he was quite ready, took us into his closet, and there told us that he do intend to renew the old custom for the Admirals to have their principal officers to meet them once a-week, to give them an account what they have done that week; which I am glad of: and so the rest did tell his Royal Highness that I could do it best for the time past. And so I produced my short notes, and did give him an account of all that we have of late done; and proposed to him several things for his commands, which he did give us, and so dismissed us.

12th This day, by letters from my father, I

hear that Captn. Ferrers, who is with my Lord in the country, was at Brampton (with Mr. Creed) to see him; and that a day or two ago, being provoked to strike one of my Lord's footmen, the footman drew his sword, and hath almost cut the fingers of one of his hands off; which I am very sorry for: but this is the vanity of being apt to command and strike.

14th. To White Hall chapel, where sermon almost done, and I heard Captn. Cooke's new musique. This the first day of having vialls and other instruments to play a symphony between every verse of the anthems; but the musique more full than it was the last Sunday, and very fine it is. But yet I could discern Captn. Cooke to overdo his part at singing, which I never did before. Thence up into the Queene's presence, and there saw the Queene again as I did last Sunday, and some fine ladies with her; but, my troth, not many. Thence to Sir G. Carteret's.

15th. By water with Sir Wm. Pen to White Hall; and, with much ado, was fain to walk over the piles through the bridge, while Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes were aground against the bridge, and could not in a great while get through. At White Hall we hear that the Duke of York

is gone a-hunting to-day; and so we returned: they going to the Duke of Albemarle's, where I left them (after I had observed a very good picture or two there).

18th. At noon Sir G. Carteret, Mr. Coventry, and I by invitation to dinner to Sheriff Maynell's, the great money-man; he, Alderman Backewell, and much noble and brave company, with the privilege of their rare discourse, which is great content to me above all other things in the world. And after a great dinner and much discourse, we took leave. Among other discourses, speaking concerning the great charity used in Catholique countrys, Mr. Ashburnham did tell us, that this last year, there being great want of corne in Paris, and so a collection made for the poor, there was two pearles brought in, nobody knew from whom (till the Queene, seeing them, knew whose they were, but did not discover it), which were sold for 200,000 crownes.

21st. (Lord's-day.) To the Parke. The Queene coming by in her coach, going to her chapel at St. James's (the first time it hath been ready for her), I crowded after her, and I got up to the room where her closet is; and there stood and saw the fine altar, ornaments, and the fryers in

their habits, and the priests come in with their fine crosses and many other fine things. I heard their musique too; which may be good, but it did not appear so to me, neither as to their manner of singing, nor was it good concord to my ears, whatever the matter was. The Queene very devout: but what pleased me best was to see my dear Lady Castlemaine, who, tho' a Protestant, did wait upon the Queene to chapel. By and by, after masse was done, a fryer with his cowl did rise up and preach a sermon in Portuguese; which I not understanding, did go away, and to the King's chapel, but that was done; and so up to the Queene's presence-chamber, where she and the King was expected to dine: but she staying at St. James's, they were forced to remove the things to the King's presence; and there he dined alone.

23d. Sir G. Carteret told me how in most cabaretts in France they have writ upon the walls in fair letters to be read, "Dieu te regarde," as a good lesson to be in every man's mind, and have also in Holland their poor's box; in both which places at the making all contracts and bargains they give so much, which they call God's penny.

24th. To my Lord Crewe's, and there dined alone with him, and among other things, he do advise me by all means to keep my Lord Sandwich from proceeding too far in the business of Tangier. First, for that he is confident the King will not be able to find money for the building the Mole; and next, for that it is to be done as we propose it by the reducing of the garrison; and then either my Lord must oppose the Duke of York, who will have the Irish regiment under the command of Fitzgerald continued, or else my Lord Peterborough, who is concerned to have the English continued, but he, it seems, is gone back again merely upon my Lord Sandwich's encouragement.

28th. (Lord's-day.) To the French Church at the Savoy, and there they have the Common Prayer Book read in French, and, which I never saw before, the minister do preach with his hat off, I suppose in further conformity with our Church.

29th. To Mr. Coventry's, and so with him and Sir W. Pen up to the Duke, where the King come also and staid till the Duke was ready. It being Collar-day, we had no time to talk with him about any business. To the King's Theatre, where we saw "Midsummer's Night's dream." which I had never seen before, nor shall ever again, for it is the

most insipid ridiculous play that ever I saw in my life.

30th. My condition at present is this:—I have long been building, and my house to my great content is now almost done. My Lord Sandwich has lately been in the country, and very civil to my wife, and hath himself spent some pains in drawing a plot of some alterations in our house there, which I shall follow as I get money. As for the office, my late industry hath been such, as I am become as high in reputation as any man there, and good hold I have of Mr. Coventry and Sir G. Carteret, which I am resolved, and it is necessary for me, to maintain by all fair means. Things are all quiet. The late outing of the Presbyterian clergy by their not renouncing the Covenant as the Act of Parliament commands, is the greatest piece of state now in discourse. But for ought I see they are gone out very peaceably, and the people not so much concerned therein as was expected.

October 2d. At night hearing that there was a play at the Cockpit, (and my Lord Sandwich, who come to town last night, at it,) I do go thither, and by very great fortune did follow four or five gentlemen who were carried to a little private

door in a wall, and so crept through a narrow place and come into one of the boxes next the King's, but so as I could not see the King or Queene, but many of the fine ladies, who yet are not really so handsome generally as I used to take them to be, but that they are finely dressed. Then we saw "The Cardinall,"* a tragedy I had never seen before, nor is there any great matter in it. The company that come in with me into the box, were all Frenchmen that could speak no English, but Lord! what sport they made to ask a pretty lady that they got among them that understood both French and English to make her tell them what the actors said.

5th. I to church; and this day the parson has got one to read with a surplice on. I suppose himself will take it up hereafter, for a cunning fellow he is as any of his coate.

6th. To White Hall with Mr. Coventry, and so to my Lord Sandwich's lodgings, but my Lord not within, being at a ball this night with the King at my Lady Castlemaine's at next door.

8th. To my Lord Sandwich's, and among other things to my extraordinary joy, he did tell me how much I was beholding to the Duke of York, who

* A tragi-comedy by James Shirley.

did yesterday of his own accord tell him that he did thank him for one person brought into the Navy, naming myself, and much more to my commendation, which is the greatest comfort and encouragement that ever I had in my life, and do owe it all to Mr. Coventry's goodness and ingenuity. At night by coach to my Lord's again, but he is at White Hall with the King, before whom the puppet plays I saw this summer in Covent-garden are acted this night.

9th. To the office; and I bid them adieu for a week, having the Duke's leave got me by Mr. Coventry. To whom I did give thanks for my news yesterday of the Duke's words to my Lord Sandwich concerning me, which he took well; and do tell me so freely his love and value of me, that my mind is now in as great a state of quiet as to my interest in the office, as I could ever wish to be. Between one and two o'clock got on horseback at our back gate, with my man Will. with me, both well-mounted on two grey horses. We got to Ware before night; and so I resolved to ride on to Puckeridge, which we did, though the way was bad, and the evening dark before we got thither, by help of company riding before us; among others, a gentleman that took up at the same inn,

his name Mr. Brian, with whom I supped, and was very good company, and a scholar. He tells me, that it is believed the Queene is with child, for that the coaches are ordered to ride very easily through the streets.

10th. Up, and between eight and nine mounted again, and so rid to Cambridge; the way so good that I got very well thither, and set up at the Beare: and there my cosen Angier come to me, and I must needs to his house; and there found Dr. Fairbrother, with a good dinner. But, above all, he telling me that this day there is a Congregation for the choice of some officers in the University, he after dinner gets me a gowne, cap, and hoode, and carries me to the Schooles, where Mr. Pepper, my brother's tutor, and this day chosen Proctor, did appoint a M. A. to lead me into the Regent House, where I sat with them, and did vote by subscribing papers thus: "Ego Samuel Pepys eligo Magistrum Bernardum Skelton, (and which was more strange, my old schoolfellow and acquaintance, and who afterwards did take notice of me, and we spoke together,) alterum è taxatoribus hujus Academiæ in annum sequentem." The like I did for one Briggs, for the other Taxor, and for other officers, as the Vice-Proctor, (Mr. Covell)

for Mr. Pepper, and which was the gentleman that did carry me into the Regent House.

11th. To Brampton; where I found my father and two brothers, my mother and sister.

12th. To church; where I saw, among others, Mrs. Hanbury, a proper lady, and Mr. Bernard and his Lady, with her father, my late Lord St. John,* who looks now like a very plain grave man.

13th. To the Court, and did sue out a recovery, and cut off the intayle; and my brothers there, to join therein. And my father and I admitted to all the lands; he for life, and I for myself and my heirs in reversion. I did with most compleat joy of mind go from the Court with my father home, and away, calling in at Hinchingbroke, and taking leave in three words of my Lady, and the young ladies; and so by moonlight to Cambridge, whither we come at about nine o'clock, and took up at the Beare.

15th. Showed Mr. Cooke King's College Chapel,

* Oliver St. John, one of Cromwell's Lords, and Chief Justice; and therefore, after the Restoration, properly called "My *late* Lord." His third daughter, Elizabeth, by his second wife, daughter of Henry Cromwell of Upwood, Esq., uncle to the Protector, married Mr. John Bernard, who became a Baronet on the death of his father, Sir Robert, in 1666, and was M. P. for Huntingdon. Ob. 1689.

Trinity College, and St. John's College Library; and that being done, to our inn again; where I met Dr. Fairbrother. He told us how the room we were in, was the room where Cromwell and his associated officers did begin to plot and act their mischiefs in these counties. Took leave of all, and begun our journey about nine o'clock, the roads being every where but bad; but finding our horses in good case, we even made shift to reach London, though both of us very weary. Found all things well, there happening nothing since our going to my discontent in the least degree; which do also please me, that I cannot but bless God for my journey, observing a whole course of successe from the beginning to the end of it.

16th. I hear Sir H. Bennet * is made Secretary of State in Sir Edward Nicholas's stead; not known whether by consent or not.

17th. To Creed's chamber, and there sat a good while and drank chocolate. Here I am told how things go at Court; that the young men get uppermost, and the old serious lords are out of fa-

* Created Baron of Arlington 1663, and Viscount Thetford and Earl of Arlington, 1672; he was also K. G., and Chamberlain to the King. Ob. 1685.

vour; that Sir H. Bennet, being brought into Sir Edward Nicholas's place, Sir Charles Barkeley is made Privy Purse; a most vicious person, and one whom Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, did tell me that he offered his wife 300*l.* per annum to be his mistress. He also told me, that none in Court hath more the King's eare now than Sir Charles Barkeley, and Sir H. Bennet, and my Lady Castlemaine, whose interest is now as great as ever: and that Mrs. Haslerigge, the great beauty, is now brought to bed, and lays it to the King or the Duke of York. He tells me also, that my Lord St. Albans is like to be Lord Treasurer: all which things do trouble me much.

19th. (Lord's-day.) Put on my first new lace-band; and so neat it is, that I am resolved my great expence shall be lace-bands, and it will set off any thing else the more. I am sorry to hear that the news of the selling of Dunkirke is taken so generally ill, as I find it is among the merchants; and other things, as removal of officers at Court, good for worse; and all things else made much worse in their report among people than they are. And this night, I know not upon what ground, the gates of the City ordered to be all shut, and double guards every where. Indeed I

do find every body's spirit very full of trouble; and the things of the Court and Council very ill taken; so as to be apt to appear in bad colours, if there should ever be a beginning of trouble, which God forbid!

20th. In Sir J. Minnes's coach with him and Sir W. Batten to White Hall, where now the Duke is come again to lodge: and to Mr. Coventry's little new chamber there. And by and by up to the Duke, who was making himself ready; and there young Killigrew did so commend "The Villaine," a new play made by Tom Porter, and acted only on Saturday at the Duke's house, as if there never had been any such play come upon the stage. The same yesterday was told me by Captn. Ferrers; and this morning afterwards by Dr. Clarke, who saw it. After I had done with the Duke, with Commissioner Pett to Mr. Lilly's, the great painter, who come forth to us; but believing that I come to bespeak a picture, he prevented it by telling us, that he should not be at leisure these three weeks; which methinks is a rare thing. And then to see in what pomp his table was laid for himself to go to dinner; and here, among other pictures, saw the so much desired by me picture of my Lady Castlemaine,

which is a most blessed picture; and one that I must have a copy of. From thence I took my wife by coach to the Duke's house, and there was the house full of company: but whether it was in overexpecting or what, I know not, but I was never less pleased with a play in my life. Though there was good singing and dancing, yet no fancy in the play.

21st. By water with Mr. Smith, to Mr. Lechmore,* the Councellor at the Temple, about Field's business; and he tells me plainly that there being a verdict against me, there is no help for it, but it must proceed to judgement. It is 30*l.* damage to me for my joining with others in committing Field to prison, as being not Justices of the Peace in the City, though in Middlesex; which troubled me, and I hope the King will make it good to us.

24th. Mr. Pierce, the chyrurgeon, tells me how ill things go at Court: that the King do show no countenance to any that belong to the Queene; nor, above all, to such English as she brought over with her, or hath here since, for fear they should tell her how he carries himself to Mrs. Palmer;

* Nicholas Lechmere, knighted and made a Baron of the Exchequer, 1689. Ob. 1701.

insomuch that though he has a promise, and is sure of being made her clyrurgeon, he is at a loss what to do in it, whether to take it or no, since the King's mind is so altered and favor to all her dependents, whom she is fain to let go back into Portugall, (though she brought them from their friends against their wills with promise of preferment,) without doing any thing for them. That her owne physician did tell him within these three days that the Queene do know how the King orders things, and how he carries himself to my Lady Castlemaine and others, as well as any body; but though she hath spirit enough, yet seeing that she do no good by taking notice of it, for the present she forbears it in policy; of which I am very glad. But I do pray God keep us in peace; for this, with other things, do give great discontent to all people.

26th. (Lord's-day.) Put on my new Scallop, which is very fine. To church, and there saw the first time Mr. Mills in a surplice; but it seemed absurd for him to pull it over his eares in the reading-pew, after he had done, before all the church, to go up to the pulpitt, to preach without it. All this day soldiers going up and down the towne, there being an alarme, and many Quakers

and other clapped up; but I believe without any reason: only they say in Dorsetshire there hath been some rising discovered.

27th. To my Lord Sandwich, who now-a-days calls me into his chamber, and alone did discourse with me about the jealousy that the Court have of people's rising; wherein he do much dislike my Lord Monk's being so eager against a company of poor wretches, dragging them up and down the street; but would have him rather take some of the greatest ringleaders of them, and punish them; whereas this do but tell the world the King's fears and doubts. For Dunkirke, he wonders any wise people should be so troubled thereat, and scorns all their talk against it, for that he sees it was not Dunkirke, but the other places, that did and would annoy us, though we had that, as much as if we had it not. He also took notice of the new Ministers of State, Sir H. Bennet and Sir Charles Barkeley, their bringing in, and the high game that my Lady Castlemaine plays at Court. Afterwards he told me of poor Mr. Spong, that being with other people examined before the King and Council, (they being laid up as suspected persons; and it seems Spong is so far thought guilty as that they intend to pitch upon him to put to the

wracke or some other torture,) he do take knowledge of my Lord Sandwich, and said that he was well known to Mr. Pepys. But my Lord knows, and I told him, that it was only in matter of musique and pipes, but that I thought him to be a very innocent fellow; and indeed I am very sorry for him. After my Lord and I had done in private, we went out, and with Captain Cuttance and Bunn did look over their draught of a bridge for Tangier, which will be brought by my desire to our office by them to-morrow. To Westminster Hall, and there walked long with Creed. He showed me our commission, wherein the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, Duke of Albemarle, Lord Peterborough, Lord Sandwich, Sir G. Carteret, Sir William Compton, Mr. Coventry, Sir R. Ford, Sir William Rider, Mr. Cholmley, Mr Povy, myself, and Captain Cuttance, in this order are joyned for the carrying on the service of Tangier. He told me what great faction there is at Court; and above all, what is whispered, that young Crofts is lawful son to the King, the King being married to his mother. How true this is, God knows; but I believe the Duke of York will not be fooled in this of three crowns. Thence to White Hall, and walked long in the gardens,

till (as they are commanded to all strange persons,) one come to tell us, we not being known, and being observed to walk there four or five houres, (which was not true, unless they count my walking there in the morning,) he was commanded to ask who we were; which being told, he excused his question, and was satisfied. These things speake great fear and jealousys.

29th. Sir G. Carteret, who had been at the examining most of the late people that are clapped up, do say that he do not think that there hath been any great plotting among them, though they have a good will to it; and their condition is so poor, and silly, and low, that they do not fear them at all.

30th. To my Lord Sandwich, who was up in his chamber and all alone, and did acquaint me with his business; which was, that our old acquaintance Mr. Wade (in Axe Yard) hath discovered to him 7000*l.* hid in the Tower, of which he was to have two for discovery; my Lord himself two, and the King the other three, when it was found: and that the King's warrant runs for me on my Lord's part, and one Mr. Lee for Sir Harry Bennet, to demand leave of the Lieutenant of the Tower for to make search. After he had

told me the whole business, I took leave: and at noon, comes Mr. Wade with my Lord's letter. So we consulted for me to go first to Sir H. Bennet, who is now with many of the Privy Counsellors at the Tower, examining of their late prisoners, to advise with him when to begin. So I went; and the guard at the Tower Gate, making me leave my sword at the gate, I was forced to stay so long in the ale-house close by, till my boy run home for my cloak, that my Lord Mayor that now is, Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, with all his company, was gone with their coaches to his house in Minchen Lane. So my cloak being come, I walked thither: and there, by Sir G. Carteret's means, did presently speak with Sir H. Bennet, who did give me the King's warrant, for the paying of 2,000*l.* to my Lord, and other two to the discoverers. After a little discourse, dinner come in; and I dined with them. There was my Lord Mayor, my Lord Lauderdale, Mr. Secretary Morris, to whom Sir H. Bennet would give the upper hand; Sir Wm. Compton, Sir G. Carteret, and myself, and some other company, and a brave dinner. After dinner, Sir H. Bennet did call aside the Lord Mayor and me, and did break the business to him, who did not,

nor durst appear the least averse to it, but did promise all assistance forthwith to set upon it. So Mr. Lee and I to our office, and there walked till Mr. Wade and one Evett his guide did come, and W. Griffin, and a porter with his picke-axes, &c : and so they walked along with us to the Tower, and Sir H. Bennet and my Lord Mayor did give us full power to fall to work. So our guide demands a candle, and down into the cellars he goes, enquiring whether they were the same that Baxter alway had. He went into several little cellars, and then went out a-doors to view, and to the Cole Harbour; but none did answer so well to the marks which was given him to find it by, as one arched vault. Where, after a great deal of council whether to set upon it now, or delay for better and more full advice, to digging we went till almost eight o'clock at night, but could find nothing. But, however, our guides did not at all seem discouraged; for that they being confident that the money is there they look for, but having never been in the cellars, they could not be positive to the place, and therefore will inform themselves more fully now they have been there, of the party that do advise them. So locking the door after us, we left here to-night, and up to the

Deputy Governor, (my Lord Mayor, and Sir H. Bennet, with the rest of the company being gone an hour before;) and he do undertake to keep the key of the cellars, that none shall go down without his privity. But, Lord! to see what a young simple fantastick coxcombe is made Deputy Governor, would make me mad; and how he called out for his night-gowne of silk, only to make a show to us: and yet for half an hour I did not think he was the Deputy Governor, and so spoke not to him about the business, but waited for another man; but at last I broke our business to him; and he promising his care, we parted. And Mr. Lee and I by coach to White Hall, where I did give my Lord Sandwich a full account of our proceedings, and some encouragement to hope for something hereafter. This morning, walking with Mr. Coventry in the garden, he did tell me how Sir G. Carteret had carried the business of the Victuallers' money to be paid by himself, contrary to old practice; at which he is angry I perceive, but I believe means no hurt, but that things may be done as they ought. He expects Sir George should not bespatter him privately, in revenge, not openly. Against which he prepares to bedaube him, and swears he will do it from the beginning,

from Jersey to this day. And as to his own taking of two large fees or rewards for places that he had sold, he will prove that he was directed to it by Sir George himself among others. And yet he did not deny Sir G. Carteret his due, in saying that he is a man that do take the most pains, and gives himself the most to do business of any about the Court, without any desire of pleasure or divertisements: which is very true. But which pleased me mightily, he said in these words, that he was resolved, whatever it cost him, to make an experiment, and see whether it was possible for a man to keep himself up in Court by dealing plainly and walking uprightly. In the doing whereof, if his ground do slip from under him, he will be contented: but he is resolved to try, and never to baulke taking notice of any thing that is to the King's prejudice, let it fall where it will; which is a most brave resolution. He was very free with me; and by my troth, I do see more reall worth in him than in most men that I do know. I would not forget two passages of Sir J. Minnes's at yesterday's dinner. The one, that to the question how it comes to pass that there are no boars seen in London, but many sowes and pigs; it was answered, that the constable gets them a-nights.

The other, Thos. Killigrew[3]s way of getting to see plays when he was a boy. He would go to the Red Bull, and when the man cried to the boys, "Who will go and be a devil, and he shall see the play for nothing?" then would he go in, and be a devil upon the stage, and so get to see plays.

31st. I thank God I have no crosses, but only much business to trouble my mind with. In all other things as happy a man as any in the world, for the whole world seems to smile upon me, and if my house were done that I could diligently follow my business, I would not doubt to do God, and the King, and myself good service. And all I do impute almost wholly to my late temperance, since my making of my vowes against wine and plays, which keeps me most happily and contentfully to my business; which God continue! Public matters are full of discontent, what with the sale of Dunkirke, and my Lady Castlemaine, and her faction at Court; though I know not what they would have more than to debauch the king, whom God preserve from it! And then great plots are talked to be discovered, and all the prisons in towne full of ordinary people, taken from their meeting-places last Sunday. But for certain some

plots there hath been, though not brought to a head.

November 1st. To my office, to meet Mr. Lee again, from Sir H. Bennet. And he and I, with Wade and his intelligencer and labourers, to the Tower cellars, to make one triall more; where we staid two or three hours, and dug a great deal all under the arches, as it was now most confidently directed, and so seriously, and upon pretended good grounds, that I myself did truly expect to speed; but we missed of all: and so we went away the second time like fools. And to our office; and I by appointment to the Dolphin Taverne, to meet Wade and the other, Captn. Evett, who now do tell me plainly, that he that do put him upon this is one that had it from Barkestead's own mouth, and was advised with by him, just before the King's coming in, how to get it out, and had all the signs told him how and where it lay, and had always been the great confident of Barkestead even to the trusting him with his life and all he had. So that he did much convince me that there is good ground for what he goes about. But I fear it may be that he did find some conveyance of it away, without the help of this man, before he died. But he is resolved to go to the

party once more, and then to determine what we shall do further.

3d. To White Hall, to the Duke's; but found him gone a-hunting. Thence to my Lord Sandwich, from whom I receive every day more and more signs of his confidence and esteem of me. Here I met with Pierce the chyrurgeon, who tells me that my Lady Castlemaine is with child; but though it be the King's, yet her Lord being still in towne, and sometimes seeing of her, it will be laid to him. He tells me also how the Duke of York is smitten in love with my Lady Chesterfield,* (a virtuous lady, daughter to my Lord of Ormond); and so much, that the duchesse of York hath complained to the King and her father about it, and my Lady Chesterfield is gone into the country for it. At all which I am sorry; but it is the effect of idlenesse, and having nothing else to employ their great spirits upon. At night to my office, and did business; and there come to me Mr. Wade and Evett, who have been again with their prime intelligencer, a woman, I perceive: and though we have missed twice, yet they bring such

* Lady Elizabeth Butler, daughter of James, Duke of Ormond, married Philip, second Earl of Chesterfield. Ob. 1665. Vide "*Mémoires de Grammont.*"

an account of the probability of the truth of the thing, though we are not certain of the place, that we shall set upon it once more; and I am willing and hopefull in it. So we resolved to set upon it again on Wednesday morning; and the woman herself will be there in a disguise, and confirm us in the place.

4th. This morning we had news by letters that Sir Richard Stayner is dead at sea in the Mary, which is now come into Portsmouth from Lisbon; which we are sorry for, he being a very stout seaman.

7th. Being by appointment called upon by Mr. Lee, he and I to the Tower, to make our third attempt upon the cellar. And now privately the woman, Barkestead's great confident, is brought, who do positively say that this is the place which he did say the money was hid in, and where he and she did put up the 7000*l.* in butter firkins; and the very day that he went out of England did say that neither he nor his would be the better for that money, and therefore wishing that she and hers might. And so left us, and we full of hope did resolve to dig all over the cellar, which by seven o'clock at night we performed. At noon we sent for a dinner, and upon the head of a barrel dined

very merrily, and to work again. But at last we saw we were mistaken; and after digging the cellar quite through, and removing the barrels from one side to the other, we were forced to pay our porters, and give over our expectations, though I do believe there must be money hid somewhere by him, or else he did delude this woman in hopes to oblige her to further serving him, which I am apt to believe.

9th. (Lord's-day.) Walked to my brother's, where my wife is, calling at many churches, and then to the Temple, hearing a bit there too, and observing that in the streets and churches the Sunday is kept in appearance as well as I have known it at any time.

10th. A little to the office, and so with Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, and myself by coach to White Hall, to the Duke, who, after he was ready, did take us into his closett. Thither come my Lord General Monk, and did privately talk with the Duke about having the life-guards pass through the City to-day only for show and to fright people, for I perceive there are great fears abroad; for all which I am troubled and full of doubt that things will not go well. He being gone, we fell to business of the Navy. Among

other things, how to pay off this fleet that is now come from Portugall; the King of Portugall sending them home, he having no more use for them, which we wonder at, that his condition should be so soon altered. And our landmen also are coming back, being almost starved in that poor country. To my Lord Crewe's, and dined with him and his brother, I know not his name. Where very good discourse. Among others, of France's intention to make a patriarch of his own, independent from the Pope, by which he will be able to cope with the Spaniard in all councils, which hitherto he has never done. My Lord Crewe told us how he heard my Lord of Holland * say, that being Embassador about the match with the Queene-Mother that now is, the King of France insisted upon a dispensation from the Pope, which my Lord Holland making a question of, as he was commanded to yield to nothing to the prejudice of our religion, says the King of France, "You need not fear that, for if the Pope will not dispense with the match, my Bishop of Paris shall." By and by come in the great Mr. Swinfen, † the Parliament-man, who, among other discourse of the

* Henry Rich, Earl of Holland.

† John Swinfen, M. P. for Tamworth.

rise and fall of familys, told us of Bishop Bridgeman * (father of Sir Orlando) who lately hath bought a seat anciently of the Levers, and then the Ashtons; and so he hath in his great hall window (having repaired and beautified the house) caused four great places to be left for coates of armes. In one he hath put the Levers, with this motto, "Olim." In another the Ashtons, with this, "Heri." In the next his own, with this, "Hodie." In the fourth nothing but this motto, "Cras nescio cujus." The towne, I hear, is full of discontents, and all know of the King's new bastard by Mrs. Haslerigge, and as far as I can hear will never be contented with Episcopacy, they are so cruelly set for Presbytery, and the Bishops carry themselves so high, that they are never likely to gain any thing upon them. To the Dolphin Tavern near home, by appointment, and there met with Wade and Evett, and have resolved to make a new attempt upon another discovery, in which God give us better fortune than in the other, but I have great confidence that there is no cheat in these people, but that they go upon good grounds, though they have been mistaken in the place of the first.

* John Bridgeman, Bishop of Chester.

13th. To my office, and there this afternoon we had our first meeting upon our commission of inspecting the Chest. Sir Francis Clerke,* Mr. Heath, Atturney of the Dutchy, Mr. Prinn, Sir W. Rider, Captn. Cooke, and myself. Our first work was to read over the Institution, which is a decree in Chancery in the year 1617, upon an inquisition made at Rochester about that time into the revenues of the Chest, which had then, from the year 1588 or 1590, by the advice of the Lord High Admiral and principal officers then being, by consent of the seamen, been settled, paying sixpence per month, according to their wages then, which was then but 10*s.* which is now 24*s.*

17th. To the Duke's to-day, but he is gone a-hunting. At White Hall by appointment, Mr. Creed carried my wife and I to the Cockpitt, and we had excellent places, and saw the King, Queene, Duke of Monmouth, his son, and my Lady Castlemaine, and all the fine ladies; and "The Scornfull Lady," well performed. They had done by eleven o'clock, and it being fine moonshine, we took coach and home.

18th. Late at my office, drawing up a letter to

* M. P. for Rochester.

my Lord Treasurer, which we have been long about.

20th. After dinner to the Temple, to Mr. Thurland;* and thence to my Lord Chief Baron, Sir Edward Hale's,† and take Mr. Thurland to his chamber, where he told us that Field will have the better of us; and that we must study to make up the business as well as we can, which do much vex and trouble us: but I am glad the Duke is concerned in it.

21st. This day come the King's pleasure-boats from Calais, with the Dunkirke money, being 400,000 pistolles.

22d. This day Mr. Moore told me, that for certain the Queene-Mother is married to my Lord St. Albans, and he is like to be made Lord Treasurer. News that Sir J. Lawson hath made up a peace now with Tunis and Tripoli, as well as Argiers, by which he will come home very highly honoured.

23d. I hear to-day old rich Audley‡ is lately

* Edward Thurland, M. P. for Ryegate, afterwards knighted.

† Sir Matthew Hale succeeded Sir Orlando Bridgeman as Chief Baron of the Exchequer (according to Beatson,) in 1666; there is consequently some mistake.

‡ There is an old Tract called, "The Way to be Rich, according to the Practice of the great Audley, who began

dead, and left a very great estate, and made a great many poor familys rich, not all to one. Among others, one Davis, my old schoolfellow at Paul's, and since a bookseller in Paul's Church Yard: and it seems do forgive one man 6000*l.* which he had wronged him of, but names not his name; but it is well known to be the scrivener in Fleet-streete, at whose house he lodged. There is also this week dead a poulterer, in Gracious-street, which was thought rich, but not so rich, that hath left 800*l.* per annum, taken in other men's names, and 40,000 Jacobs in gold.

24th. Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, and I, going forth toward White Hall, we hear that the King and Duke are come this morning to the Tower to see the Dunkirke money. So we by coach to them, and there went up and down all the magazines with them; but methought it was but poor discourse and frothy that the King's companions (young Killigrew among the rest,) had with him. We saw none of the money, but Mr. Slingsby did show the King, and I did see, the stamps of the new money that is now to be made by Blondeau's fashion, which are very neat, and

with 200*l.* in 1605, and dyed worth 400,000*l.* November, 1662." London, printed for E. Davis, 1662.

like the King. Thence the King to Woolwich, though a very cold day; and the Duke to White Hall, commanding us to come after him; and in his closet, my Lord Sandwich being there, did discourse with us about getting some of this money to pay off the Fleets, and other matters.

25th. Great talk among people how some of the Fanatiques do say that the end of the world is at hand, and that next Tuesday is to be the day. Against which, whenever it shall be, good God fit us all.

27th. At my waking, I found the tops of the houses covered with snow, which is a rare sight, which I have not seen these three years. To the office, where we sat till noon; when we all went to the next house upon Tower Hill, to see the coming by of the Russia Embassador; for whose reception all the City trained-bands do attend in the streets, and the King's life-guards, and most of the wealthy citizens in their black velvet coats, and gold chains, (which remain of their gallantry at the King's coming in,) but they staid so long that we went down again to dinner. And after I had dined I walked to the Conduit in the Quarrefowr, at the end of Gracious-street and Cornhill; and there (the spouts thereof running

very near me upon all the people that were under it) I saw them pretty well go by. I could not see the Embassador in his coach; but his attendants in their habits and fur caps very handsome, comely men, and most of them with hawkes upon their fists to present to the King. But Lord! to see the absurd nature of Englishmen, that cannot forbear laughing and jeering at every thing that looks strange.

28th. A very hard frost; which is news to us after having none almost these three years. By ten o'clock to Ironmongers' Hall, to the funeral of Sir Richard Stayner. Here we were, all the officers of the Navy, and my Lord Sandwich, who did discourse with us about the fishery, telling us of his Majesty's resolution to give 200*l.* to every man that will set out a Brisse;* and advising about the effects of this encouragement, which will be a very great matter certainly. Here we had good rings.

29th. To the office; and this morning come Sir G. Carteret to us (being the first time since his coming from France): he tells us, that the silver which is received for Dunkirke did weigh 120,000

* A small sea-vessel used by the Hollanders for the herring-fishery.

weight. To my Lord's, where my Lord and Mr. Coventry, Sir Wm. Darcy,* one Mr. Parham, (a very knowing and well-spoken man in this business), with several others, did meet about stating the business of the fishery, and the manner of the King's giving of this 200*l.* to every man that shall set out a new-made English Brisse by the middle of June next. In which business we had many fine pretty discourses; and I did here see the great pleasure to be had in discoursing of publick matters with men that are particularly acquainted with this or that business. Having come to some issue, wherein a motion of mine was well received, about sending these invitations from the King to all the fishing-ports in general, with limiting so many Brisses to this, and that port, before we know the readiness of subscribers, we parted.

30th. Publick matters in an ill condition of discontent against the height and vanity of the Court, and their bad payments: but that which troubles most, is the Clergy, which will never content the City, which is not to be reconciled to Bishopps: but more the pity that differences must still be. Dunkirke newly sold, and the

* Third son of Sir Conyers Darcy, summoned to Parlialiament as Lord Darcy, 1642.

money brought over; of which we hope to get some to pay the Navy: which by Sir J. Lawson's having dispatched the business in the Straights, by making peace with Argier, Tunis, and Tripoli, (and so his fleet will also shortly come home,) will now every day grow less, and so the King's charge be abated; which God send!

December 1st. To my Lord Sandwich's, to Mr. Moore; and then over the Parke, (where I first in my life, it being a great frost, did see people sliding with their skeates, which is a very pretty art,) to Mr. Coventry's chamber to St. James's, where we all met to a venison pasty, Major Norwood being with us, whom they did play upon for his surrendering of Dunkirke. Here we staid till three or four o'clock: and so to the Council Chamber, where there met the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, Duke of Albemarle, my Lord Sandwich, Sir Wm. Compton, Mr. Coventry, Sir J. Minnes, Sir R. Ford, Sir W. Rider, myself, and Captain Cuttance, as Commissioners for Tangier. And after our Commission was read by Mr. Creed, who I perceive is to be our Secretary, we did fall to discourse of matters: as, first, the supplying them forthwith with victualls; then the reducing it to make way for the money, which

upon their reduction is to go to the building of the Molle; and so to other matters, ordered as against next meeting.

3d. To Deptford; and so by water with Mr. Pett home again, all the way reading his Chest accounts, in which I did see things which did not please me; as his allowing himself 300*l.* for one year's looking to the business of the Chest, and 150*l.* per annum for the rest of the years. But I found no fault to him himself, but shall when they come to be read at the Board. We walked to the Temple, in our way seeing one of the Russia Embassador's coaches go along, with his footmen not in liverys, but their country habits; one of one colour and another of another, which was very strange.

5th. I walked towards Guildhall, being summoned by the Commissioners for the Lieutenancy; but they sat not this morning. So meeting in my way W. Swan, I took him to a house thereabouts, he telling me much of his Fanatique stories, as if he were a great zealot, when I know him to be a very rogue. But I do it for discourse, and to see how things stand with him and his party; who I perceive have great expectation that God will not bless the Court nor Church, as

it is now settled, but they must be purified. The worst news he tells me, is that Mr. Chetwind is dead, my old and most ingenious acquaintance. To the Duke's, where the Committee for Tangier met: and here we sat down all with him at a table, and had much discourse about the business.

13th. We sat, Mr. Coventry and I, (Sir G. Carteret being gone,) and among other things, Field and Strip did come, and received the 41*l.* given him by the judgement against me and Harry Kem; and we did also sign bonds in 500*l.* to stand to the award of Mr. Porter and Smith for the rest: which, however, I did not sign to till I got Mr. Coventry to go up with me to Sir W. Pen; and he did promise me before him to bear his share in what should be awarded, and both concluded that Sir W. Batten would do no less.

15th. To the Duke, and followed him into the Parke, where, though the ice was broken and dangerous, yet he would go slide upon his scates, which I did not like, but he slides very well. So back to his closet, whither my Lord Sandwich comes, and there Mr. Coventry, and we three had long discourse together about the matters of the Navy; and, indeed, I find myself more and more

obliged to Mr. Coventry, who studies to do me all the right he can in every thing to the Duke. Thence walked a good while up and down the gallerys; and among others, met with Dr. Clarke, who in discourse tells me, that Sir Charles Barkeley's greatness is only his being pimp to the King, and to my Lady Castlemaine. And yet for all this, that the King is very kind to the Queene; who, he says, is one of the best women in the world. Strange how the King is bewitched to this pretty Castlemaine. I walked up and down the gallerys, spending my time upon the pictures, till the Duke and the Committee for Tangier met, (the Duke not staying with us,) where the only matter was to discourse with my Lord Rutherford,* who is this day made Governor of Tangier, for I know not what reasons; and my Lord of Peterborough to be called home: which, though it is said it is done with kindness, I am sorry to see a Catholicke Governor sent to command there, where all the rest of the officers almost are such already. But God knows what the reason is! and all may see how slippery places all courtiers

* Andrew, created Baron Rutherford and Earl of Teviot, 1660; successively Governor of Dunkirk and Tangier, where he was killed by the Moors in 1663.

stand in. Thence home, in my way calling upon Sir John Berkenheade,* to speak about my assessment of 42*l.* to the Loyal Sufferers; which, I perceive, I cannot help; but he tells me I have been abused by Sir R. Ford. Thence called at the Major-General's, Sir R. Browne, about my being assessed armes to the militia; but he was abroad.

16th. To dinner, thinking to have had Mr. Coventry, but he could not go with me; and so I took Captn. Murford. Of whom I do hear what the world says of me; that all do conclude Mr. Coventry, and Pett, and me, to be of a knot; and that we do now carry all things before us: and much more in particular of me, and my studiousnesse, &c. to my great content. To White Hall to Secretary Bennet's, and agreed with Mr. Lee to set upon our new adventure at the Tower tomorrow.

17th. This morning come Mr. Lee, Wade, and Evett, intending to have gone upon our new design to the Tower; but it raining, and the work being to be done in the open garden, we put it off to Friday next.

* Sir John Berkenhead, F. R. S., a political author, held in some esteem, M. P. for Wilton, 1661, and knighted the following year. Master of the Faculty Office, and Court of Requests. Ob. 1679.

19th. Up and by appointment with Mr. Lee, Wade, Evett, and workmen to the Tower, and with the Lieutenant's leave set them to work in the garden, in the corner against the mayne-guard, a most unlikely place. It being cold, Mr. Lee and I did sit all the day till three o'clock by the fire in the Governor's house; I reading a play of Fletcher's, being "A Wife for a Month," wherein no great wit or language. We went to them at work, and having wrought below the bottom of the foundation of the wall, I bid them give over, and so all our hopes ended.

20th. To the office, and thence with Mr. Coventry in his coach to St. James's, with great content and pride to see him treat me so friendly; and dined with him, and so to White Hall together; where we met upon the Tangier Commission, and discoursed many things thereon: but little will be done before my Lord Rutherford comes there, as to the fortification and Mole. That done, my Lord Sandwich and I walked together a good while in the matted gallery, he acquainting me with his late enquiries into the Wardrobe business to his content; and tells me how things stand. And that the first year was worth about 3000*l.* to him, and the next about as

much: so that at this day, if he were paid, it will be worth about 7000*l.* to him.

21st. To White Hall, and there to chapel, and from thence up stairs, and up and down the house and gallerys on the King's and Queen's side, and so through the garden to my Lord's lodgings, where there was Mr. Gibbons, Madge, Mallard, and Pagett; and by and by comes in my Lord Sandwich, and so we had great store of good musique. By and by comes in my simple Lord Chandois,* who (my Lord Sandwich being gone out to Court) began to sing psalms, but so dully that I was weary of it.

22d. I walked to Mr. Coventry's chamber, where I found him gone out into the Parke with the Duke, so I shifted myself into a riding-habitt, and followed him through White Hall, and in the Parke Mr. Coventry's people having a horse ready for me (so fine a one that I was almost afraid to get upon him, but I did, and found myself more feared than hurt) and followed the Duke, who, with some of his people (among others Mr. Coventry) was riding out. And with them to Hide Parke. Where Mr. Coventry asking leave of the Duke, he bid us go to Woolwich. So he and I to

* William, seventh Lord Chandos. Ob. 1676.

the water-side, and our horses coming by the ferry, we by oars over to Lambeth, and from thence, with brave discourse by the way, rode to Woolwich, where we put in practice my new way of the Call-booke, which will be of great use.

23d. Dr. Pierce tells me that my Lady Castlemaine's interest at Court increases, and is more and greater than the Queene's; that she hath brought in Sir H. Bennet, and Sir Charles Barkeley; but that the Queene is a most good lady, and takes all with the greatest meekness that may be. He tells me, also, that Mr. Edward Montagu is quite broke at Court with his repute and purse; and that he lately was engaged in a quarrell against my Lord Chesterfield: but that the King did cause it to be taken up. He tells me, too, that the King is much concerned in the Chancellor's sickness, and that the Chancellor is as great, he thinks, as ever with the King. He also tells me what the world says of me, "that Mr. Coventry and I do all the business of the office almost:" at which I am highly proud.

24th. To my bookseller's, and paid at another shop 4*l.* 10*s.* for Stephens's Thesaurus Græcæ Linguæ, given to Paul's Schoole. To my Lord Crewe's, and dined alone with him. I understand

there are great factions at Court, and something he said that did imply a difference like to be between the King and the Duke, in case the Queene should not be with child. I understand, about this bastard. He says, also, that some great man will be aimed at when Parliament comes to sit again; I understand, the Chancellor: and that there is a bill will be brought in, that none that have been in armes for the Parliament shall be capable of office. And that the Court are weary of my Lord Albemarle and Chamberlin.* He wishes that my Lord Sandwich had some good occasion to be abroad this summer which is coming on, and that my Lord Hinchingbroke were well married, and Sydney† had some place at Court. He pities the poor ministers that are put out, to whom, he says, the King is beholden for his coming in, and that if any such thing had been foreseen he had never come in. At my bookseller's in Paul's Church-yard, who takes it ill my letter last night to Mr. Povy, wherein I accuse him of the neglect of the Tangier boats, in which I must confess I did not do altogether like a friend; but however it was truth, and I must

* Edward, Earl of Manchester.

† Lord Sandwich's second son.

owne it to be so, though I fall wholly out with him for it.

25th. Christmas Day. Had a pleasant walk to White Hall, where I intended to have received the communion with the family, but I come a little too late. So I walked up into the house and spent my time looking over pictures, particularly the ships in King Henry the VIIIth's Voyage to Bullaen;* marking the great difference between those built then and now. By and by down to the chapel again, where Bishop Morley† preached upon the song of the Angels, "Glory to God on high, on earth peace, and good will towards men." Methought he made but a poor sermon, but long, and reprehending the common jollity of the Court for the true joy that shall and ought to be on these days. Particularized concerning their excess in playes and gaming, saying that he whose office it is to keep the gamesters in order and within bounds, serves but for a second rather in a duell, meaning the groome-porter. Upon which it was worth observing how far they are come from taking the reprehensions of a bishop serious-

* Boulogne.

† George Morley, Bishop of Winchester, to which See he was translated from Worcester, in 1662. Ob. 1684.

ly, that they all laugh in the chapel when he reflected on their ill actions and courses. He did much press us to joy in these publick days of joy, and to hospitality. But one that stood by whispered in my eare that the Bishop do not spend one groate to the poor himself The sermon done, a good anthem followed with vialls, and the King come down to receive the Sacrament.

26th. To the Wardrobe. Hither come Mr. Battersby; and we falling into discourse of a new book of drollery in use, called Hudebras, I would needs go find it out, and met with it at the Temple: cost me 2*s*. 6*d*. But when I come to read it, it is so silly an abuse of the Presbyter Knight going to the warrs, that I am ashamed of it; and by and by meeting at Mr. Townsend's at dinner, I sold it to him for 18*d*.

27th. With my wife to the Duke's Theatre, and saw the second part of "Rhodes,"* done with the new Roxalana;† which do it rather better in all respects for person, voice, and judgment, than the first Roxalana.

* "The Siege of Rhodes," a tragi-comedy, in two parts, by Sir Wm. Davenant.

† An actress whose name is unknown, but she had been seduced by the Earl of Oxford, and had recently quitted the stage. For her history, *vide* "*Mémoires de Grammont.*"

29th. To Westminster Hall, where I staid reading at Mrs. Mitchell's shop. She told me what I heard not of before, the strange burning of Mr. De Laun, a merchant's house in Loathbury, and his lady (Sir Thomas Allen's * daughter) and her whole family; not one thing, dog nor cat, escaping; nor any of the neighbours almost hearing of it till the house was quite down and burnt. How this should come to passe, God knows, but a most strange thing it is! Hither come Jack Spicer, and talked of Exchequer matters, and how the Lord Treasurer hath now ordered all monies to be brought into the Exchequer, and hath settled the King's revenues, and given to every general expence proper assignments; to the Navy 200,000*l.* and odde. He also told me of the great vast trade of the goldsmiths in supplying the King with money at dear rates. Thence to White Hall, and got up to the top gallerys in the Banquetting House, to see the audience of the Russia Embassador; which took place after our long waiting and fear of the falling of the gallery (it being so full and part of it being parted from the rest, for nobody to come up merely from the weaknesse thereof:) and very handsome it was. After

* Sir Thomas Alleyne, Lord Mayor of London. 1660.

they had come in, I went down and got through the croude almost as high as the King and the Embassadors, where I saw all the presents, being rich furs, hawkes, carpets, cloths of tissue, and sea-horse teeth. The King took two or three hawkes upon his fist, having a glove on wrought with gold, given him for the purpose. The son of one of the Embassadors was in the richest suit for pearl and tissue, that ever I did see, or shall, I believe. After they and all the company had kissed the King's hand, then the three Embassadors and the son, and no more, did kiss the Queene's. One thing more I did observe, that the chief Embassador did carry up his master's letters in state before him on high; and as soon as he had delivered them, he did fall down to the ground and lay there a great while. After all was done, the company broke up; and I spent a little while walking up and down the gallery seeing the ladies, the two Queenes, and the Duke of Monmouth with his little mistress,* which is very little, and like my brother-in-law's wife.

30th. Visited Mrs. Ferrer, and staid talking with her a good while, there being a little, proud, ugly, talking lady there, that was much crying up

* Lady Anne Scot.

the Queene-Mother's Court at Somerset House above our own Queene's; there being before her no allowance of laughing and the mirth that is at the other's; and indeed it is observed that the greatest Court now-a-days is there. Thence to White Hall, where I carried my wife to see the Queene in her presence-chamber; and the maydes of honour and the young Duke of Monmouth playing at cards. Some of them, and but a few, were very pretty; though all well dressed in velvet gowns.

31st. Mr. Povy and I to White Hall; he taking me thither on purpose to carry me into the ball this night before the King. He brought me first to the Duke's chamber, where I saw him and the Duchesse at supper; and thence into the room where the ball was to be, crammed with fine ladies, the greatest of the Court. By and by comes the King and Queene, the Duke and Duchesse, and all the great ones: and after seating themselves, the King takes out the Duchesse of York; and the Duke, the Duchesse of Buckingham; the Duke of Monmouth, my Lady Castlemaine; and so other lords other ladies: and they danced the Brantle.*

* Branle. Espèce de danse de plusieurs personnes, qui se tiennent par la main, et qui se menent tour-à-tour.
Dictionnaire de l'Académie.

After that, the King led a lady a single Coranto; and then the rest of the lords, one after another, other ladies: very noble it was, and great pleasure to see. Then to country dances; the King leading the first, which he called for; which was, says he, "Cuckolds all awry," the old dance of England. Of the ladies that danced, the Duke of Monmouth's mistress, and my Lady Castlemaine, and a daughter of Sir Harry de Vicke's,* were the best. The manner was, when the King dances, all the ladies in the room, and the Queene herself, stand up: and indeed he dances rarely, and much better than the Duke of York. Having staid here as long as I thought fit, to my infinite content, it being the greatest pleasure I could wish now to see at Court, I went home, leaving them dancing.

Thus ends this year with great mirth to me and my wife. Our condition being thus:—we are at present spending a night or two at my Lord's lodgings at White Hall. Our home at the Navy-office, which is and hath a pretty while been in good condition, finished and made very convenient.

* Sir Henry de Vic of Guernsey, Bart., had been twenty years Resident for Charles II. at Brussels, and was Chancellor of the Order of the Garter. He died 1672, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. His only daughter, Anne Charlotte, married John Lord Fresheville, Baron of Stavely.

By my last year's diligence in my office, blessed be God! I am come to a good degree of knowledge therein; and am acknowledged so by all the world, even the Duke himself, to whom I have a good accesse: and by that, and by my being Commissioner for Tangier, he takes much notice of me; and I doubt not but, by the continuance of the same endeavours, I shall in a little time come to be a man much taken notice of in the world, specially being come to so great an esteem with Mr. Coventry. Publick matters stand thus: The King is bringing, as is said, his family, and Navy, and all other his charges, to a less expence. In the mean time, himself following his pleasures more than with good advice he would do; at least, to be seen to all the world to do so. His dalliance with my Lady Castlemaine being publick, every day, to his great reproach; and his favouring of none at Court so much as those that are the confidants of his pleasure, as Sir H. Bennet and Sir Charles Barkeley; which, good God! put it into his heart to mend, before he makes himself too much contemned by his people for it! The Duke of Monmouth is in so great splendour at Court, and so dandled by the King, that some doubt, that, if the King should have no child by the

Queene (which there is yet no appearance of), whether he would not be acknowledged for a lawful son; and that there will be a difference follow between the Duke of York and him; which God prevent! My Lord Chancellor is threatened by people to be questioned, the next sitting of the Parliament, by some spirits that do not love to see him so great: but certainly he is a good servant to the King. The Queene-Mother is said to keep too great a Court now; and her being married to my Lord St. Alban's is commonly talked of; and that they had a daughter between them in France, how true, God knows. The Bishops are high, and go on without any diffidence in pressing uniformity; and the Presbyters seem silent in it, and either conform or lay down, though without doubt they expect a turn, and would be glad these endeavours of the other Fanatiques would take effect; there having been a plot lately found, for which four have been publickly tried at the Old Bayley and hanged. My Lord Sandwich is still in good esteem, and now keeping his Christmas in the country; and I in good esteem, I think, as any man can be, with him. In fine, for the good condition of myself, wife, family, and estate, in the great degree that it is, and for the public state

of the nation, so quiet as it is, the Lord God be praised!

1662-3. January 1st. Among other discourse, Mrs. Sarah tells us how the King sups at least four times every week with my Lady Castlemaine; and most often stays till the morning with her, and goes home through the garden all alone privately, and that so as the very centrys take notice of it and speak of it. She tells me, that about a month ago she quickened at my Lord Gerard's * at dinner, and cried out that she was undone; and all the lords and men were fain to quit the room, and women called to help her.

5th. To the Duke, who himself told me that Sir J. Lawson was come home to Portsmouth from the Streights with great renowne among all men, and, I perceive, mightily esteemed at Court by all. The Duke did not stay long in his chamber; but to the King's chamber, whither by and by the Russia Embassadors come; who, it seems, have a custom that they will not come to have any treaty

* Charles Lord Gerard of Brandon, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles II., and Captain of his Guards; created Earl of Macclesfield 1679, and died about 1693. His wife, mentioned afterwards, was a French lady, whose name has not been preserved.

with our or any King's Commissioners, but they will themselves see at the time the face of the King himself, be it forty days one after another; and so they did to-day only go in and see the King; and so out again to the Council-chamber. To the Duke's closet, where Sir G. Carteret, Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, Mr. Coventry, and myself attended him about the business of the Navy; and after much discourse and pleasant talk he went away. To the Cockpitt, where we saw "Claracilla,"* a poor play, done by the King's house; but neither the King nor Queene were there, but only the Duke and Duchesse. Elborough (my old schoolfellow at Paul's) do tell me, and so do others, that Dr. Calamy is this day sent to Newgate for preaching, Sunday was se'nnight, without leave, though he did it only to supply the place; otherwise the people must have gone away without ever a sermon, they being disappointed of a minister: but the Bishop of London will not take that as an excuse. Dined at home; and there being the famous new play acted the first time to-day, which is called "The Adventures of Five Hours," at the Duke's house, being, they

* A Tragi-comedy by Thomas Killigrew.

say, made or translated by Colonel Tuke,* I did long to see it; and so we went; and though early, were forced to sit, almost out of sight, at the end of one of the lower formes, so full was the house. And the play, in one word, is the best, for the variety and the most excellent continuance of the plot to the very end, that ever I saw, or think ever shall.

12th. I found my Lord within, and he and I went out through the garden towards the Duke's chamber, to sit upon the Tangier matters; but a lady called to my Lord out of my Lady Castlemaine's lodging, telling him that the King was there and would speak with him. My Lord could not tell me what to say at the Committee to excuse his absence, but that he was with the King; nor would suffer me to go into the Privy Garden, (which is now a through-passage and common,) but bid me to go through some other way, which I did; so that I see he is a servant of the King's pleasures too, as well as business.

19th. Singled out Mr. Coventry into the matted gallery, and there I told him the complaints

* Sir George Tuke of Cressing Temple in Essex, Mr. Evelyn's cousin. The play was taken from the original of the Spanish poet Calderon.

I meet every day about our Treasurer's or his people's paying no money, but at the goldsmith's shops, where they are forced to pay fifteen or twenty sometimes per cent. for their money, which is a most horrid shame, and that which must not be suffered. Nor is it likely that the Treasurer (at least his people) will suffer Maynell the Goldsmith to go away with 10,000*l.* per annum, as he do now get, by making people pay after this manner for their money.

To my Lord Chancellor's, where the King was to meet my Lord Treasurer and many great men, to settle the revenue of Tangier. I staid talking awhile there, but the King not coming I walked to my brother's. This day by Dr. Clarke I was told the occasion of my Lord Chesterfield's going and taking his lady (my Lord Ormond's daughter) from Court. It seems he not only hath been long jealous of the Duke of York, but did find them two talking together, though there were others in the room, and the lady by all opinions a most good, virtuous woman. He the next day (of which the Duke was warned by somebody that saw the passion my Lord Chesterfield was in the night before,) went and told the Duke how much he did apprehend himself wronged, in his

picking out his lady of the whole Court to be the subject of his dishonor; which the Duke did answer with great calmnesse, not seeming to understand the reason of complaint, and that was all that passed: but my Lord did presently pack his lady into the country in Derbyshire, near the Peake; which is become a proverb at Court, to send a man's wife to the Peake when she vexes him.

23d. Mr. Grant and I to a coffee-house, where Sir J. Cutler* was; and he did fully make out that the trade of England is as great as ever it was, only in more hands; and that of all trades there is a greater number than ever there was, by reason of men's taking more 'prentices. His discourse was well worth hearing. I bought "Audley's Way to be Rich," † a serious pamphlett, and some good things worth my minding.

25th. I understand the King of France is upon consulting his divines upon the old question, what the power of the Pope is? and do intend to make war against him, unless he do right him for the wrong his Embassador received; and banish the Cardinall Imperiall, by which I under-

* Citizen and Grocer, stigmatized by Pope for his avarice.

† Vide note, page 340.

stand is not meant the Cardinall belonging or chosen by the Emperor, but the name of his family is Imperiali. To my Lord, and I staid talking with him an hour alone in his chamber, about sundry publick and private matters. Among others, he wonders what the project should be of the Duke's going down to Portsmouth again now with his Lady, at this time of the year: it being no way, we think, to increase his popularity, which is not great; nor yet safe to do it, for that reason, if it would have any such effect. Captn. Ferrers tells me of my Lady Castlemaine's and Sir Charles Barkeley being the great favourites at Court, and growing every day more and more so; and that upon a late dispute between my Lord Chesterfield, that is the Queene's Lord Chamberlain, and Mr. Edward Montagu her Master of the Horse, who should have the precedence in taking the Queene's upperhand abroad out of the house, which Mr. Montagu challenges, it was given to my Lord Chesterfield. So that I perceive he goes down the wind in honor as well as every thing else, every day.

26th. I met with Monsieur Raby, who is lately come from France. I had a great deal of very good discourse with him, concerning the difference

between the French and the Pope, and the occasion, which he told me very particularly, and to my great content; and of most of the chief affairs of France, which I did enquire: and that the King is a most excellent Prince, doing all business himself; and that it is true he hath a mistresse, Mademoiselle La Valiere, one of the Princess Henriette's women, that he courts for his pleasure every other day, but not so as to make him neglect his publick affairs. He tells me how the King do carry himself nobly to the relations of the dead Cardinall,* and will not suffer one pasquill to come forth against him; and that he acts by what directions he received from him before his death.

30th. My manuscript is brought home handsomely bound, to my full content; and now I think I have a better collection in reference to the Navy, and shall have by the time I have filled it, than any of my predecessors.

February 1st. This day Creed and I walking in White Hall, did see the King coming privately from my Lady Castlemaine's; which is a poor thing for a Prince to do; and so I expressed my sense of it to Creed in terms which I should not

* Cardinal Mazarine.

have done, but that I believe he is trusty in that point.

2d. With Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten to the Duke; and after discourse as usual with him in his closet, I went to my Lord's: the King and the Duke being gone to chapel, it being a collar-day, Candlemas-day; where I staid with him until towards noon, there being Jonas Moore * talking about some mathematical businesses. With Mr. Coventry down to his chamber, where he did tell me how he do make himself an interest by doing business truly and justly, though he thwarts others greater than himself, not striving to make himself friends by addresses; and by this he thinks and observes he do live as contentedly, (now he finds himself secured from fear of want,) and, take one time with another, as void of fear or cares, or more, than they that (as his own termes were) have quicker pleasures and sharper agonies than he.

4th. To Paul's Schoole, it being opposition-day there. I heard some of their speeches, and they were just as schoolboys' used to be, of the seven liberal sciences; but I think not so good as ours

* Jonas Moore, a most celebrated mathematician, knighted by Charles II., and made Surveyor of the Ordnance. Ob. 1679.

were in our time. Thence to Bow Church, to the Court of Arches, where a judge sits, and his proctors about him in their habits, and their pleadings all in Latin. Here I was sworn to give a true answer to my uncle's libells. And back again to Paul's Schoole, and went up to see the head forms posed in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Dr. Wilkins* and Outram† were examiners.

6th. To Lincoln's Inn Fields; and it being too soon to go to dinner, I walked up and down, and looked upon the outside of the new theatre building in Covent Garden, which will be very fine. And so to a bookseller's in the Strand, and there bought Hudibras again, it being certainly some ill humour to be so against that which all the world cries up to be the example of wit; for which I am resolved once more to read him, and see whether I can find it or no.

7th. To White Hall to chapel, where there preached little Dr. Duport,‡ of Cambridge, upon

* John Wilkins, D. D., afterwards Bishop of Chester.

† William Outram, D. D., Prebendary of Westminster. Ob. 1679; one of the ablest and best of the Conformists, and eminent for his piety and charity, and an excellent preacher.

‡ James Duport, D. D., Dean of Peterborough 1664, and Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, 1668. Ob. 1679.

Josiah's words,—"But I and my house, we will serve the Lord." Thence with Mr. Creed to the King's Head ordinary. After dinner Sir Thomas Willis * and another stranger, and Creed and I, fell a-talking; they of the errours and corruption of the Navy, and great expence thereof, not knowing who I was, which at last I did undertake to confute, and disabuse them: and they took it very well, and I hope it was to good purpose, they being Parliament-men. Creed and I and Captn. Ferrers to the Parke, and there walked finely, seeing people slide, we talking all the while; and Captn. Ferrers telling me, among other Court passages, how about a month ago, at a ball at Court, a child was dropped by one of the ladies in dancing, but nobody knew who, it being taken up by somebody in their handkercher. The next morning all the Ladies of Honour appeared early at Court for their vindication, so that nobody could tell whose this mischance should be. But

* Sir Thomas Willis, Bart., ob. Nov. 1705, aged 90, and was buried at Ditton, in Cambridgeshire, where he possessed some property. In 1679, he had been put out of the Commission of the Peace for that County, for concurring with the Fanatic party in opposing the Court. *Cole's MSS.*

it seems Mrs. Wells * fell sick that afternoon, and hath disappeared ever since, so that it is concluded it was her. The little Duke of Monmouth, it seems, is ordered to take place of all Dukes, and so do follow Prince Rupert now, before the Duke of Buckingham, or any else.

13th. To my office, where late upon business; Mr. Bland sitting with me, talking of my Lord Windsor's being come home from Jamaica, unlooked-for; which makes us think that these young Lords are not fit to do any service abroad, though it is said that he could not have his health there, but hath raced a fort of the King of Spain upon Cuba, which is considerable, or said to be so, for his honour.

16th. To Westminster Hall, and there find great expectation what the Parliament will do, when they come two days hence to sit again, in matters of religion. The great question is, whether the Presbyters will be contented to let the Papists have the same liberty of conscience with them, or no, or rather be denied it themselves: and the Papists, I hear, are very busy in design-

* Maid of Honour to the Queen, and one of Charles II.'s numerous mistresses. Vide "*Mémoires de Grammont.*"

ing how to make the Presbyters consent to take their liberty, and to let them have the same with them, which some are apt to think they will. It seems a priest was taken in his vests officiating somewhere in Holborne the other day, and was committed by Secretary Morris, according to law; and they say the Bishop of London did give him thanks for it.

17th. To my Lord Sandwich, whom I found at cards with Pickering; but he made an end soon: and so all alone, he told me he had a great secret to tell me, such as no flesh knew but himself, nor ought; which was this:—that yesterday morning Eschar, Mr. Edward Montagu's man, did come to him from his master with some of the Clerkes of the Exchequer, for my Lord to sign to their books for the Embassy money; which my Lord very civilly desired not to do till he had spoke with his master himself. In the afternoon, my Lord and my Lady Wright being at cards in his chamber, in comes Mr. Montagu; and desiring to speak with my Lord at the window in his chamber, he began to charge my Lord with the greatest ingratitude in the world: that he that had received his earldom, garter, 4000*l.* per annum, and whatever he has in the world, from him, should now study

him all the dishonour that he could: and so fell to tell my Lord, that if he should speak all that he knew of him, he could do so and so. In a word, he did rip up all that could be said they was unworthy, and in the basest terms they could be spoken in. To which my Lord answered with great temper, justifying himself, but endeavouring to lessen his heat, which was a strange temper in him, knowing that he did owe all he hath in the world to my Lord, and that he is now all that he is by his means and favour. But my Lord did forbear to increase the quarrel, knowing that it would be to no good purpose for the world to see a difference in the family; but did allay them so as that he fell to weeping. And after much talk (among other things Mr. Montague telling him that there was a fellow in the towne, naming me, that had done ill offices, and that if he knew it to be so, he would have him cudgelled) my Lord did promise him, that, if upon account he saw that there was not many tradesmen unpaid, he would sign the books; but if there was, he could not bear with taking too great a debt upon him. So this day he sent him an account, and a letter assuring him there was not above 200*l.* unpaid; and so my Lord did sign to the Exchequer books. Upon

the whole, I understand fully what a rogue he is, and how my Lord do think and will think of him for the future; telling me that thus he has served his father my Lord Manchester, and his whole family, and now himself: and, which is worst, that he hath abused, and in speeches every day do abuse, my Lord Chancellor, whose favour he hath lost; and hath no friend but Sir H. Bennet, and that (I knowing the rise of his friendship) only from the likeness of their pleasures, and acquaintance, and concernments, they have in the same matters of lust and baseness; for which, God forgive them! But he do flatter himself, from promises of Sir H. Bennet, that he shall have a pension of 2000*l.* per annum, and be made an Earl. My Lord told me he expected a challenge from him, but told me there was no great fear of him, for there was no man lies under such an imputation as he do in the business of Mr. Cholmly, who, though a simple sorry fellow, do brave him and struts before him with the Queene, to the sport and observation of the whole Court. Mr. Pickering tells me the story is very true of a child being dropped at the ball at Court; and that the King had it in his closet a week after, and did dissect it; and making great sport of it, said that

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in his opinion it must have been a month and three houres old; and that, whatever others think, he hath the greatest loss, (it being a boy, as he says,) that hath lost a subject by the business. He tells me too, that Sir H. Bennet is a Catholique, and how all the Court almost is changed to the worse since his coming in, they being afraid of him. And that the Queene-Mother's Court is now the greatest of all; and that our own Queene hath little or no company come to her, which I know also to be very true, and am sorry to see it

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