

ernia

al

y



THE LIBRARY
OF
THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES

5 vols.
H/100
112

THE DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

THE DIARY
OF
SAMUEL PEPYS

*With selections from his correspondence, and an
introduction to each volume*

BY
PROF. HENRY MORLEY, LL. D.

TEN VOLUMES IN FIVE

VOL. I

NEW YORK
THE CASSELL PUBLISHING CO.
31 EAST 17TH ST. (UNION SQUARE)

College
Library

DA

447

P4A4

v.1

INTRODUCTION.



SAMUEL PEPYS was born on the 23rd of February, 1633, the son of a tailor. He went to school for a little while at Huntingdon, then at St. Paul's, in London, and from St. Paul's School went, as a sizar, to Trinity College, Cambridge, becoming not long afterwards a pensioner at Magdalene. He obtained at College a scholarship, and also a public rebuke for indulgence in wine. At the age of twenty-two, Samuel Pepys married a beautiful girl of fifteen, the daughter of a poor Huguenot refugee.

There was an old family relation between Samuel Pepys and Sir Edward Montagu, afterwards Earl of Sandwich; Montagu's mother having married Pepys's grandfather. Sir Edward Montagu, there-

1005831

fore, gave the young husband employment in his household. Montagu, eight years older than Pepys, was a sailor who, under the Commonwealth, had served with Blake in the Mediterranean, and had commanded a fleet in the North Sea. It was he also who at the Restoration brought Charles the Second to England. He was still serving the Commonwealth when he befriended Pepys, and obtained for him employment as a clerk in the Army Pay Office.

This was Samuel Pepys's position, and his home, in Axe Yard, Westminster, was but a poor one, when he began, in January, 1660, to keep in cipher his delightful Diary, which is of equal interest as a frank revelation of his personal weaknesses (not by any means intended for the public eye), and as a register of many details that, however trivial and amusing, are of great historical and literary value. In March, 1660, Pepys's friend Montagu made him Secretary to the Generals at sea. In June, Montagu

secured for him the office of Clerk of the Acts of the Navy. He had to pay to his predecessor an annuity of nearly the whole of the original salary, but the original salary was trebled. Pepys had secured the goodwill of the King's brother, the Duke of York. In July he became Clerk of the Privy Seal, with substantial fees, and proceeded to his degree of M.A. at Cambridge. Two months later he was a Justice of the Peace, and had established himself in a house in Seething Lane. Other offices were entrusted to him. He prospered by the goodwill of the Duke of York, and of Edward Montagu, who had become after the Restoration Earl of Sandwich ; and in his public life he secured good offices by deserving them, for, with all his whims and weaknesses, Pepys was a man who did his work. The Duke of York cared really about the Navy, and found in Pepys a faithful and efficient servant.

In March, 1665, Pepys was made Treasurer to

the Tangier Commission, and had the contract for victualling the garrison. In the plague year, 1665, Pepys was the only man in the Navy Office who stayed in London by his work, and did duty for other men, besides his own. In the next year, during the Fire of London, he was full of serviceable energy. Weakness of sight caused Pepys to cease keeping his Diary on the 31st May, 1669. It extends, therefore, over a little more than nine years; begun when he was about twenty-seven years old, and finished when his age was thirty-six. But he lived on to the age of seventy.

Within a year after the discontinuance of Pepys's Diary his wife died. Two years later, in 1672, he was made Secretary to the Admiralty. In 1673 he first entered Parliament. As a favourite of James he fell into trouble now and then, through accusations by the Protestants, and he was sent to the Tower as a Papist in 1679, accused of secret correspondence with France. In

spite of all endeavours to sustain the accusations they broke down, and he was released in February, 1680. In 1684 Samuel Pepys was elected President of the Royal Society. At the Revolution Pepys lost his offices; and he had lost much of his acquired wealth when he died, on the 26th of May, 1703, and was buried by his wife's side in St. Olave's, Crutched Friars. He left his books and papers to Magdalene College, Cambridge.

H. M

PREFACE TO THE ORIGINAL EDITION.



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 shorthand 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.

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 shorthand 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 frequently; 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 everybody'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 shorthand, 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.

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 shorthand Diary, with diligence and fidelity, and to have spared neither time nor trouble in the undertaking.

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

may also be 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.

PEPYS'S DIARY.

1660-1661.

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 Axo 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 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.

Jan. 1 (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 solemnised 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 stayed 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.

2nd. Walked a great while in Westminster Hall, where I heard that Lambert was coming 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 ate some bread and cheese for my dinner.

3rd. To Whitehall, 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 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 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 1649 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 had 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 with W. Simons, Muddiman, and Jack Price, and went with them to

Harper's, and stayed 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 handwriting, 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 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 choose 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. Harrington, 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 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 stayed 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 govern-

ment, though it is true by the voices it had been carried before that it was an unsteady government; so tomorrow 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 Parliament, and that Salloway was voted out likewise and sent to the Tower, during the pleasure of the House. At Harper's Jack Priece 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 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 bedside he told me that he had a kindness

for me, and that he thought that 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 Whitehall, 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 meet Monk from the Common Council. Received my £25 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.

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

23rd. 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 tithes; 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 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 £1,800 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 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 lodgings, and took Mr. Squib from Whitehall in a coach thither with me, and there we waited in his chamber a great while, till he came in; and in the meantime 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.

29th. In the morning I went to Mr. Gunning's,

where he made an excellent sermon upon the 2nd 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 dependence, 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.

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, 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 1. 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.

2nd. 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, 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 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.

3rd. Drank my morning draught 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 doorkeeper very civilly opening the door for us. We went walking all over Whitehall, 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 Whitehall, 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 Parliament 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 anything 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. Fage told me that he does 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 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 Whitehall. The City look mighty blank, and cannot tell what in the world to do; the Parliament having this day ordered that the

Common Council 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 joyful. 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 fanatic 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 meantime, 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 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 was everywhere 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 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 on fire, and so hot that we were fain to keep on the further side.

12th. In the morning, it being Lord's day, to Whitehall, where Dr. Hones preached; but I stayed not to hear, but walking in the court, I heard that Sir Arthur Haselrigge was newly gone into the City to Monk, and that Monk's wife removed from Whitehall 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 Whitehall 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.

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 Whitehall, 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 was 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 had been at Whitehall 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 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 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 Music, 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 came 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 so thick round the City, and the bells rang everywhere.

22nd. 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 Whitehall, 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.

23rd. Thursday, my birthday, 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 seventy-three voices, to be one of the Council of State. Mr. Pierpoint had the most, one hundred and one, and himself the next, one hundred.

24th. I rose very early, and taking horse at 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 came 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 nowadays among them at any time.

26th. Found Mr. Pierce at our inn, who told us 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 show us Audly End House, who took us on foot through the park, and so to the house, where the housekeeper showed 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 flageolet, there being an excellent echo. He showed 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 were 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 draught of their drink in a brown bowl, tipped with silver, which I drank off, and at the bottom was a picture of the Virgin with the child in her arms, done in silver. So we took leave, the road pretty good, but the weather rainy to Epping.

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 came to town; but he had been at the Council before.

March 1. I went to Mr. Crewe's, whither Mr. Thomas was newly come to town, being sent with Sir H. Yelverton, my old schoolfellow at Paul's School, to bring the thanks of the county to General Monk for the return of the Parliament.

2nd. 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 tonight 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."

3rd. To Westminster Hall, where I found that 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 Holborn, to my Lord, where he dined with my Lord of Manchester, Sir Dudley North, my Lord Fiennes, and my Lord Barkley. I stayed in the great hall, talking with some gentlemen there, till they all came out. Then I, by coach with my Lord, to Mr. Crewe's, in our way talking of public 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 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. Pinky at his own house, where he showed me how he had always kept the lion and unicorn, 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 Whitehall, 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. Overtou 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. Everybody 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 Whitehall, 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 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 had 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 anywhere 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 Whitehall 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 Gottenburg 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.

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 speak with Mr. Clerke, Monk's secretary, about getting some soldiers removed out of Huntington 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 joyful thereat, as well as themselves, 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 life-guard came by with the Serjeant-at-Arms 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 nowaday 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 wrote a long letter in answer.

22nd. 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 stayed 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 £1,000 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 scaports 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 the 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 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 came on board of us about his business of being chosen a Parliament man. My Lord brought him to see my cabin, when I was hard a-writing. At night supped with my Lord too, with the captain.

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 Pedley, at which my Lord was much troubled for his friend's 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 came to anchor close by us. My Lord and many others went on board of her, where everything 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 1 (Lord's day). Mr. Ibbot preached 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 came 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.

2nd. 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.

3rd. There came many merchants to get convoy to the Baltic, which a course was taken for. They dined with my Lord, and one of them, by name Alderman Wood, talked much to my Lord 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 came 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 came 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 came to-day, only to consult about a further reduction 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 Weymouth, 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 Skinner's Company the other day at their entertaining 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 Captain Stokes.

14th. This day I was informed that my Lord Lambert is got out of the Tower, and there is £100 proffered to whoever shall bring him forth to the Council of State. My Lord is chosen at Weymouth this morning; my Lord had his freedom brought him by Captain 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.

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 Captain Robert Blake to be captain of the *Worcester*, in the room of Captain Dekings, an Anabaptist, and one that had witnessed a great deal of discontent with the present proceedings. The other for Captain 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 fanatics 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 Rear-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 not 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 fanatics 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 came Mr. Boyle on board, for whom I wrote 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. Edward 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 in many churches in London, and upon many signs there, and upon merchant's 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 inconveniences. His letter I keep, it being a very well written one.

22nd. 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 eyesore 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.

23rd. 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 Lam-

bert's being taken, which news was brought to London on Sunday last. He was taken in Northamptonshire by Colonel Ingoldshy, 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, Rear-Admiral, and many other commanders. After dinner home, not a little 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 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 there to give the messenger that brought the news of Lambert's being taken; 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 of the £20,000 given to General Monk is paid out of the Exchequer, he giving £12 among the teller's clerks of Exchequer. My Lord called me into the great cabin 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 chirurgeon and purser, and other officers of the ship, and they all pray for the King's coming, which I pray God send.

May 1. 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.

2nd. 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 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 of 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 Bed-chamber to the King, who brought the letter, and they continued bare all the time it was reading. 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 everybody seems to be very joyful 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.

3rd. This morning my Lord showed me the King's declaration, and his letter to the two generals, to be communicated to the fleet. The contents of the letter 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 twelfth year of his reign. Upon the receipt of it this morning by an express, Mr. Philips, one of the messengers of the Council from General Monk, my Lord summoned a council of war, and in the meantime 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 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 with him to dinner, which not being ready, I went with Captain Hayward to the *Plymouth* 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 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 to 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 written them.

This was very strange to me, that my Lord should carry all things so wisely and prudently as he does, 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-skulled 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 written 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, enclosed in this letter :—

“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 enclosed 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 written to the Parliament to have leave of them to send the King the answer of the fleet. 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 came by a gentleman that came 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 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 Helversluee till this gentleman returns, that so if his Majesty do not think it fit to command the fleet 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 loyal, dutiful, faithful 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 place 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 for his pains, to buy him a jewel, and that besides the £50,000 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, £1,000.

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 wrote a letter himself to him, thanking him for his kindness to me. This evening come Dr. Clarges

to Deal, going to the King, where the townspeople strewed the streets with herbs against his coming, for joy of his going. Never was there so general a content as there is now. I cannot but remember that our parson did, in his prayer to-night, pray for the long life and happiness of our King and dread Sovereign, 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 publicly. After they were gone from on board, my Lord wrote 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 arms and flags. He did give me orders, also, to write for silk flags and scarlet waistclothes; for a rich barge; for a noise of trumpets, and a set of fiddlers. 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 cabins, 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 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 wrote 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 cabin, and told me how he was commanded, to 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 Downs. 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 inquire of my Lord Winchelsea whether or no they are come 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 Downs, 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 tailors 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 morning 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 stayed. I heard 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 wrote 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 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 nightgown 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 Dutchmen 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 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 maypoles, 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. Mr. Morland, now Sir Samuel, was here on board, but I do not find that my Lord or anybody 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 £1,000 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 clothes 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 fanatics: 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 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.

16th. Come in some with visits, among the rest one from Admiral Opdam, who spoke Latin well, but not French or English, who 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 waistclothes out and silk pendants, but he did not come. This evening came Mr. John Pickering on board, like an ass, with his feathers and new suit that he had made at the Hague. My Lord, very angry for him 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 M. Edw. 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 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 Captain 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-ridden 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 cutombed, 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 smoke, the best expressed that ever I saw in my life. From thence to the great church, that stands in a fine great market-place, over against the Stadt-house, and there I saw a stately tomb 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 of 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 baptised 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 everybody willing to submit to anything. 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.

22nd. 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 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 cabin 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 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 cabin 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 cabins; I to the carpenter's cabin, and Dr. Clerke with me. Many of the King's servants came on board to-night; and so many Dutch of all sorts came 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, Ambassador de Denmarke à la Haye, which my Lord signed in bed.

23rd. 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, Princess Royal, and Prince of

Orange, come on board, where I in their coming in kissed the King's, Queen's, and Princess'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 Royal 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 in company with us), the *Henry*; *Winsly*, *Happy Return*; *Wakefield*, *Richmond*; *Lambert*, the *Henrietta*; *Cheriton*, the *Speedwell*; *Bradford*, the *Success*. That done, the Queen, Princess Royal, 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 fireside, 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 cabin, 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 cabin below, but I was truly troubled before I could dispose of him, and quit myself of him. So to my cabin 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 Catholic 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 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 linen 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 cabin (that is, the carpenter's) Dr. Earle, and Mr. Hollis, the King's Chaplains, Dr. Scarborough, Dr. Quarterman, and Dr. Clerke, Physicians, Mr. Daray, and Mr. Fox (both very fine gentlemen), the King's servants, where we have 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 doctors of physic again at my cabin; where I put Dr. Scarborough in mind of what I heard him say, that children do, in every day's experience, look several 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 lines. 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 everybody 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 ate of nothing else but pease and pork, and boiled beef. Dr. Clerke, who ate with me, told me how the King had given £50 to Mr. Shepley for my Lord's servants, and £500 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 barge with the two Dukes. Our captain 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 came and gave him his white staff, 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 a while with General Monk and others, and so into a stately coach there set for him, and so away through the town 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 captain, who told me what the King had given us. My Lord returned late, and at his coming did give me order to cause the mark to be gilded, and a crown and C. R. to be made at the head of the coach table, where the King to-day with his own hand did mark 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 ashore, the first time that he hath been ashore since he came out of the *Hope* (having resolved 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 out of the 1,000 ducats which the King had given to the ship.

27th (Lord's day). Called up by John Goods to see the Garter and Herald's coat, which lay in the coach, brought by Sir Edward Walker, King at Arms, 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 coat, 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 earldom, 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 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 cliff 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 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 of Deal going to make a boufire 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 cliff, 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, at which my heart was glad, and blessed God.

June 1. At night Mr. Cook 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 birthday, 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.

2nd. Being with my Lord in the morning about business in his cabin, 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 meantime 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, and the *Charles* particularly £777. I wish we had the money.

3rd. Captain 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 cabin, to cast my accounts up, and find myself to be worth near £100, for which I bless Almighty God, it being more than I hoped for so soon, being, I believe, not clearly worth £25 when I came 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 Clerk 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 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; and 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 getting 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 anything.

8th. Out early, took horses at Deal.

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

11th. 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 Seal'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 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 stayed 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 Stepney 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 Cockpit. Thence to the Admiralty, and despatched away Mr. Cooke to sea; whose business was a letter from my Lord about Mr. G. Montague 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 Captain Cuttance to send the barge that brought the King on shore to Hinchingbroke by Lynn.

21st. To my Lord, much business. With him to the Council Chamber, where he was sworn; and the charge of his being admitted Privy Counsellor is £56. To Whitehall, 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 ruin 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.

22nd. To my Lord, where much business. With him to Whitehall, 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 for a baronet's dignity, which I told my Lord of in the balcony 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 their places, asking him £500, though he was formerly the King's coach-maker, and sworn to it.

23rd. To my Lord's lodgings, where Tom Guy come to me, and there stayed to see the King touch people for the King's evil. But he did not come at all, it rained so, and the poor people were forced to stand all the morning in the rain in the garden. Afterward he touched them in the banqueting-house. With my Lord to my Lord Frenzendorfe's, where he dined

to-day. He told me that he had obtained a promise of the Clerk of the Acts place for me, at which I was glad.

25th. With my Lord at Whitehall 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 clerk 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 Clerk of the Acts. He was very civil to me, and I to him, and shall be so. There come a letter from my Lady Monk to my Lord about it this evening, but he refused to come to her, but meeting in Whitehall 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 fleet. 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 worth of plate for my Lord to give Secretary Nicholas.

27th. With my Lord to the Duke, where he spoke to Mr. Coventry to despatch my business of the Acts, in which place everybody 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 anybody 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 chapel, it being a thanksgiving day for the King's return.

29th. Up and to Whitehall, where I got my warrant from the Duke to be Clerk of the Acts. Also I got my Lord's warrant from the Secretary for his honour of Earl 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 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 Whitehall, where I was told by Mr. Hutchinson at the Admiralty, that Mr. Barlow, my predecessor Clerk 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 bade 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 Whitehall, where I saw a great many fine antique heads of marble, that my Lord Northumberland had given the King. To Whitehall with Mr. Moore, where I met with a letter from Mr. Turner, offering me £150 to be 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 1. 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.

2nd. 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. 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.

3rd. 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 out of my own purse for one year, and the benefit of a clerk'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 inquire 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 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. Carried these and the money by coach to my Lord's at Whitehall, 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 Whitehall 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 clerk. Being at Whitehall, 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 Whitehall, 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 gentlemen 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 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 Whitehall chapel, where I got in with ease by going before the Lord Chancellor with Mr. Kipps. Here I heard very good music, 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 flattering 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 stayed 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 afternoon 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 Clodin'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 Whitehall garden, I got him to go to the Secretary's, which he did, and desired the despatch of his and my bills to be signed by the King. His bill is to be Earl 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 Office, where we met and despatched 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.

12th. Up early and by coach to Whitehall with Commissioner Pett, where, after we had talked with my Lord, I went to the Privy Seal 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 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 camlet 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 receipt to my bill ; and so carried it to Mr. Beale for a docket ; 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 meantime

Mr. Beale to be preparing my docket, 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 counsel of getting my patent out, for fear of another change, and my Lord Montagu's fall. After that to Worcester House, where by Mr. Kipps' 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 despatched an order for a ship to fetch Sir R. Honynood home. Late writing letters; and great doings of music 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 music.

14th. Comes in Mr. Pagan Fisher, the poet, and promises me what he had long ago done, a book in praise of the King of France, with my arms, 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. In the afternoon to Henry the Seventh's Chapel, where I heard a sermon.

17th. This morning (as indeed all the mornings

nowadays) 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 per annum, if my salary be not increased, and £100 per annum in case it be £350, 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 we did use to talk of the King, in the time of the Rump, privately; after that to the Admiralty Office, in Whitehall, where I stayed 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.

22nd. After dinner to Whitehall, 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.

23rd. After dinner to my Lord, who took me to

Secretary Nicholas; and before him and Secretary Morris, my Lord and I upon our knees together took our oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; and the Oath of the Privy Seal, of which I was much glad, though I am not likely to get anything by it at present; but I do desire it, for fear of a turn-out of our office.

24th. To Whitehall, where I did acquaint Mr. Watkins with my being sworn into the Privy Seal, 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 Whitehall 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 Seal.

25th. I got my certificate of my Lord's and I 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.

26th. Early to Whitehall, 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 consin, 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 panegyric 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 Whitehall Chapel, where I heard a cold sermon of the Bishop of Salisbury's, Duppa's, and the ceremonies did not 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, 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 Clerk of the Acts, which he hath a mind to buy, and I asked four years' purchase.

31st. To Whitehall, 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 Seal, 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.

August 1. 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.

2nd. 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 Seal, where I stayed all the afternoon, and received about £40 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 about £10 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 which with my fine will come to about £22 to him that shall hire my house of me.

4th. To Whitehall, 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 stayed and dined, all alone; after dinner to the Privy Seal 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 £1,000 for my office of Clerk 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 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 Seal all the afternoon. At night, meeting Sam. Hartlibb, he took me by coach to Kensington, to my Lord of Holland's; I stayed 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, Ambassador 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 Hyde Park 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 footman. By the way, I cannot forget that my Lord Claypoole did the other day make inquiry 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 Seal, where I get every day, I believe, about £3. 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 Whitehall 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 Chamberlain's.

14th. To the Privy Seal, and thence to my Lord's,

where Mr. Pin the tailor and I agreed upon making me a velvet coat. From thence to the Privy Seal 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 stayed 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 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 16s.

15th. To the office, and after dinner by water to Whitehall, 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 Loyal 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 Seal, where reckoning with Mr. Moore, he had got £100 for me together, which I was glad of, guessing that the profit of this month would come to £100. With W. Hewer by coach to Worcester House, where I light, sending him home with the £100 that I received to-day. Here I stayed, 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, 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.

22nd. In the House, after the Committee was up, I met with Mr. G. Montagu, and joyed him in his entrance (this being his 3rd 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.

23rd. By water to Doctors' Commons to Dr. 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 Whitehall, 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 long in coming out, but it is expected to-morrow. I carried home £80 from Privy Seal by coach.

30th. To Whitehall, 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 1. 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 Princess. 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 Ambassador.

3rd. Up and to Mr. —, the goldsmith, and there, with much ado, got him to put a gold ring to the jewel 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 with what kindness the King did hug 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 news nowadays of the Duke d'Anjou's desire to marry the Princess 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 chid me for some error in our Privy-Seal 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 small-pox; in whom his family dies, 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 Whitehall 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 Tavern in Wood Street (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 chaplain to the Lady Protectress (and still so, and one they say that is likely to get my Lady Francesse for his wife). Here some of us fell to handicap. a sport that I never knew before.

20th. To Major Hart's lodgings in Cannon Street, who used me very kindly with wine and 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 delays and scrupulous inquiries into the account of both.

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

22nd. 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 town. 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.

23rd. This afternoon, the King having news of the Princess being come to Margate, he and the Duke of York went down thither in barges to her.

24th. I arose from table and went to the Temple church, where I had appointed Sir W. Batten to meet him; and there at Sir Heneage Finch Solicitor 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.

28th. I did send for a cup of tea (a China drink), of which I never had drank before, and went away (the King and the Princess coming up the river this afternoon as we were at our pay). My Lord told me how the ship that brought the Princess 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 2. At Will's I met with Mr. Spicer, and with him to the Abbey to see them at vespers. There I found but a thin congregation.

3rd. To my Lord's, who sent a great iron chest to Whitehall: 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 real 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 anything 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 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 Archbishopric of York. Here I saw the Bishops 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 stations and victuals 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 Whitehall on foot, calling at my father's to change my long black cloak for a short one (long cloaks 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 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 cabinet. 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 habit, come afterwards, and so all ended.

9th. This morning Sir W. Batten with Col. Birch to Deptford to pay off two ships. Sir W. Pen and I stayed to do business, and afterward together to Whitehall, where I went to my Lord, and saw in his chamber his picture, very well done; and I 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, Coker, Peters, Harrison, etc., 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, etc.; such a bench of noblemen as had not been ever seen in England. They all seemed to be

dismayed, and will all be condemned without question. In Sir Orlando Bridgman's charge, he did wholly rip up the unjustness 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 traitors. 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. Above all the rest, I liked that which Mr. Greatorox 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 Cockpit 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 at Whitehall, and to see the first blood shed in revenge for the King at Charing Cross.

14th. To Whitehall chapel, 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 Princess Royal 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 inquire 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 nowadays.

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

19th. This morning my dining-room was finished with green serge hanging and gilt leather, which is

very handsome. This morning Hacker and Artell 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 cook, 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 upholsterer's in Saint Bartholomew's, I saw limbs of some of our new traitors 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 traitor, 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.

22nd. All preparing for my Lord's going to sea to fetch the Queen to-morrow. At night my Lord come home, with whom I stayed 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.

23rd. 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 Whitehall 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 term.

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 club to-night among his friends. Among the rest Esquire Ashmole, who I found was a very ingenious gentleman. With him we two sang afterwards 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 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 err as he had done.

26th. By Westminster to Whitehall, 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 barbs, 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 cloisters, I got in; this day being a great day for the consecrating of five bishops, which was done after sermon; but I could not get into Henry the Seventh's chapel. After dinner to Whitehall chapel; 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 claret 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, whether he be gone for the Queen from the Downs or no; but I believe he is, and that he is now upon coming back again.

November 1. 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

chair, 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.

2nd. To Whitehall, 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 supped 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 Whitehall 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 Mass 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 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.

3rd. Saturday. In the afternoon to Whitehall, 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, etc." 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 spoken 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 wear 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 increased since the adjournment of the Parliament, they being to sit again to-morrow. This 5th day 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 £1,300, and the Half-moon, sold for £830.

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 £4,000 per annum for ever, and had already given him a bill under his hand (which he showed me) for £4,000, that Mr. Fox is to pay him. My Lord did advise with me how to get this received, and to put out £3,000 into safe hands at use, and the other he will make use for his present occasion. This he did advise with me about with great secrecy. After this he called for the fiddles and books, and we two and W. Howe, and Mr. Childe, did sing and play some psalms of Will. Lawes, 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.

10th. The Comptroller and I to the coffee-house, where he showed me the state of his case; how the King did owe him above £6,000. 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 Whitehall, and in our way, in discourse, do 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 Princess, 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 music, he bidding them stop, and made the French music play, which, my Lord says, do much outdo all ours.

22nd. 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 £1,000 or £1,400 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 chair, 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 garb than any ordinary woman. The Princess of Orange I had often seen before. The Princess Henrietta is very pretty, but much below my expectation: and her dressing of herself with her hair frizzed short up to her ears, 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 Whitehall 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 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' 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 stopped, which do like me well, because then the King will be in town the next month, which is my month again at the Privy Seal.

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 4. This day the Parliament voted that

the bodies of Oliver, Ireton, Bradshaw, etc., 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 bedside, 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 ruin 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 went to Whitehall, 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 were 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 arms to town, 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 custom, 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 Princess 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 Whitehall 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 Princess. 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 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 return to France with the Princess Henrietta. The Princess 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 factions, the King did dissolve it December 29th last, and another likely to be chosen speedily.

1660-61. *January 1.* 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 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.

2nd. My Lord did give me many commands in his business. As 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 £4,000 a-year that the King had promised my Lord. As also about getting Mr. George Montagu to be chosen at Huntingdon this next Parliament, etc. That done, he to Whitehall 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 Whitehall 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 Capt. Rider my chine of beef for to serve to-morrow at Trinity House, the Duke of Albemarle being to be there, and all the rest of the Brethren, it being a great day for the reading over of their new Charter, which the King hath newly given them.

3rd. 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 Whitehall, at the Jewel Office, to choose a piece of gilt plate for my Lord, in return of his offering to the King (which it seems is usual at this time of year, and an earl gives twenty pieces in gold in a purse to the King). I chose a gilt tankard, weighing thirty-one ounces and a half, and he is allowed thirty; so I paid twelve shillings for the ounce and a 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 bedside, that there had been a great stir in the City this night by the Fanatics, who had been up and killed six or seven men, but all are fled. My Lord Mayor and the whole City had been in arms, 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 the Fanatics rising again: for the present I do not hear that any of them are taken.

8th. Some talk to-day of a head of Fanatics that do appear about, but I do not believe it. However, my Lord Mayor, Sir Rich. Browne, hath carried himself 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 Fanatics were up in arms in the City.

And so I rose and went forth; where in the street I found everybody in arms 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 Fanatics that are taken, and in short it is this: these Fanatics 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 arms—are not in all above thirty-one. 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 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 town.

11th (Office day). This day comes news, by letters from Portsmouth, that the Princess Henrietta is fallen sick of the measles 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 Princess. This news 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 fleet coming cap in hand to us.

13th. After sermon to Deptford again; where, at the Commissioner's and the Globe, we stayed long. But no sooner in bed but we had an alarm, 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 town, 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 Princess 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 Whitehall; 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 flies 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.

22nd. 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 own 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 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 Princess 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 murder 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 Tyburn.

31st. To the theatre, and there sat in the pit among the company of fine ladies, etc.; 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. 2. Home; where I found the parson and his wife gone. And by-and-bye the rest of the company very well pleased, and I too; it being the last dinner I intend to make a great while.

3rd (Lord's day). This day I first begun to go forth in my coat and sword, as the manner now among gentlemen is. To Whitehall; where I stayed to hear the trumpets and kettle-drums, and then the other drums, which are much cried up, though I think it dull, vulgar music. So to Mr. Fox's unbid; 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 undiscovered. And how Sir Philip 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 farther end of the Hall.

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 Downs the next day, and lay at Canterbury that night; and so to Dartford, and thence this morning to Whitehall. 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. Albans 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 own it with his sword and a second; which he said he would, and so both sides agreed. But my Lord St. Albans,

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. Captain Cuttle, and Curtis, and Mootham, and I, went to the Fleece Tavern to drink, and there we spent till four o'clock, telling stories of Algiers, and the manner of life of slaves there. And truly Captain 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 fountains 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 Scornful Lady," now done by a woman, which makes the play appear much better than ever it did to me.

14th. The talk of the town now is, who the King is like to have for his Queen, and whether Lent shall be kept with the strictness 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 crown, he being a professed friend to the Catholics. 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 stayed walking in the gallery, where we met with Mr. Slingsby, who showed me the stamps of the King's new coin, 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.

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

23rd. This my birthday, twenty-eight years. Mr. Hartlett told me how my Lord Chancellor had lately got the Duke of York, and Duchess, 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 "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 tired 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 principal 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 twenty-eight 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 victuals, 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 is which we are now sheathing to set out for the southward? Most think against Algier against the Turk, or to the East Indies against the Dutch, who, we hear, are setting out a great fleet thither.

March 1. 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 £4,000 per annum settled before he do go. To Whitefriars, and saw the "Bondman" acted; an excellent play and well done. But above all that ever I saw, Beterton do the Bondman the best.

2nd. 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 Salisbury Court, where the house as full as could be; and it seems it was a new play, "The Queen's Mask," 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 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 jewels 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 Duchess of Albemarle, who is ever a plain, homely dowdy. After dinner, to drink all the afternoon. Towards night the Duchess 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 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 stayed 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 inquired 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 Salisbury 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 town in state. Yesterday was said to be the day that the Princess Henrietta was to marry the Duke d'Anjou in France. This day I found in the news-book that Roger Pepys is chosen at Cambridge for the town, the first place that we hear of to have made their choice yet.

20th. To Whitehall 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 town 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 episcopal, are thought to be Anabaptists; and chosen with a great deal of zeal, in spite of the other party who 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.

23rd. To the Red Bull (where I had not been since plays come up again) up to the tiring-room, where strange the confusion and disorder that there is among them in fitting themselves, especially here, where the clothes are very poor, and the actors but common fellows. At last into the pit, where I think there was not above ten more 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 music-room, the boy that was to sing a song, not singing it right, his master fell about his ears, and beat him so, that it put the whole house in an uproar. 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 2. To St. James's Park, where I saw the Duke of York playing at Pelemele, the first time that I ever 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, betwit and reproach one another with their former

conditions, and their actions as in public concerns, till I was ashamed to see it.

3rd. I hear that the Dutch have sent the King a great present of money, which we think will 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 Indies is also stayed.

7th. To Whitehall, 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 joining of the Fanatics and the Presbyterians, that the latter and the former are in their declaration put together under the names of Fanatics.

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

10th. Then to Rochester, and there saw the cathedral, 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.

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 heal, 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 principal officers, etc., to come to him to-day. So I went by water to Mr. Coventry's, and there stayed 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 habit he is a very plain man. Then he sent us to his closet, where we saw among other things two very fine chests, covered with gold and Indian varnish, given him by the East India 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 Whitehall; and in the banqueting-house saw the King create my Lord Chancellor and several others, earls, and Mr. Crewe and several others, barons: the first being led up by heralds and five old earls to the King, and there the patent is read, and the King puts on his vest, and sword, and coronet, 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 Cockpit; 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

Duchess (which is a plain woman, and like her mother, my Lady Chancellor). And so saw "The Humoursome 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 Dr. Thomas Pepys and Dr. Fayre-brother: and all our talk about to-morrow's show, and our trouble that it is like to be a wet day. All the way is so thronged with people to see the triumphal arches, that I could hardly pass for them.

22nd. The King's going from the Tower to White-hall. Up early and made myself as fine 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 Cornhill; 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 horse's 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. Remarkable

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 Turks; 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 Whitehall 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, and very rich it is with embroidery.

CORONATION DAY.

23rd. 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 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 chair) and foot-stool on the top of it; and all the officers of all kinds, so much as the very fiddlers, 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 sceptre (carried by my Lord Sandwich) and sword and wand before him, and the crown 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 Choir at the high altar, the King passed through all the ceremonies of the Coronation, which to my great grief I and most in the Abbey could not see. The crown 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 Bishop; and his Lords (who put on their caps as soon as the King put on his crown) and bishops come, and kneeled before him. And three times the King at Arms 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 General Pardon also was read by the Lord Chancellor, and medals 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 music; and indeed, it was lost to everybody. 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 rails, 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 stayed 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 soliders) that were yesterday in the cavalcade; and a most pleasant sight it was to see them in their several robes. And the King come in with his crown 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 herald's leading up people before

him, and bowing; and my Lord of Albemarle's going to the kitchen 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 Suffolk, 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 spear and target 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 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 Lord's 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 everybody 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 music of all sorts, but above all, the twenty-four 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 stayed upon the leads and below till it was late, expecting to see the fireworks, 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 Street, 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 proffered the civility of lying with my wife at Mrs. Hunt's to-night) to Axe Yard, in which at the farther 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 we thought a strange frolic; 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 everywhere; and blessed be God, I have not heard of any mischance to anybody 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 same fortune. There was also this night in King Street, 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 show 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 fireworks, 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 mask 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 am sorry that I am not at London, to be at Hyde Park to-morrow, among the great gallants and ladies, which will be very fine.

May 1. 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 bowls. 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 Lion, where Haselrigge and Scott and Walton did hold their council, when they were here, against Lambert and the Committee of Safety.

2nd. 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 everybody; 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 Gray's Inn Walks, and from thence to Islington, and there ate 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 term 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 mass, it being the Spanish ambassador's; and so I got into one of the galleries, 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. Captain Ferrers, and Mr.

Howe, and myself, to Mr. Wilkinson's at the Crown; 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 Captain 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 balcony windows were open, and he went to the rail and made an offer to leap over, and asked what if he should leap over there. I told him I would give him £40 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 broken 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 bedroom, by the door, where he lay in great pain. We sent for a doctor and surgeon, 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 deaf gentleman, his friend for company's sake), to the Victualling Office (the first time that I ever knew where it was), and there stayed while he read a commission for inquiry into some of the King's lands and houses thereabouts, that are given his brother. And then we took boat to Woolwich, where we stayed 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.

23rd. In my black silk suit (the first day I have 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 town; 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 drink afterwards, which he did receive, being denied the drink 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 balcony 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 foul) went to Walthamstow; and being come there heard Mr. Radcliffe, my former schoolfellow 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 ate wafers with her dog did a little displease me. I did give the midwife 10s., and the nurse 5s., and the maid of the house 2s. But for as much I expected to give the name to the child, but did not (it being called John), I forebore 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 4. 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 came to my Lord Bedford that the Earldom 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 Whitehall, 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 anybody that will; among others Roundtree, a simple mechanic 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 ambassador 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 Lisbon 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 Alderman Back-

well, 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 anything 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 foul weather before fair weather come; and so they were forced to keep it between both. Then to Whitehall, where I met my Lord, who told me he must have £300 laid out in cloth, to give in Barbary, as presents among the Turks.

27th. This day Mr. Holden sent me a bever, which cost me £4 5s.

28th. Went to Moorfields, 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 Ambassador came to Whitehall to take leave of the King; he being now going to end all with the Queen, and to send her over.

July 2. 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 stayed a very great while for the King and 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 men's hair, which made good sport. The King being come, the scene opened; which indeed is very fine and magnificent, and well acted, all but the Eunuch, who was so much out that he was hissed off the stage.

3rd. 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 "Clarcilla" (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 began; 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 corpse in a coffin standing upon joint-stools in the chimney in the hall ; but it began 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 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 of wine and other things ; and then to carry him to the church, where Mr. Taylor buried him, and Mr. Turner preached a funeral 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 chapel, 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 does pretty lively.

22nd. 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 chapel with brave pictures, and, above all, the gardens, such as I never saw in all my life; nor so good flowers, nor so great gooseberries, 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 Hinchinbroke and the rest of the young gentlemen to France, and they have resolved of going in a hired vessel 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 Bristol, 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 Whitehall and Westminster Hall, where I found the King expected to come and adjourn 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 adjourn the House) where I dined with my Lady.

August 2nd. I made myself ready to get a-horseback for Cambridge.

3rd. 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 worshipful and dearly beloved” to us. To church again, and, after supper, to talk about public matters, wherein Roger Pepys told me how basely things had 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 profane swearing fellows that ever he heard in his life, which makes him think that they will spoil all, and bring things into a war 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 everywhere else that I come, the Quakers do still continue, and rather grow than lessen.

9th. I to Whitehall, where, after four o'clock, comes my Lord Privy Seal; and so we went up to his chamber over the gate at Whitehall, where he asked me what deputation I had from my Lord. I told him none; but that I am sworn my Lord's deputy by both of the Secretaries, which did satisfy him. So he caused Mr. Moore to read over all the bills, and all ended very well.

11th. To Gray's-Inn walks, and there stayed a good while; where I met with Ned Pickering, who told me what a great match of hunting of a stag 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.

Pen 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 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 Duchess 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 clerks are gone to the burial of Tom Whitton, one of the Comptroller's clerks, 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 everywhere (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 Seal, where we had a seal this morning. Then met with Ned Pickering, 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 lewdness

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 Whitehall, 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 fowl 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 Seal, 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 several Lords are met in Council this afternoon. And while 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 Jovial Crew," where the King, Duke and Duchess 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 emulation, 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 the people that I meet with do protest against their practice. In short, I see no content or satisfaction anywhere in any one sort of people. The Benevolence proves so little, and an occasion of so much discontent everywhere that it had better had it never been set up. I think to subscribe twenty pound. 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 ten 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 per annum, that I do believe it will yet scarce come to pass. The season very sickly everywhere of strange and fatal fevers.

September 1. Capt. Holmes and I by coach to Whitehall; 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 frankness, 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 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.

2nd. 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.

3rd. 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-show, acted to-day, which had not been these forty years (it being so satirical 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 the cats that come hither 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 a hundred 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 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 success 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 reputation will a little suffer in common talk by this late success; 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 Lisbon.

27th. At noon, met my wife at the Wardrobe; and there dined, where we found Capt. Country (my little Captain that I loved, who carried me to the Sound), with some grapes and melons from my Lord at Lisbon: the first that ever I saw; but the grapes are rare things. In the 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 stayed 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 hamper of melons sent to me also.

30th. This morning up by moon-shine, at 5 o'clock to Whitehall, to meet Mr. Moore at the Privy Seal, and there I heard of a fray between the two ambassadors of Spain and France; and that, this day, being the day of the entrance of an Ambassador from Sweden, they

intended to fight for the precedence. Our King, I heard, ordered that no Englishman should meddle in the 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 Chelsea, to my Lord Privy Seal, and there got him to seal the business. Here I saw by daylight 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 I ever saw in my life. So back again; and at Whitehall light, and saw the soldiers and people running up and down the streets. So I went to the Spanish Ambassador'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 oars to Westminster

Palace, and run after them through all the dirt and the streets full of people: till at last, at the Mews, 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 ambassador 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 outwit them; first in lining their own harness 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 coachman. 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 Lisbon to bring over the Queen. The business of Argier hath of late troubled me, because 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 4. By coach to Whitehall 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 Ambassador 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. Captain 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 Portugal, from whence he is lately come, and he tells me it is a very poor dirty place—I mean the city and court of Lisbon—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, wrote into England that glass 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 Whitehall, 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 Queen's provision ; now there is all haste made, for the fleet'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 preparations 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 qualities that made 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 check to their engrossing the whole trade of the Navy Office.

29th. This day I put on my half cloth black stockings and my new coat 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 Cross, 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 1. Sir Wm. sent for his son Mr. Wm. Pen lately come from Oxford.

2nd. 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 doat 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 Betterton, he is called by us both the best actor in the world.

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 Queen Katherine, the first time by name, publicly 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 ambassador 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 Downs. 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 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 music, 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 long in the Hall, but hear nothing of news, 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 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 Mark 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 Whitehall to the Duke, who met us in his closet, and there did discourse upon the business of Holmes, and did desire of us to know what hath been the common practice about making of foreign ships to strike sail to us, which they did all do as much as they could; but I could 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 Seventh's time, he did give commission to his captains to make the King of Denmark's ships to strike to him in the Baltic.

30th. This is the last day for the old State's coin to pass in common payments, but they say it is to pass in public payments to the King three months still.

December 1. 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 Whitehall, 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 the Duke of York, who promise to be very careful of the India trade to the utmost.

7th. To the Privy Seal, and sealed there; and, among other things that passed, there was a patent for Roger Palmer (Madam Palmer's husband) to be Earl of Castlemaine and Baron of Limbricke in Ireland; but the honour is tied up to the males got of the body of this wife, the Lady Barbary: the reason whereof everybody knows. That done, by water to the office, where I found Sir W. Pen, and with him Capt. 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 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 Cowley's making.

21st. To Whitehall to the Privy Seal, as my Lord Privy Seal did tell me he could seal no more this month, for he goes thirty miles out of town to keep his Christmas. At which I was glad, but only afraid lest anything of the King's should force us to go after him to get a seal in the country. I spoke to Mr. Falconberge to look whether he could, out of Domesday Book, give me anything 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, 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 Bishop, 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. I suppose myself to be worth about £500 clear in the world, and my goods of my house my own, 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. 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.

THE DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS.

1662—1663.



INTRODUCTION.

THE reign of Charles the Second from the beginning of the year 1662 to the end of September 1663 is brought back to us in the part of Pepys's Diary which this volume contains. There is just a note of the birth ("at which I find nobody pleased") of a girl, who after the Revolution reigned as Queen Mary, the wife of William III. There is all the stir that belonged to the coming to England of Charles the Second's Queen, Catherine of Portugal, with overestimate of the value of Tangier as part of her dowry, and ignorance of the future value of Bombay. There is evidence enough of the nature of the heartless and low-minded sensualist to whom Catherine came. There are not wanting direct and indirect regrets from Pepys at the King's turning from grave counsellors to yield to the influence of dissolute comrades. There is the beginning of the treacherous practice that secured the fall of Clarendon. There is the execution of Sir Henry Vane, at which Pepys was present, and in which the feeling of Pepys was clearly on the side of the brave spirit that then spoke its last on earth, while drums and trumpets were sounded to drown its voice. Also there is that Sunday in the London churches when two thousand ministers, driven out of the Church of England by the Act of Uniformity, were throughout England speaking for the last time to their congregations, and the rent was made in the Church that many a good Christian

would now give his life to repair, by re-establishing the unity of spirit among all who look to one book for their rule of faith, and leaving freedom for inevitable differences of opinion to each group of allied worshippers.

While Samuel Pepys followed the times, he followed them with more than common honesty; and if he had failings of his own, he had more good sense than he is usually credited with, and a wholesome sense of right. It may be that this volume and its predecessor make him seem the graver for omission of various little passages about himself, while leaving whatever illustrates a larger history than that of his own household. These omissions were not designed, but are due to an error not discovered till too late for remedy. In future, whenever Mr. Pepys looks in on the readers of this Library, which he will do two or three times in a year till his whole budget of talk is exhausted, he will have fullest liberty to talk about himself.

Here let it be said, in answer to many questions and many offers of abridgments, that the volumes of this National Library are meant to contain complete works, as their authors wrote them. Their uniformity of size is obtained by adjustment of types, not by excision of matter. From a collection of separate narratives, like "Hakluyt's Voyages," or detached fragments of opinion and anecdote like Luther's "Table Talk," selections can of course be made, but they are made only with the condition that each narrative is truly given, and that even detached passages be complete in themselves, and have no sentences omitted. Where change of convention would cause, in the modern reader, serious objection to a word or phrase, it is

altered ; but that is not often necessary. In the case of Samuel Pepys, Lord Braybrooke omitted from his edition much personal self-revelation. Some of this has been added by a later editor, Mr. Mynors Bright, and opinions may differ as to the kind and amount of information about the private affairs of Mr. Pepys himself that should go with his notes upon the world about him. I think the more the better. Why not record, as should be here recorded, on Sunday the first of March, 1663, "All to bed without prayers, it being washing day to-morrow ;" and that on the 8th of September, when he dined at home with his wife, "it being washing day, we had a good pie baked of a leg of mutton ; and then to Moxon's, and there bought a pair of globes, cost me £3 10s, with which I am well pleased." The globes were to assist the studies by which Pepys was always bettering his qualification for the service of the public, as Clerk of the Acts in the Navy Office. He had received a liberal school and University education, which had made him a reasonably good Latin scholar. But when he saw how the country was cheated in the Government service, one of his desires was to learn to measure timber himself, and in his Diary for the 18th of August, 1662, he tells us (page 56) how for this reason he practised measuring the tables while he was waiting for dinner at Ilford. He had engaged Mr. Cooper, mate of the *Royal Charles*, to teach him mathematics. "After an hour's being with him at arithmetic, my first attempt being to learn the multiplication table ; then we parted till to-morrow."

Again, when we observe the domestic frugality that went with the characteristic little extravagances in dress for himself and his wife ; the counting up of his

goods from time to time with accurate detail, as he rose in the world by honest devotion to the duty of his office, with profligate and careless men around him, and the slow accumulation of his gains—in June, 1663 he reckoned himself worth £700, against £530 in May, 1662—we are very far from laughing at Samuel Pepys. At a time when he is finding £50,000 unaccounted for in Navy money, which can only have gone into the pockets of chiefs in his office, after noting that he has made a contract of £3,000 for masts, he adds, “But, good God, to see what a man might do were I a knave !”

Of course it is easy to laugh at the little weaknesses for pretty clothes and pretty women, and the little weaknesses of judgment, one of which finds pleasant confession, when he tells (page 100) how he sold “Hudibras” for eighteen-pence, after paying two and sixpence for it, because he was ashamed of the book and thought it silly, but bought it again (page 111) when the general applause made him distrust his first opinion. I note even with some satisfaction the trivial detail of the inward struggles that caused Mr. Pepys to leave off the dirty artificial dressing of his natural hair and wear a border or a periwig: “I have no stomach for it, but that the pains of keeping my hair clean is so great.” In a rash mood, although after reflection, he cut off the beard which it had cost him some years to grow; but he found pleasure in shaving and polishing his face and head with a pumice stone, a device he learnt of Mr. March when he was at Portsmouth. “I find it,” he says, “very easy, speedy, and cleanly, and shall continue the practice of it.”

H. M.

PEPYS'S DIARY.

January 2, 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 Portugal, 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 Inn this afternoon to see the revels there; there being, according to an old custom, 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 joining against us; but I do not think it yet true. In the afternoon, to Sir W. Batten's, where in discourse I heard the custom 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 chosen, 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 andar 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 Adriatic, a State that is little, but more ancient, they say, than Venice, and is called the mother of Venice, and the Turks 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 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 talk of) of the chemical 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 together. He also told us that the Kings there have above 100 wives apiece.

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 Ambassador. Whereupon he and I took coach, and to Whitehall to my Lord's lodgings, to have spoken with Mr. Ralph Montagu, his brother (and here we stayed 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.

22nd. After music practice, to Whitehall, 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 jealousies that are now in the Parliament House. 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 terms 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 anybody 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 Queen 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 Chamberlain, that had it been such a gallant as my Lord Mandeville his son, it might have been taken as a frolic: but for him that would be thought a grave coxcomb, it was very strange. Thence to the Hall, where I heard the House had ordered all the King's murderers 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 came 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 clerks 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 wet-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. Rider, came 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 sledges 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 1. This morning with Commissioner Pett to the office; and he stayed 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 painter's; and he likes our pictures very well, and so do I. Thence he and I to the Countess 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 express 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 term. 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 larks, which they take thus:—They observe 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 poison 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 fiddlers go up and down the fields everywhere, in expectation of being hired by those that are stung. This afternoon, going into the office, one met me and did serve a subpoena 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 morning. To the Wardrobe to dinner with my Lady; where a civet 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 painter's, and am well pleased with our pictures.

10th. To Paul's Churchyard, and there I met with Dr. Fuller's "England's Worthies," 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 arms) he says nothing at all, nor mentions us either in Cambridgeshire or Norfolk. 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 10 per cent.; and that the other day, for a mere assignation of £200 to some counties, they took £15, which is very strange. Last night died the Queen 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 [sluice or lock] 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 Indies), down to Deptford; and thence, after being on shipboard, to Woolwich, and there ate something. The Sir Williams being unwilling to eat flesh, Captn. Cock and I had a breast of veal roasted.

18th. Having agreed with Sir William Pen to meet him at the Opera, and finding, by my walking in the streets, which were everywhere full of brickbats and tiles flung down by the extraordinary wind 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 Street is most of it blown down, and hath broken 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 loss of Roxalana would spoil the house.

20th. Letters from Tangier from my Lord, telling me how, upon a great defeat given to the Portuguese there by the Moors, he had put in 300 men into the town, 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 enclosed 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. ●

22nd. 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 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 families and friends.

23rd. This day by God's mercy I am twenty-nine 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 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 Dean, that above 1,000 oaks and as many beeches are blown down in one walk there. And letters from my father tell me of £20 hurt done to us at Brampton. This day in the news-book 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.

3rd. I am told that this day the Parliament hath voted 2s. per annum for every chimney in England, as a constant revenue for ever to the Crown.

7th. Early to Whitehall 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 Duchess, upon the words of Micah:—"Roll 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 nowadays in Newgate than a poor Royalist that hath suffered all his life for the King is at Whitehall 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 Queen; 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 came 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 stayed 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 Blenkinsopp.

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 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 rebel 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 came 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 Whitehall; and an hour or two in the Park, which is now very pleasant. Here the King and Duke came to see their fowl play. The Duke took very civil notice of me.

17th. Last night the *Blackmore* pink 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 villain 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.

23rd. To Whitehall, and there met with Captn. Isham, this day come from Lisbon, with letters from the Queen to the King. And he did give me letters which speak that our fleet is all at Lisbon; and that the Queen do not intend to embark 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 perukes 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 6 (Lord's Day). By water to Whitehall to Sir G. Carteret, to give him an account of the backwardness of the ships we have hired to Portugal, 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 godliness, 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 Park, where the King and Duke did walk.

7th. To the Lords' 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 Seal, and he came 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 Portuguese by sea, at Lisbon, 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 came Col. Talbot with letters from Portugal, that the Queen is resolved to embark for England this week. Thence to the office all the afternoon. My Lord Windsor came to us to discourse of his affairs, and to take his leave of us; he being to go as 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 Portugal with men and horse, to see them despatched. 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 told me that negroes 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 Park, 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 repairing in the Queen's lodgings.

13th. To Gray's Inn walks, and there met Mr. Pickering. His discourse most about the pride of the Duchess of York; and how all the ladies envy my Lady Castlemaine. He intends to go to Portsmouth to meet the Queen this week; which is now the discourse and expectation of the town.

15th. With my wife, by coach, to the New Exchange to buy her some things; where we saw some new-fashioned petticoats of sarcenet, 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 drawn towards the

gallows at Tyburn, 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 Whitehall to hear South, my Lord Chancellor's chaplain, the famous preacher and orator 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 stayed at Paul's, where the Judges did all meet, and heard a sermon, it being the first Sunday of the term; but they had a very poor sermon.

21st. At noon dined with my Lord Crewe; and after dinner went up to Sir Thomas Crewe's chamber, who is still ill. He tells me how my Lady Duchess 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 Queen is landed; at which I took leave, and by coach hurried to Whitehall, the bells ringing in several places; but I found there no such matter, nor anything like it.

22nd. We come to Guildford.

23rd. 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 chirurgeon'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 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 Queen 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. Stevens, and Mr. Holt our guide, over to Gosport; and so rode to Southampton. In our way, besides my Lord Southampton's parks and lands, in which in one view we could see £6,000 per annum, we observed a little churchyard, where the graves are accustomed to be all sowed with sage. At Southampton. The town 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 quay well worth seeing.

27th. I rode to church, and met my Lord Chamberlain upon the walls of the garrison, who owned and spoke to me. I followed him in the crowd of gallants through the Queen'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 principal officers. Visited the Mayor, Mr. Timbrell, our anchor-smith, who showed us the present they have for the Queen, which is a saltcellar of silver, the walls crystal, 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 came a merchantman in the harbour, which we hired at London to carry horses to Portugal; but, Lord! what running there was to the seaside to hear what news, thinking it had come from the Queen.

May 1. 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 Duchess of York is brought to bed of a girl, at which I find nobody pleased; and that Prince Rupert and the Duke of Buckingham are sworn of the Privy Council.

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 Queen and fleet 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 Hyde Park, 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* (which pleased me not at all). And so after the play done, she and Theo. Turner and Mrs. Lucin and I, in her coach to the Park; and there found them out and spoke to them; and observed many fine ladies, and stayed till all were gone almost.

8th. Sir G. Carteret told me, that the Queen and the fleet were in Mount's Bay on Monday last; and that the Queen endures her sickness pretty well. He also told me how Sir John Lawson hath done some execution upon the Turks in the Strait, 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 Queen 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 Queen 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 Whitehall; and there walked an hour or two in the Park, 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 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 shown the whole house by Mr. Marriott; which is indeed nobly furnished, particularly the Queen's bed, given her by the States of Holland; a looking-glass sent by the Queen-mother from France, hanging in the Queen'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 Seal I saw Mr. Coventry's seal for his being Commissioner with us. At night, all the bells of the town rung, and bonfires made for the joy of the Queen'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 the people, who are much discontented at the pride and luxury of the Court, and running in debt.

18th. (Whitsunday.) By water to Whitehall, and there to chapel in my pew belonging to me as Clerk of the Privy Seal; 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 music. And then the King came 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 Council-chamber; where the King and Council sat till almost eleven o'clock at night, and I forced to walk up and down the galleries 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 town and proroguing the House. At last, the Council risen, Sir G. Carteret told me what the Council hath ordered about the ships designed to carry horse from Ireland to Portugal, 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 of town. 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 Guildford, 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 stayed walking in Whitehall garden. And in the privy-garden saw the finest smocks and linen 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 Queen's arrival 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 the heaviest. But she is now a most disconsolate creature, and comes not out of doors, since the King's going.

22nd. This morning comes an order from the Secretary of State Nicholas, for me to let one Mr. Lee, a councillor, 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.

23rd. 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 Queen at Portsmouth, and is come up to stay here till next Wednesday, and then to meet the King and Queen at Hampton Court. So to dinner ; and my Lord mighty merry ; among other things, saying that the Queen 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 wrote 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 Council 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 Spain. That the Queen 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 £1,400 sterling. How recluse the Queen 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 music, 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 Portugal about payment of the portion, before he could get it; which was, besides Tangier and free trade in the Indies, two millions of crowns, half now, and the other half in twelve months. But they have brought but little money; but the rest in sugars and other commodities, and bills of exchange. That the King of Portugal is a very fool 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 child-bearing, which seemed a pretty strange expression. Out with Captain Ferrers to Charing Cross; and there at the Triumph tavern he showed me some Portugal ladies, which are come to town before the Queen. 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 down the town 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 birthday, was very solemnly observed; and the more, for that the Queen 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 Queen 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 joint. 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 Queen 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 3. 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 queen 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 cup and £1,000 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 yarn (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 trial, five threads of that against four of Riga yarn; and also that some of it had old stuff that had been tarred, covered over with new hemp, which is such a cheat as hath not been heard of.

7th. To the office. I find Mr. Coventry is resolved to do much good, and to inquire 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 three-pences. 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, and I may make good use of him.

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 Sheriff 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 wrote after him to be given the Sheriff; 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 Sheriff. Then he drew out his paper of notes, and began 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, anything 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 general, 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 heat than cowardice 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 Lisbon with thirteen sail; six Dutch, and the rest his own ships; which will, I fear, be ill for Portugal. I wrote a letter of all this day's proceedings to my Lord, at Hinchinbroke.

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 everywhere as a miracle. I walked to Lilly's, the painter's, where I saw, among other rare things, the Duchess of York, her whole body, sitting in state in a chair, in white satin, 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 Forest of Dean; and having done it, he come himself (I did not know him to be the Queen'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 Forest of Dean, in Speed's Maps, and there he showed me how it lies; and the Lea-baily, with the great charge of carrying it to Lydney, and many other things worth 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 Lientenant 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.

22nd. This day I am told of a Portugal lady, at Hampton Court, that hath dropped a child already since the Queen'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 fanatics 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 tavern; 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, 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 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 bass.

27th. To my Lord, who rose as soon as he heard I was there, and in his night-gown 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 from His Excellency the Earl 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 War, 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 politic, 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 judgment and inclination) that, how-

ever, the King's new captains 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, Samuel 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 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 Queen minding their pleasures at Hampton Court. All people discontented;

some that the King do not gratify them enough, and the others, fanatics 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 will not pay it without force. And in the meantime like to have war abroad, and Portugal to assist when we have not money to pay for any ordinary layings-out at home.

July 2. 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 inquire 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.

3rd. 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 bauble, 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 hers, 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 Queen-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 Downs to meet the Queen, 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 town, to present to him. I see it is impossible for the King to have things done as cheap as other men.

22nd. I had letters from the Downs 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 Queen, back again to the Downs, with the loss of their cables, sails, 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 began, which God grant!

23rd. Much disturbed, by reason of the talk up and down the town, 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 Downs after the late storm, and he says that there the King do tell him that he is sure my Lord is landed in Calais safe. This afternoon I went to Westminster, and there hear that the King and Queen intend to come to Whitehall 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 Whitehall garden and the bowling-alley (where lords and ladies are now at bowls), 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 Duchess of Suffolk being witnesses; and christened with a proviso that it had not already been christened. Since that she left her Lord, carrying away everything in the house; so much as every dish, and cloth, and servant, but the porter. He is gone discontented into France, they say, to enter a monastery, and now she is coming back again to her house in King Street. But I hear that the Queen 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 Queen 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 wrote 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 Park, 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 Queen-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 Whitehall, 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 one of 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 Lombard Street met Captn. Browne of the Rosebush, 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 3. 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 stone; but nobody could be got to mend it till the Burgomaster, or Mayor of the town, 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 Burgomaster did give the first blow with the hammer upon the wooden work; and the rest of the Masters of the Companies 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 Whitehall; 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 surgeon, told me how Mr. Edward Montagu hath lately had a duel with Mr. Cholmely, that is first gentleman-usher to the Queen, and was a messenger to her from the King of Portugal, 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 dropped 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 anything 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 anything 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 anything, or cross another in doing anything), is not fit for business. The last of which is a very great fault of mine, which I must amend in.

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 Whitehall; but there being a stop at the Savoy, we light and took water, and my Lord Sandwich being out of town, 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 book (which is now lately come forth) was laid upon their desk 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 psalm to the people while they sung at Dr. 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 Jesuit 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 Sheriff, with Sir Thomas Bludworth, for the next year, by the King, and so are called with great honour the King's Sheriffs.

13th. Up early, and to my office. By-and-by we met on purpose to inquire 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 of the town, according to new lines, 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 Mitre, in Fenchurch Street, to a venison-pasty, where I found him a very worthy man, and good discourse. Most of which was concerning the Forest of Dean, and the timber there, and iron works 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 book-seller's, and there I hear that next Sunday will be the last of a great many Presbyterian ministers in town, who I hear, will give up all. 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 wrote 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 anything of the times. To Madam Turner's, and dined with her. She had heard Parson Herring take his leave, though 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 it is not my manner to speak anything 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 unhappiness not to receive such an illumination as should direct me to do otherwise, I know no reason why men should not pardon me in this world, as I am confident God will pardon me for it in the next." And

so he concluded. Parson Herring read a psalm and chapters before sermon; and one was the chapter in the Acts, where the story of Ananias and Sapphira is. And after he had 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 own; thus, "In whose comprehensive words we sum up all our imperfect desires, saying, 'Our Father,'" etc. 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 rode 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 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 duel 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 armour 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 anybody 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 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 tomorrow toward Tangier again. I perceive there is yet good hopes of peace with Guyland, which is of great concernment to Tangier.

23rd. 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 Queen's coming to town from Hampton Court. So we fairly walked it to Whitehall, and through my Lord's lodgings we got into Whitehall garden, and so to the Bowling-green, 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 boats and barges; and two pageants, one of a King, and another of a Queen, with her Maids of Honour sitting at her feet very prettily; and they tell me the Queen is Sir Richard Ford's daughter. Anon come the King and Queen 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 Queen. And so they landed at Whitehall 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 Whitehall. 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 arms, 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 along with. And by-and-by, she being in her hair, she put on his hat, which was but an ordinary one, to keep the wind

off. But it became 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 1. 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 Duchess, and he told us he was to go abroad with the Queen 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 Queen to-day.

Sept. 3. Mr. Coventry told us how the Fanatics 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 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 music. Sir Wm. Compton I heard talk with great pleasure of the difference between the fleet now and in Queen 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 Jerome Bowes, Ambassador from Queen 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-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 Ambassador, 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 gauntlet before the Emperor; and challenged all the nobility there to take it up in defence of the Emperor against his Queen; for which, at this very day the name of Sir Jerome 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 surgeon, he took me into Somerset House; and there carried me into the Queen-Mother's presence-chamber, where she was with our own Queen 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

spark of about 15 years old, who, I perceive, do hang much upon my Lady Castlemaine, and is always with her : and, I hear, the Queens both are mighty kind to him. By-and-by in comes the King, and anon the Duke and his Duchess ; 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 Queen, 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 Queen were very merry ; and he would have made the Queen-Mother believe that his Queen was with child, and said that she said so. And the young Queen answered, " You lie ;" 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 Captain 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 Whitehall chapel, where sermon almost done, and I heard Captain Cooke's new music. This the first day of having viols and other instruments to play a symphony between every verse of the anthems; but the music more full than it was the last Sunday, and very fine it is. But yet I could discern Captain Cooke to overdo his part at singing, which I never did before. Thence up into the Queen's presence, and there saw the Queen 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 Whitehall; 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 Whitehall we hear that the Duke of York is gone a hunting to-day; and so we returned: they going to the Duke of Albe-

marle'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 Catholic countries, Mr. Ashburnham did tell us, that this last year, there being great want of corn in Paris, and so a collection made for the poor, there were two pearls brought in nobody knew from whom (till the Queen, seeing them, knew whose they were, but did not discover it), which were sold for 200,000 crowns.

21st (Lord's day). To the Park. The Queen 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 friars in their habits, and the priests come in with their fine crosses and many other fine things. I heard their music 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 Queen very devout: but what pleased me best was to see my dear Lady Castlemaine, who, though a Protestant, did wait upon the Queen to chapel. By-

and-by, after mass was done, a friar 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 Queen'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.

23rd. Sir G. Carteret told me how in most cabarets in France they have written 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 came also and stayed 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 2. At night hearing that there was a play at the Cockpit (and my Lord Sandwich, who came 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 came into one of the boxes next the King's, but so as I could not see the King or Queen, 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 Cardinal," a tragedy I had never seen before, nor is there any great matter in it. The company that came 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 coat.

6th. To Whitehall 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 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 Whitehall 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 Queen 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 rode to Cambridge; the way so good that I got

very well thither, and set up at the Bear; and there my cousin Angier came 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 gown, cap, and hood, and carries me to the Schools, 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 entail; 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 complete 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 came at about nine o'clock, and took up at the Bear.

15th. Showed Mr. Cooke King's College Chapel, 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 everywhere 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 success 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 favour; that Sir H.

Bennet, being brought into Sir Edward Nicholas's place, Sir Charles Barkley is made Privy Purse; a most vicious person, and one whom Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, did tell me that he offered his wife £300 per annum to be his mistress. He also told me, that none in Court hath more the King's ear now than Sir Charles Barkley, and Sir H. Bennet, and my Lady Castlemaine, whose interest now is 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 expense shall be lace-bands, and it will set off anything else the more. I am sorry to hear that the news of the selling of Dunkirk 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 everywhere. Indeed I do find everybody'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 Whitehall, 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 Villain*, 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 Captain 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 came forth to us, but believing that I came 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 counsellor 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 judgment. It is £30 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 surgeon, tells me how ill things go at Court: that the King do show no countenance to any that belong to the Queen; 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; insomuch that though he has a promise, and is sure of being made her surgeon, 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 favour to all her dependents, whom she is fain to let go back into Portugal (though she brought them from their friends against their wills with promise of preferment) without doing anything for them. That her own physician did tell him within these three days that the Queen do know how the King orders things, and how he carries himself to my Lady Castlemaine and others, as well as anybody; 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 surprize; but it seemed absurd for him to pull it over his ears in the reading-pew, after he had done, before all the church, to go up to the pulpit to preach without it. All this day soldiers going up and down the town, there being an alarm, 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 Dunkirk, he wonders any wise people should be so troubled thereat, and scorns all their talk against it, for that he sees it was not Dunkirk, 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. Spoug, that being with other people examined before the King and Council (they being laid up as suspected persons; and it seems Spoug is so far thought guilty as that they intend to pitch upon him

to put to the rack 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 music 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 joined 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 Whitehall, and walked long in the gardens, till (as they are commanded to all strange persons) one came to tell us, we not being known, and being observed to walk there four or five hours (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 speak great fear and jealousies.

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 £7,000 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 Councillors 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 Minchin 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 to my Lord, and other two to the discoverers. After a little discourse dinner came 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 pick-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, inquiring whether they were the same that Baxter always 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 counsel 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 fantastic coxcomb is made Deputy Governor would make me mad; and how he called out for his night-gown 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 Whitehall, 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 bedaub him, and swears he will do it from the beginning, from Jersey to this day. And as to his own taking of too 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 baulk taking notice of anything 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 real 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 sows and pigs, it was answered, that the constable gets them a-nights. The other, Thos. Killigrew'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 vows 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 Dunkirk, 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 town 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 1. 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 trial more; where we stayed 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 Tavern, to meet Wade and the other, Capt. 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.

3rd. To Whitehall, 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 surgeon, who tells me that my Lady Castlemaine is with child; but though it be the King's, yet her Lord being still in town, 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 Duchess 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 idleness, 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 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 hopeful 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 £7,000 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 Whitehall, to the Duke, who, after he was ready, did take us into his closet. 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 Portugal; the King of Portugal 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 Ambassador about the match with the Queen-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 rise and fall of families, 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 coats of arms. 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 town, 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 anything 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.

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, Attorney of the Duchy, Mr. Prinn, Sir W. Rider, Captain 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 10s., which is now 24s.

17th. To the Duke's to-day, but he is gone a-hunting. At Whitehall by appointment, Mr. Creed carried my wife and I to the Cockpit, and we had excellent places, and saw the King, Queen, Duke of Monmouth, his

son, and my Lady Castlemaine, and all the fine ladies ; and "The Scornful 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 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 Dunkirk money, being 400,000 pistolles.

22nd. This day Mr. Moore told me that for certain the Queen-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.

23rd. I hear to-day old rich Audley is lately dead, and left a very great estate, and made a great many poor families rich, not all to one. Among others, one Davis, my old schoolfellow at Paul's, and since a book-seller in Paul's Church Yard ; and it seems do forgive one man £6,000 which he had wronged him of, but names not his name ; but it is well known to be the

scrivener in Fleet Street, 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 per annum, taken in other men's names, and 400,000 Jacobs in gold.

24th. Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, and I, going forth toward Whitehall, we hear that the King and Duke are come this morning to the Tower to see the Dunkirk 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 like the King. Thence the King to Woolwich, though a very cold day; and the Duke to Whitehall, 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 fanatics 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 Russian Ambassador, for whose reception all the City trained-bands do attend in the streets, and the King's lifeguards, 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 stayed 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 Ambassador in his coach; but his attendants in their habits and fur caps very handsome, comely men, and most of them with hawks upon their fists to present to the King. But Lord! to see the absurd nature of Englishmen, that cannot forbear laughing and jeering at everything 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 to every man that will set out a Busse [herring boat]; 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 from Dunkirk did weigh 120,000 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 to every man that shall set out a new-made English Busse 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 public 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 Busses to this, and that port, before we know the readiness of subscribers, we parted.

30th. Public 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 bishops: but more the pity that differences must still be. Dunkirk newly sold, and the money brought over: of which we hope to get some to pay the Navy: which by Sir J. Lawson's having despatched the business in the Straits, 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 1. To my Lord Sandwich's, to Mr. Moore; and then over the Park (where I first in my life, it being a great frost, did see people sliding with their skates, 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 Dunkirk. Here we stayed 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 victuals; then reducing it to make way for the money, which upon their reduction is to go to the building of the Mole; and so to other matters, ordered as against next meeting.

3rd. 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 for one year's looking to the business of the Chest, and £150 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 Russian Ambassador's coaches go along, with his footmen not in livery, 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 fanatic 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 given him by the judgment against me and Harry Kem; and we did also sign bonds in £500 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 Park, where, though the ice was broken and dangerous, yet he would go slide upon his skates, 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 everything to the Duke. Thence walked a good while up and down the galleries; 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 Queen; 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 galleries, 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 Catholic 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 stand in. Thence home, in my way calling upon Sir John Berkenheade, to speak about my assessment of £42 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 arms 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 Captain 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 studiousness, &c., to my great content. To Whitehall 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 open garden, we put it off to Friday next.

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 main-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 Whitehall 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 inquiries into the Wardrobe business to his content; and tells me how things stand. And that the first year was worth about £3,000 to him, and the next about as much: so that at this day, if he were paid, it would be worth about £7,000 to him.

21st. To Whitehall, and there to chapel, and from thence upstairs, and up and down the house and galleries 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 music. 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.

22nd. I walked to Mr. Coventry's chamber, where I

found him gone out into the Park with the Duke, so I shifted myself into a riding-habit, and followed him through Whitehall, and in the Park 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 Hyde Park: where Mr. Coventry asking leave of the Duke, he bids us go to Woolwich. So he and I to 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-book, which will be of great use.

23rd. Dr. Pierce tells me that my Lady Castlemaine's interest at Court increases, and is more and greater than the Queen's; that she hath brought in Sir H. Bennet and Sir Charles Barkeley; but that the Queen 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 quarrel 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 10s. for Stephens's *Thesaurus Græcæ Linguæ*, given to Paul's School. 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 Queen 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 arms 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 Churchyard, 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 own it to be so, though I fall wholly out with him for it.

25th (Christmas Day). Had a pleasant walk to Whitehall, where I intended to have received the communion with the family, but I came 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 Eighth's Voyage to Boulogne; 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. Particularised concerning their excess in plays 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 duel, meaning the groom-porter. Upon which it was worth observing how far they are come from taking the reprehensions of a bishop seriously, 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 public days of joy, and to hospitality. But one that stood by whispered in my ear that the Bishop do not spend one groat to the poor himself. The sermon done, a good anthem followed with viols, and the King came down to receive the Sacrament.

26th. To the Wardrobe. Hither come Mr. Battersby; and we falling into discourse of a new book of drol-

lery in use, called Hudibras, I would needs go find it out, and met with it at the Temple: cost me 2s. 6d. But when I come to read it, it is so silly an abuse of the Presbyter Knight going to the wars, that I am ashamed of it; and by-and-by meeting at Mr Townsend's at dinner, I sold it to him for 18d.

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.

29th. To Westminster Hall, where I stayed 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 Lothbury, 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 pass, 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 moneys to be brought into the Exchequer, and hath settled the King's revenues, and given to every general expense proper assignments; to the Navy £200,000 and odd. He also told me of the great, vast trade of the goldsmiths in supplying the King with money at dear rates. Thence to Whitehall, and got up to the top galleries in the Banqueting House to see the audience of the Russian Ambassador; 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 weakness thereof), and very handsome it was. After they had come in, I went down and got through the crowd almost as high as the King and the Ambassadors. where I saw all the presents, being rich furs, hawks, carpets, cloths of tissue, and sea-horse teeth. The King took two or three hawks upon his fist, having a glove on wrought with gold, given him for the purpose. The son of one of the Ambassadors 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 Ambassadors and the son, and no more, did kiss the Queen's. One thing more I did observe, that the chief Ambassador 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 Queens, 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 stayed talking with her a good while, there being a little, proud, ugly talking lady there, that was much crying up the Queen-Mother's Court at Somerset House above our own Queen'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 Whitehall, where I carried my wife to see the queen in her presence chamber; and the maids 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 Whitehall; 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 Duchess 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 Queen, the Duke and Duchess, and all the great ones: and after seating themselves, the King takes out the Duchess of York; and the Duke, the Duchess of Buckingham; the Duke of Monmouth, my Lady Castlemaine; and so other lords other ladies: and they danced the Brantle. 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 Queen herself, stand up: and indeed he dances rarely, and much better than the Duke of York. Having stayed 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 Whitehall. Our home at the Navy-office, which is and hath a pretty while been in good condition, finished and made very convenient. 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 access: 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, especially being come to so great an esteem with Mr. Coventry. Public matters stand thus: The King is bringing, as is said, his family, and Navy, and all other his charges, to a less expense. In the meantime, 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 public, 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 Queen (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 Queen-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 fanatics would take effect; there having been a plot lately found, for which four have been publicly tried at the Old Bailey 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 1.* 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 sentries 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 the Straits with great renown 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 Russian Ambassadors come; who it seems have a custom that they will not come to have any treaty 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 Cock-pit, where we saw, "Claracilla," a poor play done by

the King's house; but neither the King nor Queen were there, but only the Duke and Duchess. 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 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 forms, 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 lodgings, 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 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 sometimes twenty 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 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 stayed 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 dishonour;

which the Duke did answer with great calmness, 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 Peak ; which is become a proverb at Court, to send a man's wife to the Peak when she vexes him.

23rd. 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 pamphlet, 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 Ambassador received ; and banish the Cardinal Imperial, by which I understand is not meant the Cardinal belonging or chosen by the Emperor, but the name of his family is Imperiali. To my lord, and I stayed talking with him an hour alone in his chamber, about sundry public 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. Capt.

Ferrers tells me of my Lady Castlemaine 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 Queen's Lord Chamberlain, and Mr. Edward Montagu, her Master of the Horse, who should have the precedence in taking the Queen's upper hand 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 honour 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 inquire: and that the King is a most excellent Prince, doing all business himself; and that it is true he hath a mistress, Mademoiselle La Vallière, 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 public affairs. He tells me how the King do carry himself nobly to the relations of the dead Cardinal, and will not suffer one pasquil 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 1. This day Creed and I walking in Whitehall, 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 have done, but that I believe he is trusty in that point.

2nd. 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 stayed 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 fears or cares, or more, than they that (as his own terms were) have quicker pleasures and sharper agonies than he.

4th. To Paul's School, 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 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 libels. And back again to Paul's School, and went up to see the head forms posed in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Dr. Wilkins and Ontram 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 book-sellers 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 Whitehall to chapel, where there preached little Dr. Duport, of Cambridge, upon 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 errors and corruption of the Navy, and great expense 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 Captain Ferrers to the Park, and there walked finely, seeing people slide, we talking all the while, and Captain 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 handkerchief. 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 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 razed 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 designing 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 Holborn 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 clerks 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, £4,000 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 that 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. Montagu telling him that there was a fellow in the town, naming me, that had done ill offices, and that if he knew it to be so, he would have him cudged) my Lord did promise him that, if upon account he saw that there were 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 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 £2,000 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. Cholmley, who, though a simple, sorry fellow, do brave him and struts before him with the Queen, 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 in his opinion, it must have been a month and three hours 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 Catholic, and how all the Court almost is changed to the worst since his coming in, they being afraid of him. And that the Queen-Mother's court is now the greatest of all, and that our own Queen hath little or no company come to her, which I know also to be very true, and am sorry to see it.

February 18. Mr. Hater and I alone at the office, finishing our account of the extra charge of the Navy, not properly belonging to the Navy, since the King's coming in to Christmas last; and all extra things being abated, I find that the true charge of the Navy to that time hath been after the rate of £374,743 a year. I made an end by eleven o'clock at night. This day the Parliament met again, after their long prorogation, but

I know not anything what they have done, being within doors all day.

19th. This day I read the King's speech to the Parliament yesterday, which is very short and not very obliging, but only telling them his desire to have a power of indulging tender consciences, and that he will yield to have any mixture in the uniformity of the Church's discipline, and says the same for the Papists, but declares against their ever being admitted to have any offices or places of trust in the kingdom, but God knows, too many have.

21st. To the office, where Sir J. Minnes (most of the rest being at the Parliament House), all the morning answering petitions and other business. Towards noon there comes a man as if upon ordinary business, and shows me a writ from the Exchequer, called a Commission of Rebellion, and tells me that I am his prisoner in Field's business; which methought did strike me to the heart, to think that we could not sit in the middle of the King's business. I told him how and where we were employed, and bid him have a care, and perceiving that we were busy he said he would, and did withdraw for an hour, in which time Sir J. Minnes took coach and to Court to see what he could do from thence, and our solicitor against Field come by chance and told me that he would go and satisfy the fees of the Court, and would end the business. So he went away about that, and I stayed in my closet, till by-and-by the man and four more of his fellows came

to know what I would do, and I told them to stay till I heard from the King or my Lord Chief Baron, to both whom I had now sent. With that they consulted, and told me that if I would promise to stay in the house, they would go and refresh themselves, and come again and know what answer I had; so they away and I home to dinner. Before I had dined the bailiffs came back again with the constable, and at the office knock for me, but found me not there; and I hearing in what manner they were come, did forbear letting them know where I was, so they stood knocking and inquiring for me. By-and-by at my parlour window comes Sir W. Batten's mungo, to tell me that his master and lady would have me come to their house through Sir J. Minnes's lodgings, which I could not do, but however, by ladders, did get over the pale between our yards and their house, where I found them (as they have reason) to be much concerned for me, my lady especially. The fellows stayed in the yard swearing with one or two constables, and some time we locked them into the yard, and by-and-by let them out again, and so kept them all the afternoon, not letting them see me or know where I was. One time I went up to the top of Sir W. Batten's house, and out of one of their windows spoke to my wife out of one of ours, which methought, though I did it in mirth, yet I was sad to think what a sad thing it would be for me to be really in that condition. By-and-by comes Sir J. Minnes, who (like himself and all that he does) tells us

that he can do no good, but that my Lord Chancellor wonders that we did not cause the seamen to fall about their ears, which we wished we could have done without our being seen in it; and Captain Grove being there, he did give them some affront, and would have got some seamen to have drubbed them but he had not time, nor did we think it fit to have done it, they having executed their commission; but there was occasion given that he did draw upon one of them, who did complain that Grove had pricked him in the breast, but no hurt done, but I see that Grove would have done our business to them if we had bid him. By-and-by comes Mr. Clerke, our solicitor, who brings us a release from our adverse attorney, we paying the fees of the commission, which comes to five marks, and the charges of these fellows, which are called the commissioners but are the most rake-shamed rogues that ever I saw in my life, so he showed them this release, and they seemed satisfied and went away with him to their attorney to be paid by him. But before they went Sir W. Batten and my lady did begin to taunt them, but the rogues answered them as high as themselves, and swore they would come again, and called me rogue and rebel, and they would bring the sheriff and untile his house before he should harbour a rebel in his house, and that they would be here again shortly. Well, at last they went away, and I by advice took occasion to go abroad, and walked through the street to show myself among the neighbours, that they might

not think worse than the business is. I home to Sir W. Batten's again, where Sir J. Lawson, Captain Allen, Spragge, and several others, and all our discourse about the disgrace done to our office to be liable to this trouble, which we must get removed. Hither comes Mr. Clerke by-and-by, and tells me that he hath paid the fees of the Court for the commission; but the men are not contented with under £5 for their charges, which he will not give them, and therefore advises me not to stir abroad till Monday that he comes or sends to me again, whereby I shall not be able to go to Whitehall to the Duke of York as I ought. Here I stayed vexing, and yet pleased to see everybody for me, and so home, where my people are mightily surprised to see this business, but it troubles me not very much, it being nothing touching my particular person or estate. Sir W. Batten tells me that little is done yet in the Parliament House, but only this day it was moved and ordered that all the members of the House do subscribe to the renouncing of the Covenant, which it is thought will try some of them. There is also a bill brought in for the wearing of nothing but cloth or stuffs of our own manufacture, and is likely to be passed. Among other talk this morning, my lady did speak concerning Commissioner Pett's calling the present King bastard, and other high words heretofore, and Sir W. Batten did tell us that he did give the Duke and Mr. Coventry an account of that and other like matters in writing under

oath, of which I was ashamed, and for which I was sorry.

22nd (Lord's-day). Went not out all the morning; but after dinner to Sir W. Batten's and Sir W. Pen's, where discoursing much of yesterday's trouble and scandal; but that which troubled me most was Sir J. Minnes coming from Court at night, and instead of bringing great comfort from thence (but I expected no better from him), he tells me that the Duke and Mr. Coventry make no great matter of it.

23rd. Up by times, and not daring to go by land, did (Griffin going along with me for fear) slip to Whitehall by water; where to Mr. Coventry, and, as we used to do to the Duke; the other of my fellows being come. But we did nothing of our business, the Duke being sent for to the King, that he could not stay to speak with us. This morning come my Lord Windsor to kiss the Duke's hand, being returned from Jamaica. He tells the Duke that from such a degree of latitude going thither he began to be sick, and was never well till his coming so far back again, and then presently begun to be well. He told the Duke of their taking the fort of St. Jago, upon Cuba, with his men; but upon the whole I believe, that he did matters like a young lord, and was weary of being upon service out of his own country, where he might have pleasure. For methought it was a shame to see him this very afternoon, being the first day of his coming to town, to be at a playhouse. To my Lord Sandwich: it was a

great trouble to me (and I had great apprehensions of it) that my Lord desired me to go to Westminster Hall, to the Parliament House door about business, and to Sir Wm. Wheeler, which I told him I would, but durst not go for fear of being taken by these rogues; but was forced to go to Whitehall and take boat, and so land below the Tower at the Iron Gate, and so the back way over Little Tower Hill, and with my cloak over my face, took one of the watermen along with me, and stayed behind our garden wall, while he went to see whether anybody stood within the Merchants' Gate. But there was nobody, and so I got safe into the garden, and coming to open my office door, something behind it fell in the opening, which made me start. So that God knows in what a sad condition I should be if I were truly in debt; and therefore ought to bless God that I have no such real reason, and to endeavour to keep myself, by my good deportment and good husbandry, out of any such condition. At home I find, by a note that Mr. Clerke in my absence hath left here, that I am free, and that he hath stopped all matters in Court; and I was very glad of it. We took coach and to Court, and there saw *The Wild Gallant*, performed by the King's house, but it was ill acted. The King did not seem pleased at all, the whole play, nor anybody else. My Lady Castlemaine was all worth seeing to-night, and little Steward. Mrs. Wells do appear at Court again, and looks well; so that it may be, the late report of laying the dropped

child to her was not true. This day I was told that my Lady Castlemaine hath all the King's Christmas presents made him by the peers given to her, which is a most abominable thing; and that at the great ball she was much richer in jewels than the Queen and Duchess put both together.

24th. Among other things, my Lord (Sandwich) tells me, that he hears the Commons will not agree to the King's late declaration, nor will yield that the Papists have any ground given them to raise themselves up again in England, which I perceive by my Lord was expected at Court.

25th. The Commons in Parliament I hear, are very high to stand to the Act of Uniformity, and will not indulge the Papists (which is endeavoured by the Court Party), nor the Presbyters.

26th. Sir W. Batten and I by water to the Parliament House; he went in, and I walked up and down the Hall. All the news is the great odds yesterday in the votes between them that are for the Indulgence to the Papists and Presbyters, and those that are against it, which did carry it by 200 against 30. And pretty it is to consider how the King would appear to be a stiff Protestant and son of the Church; and yet willing to give a liberty to these people, because of his promise at Breda. And yet all the world do believe that the King would not have the liberty given them at all.

27th. About 11 o'clock, Commissioner Pett and I

walked to Surgeon's Hall (we being all invited thither, and promised to dine there), where we were led into the Theatre; and by-and-by comes the reader, Dr. Tearne, with the Master and Company, in a very handsome manner, and all being settled he began his lecture; and his discourse being ended, we had a fine dinner and good learned company, many Doctors of Physic, and we used with extraordinary great respect. Among other observables we drunk the King's health out of a gilt cup given by King Henry VIII. to this Company, with bells hanging at it, which every man is to ring by shaking after he hath drunk up the whole cup. There is also a very excellent piece of the King, done by Holbein, stands up in the Hall, with the officers of the company kneeling to him to receive their Charter. Dr. Scarborough took some of his friends, and I went with them, to see the body of a lusty fellow, a seaman, that was hanged for a robbery. It seems one Dillon, of a great family, was, after much endeavours to have saved him, hanged with a silken halter this Sessions (of his own preparing), not for honour only, but it being soft and sleek it do slip close and kills, that is, strangles presently; whereas, a stiff one do not come so close, together, and so the party may live the longer before killed. But all the Doctors at table conclude, that there is no pain at all in hanging, for that it do stop the circulation of the blood; and so stops all sense and motion in an instant. To Sir W. Batten's to speak upon some business, where I found Sir J.

Minnes pretty well fuddled I thought; he took me aside to tell me how being at my Lord Chancellor's to-day, my Lord told him that there was a Great Seal passing for Sir W. Pen, through the impossibility of the Comptroller's duty to be performed by one man, to be as it were joint comptroller with him, at which he is stark mad, and swears he will give up his place. For my part, I do hope, when all is done that my following my business will keep me secure against all their envys. But to see how the old man did strut and swear that he understands all his duty as easily as crack a nut, and easier, he told my Lord Chancellor, for his teeth are gone; and that he understands it as well as any man in England; and that he will never leave to record that he should be said to be unable to do his duty alone; though God knows he cannot do it more than a child.

28th. The House have this noon been with the King to give him their reasons for refusing to grant any indulgence to Presbyters or Papists, which he, with great content and seeming pleasure, took saying, that he doubted not but he and they should agree in all things, though there may seem a difference in judgments, he having written and declared for an Indulgence: and that he did believe never prince was happier in a House of Commons, than he was in them. At the Privy Seal I did see the docket by which Sir W. Pen is made the Comptroller's assistant, as Sir J. Minnes told me last night.

March 3. This afternoon Roger Pepys tells me, that for certain the King is for all this very highly incensed at the Parliament's late opposing the indulgence; which I am sorry for, and fear it will breed great discontent.

5th. To the Lobby, and spoke with my cousin Roger, who is going to Cambridge to-morrow. In the Hall I do hear that the Catholics are in great hopes for all this, and do set hard upon the King to get Indulgence. Matters, I hear, are all naught in Ireland, and the people, that is the Papists, do cry out against the Commissioners sent by the King; so that they say the English interest will be lost there.

6th. This day it seems the House of Commons have been very high against the Papists, being incensed by the stir which they make for their having an Indulgence; which, without doubt is a great folly in them to be so hot upon at this time, when they see how averse already the House have showed themselves from it. This evening Mr. Povy tells me that my Lord Sandwich is this day so ill that he is much afraid of him, which puts me to great pain, not more for my own sake than for his poor family's.

7th. Creed told me how for some words of my Lady Gerard's against my Lady Castlemaine to the Queen, the King did the other day apprehend her in going out to dance with her at a ball, when she desired it as the ladies do, and is since forbid attending the Queen by

the King, which is much talked of, my Lord her husband being a great favourite.

8th (Lord's-day). To Whitehall to-day; I heard Dr. King, Bishop of Chichester, make a good and eloquent sermon upon these words, "They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy." Whence (the chapel in Lent being hung with black, and no anthem after sermon, as at other times) to my Lord Sandwich at Sir W. Wheeler's. I found him out of order, thinking himself to be in a fit of ague, After dinner up to my Lord, there being Mr. Rumball. My Lord, among other discourse, did tell me of his great difficulties passed in the business of the Sound, and of his receiving letters from the King there, but his sending them by Whetstone was a great folly; and the story how my Lord being at dinner with Sydney, one of his fellow plenipotentiaries and his mortal enemy, did see Whetstone, and put off his hat three times to him, and the fellow would not be known, which my Lord imputed to his coxcomby humour (of which he was full) and bid Sydney take notice of him too, when at the very time he had letters in his pocket from the King, as it proved afterwards. And Sydney afterwards did find it out at Copenhagen, the Dutch Commissioners telling him how my Lord Sandwich had desired one of their ships to carry back Whetstone to Lubeck, he being come from Flanders from the King. But I cannot but remember my Lord's equanimity in all these affairs with admiration.

9th. About noon Sir J. Robinson, Lord Mayor, desiring way through the garden from the Tower, called in at the office and there invited me (and Sir W. Pen, who happened to be in the way) to dinner, and we did go. And there had a great Lent dinner of fish, little flesh. There dined with us to-day Mr. Slingsby of the Mint, who showed us all the new pieces both gold and silver (examples of them all) that were made for the King, by Blondeau's way; and compared them with those made for Oliver. The pictures of the latter made by Symons, and of the King by one Rotyr, a German I think, that dined with us also. He extols those of Rotyr above the others; and, indeed, I think they are the better, because the sweeter of the two; but, upon my word, those of the Protector are more like, in my mind, than the King's, but both very well worth seeing. The Crowns of Cromwell are now sold it seems, for 25s. and 30s. a-piece.

16th. To the Duke, where we met of course, and talked of our Navy matters. Then to the Commission of Tangier, and there had my Lord Peterborough's Commission read over; and Mr. Secretary Bennet did make his queries upon it, in order to the drawing one for my Lord Rutherford more regularly, that being a very extravagant thing. Here long discoursing upon my Lord Rutherford's despatch, and so broke up. Mr. Coventry and I discoursed how the Treasurer doth intend to come to pay in course, which is the thing of the world that will do the King the greatest service in

the Navy, and which joys my heart to hear of. He tells me of the business of Sir J. Minnes, and Sir W. Pen; which, he said, was chiefly to make Mr. Pett's being joined with Sir W. Batten to go down the better. And how he well sees that neither one nor the other can do their duties without help.

17th. To St. Margaret's Hill in Southwark, where the Judge of the Admiralty come, and the rest of the Doctors of the Civil Law, and some other Commissioners, whose Commission of Oyer and Terminer was read, and then the charge, given by Dr. Exton, which methought was somewhat dull, though he would seem to intend it to be very rhetorical, saying that Justice had two wings, one of which spread itself over the land, and the other over the water, which was this Admiralty Court. I perceive that this Court is yet but in its infancy (as to its rising again), and their design and consultation was, I could overhear them, how to proceed with the most solemnity and spend time, there being only two businesses to do, which of themselves could not spend much time. Sir W. Batten and I to my Lord Mayor's, where we found my Lord with Colonel Strangeways and Sir Richard Floyd, Parliament men, in the cellar drinking, where we sat with them, and then up; and by and by come in Sir Richard Ford. We had many discourses, but from all of them I do find Sir R. Ford a very able man of his brains and tongue, and a scholar. But my Lord Mayor a talking, bragging, buffleheaded fellow, that would be

thought to have led all the City in the great business of bringing in the King, and that nobody understood his plot, and the dark lanthorn he walked by; but led them and ploughed with them as oxen and asses (his own words) to do what he had a mind: when in every discourse I observe him to be as very a coxcomb as I could have thought had been in the City. But he is resolved to do great matters in pulling down the shops quite through the City, as he hath done in many places, and will make a thorough passage quite through the City, through Canning Street, which indeed will be very fine. And then his precept, which he, in vain-glory, said he had drawn up himself, and hath printed it, against coachmen and carmen affronting of the gentry in the street; it is drawn so like a fool, and some faults were openly found in it, that I believe he will have so much wit as not to proceed upon it though it be printed. Here we stayed talking till eleven at night, Sir R. Ford breaking to my Lord our business of our patent to be Justices of the Peace in the City, which he stuck at mightily; but, however, Sir R. Ford knows him to be a fool, and so in his discourse he made him appear, and cajoled him into a consent to it: but so as I believe when he comes to his right mind tomorrow he will be of another opinion; and though Sir R. Ford moved it very weightily and neatly, yet I had rather it had been spared now. But to see how he rants, and pretends to sway all the City in the Court of Aldermen, and says plainly that they cannot do, nor

will he suffer them to do, anything but what he pleases; nor is there any officer of the City but of his putting in; nor any man that could have kept the City for the King thus well and long but him. And if the country can be preserved, he will undertake that the City shall not dare to stir again. When I am confident there is no man almost in the City cares for him, nor hath he brains to outwit any ordinary tradesman.

20th. Meeting with Mr. Kirton's kinsman in Paul's Churchyard, he and I to a coffee-house, where I hear how there had like to have been a surprisal of Dublin by some discontented Protestants, and other things of like nature; and it seems the Commissioners have carried themselves so high for the Papists that the others will not endure it. Hewlett and some others are taken and clapped up; and they say the King hath sent over to dissolve the Parliament there, who went very high against the Commissioners. Pray God send all well!

21st. By appointment our full board met, and Sir Philip Warwick and Sir Robert Long come from my Lord Treasurer to speak with us about the state of the debts of the Navy, and how to settle it, so as to begin upon the new foundation of £200,000 per annum, which the King is now resolved not to exceed.

22nd (Lord's day). Wrote out our bill for the Parliament about our being made Justices of Peace in the City. So to church, where a dull formal fellow that

prayed for the Right Hon. John Lord Barkeley, Lord President of Connaught, &c. To my Lord Sandwich, and with him talking a good while; I find the Court would have this indulgence go on, but the Parliament are against it. Matters in Ireland are full of discontent.

29th. After dinner in comes Mr. Moore, and sat and talked with us a good while; among other things, telling me that neither my Lord nor he are under apprehensions of the late discourse in the House of Commons concerning resumption of Crown lands.

April 1. I went to the Temple to my cousin Roger Pepys, to see and talk with him a little, who tells me that, with much ado, the Parliament do agree to throw down Popery; but he says it is with so much spite and passion, and an endeavour of bringing all Non-conformists into the same condition, that he is afraid matters will not yet go so well as he could wish.

2nd. Sir W. Pen told me that this day the King hath sent to the House his concurrence wholly with them against the Popish priests, Jesuits, &c., which gives great content, and I am glad of it.

3rd. To the Tangier Committee, where we find ourselves at a great stand; the establishment being but £7,000 per annum, and the forces to be kept in the town at the least estimate that my Lord Rutherford can be got to bring is £5,300. The charge of this year's work of the Mole will be £13,000; besides £1,000 a year to my Lord Peterborough as a pension,

and the fortifications and contingencies, which puts us to a great stand. I find at Court that there is some bad news from Ireland of an insurrection of the Catholics there, which puts them into an alarm. I hear also in the City that for certain there is an embargo upon all our ships in Spain, upon this action of my Lord Windsor's at Cuba, which signifies little or nothing, but only he hath a mind to say that he hath done something before he comes back again.

4th. After dinner to Hyde Park; at the park was the King, and in another coach my Lady Castlemaine, they greeting one another at every turn.

8th. By water to Whitehall, to chapel, where preached Dr. Pierce, the famous man that preached the sermon, so much cried up, before the King against the Papists. His matter was the Devil tempting our Saviour, being carried into the Wilderness by the Spirit. And he hath as much of natural eloquence as most men that ever I heard in my life, mixed with so much learning. After sermon I went up and saw the ceremony of the Bishop of Peterborough's paying homage upon the knee to the King, while Sir H. Bennet, Secretary, read the King's grant of the Bishopric of Lincoln, to which he is translated. His name is Dr. Lany. Here I also saw the Duke of Monmouth, with his Order of the Garter, the first time I ever saw it. I hear that the University of Cambridge did treat him a little while since with all the honour possible, with a comedy at Trinity College, and

banquet; and made him Master of Arts there. All which, they say, the King took very well. Dr. Raynbow, Master of Magdalene, being now Vice-Chancellor.

12th (Lord's day). Coming home to-night a drunken boy was carrying by our constable to our new pair of stocks to handsel them.

14th. Sir G. Carteret tells me to-night that he perceives the Parliament is likely to make a great bustle before they will give the King any money; will call all things in question; and, above all, the expenses of the Navy; and do inquire into the King's expenses everywhere, and into the truth of the report of people being forced to sell their bills at 15 per cent. loss in the Navy; and, lastly, that they are in a very angry pettish mood at present, and not likely to be better.

17th. It being Good Friday, our dinner was only sugar-sops and fish; the only time that we have had a Lenten dinner all this Lent. To Paul's Churchyard, to cause the title of my English "Mare Clausum" to be changed, and the new title dedicated to the King, to be put to it, because I am ashamed to have the other seen dedicated to the Commonwealth.

20th. With Sir G. Carteret and Sir John Minnes to my Lord Treasurer's, thinking to have spoken about getting money for paying the Yards; but we found him with some ladies at cards, and so, it being a bad time to speak, we parted. This day the little Duke of Monmouth was married at Whitehall, in the King's

chamber; and to-night is a great supper and dancing at his lodgings, near Charing-Cross. I observed his coat at the tail of his coach: he gives the arms of England, Scotland, and France, quartered upon some other fields, but what it is that speaks his being a bastard I know not.

25th. I did hear that the Queen is much grieved of late at the King's neglecting her, he having not supped once with her this quarter of a year, and almost every night with my Lady Castlemaine: who hath been with him this St. George's feast at Windsor, and come home with him last night; and, which is more, they say is removed as to her bed from her own home to a chamber in Whitehall, next to the King's own, which I am sorry to hear, though I love her much.

27th. By water to Whitehall; but found the Duke of York gone to St. James's for this summer; and thence with Mr. Coventry and Sir W. Pen up to the Duke's closet. And a good while with him about Navy business; and so I to Whitehall, and there a long while with my Lord Sandwich discoursing about his debt to the Navy, wherein he hath given me some things to resolve him in.

The Queen (which I did not know) it seems was at Windsor at the late St. George's feast there; and the Duke of Monmouth dancing with her with his hat in his hand, the King came in and kissed him, and made him put on his hat, which everybody took notice of.

28th. To Chelsea, where we found my Lord all

alone with one joint of meat at dinner, and mightily extolling the manner of his retirement, and the goodness of his diet: the mistress of the house hath all things most excellently dressed; among others her cakes admirable, and so good that my Lord's words were, they were fit to present to my Lady Castlemaine. From ordinary discourse my Lord fell to talk of other matters to me, of which chiefly the second part of the fray, which he told me a little while since of, between Mr. Edward Montagn and himself; that he hath forborne coming to him almost two months, and do speak not only slightly of my Lord everywhere, but hath complained to my Lord Chancellor of him, and arrogated all that ever my Lord hath done to be only by his direction and persuasion. Whether he hath done the like to the King or no, my Lord knows not; but my Lord hath been with the King since, and finds all things fair; and my Lord Chancellor hath told him of it, but he so much contemns Mr. Montagu, as my Lord knows himself very secure against anything the fool can do; and notwithstanding all this, so noble is his nature, that he professes himself ready to show kindness and pity to Mr. Montagu on any occasion. My Lord told me of his presenting Sir H. Bennet with a gold cup of £100, which he refuses, with a compliment; but my Lord would have been glad he had taken it, that he might have had some obligations upon him which he thinks possible the other may refuse to prevent it; not that he hath any reason to doubt his

kindness. But I perceive great differences there are at Court; and Sir H. Bennet, and my Lord Bristol, and their faction, are likely to carry all things before them (which my Lord's judgment is will not be for the best), and particularly against the Chancellor, who, he tells me, is irrecoverably lost: but, however, that he do so not actually join in anything against the Chancellor, whom he do own to be a most sure friend, and to have been his greatest; and therefore will not openly act in either, but passively carry himself even. The Queen, my Lord tells me, he thinks he hath incurred some displeasure with, for his kindness to his neighbour my Lady Castlemaine. My Lord tells me he hath no reason to fall for her sake, whose wit, management, nor interest, is not likely to hold up any man, and therefore he thinks it not his obligation to stand for her against his own interest. The Duke and Mr. Coventry my Lord sees he is very well with, and fears not but they will show themselves his very good friends, specially at this time, he being able to serve them, and they needing him, which he did not tell me wherein. Talking of the business of Tangier, he tells me that my Lord Teviott is gone away without the least respect paid to him, nor indeed to any man, but without his commission; and, if it be true what he says, having laid out seven or eight thousand pounds in commodities for the place: and besides having not only disobliged all the Commissioners for Tangier, but also Sir Charles Barkeley the other day, who spoke in

behalf of Colonel Fitz-Gerald, that having been Deputy-Governor there already, he ought to have expected and had the Governorship upon the death or removal of the former Governor. And whereas it is said that he and his men are Irish, which is indeed the main thing that hath moved the King and Council to put in Teviott to prevent the Irish having too great and the whole command there under Fitz-Gerald; he further said that there was never an Englishman fit to command Tangier; my Lord Teviott answered yes, there were many more fit than himself or Fitz-Gerald either. So that Fitz-Gerald being so great with the Duke of York, and being already made Deputy-Governor, independent of my Lord Teviott, and he being also left here behind him for a while, my Lord Sandwich do think that, putting all these things together, the few friends he hath left, and the ill posture of his affairs, my Lord Teviott is not a man of the conduct and management that either people take him to be, or is fit for the command of the place. And here, speaking of the Duke of York and Sir Charles Barkeley, my Lord tells me that he do very much admire the good management, and discretion, and nobleness of the Duke, that however he may be led by him or Mr. Coventry singly in private, yet he did not observe that in public matters, but he did give as ready hearing and as good acceptance to any reasons offered by any other man against the opinions of them, as he did to them, and would concur in the prosecution of it.

Then we come to discourse upon his own sea-accounts, and come to a resolution how to proceed in them: wherein, though I offered him a way of evading the greatest part of his debt honestly, by making himself debtor to the Parliament before the King's time, which he might justly do, yet he resolved to go openly and nakedly in it, and put himself to the kindness of the King and Duke, which humour, I must confess, and so did tell him (with which he was not a little pleased) had thriven very well with him, being known to be a man of candid and open dealing, without any private tricks or hidden designs as other men commonly have in what they do. From that we had discourse of Sir G. Carteret, and of many others; and upon the whole I do find that it is a troublesome thing for a man of any condition at Court to carry himself even, and without contracting envy or enviers; and that much discretion and dissimulation is necessary to do it.

May 4. To St. James's; where Mr. Coventry, Sir W. Pen and I stayed for the Duke's coming in, but not coming, we walked to Whitehall; and meeting the King, we followed him into the Park, where Mr. Coventry and he talking of building a new yacht out of his private purse, he having some contrivance of his own. The talk being done, we fell off to Whitehall, leaving the King in the Park; and going back, met the Duke going towards St. James's to meet us. So he turned back again, and to his closet at White-

hall; and there, my Lord Sandwich present, we did our weekly errand, and so broke up; and I to the garden with my Lord Sandwich (after we had sat an hour at the Tangier Committee); and after talking largely of his own businesses, we began to talk how matters are at court; and though he did not flatly tell me any such thing, yet I do suspect that all is not kind between the King and the Duke, and that the King's fondness to the little Duke do occasion it; and it may be that there is some fear of his being made heir to the Crown. But this my Lord did not tell me, but is my guess only; and that my Lord Chancellor is without doubt falling past hopes.

5th. With Sir J. Minnes, he telling many old stories of the Navy, and of the state of the Navy, at the beginning of the late troubles, and I am troubled at my heart to think, and shall hereafter cease to wonder, at the bad success of the King's cause when such a knave as he (if it be true what he says) had the whole management of the fleet, and the design of putting out of my Lord Warwick, and carrying the fleet to the King, wherein he failed most fatally to the King's ruin.

6th. To the Exchange with Creed, where we met Sir J. Minnes, who tells us, in great heat, that the Parliament will make mad work: that they will render all men incapable of any military or civil employment that have borne arms in the late troubles against the King, excepting some persons; which, if it be so, as I

hope it is not, will give great cause of discontent, and I doubt will have but bad effects.

Sir Thomas Crewe this day tells me that the Queen, hearing that there was £40,000 per annum brought into her account among the other expenses of the Crown before the Committee of Parliament, she took order to let them know that she hath yet for the payment of her whole family received but £4,000, which is a notable act of spirit, and I believe is true.

7th. To my Lord Crewe's, and there dined with him. He tells me of the order the House of Commons have made for the drawing an Act for the rendering none capable of preferment or employment in the State, but who have been loyal and constant to the King and Church; which will be fatal to a great many, and makes me doubt lest I myself, with all my innocence during the late times, should be brought in, being employed in the Exchequer; but, I hope, God will provide for me.

10th. Put on a black cloth suit, with white linings under all, as the fashion is to wear, to appear under the breeches. I walked to St. James's, and was there at mass, and was forced in the crowd to kneel down: and mass being done, to the King's Head ordinary, where many Parliament men; and most of their talk was about the news from Scotland, that the Bishop of Galloway was besieged in his house by some women, and had like to have been outraged, but I know not how he was secured; which is bad news, and looks as

it did in the beginning of the late troubles. From thence they talked of rebellion; and I perceive they make it their great maxim to be sure to master the City of London, whatever comes of it or from it.

11th. With Sir W. Pen to St. James's, where we attended the Duke of York: and, among other things, Sir G. Carteret and I had a great dispute about the different value of the pieces of eight rated by Mr. Creed at 4s. and 5d., and by Pitts at 4s. and 9d., which was the greatest husbandry to the King? he proposing that the greatest sum was; which is as ridiculous a piece of ignorance as could be imagined. However, it is to be argued at the Board, and reported to the Duke next week; which I shall do with advantage, I hope. I went homeward, after a little discourse with Mr. Pierce the surgeon, who tells me that my Lady Castlemaine hath now got lodgings near the King's chamber at Court; and that the other day Dr. Clarke and he did dissect two bodies, a man and a woman, before the King, with which the King was highly pleased.

14th. Met Mr. Moore; and with him to an ale-house in Holborn; where in discourse he told me that he fears the King will be tempted to endeavour the setting the Crown upon the little Duke, which may cause troubles; which God forbid, unless it be his due! He told me my Lord do begin to settle to business again; and that the King did send for him the other day to my Lady Castlemaine's, to play at cards,

where he lost £50; for which I am sorry, though he says my Lord was pleased at it, and said he would be glad at any time to lose £50 for the King to send for him to play, which I do not so well like.

15th. I walked in the Park, discoursing with the keeper of the Pell Mell, who was sweeping of it; who told me of what the earth is mixed that do floor the Mall, and that over all there is cockle-shells powdered, and spread to keep it fast; which, however, in dry weather, turns to dust and deads the ball. Thence to Mr. Coventry; and sitting by his bedside he did tell me that he did send for me to discourse-upon my Lord Sandwich's allowances for his several pays, and what his thoughts are concerning his demands; which he could not take the freedom to do face to face, it being not so proper as by me: and did give me a most friendly and ingenuous account of all; telling me how unsafe at this juncture, while every man's, and his actions particularly, are descanted upon, it is either for him to put the Duke upon doing, or my Lord himself to desire anything extraordinary, 'specially the King having been so bountiful already; which the world takes notice of even to some repinings. All which he did desire me to discourse to my Lord of; which I have undertaken to do. At noon by coach to my Lord Crewe's, hearing that my Lord Sandwich dined there; where I told him what had passed between Mr. Coventry and myself; with which he was contented, though I could perceive not very well pleased. And

I do believe that my Lord do find some other things go against his mind in the House; for in the motion made the other day in the House by my Lord Bruce, that none be capable of employment but such as have been loyal and constant to the King and Church, that the General and my Lord were mentioned to be excepted; and my Lord Bruce did come since to my Lord, to clear himself that he meant nothing to his prejudice, nor could it have any such effect if he did mean it. After discourse with my Lord, to dinner with him; there dining there my Lord Montagu of Boughton, Mr. William Montagu his brother, the Queen's Solicitor, &c., and a fine dinner. Their talk about a ridiculous falling-out two days ago at my Lord of Oxford's house, at an entertainment of his, there being there my Lord of Albemarle, Lynsey, two of the Porters, my Lord Bellases, and others, where there were high words, and some blows, and pulling off of periwigs; till my Lord Monk took away some of their swords, and sent for some soldiers to guard the house till the fray was ended. To such a degree of madness the nobility of this age is come! After dinner I went up to Sir Thomas Crewe, who lies there not very well in his head, being troubled with vapours and fits of dizziness; and there I sat talking with him all the afternoon upon the unhappy posture of things at this time; that the King do mind nothing but pleasures, and hates the very sight or thoughts of business. If any of the sober counsellors give him good advice,

and move him in anything that is to his good and honour, the other part, which are his counsellors of pleasure, take him when he is with my Lady Castle-maine, and in a humour of delight, and then persuade him that he ought not to hear or listen to the advice of those old dotards or counsellors that were heretofore his enemies: when, God knows! it is they that nowadays do most study his honour. It seems the present favourites now are my Lord Bristol, Duke of Buckingham, Sir H. Bennet, my Lord Ashley, and Sir Charles Barkeley; who, among them, have cast my Lord Chancellor upon his back, past ever getting up again; there being now little for him to do, and he waits at Court attending to speak to the King as others do: which I pray God may prove of good effects, for it is feared it will be the same with my Lord Treasurer shortly. But strange to hear how my Lord Ashley, by my Lord Bristol's means (he being brought over to the Catholic party against the Bishops, whom he hates to the death, and publicly rails against them; not that he is become a Catholic, but merely opposes the Bishops; and yet, for aught I hear, the Bishop of London keeps as great with the King as ever), is got into favour, so much that, being a man of great business and yet of pleasure, and drolling, too, he, it is thought, will be made Lord Treasurer upon the death or removal of the good old man. My Lord Albemarle, I hear, do bear through and bustle among them, and will not be removed from the King's good

opinion and favour, though none of the Cabinet; but yet he is envied enough. It is made very doubtful whether the King do not intend the making of the Duke of Monmouth legitimate; but surely the Commons of England will never do it, nor the Duke of York suffer it, whose Lady, I am told, is very troublesome to him by her jealousy. No care is observed to be taken of the main chance, either for maintaining of trade or opposing of factions, which, God knows, are ready to break out, if any of them (which God forbid!) should dare to begin; the King and every man about him minding so much their pleasures or profits. My Lord Hinchinbroke, I am told, hath had a mischance to kill his boy, by his birding-piece going off as he was a fowling. The gun was charged with small shot, and hit the boy in the face and about the temples, and he lived four days. In Scotland, it seems, for all the newsbooks tell us every week that they are all so quiet, and everything in the Church settled, the old woman had liked to have killed, the other day, the Bishop of Galloway, and not half the Churches of the whole kingdom conform. Strange were the effects of the late thunder and lightning about a week since at Northampton, coming with great rain, which caused extraordinary floods in a few hours, bearing away bridges, drowning horses, men, and cattle. Two men passing over a bridge on horseback, the arches before and behind them were borne away, and that left which they were upon: but, however, one of the horses fell

over, and was drowned. Stacks of faggots carried as high as a steeple, and other dreadful things; which Sir Thomas Crewe showed me letters to him about from Mr. Freemantle and others, that it is very true. The Portugals have choused us, it seems, in the Island of Bombay, in the East Indies; for after a great charge of our fleets being sent thither with full commission from the King of Portugal to receive it, the Governor by some pretence or other will not deliver it to Sir Abraham Shipman, sent from the King, nor to my Lord of Marlborough; which the King takes highly ill, and I fear our Queen will fare the worse for it. The Dutch decay there exceedingly, it being believed that their people will revolt from them there and they forced to give up their trade. Sir Thomas showed me his picture and Sir Anthony Vandyke's in crayon in little, done exceedingly well.

18th. I walked to Whitehall, and into the Park, seeing the Queen and maids of honour passing through the house going to the Park. But above all, Mrs. Stuart is a fine woman, and they say now a common mistress to the King, as my Lady Castlemaine is; which is a great pity.

19th. With Sir John Minnes to the Tower; and by Mr. Slingsby and Mr. Howard, Controller of the Mint, we were shown the method of making this new money. That being done, the Controller would have us dine with him and his company, the King giving them a dinner every day. And very merry and good

discourse upon the business we have been upon. They now coin between £16,000 and £24,000 in a week. At dinner they did discourse very finely to us of the probability that there is a vast deal of money hid in the land—from this, that in King Charles's time there was near ten millions of money coined, besides what was then in being of King James's and Queen Elizabeth's, of which there is a good deal at this day in being. Next that there was but £750,000 coined of the Harp and Cross money, and of this there was £500,000 brought in upon its being called in. And from very good arguments they find that there cannot be less of it in Ireland and Scotland than £100,000; so that there is but £150,000 missing; and of that, suppose that there should be not above £50,000 still remaining, either melted down, hid, or lost, or hoarded up in England, there will then be but £100,000 left to be thought to have been transported. Now, if £750,000 in twelve years' time lost but £100,000 in danger of being transported, then £10,000,000 in thirty-five years' time will have lost but £3,888,880 and odd pounds; and as there is £650,000 remaining after twelve years' time in England, so after thirty-five years' time, which was within this two years, there ought in proportion to have resting £6,111,120 or thereabouts, besides King James's and Queen Elizabeth's money. Now, that most of this must be hid is evident, as they reckon, because of the dearth of money immediately upon the calling-in of the State's

money, which was £500,000 that come in, and then there was not any money to be had in this City, which they say to their own observation and knowledge was so. And therefore, though I can say nothing in it myself, I do not dispute it.

23rd. To Whitehall; where, in the Matted Gallery, Mr. Coventry was, who told us how the Parliament have required of Sir G. Carteret and him an account what money shall be necessary to be settled upon the Navy for the ordinary charge, which they intend to report £200,000 per annum. And how to allot this we met this afternoon, and took their papers for our perusal, and so parted.

24th. Meeting Mr. Lewis Phillips of Brampton, he and afterwards others tell me that news come last night to Court, that the King of France is sick of the spotted fever, and that they are struck in again; and this afternoon my Lord Mandeville is gone from the King to make him a visit, which will be great news, and of great import through Europe. By-and-by in comes my Lord Sandwich; he told me this day a vote hath passed that the King's grants of land to my Lord Monk and him should be made good; which pleases him very much. He also tells me that things do not go right in the House with Mr. Coventry; I suppose he means in the business of selling places; but I am sorry for it.

27th. With Pett to my Lord Ashley, Chancellor of the Exchequer; where we met the auditors about

settling the business of the accounts of persons to whom money is due before the King's time in the Navy, and the clearing of their imprests for what little of their debts they have received. I find my Lord, as he is reported, a very ready, quiet, and diligent person. Roger Pepys tells me that the King hath sent to the Parliament to hasten to make an end by midsummer, because of his going into the country; so they have set upon four bills to dispatch; the first of which is, he says, too devilish a severe act against conventicles; so beyond all moderation that he is afraid it will ruin all: telling me that it is matter of the greatest grief to him in the world, that he should be put upon this trust of being a Parliament man, because he says nothing is done, that he can see, out of any truth and sincerity, but mere envy and design. Then into the Great Garden up to the Banqueting House; and there by my Lord's glass we drew in the species very pretty. Afterwards to ninepins, Creed and I playing against my Lord and Cooke.

28th. By water to the Royal Theatre; but that was so full they told us we could have no room. And so to the Duke's house; and there saw *Hamlet* done, giving us fresh reason never to think enough of Betterton. Who should we see come upon the stage but Gosnell, my wife's maid, but neither spoke, danced, nor sung, which I was sorry for.

29th. This day is kept strictly as a holiday, being the King's Coronation. Creed and I abroad, and

called at several churches; and it is a wonder to see, and by that to guess the ill-temper of the City, at this time, either to religion in general or to the King, that in some churches there was hardly ten people, and those poor people. To the Duke's house, and there saw *The Slighted Maid*, wherein Gosnell acted Pyramena, a great part, and did it very well. Then with Creed to see the German Princess, at the Gate-house, at Westminster.

31st. This month the greatest news is, the height and heat that the Parliament is in, in inquiring into the revenue, which displeases the Court, and their backwardness to give the King any money. Their inquiring into the selling of places do trouble a great many; among the chief, my Lord Chancellor (against whom particularly it is carried), and Mr. Coventry; for which I am sorry. The King of France was given out to be poisoned and dead, but it proves to be the measles; and he is well, or likely to be soon well, again. I find myself growing in the esteem and credit that I have in the office, and I hope falling to my business again will confirm me in it.

June 1. The Duke having been a-hunting to-day, and so lately come home and gone to bed, we could not see him, and we walked away. And I with Sir J. Minnes to the Strand Maypole; and there light out of his coach, and walked to the New Theatre, which, since the King's players are gone to the Royal one, is this day begun to be employed by the

fencers to play prizes at. And here I come and saw the first prize I ever saw in my life, and it was between one Mathews, who did beat at all weapons, and one Westwicke, who was soundly cut several times both in the head and legs, that he was all over blood, and other deadly blows they did give and take in very good earnest, till Westwicke was in a sad pickle. They fought at eight weapons, three bouts at each weapon. This being upon a private quarrel, they did it in good earnest; and I felt one of the swords, and found it to be very little, if at all, blunter on the edge than the common swords are. Strange to see what a deal of money is flung to them both upon the stage between every bout. This day I hear at Court of the great plot which was lately discovered in Ireland, made among the Presbyters and others, designing to cry up the Covenant, and to secure Dublin Castle and other places; and they have debauched a good part of the army there, promising them ready money. Some of the Parliament there, they say, are guilty, and some withdrawn upon it; several persons taken, and among others a son of Scott's, that was executed here for the King's murder. What reason the King hath, I know not; but it seems he is doubtful of Scotland, and this afternoon, when I was there, the council was called extraordinary, and they were opening the letters this last post's coming and going between Scotland and us and other places. The King of France is well again.

2nd. To St. James's, to Mr. Coventry, where I had an hour's private talk with him concerning his own condition, at present being under the censure of the House, being concerned with others in the Bill for selling of offices. He tells me, that though he thinks himself to suffer much in his fame hereby, yet he values nothing more of evil to hang over him; for that it is against no statute, as is pretended, nor more than what his predecessors time out of mind have taken; and that so soon as he found himself to be in an error, he did desire to have his fees set, which was done, and since that time he hath not taken a token more. He undertakes to prove that he did never take a token of any captain to get him employed in his life beforehand, or demanded anything; and for the other accusation, that the Cavaliers are not employed, he looked over the list of them now in the service, and of the twenty-seven that are employed, thirteen have been heretofore always under the King; two neutrals, and the other twelve men of great courage, and such as had either the King's particular commands, or great recommendation to put them in, and none by himself. Besides that, he sees it is not the King's nor Duke's opinion that the whole party of the late officers should be rendered desperate. And lastly, he confesses that the more of the Cavaliers are put in, the less of discipline hath followed in the fleet; and that, whenever there comes occasion, it must be the old ones that must do any good. He tells me that he cannot

guess whom all this should come from; but he suspects Sir G. Carteret, as I also do, at least that he is pleased with it. But he tells me that he will bring Sir G. Carteret to be the first adviser and instructor of him what is to make his place of benefit to him; telling him that Smith did make his place worth £5,000, and he believed £7,000 to him the first year; besides something else greater than all this, which he forbore to tell me. It seems one Sir Thomas Tomkins of the House, that makes many mad motions, did bring it into the House, saying that a letter was left at his lodgings, subscribed by one Benson (which is a feigned name, for there is no such in the Navy), telling how many places in the Navy have been sold. And by another letter, left in the same manner since, nobody appearing, he writes him that there is one Hughes and another Butler (both rogues, that have for their roguery been turned out of their places), that will swear that Mr. Coventry did sell their places and other things. I offered him my service, and will with all my heart serve him: but he tells me he do not think it convenient to meddle, or to any purpose. To Westminster Hall, where I hear more of the plot from Ireland; which it seems hath been hatching, and known to the Lord Lieutenant a great while, and kept close till within three days that it should have taken effect.

4th. In the Hall a good while; where I heard that this day the Archbishop of Canterbury, Juxon, a man

well spoken of by all for a good man, is dead; and the Bishop of London is to have his seat. The match between Sir J. Cutts and my Lady Jemimah, he says, is likely to go on; for which I am glad. In the Hall to-day Dr. Pierce tells me that the Queen begins to be brisk, and play like other ladies, and is quite another woman from what she was. It may be, it may make the King like her the better, and forsake his two mistresses, my Lady Castlemaine and Stewart.

6th. To York House, where the Russian Ambassador do lie; and there I saw his people go up and down lousing themselves: they are all in a great hurry, being to be gone the beginning of next week. But that that pleased me best, was the remains of the noble soul of the late Duke of Buckingham appearing in his house, in every place, in the door-cases and the windows. Sir John Hebden, the Russia Resident, did tell me how he is vexed to see things at Court ordered as they are by nobody that attends to business, but every man himself or his pleasures. He cries up my Lord Ashley to be almost the only man that he sees to look after business; and with the ease and mastery, that he wonders at him. He cries out against the King's dealing so much with goldsmiths, and suffering himself to have his purse kept and commanded by them. He tells me also with what exact care and order the States of Holland's stores are kept in their Yards, and every thing managed there by their builders with

such husbandry as is not imaginable; which I will endeavour to understand further.

7th. Mrs. Turner, who is often at Court, do tell me to-day that for certain the Queen hath much changed her humour, and is become very pleasant and sociable as any; and they say is with child, or believed to be so. After church to Sir W. Batten's; where my Lady Batten inveighed mightily against the German Princess, and I as high in the defence of her wit and spirit, and glad that she is cleared at the Sessions.

12th. To the Royal Theatre; and there saw *The Committee*, a merry but indifferent play, only Lacey's part, an Irish footman, is beyond imagination. Here I saw my Lord Falconbridge, and his Lady, my Lady Mary Cromwell, who looks as well as I have known her, and well clad: but when the House began to fill she put on her vizard, and so kept it on all the play; which of late is become a great fashion among the ladies, which hides their whole face. So to the Exchange, to buy things with my wife; among others, a vizard for herself,

13th. To the Royal Theatre; and in our way saw my Lady Castlemaine, who, I fear, is not so handsome as I have taken her for, and now she begins to decay something. This is my wife's opinion also. Yesterday, upon conference with the King in the Banqueting House, the Parliament did agree with much ado, it being carried but by forty-two voices, that they would supply him with a sum of money: but what and how is

not yet known, but expected to be done with great disputes the next week. But if done at all, it is well.

15th. To the Trinity House; where, among others, I found my Lords Sandwich and Craven, and my cousin Roger Pepys, and Sir Wm. Wheeler. Both at and after dinner we had great discourses of the nature and power of spirits, and whether they can animate dead bodies; in all which, as of the general appearance of spirits, my Lord Sandwich is very sceptical. He says the greatest warrants that ever he had to believe any, is the present appearing of the Devil in Wiltshire, much of late talked of, who beats a drum up and down. There are books of it, and, they say, very true; but my Lord observes, that though he do answer to any tune that you will play to him upon another drum, yet one time he tried to play and could not; which makes him suspect the whole; and I think it is a good argument.

16th. Dined with Sir W. Batten; who tells me that the House have voted the supply, intended for the King, shall be by subsidy.

17th. This day I met with Pierce the surgeon; who tells me that the King has made peace between Mr. Edward Montagu and his father Lord Montagu, and that all is well again; at which, for the family's sake, I am glad, but do not think it will hold long.

19th. To Lambeth, expecting to have seen the Archbishop lie in state; but it seems he is not laid out yet. At the Privy Seal Office examined the books, and found the grant of increase of salary to the principal officers

in the year 1639, £300 among the Controller, Surveyor, and Clerk to the Ships. Met Captain Ferrers; who tells us that the King of France is well again, and that he saw him train his Guards, all brave men, at Paris; and that when he goes to his mistress, Madame La Vallière, a pretty little woman, now with child by him, he goes publicly, and his trumpets and kettledrums with him; and yet he says that, for all this, the Queen do not know of it, for that nobody dares to tell her; but that I dare not believe.

22nd. To Westminster, where all along I find the shops evening with the sides of the houses, even in the broadest streets, which will make the City very much better than it was. It seems the House do consent to send to the King to desire that he would be graciously pleased to let them know who it was that did inform him of what words Sir Richard Temple should say, which were to this purpose: "That if the King would side with him, or be guided by him and his party, that he should not lack money," but without knowing who told it, they do not think fit to call him to any account for it. The Duke being gone a hunting, by-and-by came in and shifted himself, he having in his hunting led his horse through a river up to his breast, and came so home; and being ready we had a long discourse with him.

23rd. To the office, and after an hour or two by water to the Temple, to my cousin Roger, who, I perceive, is a deadly high man in the Parliament business,

and against the Court, showing me how they have computed that the King hath spent, at least hath received, above four millions of money since he come in; and in Sir J. Winter's case, in which I spoke to him, he is so high that he says he deserves to be hanged. To the 'Change; and by-and-by comes the King and the Queen by in great state, and the streets full of people. I stood in Mr. —'s balcony. They dine all at my Lord Mayor's, but what he do for victuals or room for them I know not.

24th. To St. James's, and there an hour's private discourse with Mr. Coventry, he speaking of Sir G. Carteret slightly, and diminishing of his services for the King in Jersey; that he was well rewarded, and had good lands and rents, and other profits from the King, all the time he was there, and that it was always his humour to have things done his way. He brought an example how he would not let the Castle there be victualled for more than a month, that so he might keep it at his beck, though the people of the town did offer to supply it more often themselves. Another thing he told me, how the Duke of York did give Sir G. Carteret and the Island his profit as Admiral, and other things, toward the building of a pier there. But it was never laid out, nor like to be. So it falling out that a lady being brought to bed, the Duke was to be desired to be one of the godfathers; and it being objected that that would not be proper, there being no peer of the land to be joined with him, the lady replied,

“ Why, let him choose ; and if he will not be a god-father without a peer, then let him even stay till he hath made a pier of his own.” He tells me, too, that he hath lately been observed to tack about at Court, and to endeavour to strike in with the persons that are against the Chancellor ; but this he says of him, that he do not say nor do anything to the prejudice of the Chancellor. But he told me that the Chancellor was rising again, and that of late Sir G. Carteret’s business and employment hath not been so full as it used to be while the Chancellor stood up. From that we discoursed of the evil of putting out men of experience in business as the Chancellor, and of the condition of the King’s party at present, who, as the Papists, though otherwise fine persons, yet being by law kept for these fourscore years out of employment, they are now wholly incapable of business ; and so the Cavaliers for twenty years, who, says he, for the most part have either given themselves over to look after country and family business, and those the best of them, and the rest to debauchery, &c. ; and that was it that hath made him high against the late Bill brought into the House for the making all men incapable of employment that had served against the King. People, says he, in the sea-service, it is impossible to do anything without them, there being not more than three men of the whole King’s side that are fit to command almost ; and these were Captain Allen, Smith, and Beech ; and it may be Holmes, and Utber, and Batts might do something.

25th. Sir G. Carteret did tell us that upon Tuesday last, being with my Lord Treasurer, he showed him a letter from Portugal speaking of the advance of the Spaniards into their country, and yet that the Portuguese were never more courageous than now; for by an old prophecy sent thither some years though not many since from the French King, it is foretold that the Spaniards should come into their country, and in such a valley they should be all killed, and then their country should be wholly delivered from the Spaniards. This was on Tuesday last, and yesterday come the very first news that in this valley they had thus routed and killed the Spaniards.

26th. The House is upon the King's answer to their message about Temple, which is, that my Lord of Bristol did tell him that Temple did say those words, so the House are resolved upon sending some of their members to him to know the truth, and to demand satisfaction if it be not true. Sir W. Batten, Sir J. Minnes, my Lady Batten, and I, by coach to Bednall Green to Sir W. Rider's to dinner. A fine merry walk with the ladies alone after dinner in the garden; the greatest quantity of strawberries I ever saw, and good. This very house was built by the blind beggar of Bednall Green, so much talked of and sung in ballads, but they say it was only some of the out-houses of it. At table, discoursing of thunder and lightning, Sir W. Rider did tell a story of his own knowledge,

that a Genoese galley in Leghorn Roads was struck by thunder, so as the mast was broke a pieces, and the shackle upon one of the slaves was melted clear off his leg without hurting his leg. Sir William went on board the vessel, and would have contributed towards the release of the slave whom heaven had thus set free, but he could not compass it, and so he was brought to his fetters again.

29th. Up and down the streets is cried mightily the great victory got by the Portugals against the Spaniards, where 10,000 slain, 3,000 or 4,000 taken prisoners, with all the artillery, baggage, money, &c., and Don John of Austria forced to flee with a man or two with him.

30th. Public matters are in an ill condition: Parliament sitting and raising four subsidies for the King, which is but a little, considering his wants; and yet that parted withal with great hardness. They being offended to see so much money go, and no debts of the public's paid, but all swallowed by a luxurious Court; which the King it is believed and hoped will retrench in a little time, when he comes to see the utmost of the revenue which shall be settled on him; he expecting to have his £1,200,000 made good to him, which is not yet done by above £150,000 as he himself reports to the House. The charge of the Navy intended to be limited to £200,000 per annum, the ordinary charge of it, and that to be settled upon the Customs. The

King gets greatly taken up with Madam Castle-maine and Mrs. Stewart, which Heaven put an end to!

July 1. Being in the Parliament lobby, I there saw my Lord of Bristol come to the Commons House to give his answer to their question, about some words he should tell the King that were spoke by Sir Richard Temple. A chair was set at the bar of the House for him, which he used but little, but made an harangue of half an hour bareheaded, the House covered. His speech being done, he came out into a little room till the House had concluded of an answer to his speech; which they staying long upon, I went away. And by-and-by out comes Sir W. Batten; and he told me that his Lordship had made a long and a comedian-like speech, and delivered with such action as was not becoming his Lordship. He confesses he did tell the King such a thing of Sir Richard Temple, but that upon his honour the words were not spoken by Sir Richard, he having taken a liberty of enlarging to the King upon the discourse which had been between Sir Richard and himself lately; and so took upon himself the whole blame, and desired their pardon, it being not to do any wrong to their fellow member, but out of zeal to the King. He told them, among many other things, that as to religion he was a Roman Catholic, but such a one as thought no man to have right to the Crown of England but the Prince that hath it; and

such a one as, if the King should desire counsel as to his own, he would not advise him to another religion than the old true reformed religion of this kingdom as it now stands; and concluded with a submission to what the House shall do with him, saying that whatever they shall do—"thanks be to God, this head, this heart, and this sword (pointing to them all), will find me a being in any place in Europe." The House hath hereupon voted clearly Sir Richard Temple to be free from the imputation of saying those words; but when Sir William Batten came out, had not concluded what to say to my Lord, it being argued that to own any satisfaction as to my Lord from his speech, would be to lay some fault upon the King for the message he should upon no better accounts send to the impeaching of one of their members. Walking out, I hear that the House of Lords are offended that my Lord Digby should come to this House and make a speech there without leave first asked of the House of Lords. I hear also of another difficulty now upon him; that my Lord of Sunderland (whom I do not know) was so near to the marriage of his daughter, as that the wedding clothes were made, and portion and everything agreed on and ready; and the other day he goes away nobody yet knows whither, sending her the next morning a release of his right or claim to her, and advice to his friends not to inquire into the reason of this doing, for he hath enough for it; and that he gives them liberty

to say and think what they will of him, so they do not demand the reason of his leaving her, being resolved never to have her. To Sir W. Batten, to the Trinity House; and after dinner we fell a-talking, Mr. Batten telling us of a late trial of Sir Charles Sedley, the other day, before my Lord Chief Justice Foster and the whole bench, for his debauchery a little while since at Oxford Kate's. It seems my Lord and the rest of the Judges did all of them round give him a most high reproof; my Lord Chief Justice saying, that it was for him, and such wicked wretches as he was, that God's anger and judgments hung over us, calling him sirrah many times. It seems they have bound him to his good behaviour (there being no law against him for it) in £5,000. It being told that my Lord Buckhurst was there, my Lord asked whether it was that Buckhurst that was lately tried for robbery; and when answered Yes, he asked whether he had so soon forgot his deliverance at that time, and that it would have more become him to have been at his prayers, begging God's forgiveness, than now running into such courses again. This day I hear at dinner that Don John of Austria, since his flight out of Portugal, is dead of his wounds; so there is a great man gone, and a great dispute like to be indeed for the crown of Spain, if the King should have died before him. My cousin Roger told us the whole passage of my Lord Digby to-day, much as I have said here above; only that he did say

that he would draw his sword against the Pope himself, if he should offer any thing against His Majesty, and the good of these nations; and that he never was the man that did either look for a Cardinal's cap for himself, or anybody else, meaning Abbot Montagu: and the House upon the whole did vote Sir Richard Temple innocent; and that my Lord Digby hath cleared the honour of His Majesty, and Sir Richard Temple's, and given perfect satisfaction of his own respects to the House.

2nd. Walking in the garden this evening with Sir G. Carteret and Sir J. Minnes, Sir G. Carteret told us with great content how like a stage-player my Lord Digby spoke yesterday, pointing to his head as my Lord did, and saying, "First, for his head," says Sir G. Carteret, "I know when a calf's head would have done better by half: for his heart and his sword, I have nothing to say to them." He told us that for certain his head cost the late King his, for it was he that broke off the treaty at Uxbridge. He told us also how great a man he was raised from a private gentleman in France by Monsieur Grandmont, and afterwards by the Cardinal, who raised him to be a Lieutenant-general, and then higher; and entrusted by the Cardinal when he was banished out of France with great matters, and recommended by him to the Queen as a man to be trusted and ruled by: yet when he came to have some power over the Queen, he began to dissuade

her from her opinion of the Cardinal; which she said nothing to till the Cardinal was returned, and then she told him of it; who told my Lord Digby, "Et bien, Monsieur, vous estes un fort bon amy donc:" but presently put him out of all; and then from a certainty of coming in two or three years' time to be Mareschal of France, (to which all strangers, even Protestants, and those as often as French themselves, are capable of coming, though it be one of the greatest places in France), he was driven to go out of France into Flanders; but there was not trusted, nor received any kindness from the Prince of Condé, as one to whom also he had been false, as he had been to the Cardinal and Grandmont. In fine, he told us that he is a man of excellent parts, but of no great faith nor judgment, and one very easy to get up to great height of preferment, but never able to hold it.

3rd. Mr. Moore tells me great news that my Lady Castlemaine is fallen from Court, and this morning retired. He gives me no account of the reason, but that it is so: for which I am sorry; and yet if the King do it to leave off not only her but all other mistresses, I should be heartily glad of it, that he may fall to look after business. I hear my Lord Digby is condemned at Court for his speech, and that my Lord Chancellor grows great again. With Mr. Creed over the water to Lambeth; but could not see the Archbishop's hearse: so over the fields to Southwark. I spent

half an hour in St. Mary Overy's Church, where are fine monuments of great antiquity.

4th. Sir Allen Apsley showed the Duke the Lisbon Gazette in Spanish, where the late victory is set down particularly, and to the great honour of the English beyond measure. They have since taken back Evora, which was lost to the Spaniards, the English making the assault, and lost not more than three men. Here I learnt that the English foot are highly esteemed all over the world, but the horse not so much, which yet we count among ourselves the best: but they abroad have had no great knowledge of our horse, it seems. To the King's Head ordinary; and a pretty gentleman in our company, who confirms my Lady Castlemaine's being gone from Court, but knows not the reason; he told us of one wiper the Queen a little while ago did give her, when she came in and found the Queen under the dresser's hands, and had been so long: "I wonder your Majesty," says she, "can have the patience to sit so long a-dressing?"—"I have so much reason to use patience," says the Queen, "that I can very well bear with it." He thinks it may be the Queen hath commanded her to retire, though that is not likely. Thence with Creed to hire a coach to carry us to Hyde Park, to-day there being a general muster of the King's Guards, horse and foot: but they demand so high, that I, spying Mr. Cutler the merchant, did take notice of him, and he going into his coach, and telling me that

he was going to the muster, I asked and went along with him; where a goodly sight to see so many fine horses and officers, and the King, Duke, and others come by a-horseback, and the two Queens in the Queen-Mother's coach, (my Lady Castlemaine not being there). And after long being there, I light, and walked to the place where the King, Duke, &c. did stand to see the horse and foot march by and discharge their guns, to show a French Marquis (for whom this muster was caused) the goodness of our firemen; which indeed was very good, though not without a slip now and then: and one broadside close to our coach we had going out of the Park, even to the nearness as to be ready to burn our hairs. Yet methought all these gay men are not the soldiers that must do the King's business, it being such as these that lost the old King all he had, and were beat by the most ordinary fellows that could be. Thence with much ado out of the Park, and through St. James's down the waterside over to Lambeth, to see the Archbishop's corpse (who is to be carried away to Oxford on Monday), but came too late. This day in the Duke's chamber there being a Roman story in the hangings, and upon the standard written these four letters—S. P. Q. R., Sir G. Carteret came to me to know what the meaning of those four letters were; which ignorance is not to be borne in a Privy Councillor, methinks, what a schoolboy should be whipped for not knowing.

6th. At my office all the morning, writing out a list of the King's ships in my Navy collections with great pleasure.

7th. In Mr. Pett's garden I eat some of the first cherries I have eat this year, off the tree where the King himself had been gathering some this morning. Deane tells me what Mr. Pett did to-day, that my Lord Bristol told the King that he will impeach the Chancellor of High Treason: but I find that my Lord Bristol hath undone himself already in everybody's opinion, and now he endeavours to raise dust to put out other men's eyes, as well as his own; but I hope it will not take, in consideration merely that it is hard for a Prince to spare an experienced old officer, be he never so corrupt; though I hope this man is not so, as some report him to be. He tells me that Don John is yet alive, and not killed, as was said, in the great victory against the Spaniards in Portugal of late.

9th. Sir W. Pen tells me my Lady Castlemaine was at Court, for all this talk this week; but it seems the King is stranger than ordinary to her.

10th. I met Pierce the chirurgeon, who tells me that for certain the King is grown colder to my Lady Castlemaine than ordinary, and that he believes he begins to love the Queen, and do make much of her, more than he used to do. Mr. Coventry tells me that my Lord Bristol hath this day impeached my Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords, of high treason.

The chief of the articles are these: 1st That he should be the occasion of the peace made with Holland lately upon such disadvantageous terms, and that he was bribed to it. 2nd. That Dunkirk was also sold by his advice chiefly, so much to the damage of England. 3rd. That he had £6,000 given him for the drawing up or promoting of the Irish declaration lately, concerning the division of the lands there. 4th. He did carry on the design of the Portugal match, so much to the prejudice of the Crown of England, notwithstanding that he knew the Queen is not capable of bearing children. 5th. That the Duke's marrying of his daughter was a practice of his, thereby to raise his family, and that it was done by indiscreet courses. 6th. As to the breaking off of the match with Parma, in which he was employed at the very time when the match with Portugal was made up here, which he took as a great slur to him, and so it was, and that indeed, is the chief occasion of all this feud. 7th. That he hath endeavoured to bring in Popery, and wrote to the Pope for a cap for a subject of the King of England's (my Lord Aubigny), and some say that he lays it to the Chancellor that a good Protestant secretary (Sir Edward Nicholas), was laid aside, and a Papist, Sir H. Bennet, put in his room; which is very strange, when the last of these two is his own creature, and such an enemy accounted to the Chancellor, that they never did nor do agree, and all the world did judge the

Chancellor to be falling from the time that Sir H. Bennet was brought in. Besides my Lord Bristol being a Catholic himself, all this is very strange. These are the main of the articles. Upon which my Lord Chancellor desired the noble Lord that brought in these articles would sign to them with his hand; which my Lord Bristol did presently. Then the House did order that the Judges should, against Monday next, bring in their opinion, whether these articles are treason or no? and next they would know whether they were brought in regularly or no, without leave of the Lord's House?

11th. By barge to St. Mary's Creek, where Commissioner Pett (doubtful of the growing greatness of Portsmouth by the finding of those creeks there), do design a wet dock at no great charge, and yet no little one; he thinks towards £10,000. And the place, indeed, is likely to be a very fit place, when the King hath money to do it with.

13th. I walked to the Temple, and there, from my cousin Roger, hear that the Judges have this day brought in their answer to the Lords, that the articles against my Lord Chancellor are not treason; and tomorrow they are to bring in their arguments to the House for the same. This day also the King did send by my Lord Chamberlain to the Lords, to tell them from him, that the most of the articles against my Lord Chancellor he himself knows to be false. I met the

Queen-Mother walking in the Pell Mell, led by my Lord St. Alban's. And finding many coaches at the Gate, I found upon inquiry that the Duchess is brought to bed of a boy; and hearing that the King and Queen are rode abroad with the Ladies of Honour to the Park, and seeing a great crowd of gallants staying here to see their return, I also stayed walking up and down. By-and-by the King and Queen, who looked in this dress (a white laced waistcoat, and a crimson short petticoat, and her hair dressed *à la negligence*) mighty pretty, and the King rode hand in hand with her. Here was also my Lady Castlemaine rode among the rest of the ladies, but the King took, methought, no notice of her; nor when she light did anybody press (as she seemed to expect, and stayed for it) to take her down, but was taken down by her own gentlemen. She looked mighty out of humour, and had a yellow plume in her hat (which all took notice of), and yet is very handsome, but very melancholy; nor did anybody speak to her, or she so much as smile or speak to anybody. I followed them up into Whitehall, and into the Queen's presence, where all the ladies walked, talking and fiddling with their hats and feathers, and changing and trying one another's by one another's heads, and laughing. But it was the finest sight to me, considering their great beauties and dress, that ever I did see in all my life. But, above all, Mrs. Stewart in this dress, with her hat cocked and a red

plume, with her sweet eye, little Roman nose, and excellent taille, is now the greatest beauty I ever saw, I think, in my life, and if ever woman can, do exceed my Lady Castlemaine, at least in this dress; nor do I wonder if the King changes, which I verily believe is the reason of his coldness to my Lady Castlemaine.

14th. This day I hear the Judges, according to order yesterday, did bring into the Lord's House their reasons of their judgments in the business between my Lord Bristol and the Chancellor, and the Lords do concur with the Judges that the articles are not treason, nor regularly brought into the House, and so voted that a committee should be chosen to examine them, but nothing to be done therein till the next sitting of this Parliament (which is likely to be adjourned in a day or two), and in the mean time the two Lords to remain without prejudice done to either of them.

15th. Captain Grove came and dined with me. He told me of discourse very much to my honour, both as to my care and ability, happening at the Duke of Albemarle's table the other day, both from the Duke and the Duchess themselves, and how I paid so much a year to him whose place it was of right, and that Mr. Coventry did report this of me.

21st. This day the Parliament kept a fast for the present unseasonable weather.

22nd. To my Lord Crew's. My Lord not being

come home, I met and stayed below with Captain Ferrers, who was come to wait upon my Lady Jemimah to St. James's, she being one of the four ladies that hold up the mantle at the christening this afternoon of the Duke's child (a boy). In discourse of the ladies at Court, Captn. Ferrers tells me that my Lady Castlemaine is now as great again as ever she was; and that her going away was only a fit of her own upon some slighting words of the King, so that she called for her coach at a quarter of an hour's warning, and went to Richmond; and the King the next morning, under pretence of going a hunting, went to see her and make friends, and never was a hunting at all. After which she came back to Court, and commands the King as much as ever, and hath and doth what she will. No longer ago than last night, there was a private entertainment made for the King and Queen at the Duke of Buckingham's, and she was not invited: but being at my Lady Suffolk's, her aunt's (where my Lady Jemimah and Lord Sandwich dined), yesterday she was heard to say, "Well, much good may it do them, and for all that, I will be as merry as they;" and so she went home, and caused a great supper to be prepared. And after the King had been with the Queen at Wallingford House, he came to my Lady Castlemaine's, and was there all night, and my Lord Sandwich with him. He tells me he believes that, as soon as the King can get a husband for Mrs. Stewart,

however, my Lady Castlemaine's nose will be out of joint; for that she comes to be in great esteem, and is more handsome than she. Wotton tells me the reason of Harris's going from Sir Wm. Davenant's house is, that he grew very proud and demanded £20 for himself extraordinary more than Betterton or anybody else, upon every new play, and £10 upon every revive, which with other things Sir W. Davenant would not give him, and so he swore he would never act there more, in expectation of being received in the other house; but the King will not suffer it, upon Sir W. Davenant's desire that he would not, for then he might shut up house, and that is true. He tells me that his going is at present a great loss to the House, and that he fears he hath a stipend from the other House privately. He tells me that the fellow grew very proud of late, the King and everybody else crying him up so high, and that above Betterton he being a more ayery man, as he is indeed. But yet Betterton he says, they all say do act some parts that none but himself can do. I hear that the Moors have made some attacks upon the outworks of Tangier; but my Lord Teviott, with the loss of about 200 men, did beat them off and kill many of them. To-morrow the King and Queen for certain go down to Tunbridge. But the King comes back again against Monday to raise the Parliament.

25th. Having intended this day to go to Banstead Downs to see a famous race, I sent Will to get him-

self ready to go with me : but I hear it is put off, because the Lords do sit in Parliament to-day. After some debate, Creed and I resolved to go to Clapham, to Mr. Gauden's. When I came there, the first thing was to show me his house, which is almost built. I find it very regular and finely contrived, and the gardens and offices about it as convenient and as full of good variety as ever I saw in my life. It is true he hath been censured for laying out so much money ; but he tells me that he built it for his brother, who is since dead (the Bishop), who when he should come to be Bishop of Winchester, which he was promised (to which bishopric at present there is no house), he did intend to dwell here. By-and-by to dinner, and in comes Mr. Creed ; I saluted his lady and the young ladies, and his sister, the Bishop's widow ; who was, it seems, Sir W. Russel's daughter, the Treasurer of the Navy ; who I find to be very well bred, and a woman of excellent discourse. Towards the evening we bade them adieu, and took horse ; being resolved that instead of the race which fails us, we would go to Epsom. When we came there we could hear of no lodgings, the town so full ; but which was better, I went towards Ashted, and there we got a lodging in a little hole we could not stand upright in. While supper was getting I walked up and down behind my cousin Pepys's house that was, which I find comes little short of what I took it to be when I was a little boy.

26th (Lord's day). Up and to the Wells, where a great store of citizens, which was the greatest part of the company, though there were some others of better quality. Thence I walked to Mr. Minnes's house, and thence to Durdan's and walked within the court-yard and to the bowling green, where I have seen so much mirth in my time; but now no family in it (my Lord Barkeley, whose it is, being with his family at London). Then rode through Epsom, the whole town over, seeing the various companies that were there walking; which was very pleasant to see how they are there without knowing what to do, but only in the morning to drink waters. But Lord! to see how many I met there of citizens, that I could not have thought to have seen there; that they had ever had it in their heads or purses to go down thither. We went through Non-such Park to the house, and there viewed as much as we could of the outside, and looked through the great gates, and found a noble court; and altogether believe it to have been a very noble house, and a delicate park about it, where just now there was a doe killed for the King to carry up to court.

27th. We rode hard home, and set up our horses at Fox Hall, and I by water (observing the King's barge attending his going to the House this day) home, it being about one o'clock. By water to Westminster, and there come most luckily to the Lords' House, as the House of Commons were going into the Lords'

House, and there I crowded in along with the Speaker, and got to stand close behind him, where he made his speech to the King (who sat with his crown on and robes, and so all the Lords in their robes, a fine sight), wherein he told his Majesty what they have done this Parliament, and now offered for his royal consent. The greatest matters were a bill for the Lord's day (which it seems the Lords have lost, and so cannot be passed, at which the Commons are displeased). The bills against Conventicles and Papists (but it seems the Lords have not passed them), and giving his majesty four entire subsidies; which last, with about twenty smaller Acts, were passed with this form. The Clerk of the House reads the title of the bill, and then looks at the end and there finds (writ by the King, I suppose) "Le Roy le veult," and that he reads. And to others he reads, "Soit fait comme vous desirez." And to the Subsidies, as well that for the Commons, I mean the laity, as for the Clergy, the King writes, "Le Roy remerciant les Seigneurs et Prelats et accepte leur benevolence." The Speaker's speech was far from any oratory, but was as plain (though good matter) as anything could be, and void of elocution. After the bills passed, the King sitting on his throne, with his speech writ in a paper, which he held in his lap, and scarce looked off of it all the time he made his speech to them, giving them thanks for their subsidies, of which, had he not need, he would not have asked or

received them; and that need, not from any extravagances of his, he was sure, in anything, but the disorders of the times compelling him to be at greater charge than he hoped for the future, by their care in their country, he should be; and that for his family expenses and others, he would labour however to retrench in many things convenient, and would have all others to do so too. He desired that nothing of old faults should be remembered, or severity for the same used to any in the country, it being his desire to have all forgot as well as forgiven. But, however, to use all care in suppressing any tumults, &c., assuring them that the restless spirits of his and their adversaries have great expectations of something to be done this summer. And promised that though the Acts about Conventicles and Papists were not ripe for passing this Session, yet he would take care himself that neither of them should in this interval be encouraged to the endangering of the peace; and that at their next meeting he would himself prepare two bills for them concerning them. So he concluded, that for the better proceeding of justice he did think fit to make this a Session, and to prorogue them to the 16th of March next. His speech was very plain, nothing at all of spirit in it, nor spoke with any; but rather on the contrary imperfectly, repeating many times his words, though he read all: which I am sorry to see, it having not been hard for him to have got all the speech with-

out book. So they all went away, the King out of the House at the upper end, he being by-and-by to go to Tunbridge to the Queen; and I in the Painted Chamber spoke with my Lord Sandwich while he was putting off his robes, who tells me he will now hasten down into the country. By water to Whitehall, and walked over the Park to St. James's, but missed Mr. Coventry; and so out again, and there the Duke was coming along the Pell Mell. It being a little darkish I stayed not to take notice of him, but went directly back again. And in our walk over the Park, one of the Duke's footmen came running behind us, and came looking just in our faces to see who we were, and went back again. What his meaning is I know not, but was fearful that I might not go far enough with my hat off.

29th. To Deptford, reading by the way a most ridiculous play, a new one, called *The Politician Cheated*.

30th. To Woolwich, and there come Sir G. Carteret, and then by water back to Deptford, where we dined with him at his house. I find his little daughter Betty, that was in hanging sleeves but a month or two ago, and is a very little young child, married, and to whom, but to young Scott, son to Madam Catharine Scott, that was so long in law, and at whose trial I was with her husband; he pleading that it was unlawfully got and would not own it, but it seems a little before his death he did own the child, and hath left

him his estate, not long since. So Sir G. Carteret hath struck up of a sudden a match with him for his little daughter. He hath about £2,000 per annum, and it seems Sir G. C. hath by this means over-reached Sir H. Bennet, who did endeavour to get this gentleman for a sister of his. By this means Sir G. Carteret hath married two daughters this year both very well. The town talk this day is of nothing but the great foot-race run this day on Banstead Downs, between Lee, the Duke of Richmond's footman, and a tyler, a famous runner. And Lee hath beat him, though the King and Duke of York and all men almost did bet three or four to one upon the tyler's head.

31st. To the Exchange, where I met Dr. Pierce, who tells me of his good luck to get to be groom of the Privy-Chamber to the Queen, and without my Lord Sandwich's help, but only by his good fortune, meeting a man that hath let him have his right for a small matter, about £60 for which he can every day have £400. But he tells me my Lord hath lost much honour in standing so long and so much for that coxcomb Pickering, and at last not carrying it for him; but hath his name struck out by the King and Queen themselves after he had been in ever since the Queen's coming. But he tells me he believes that either Sir H. Bennet, my Lady Castlemaine, or Sir Charles Barkeley had received some money for the place, and so the King could not disappoint them, but

was forced to put out this fool rather than a better man. And I am sorry to hear what he tells me that Sir Charles Barkeley hath still such power over the King, as to be able to fetch him from the Council-table to my Lady Castlemaine when he pleases. He tells me also, as a friend, the great injury that he thinks I do myself by being so severe in the Yards, and contracting the ill-will of the whole Navy for those offices, singly upon myself. Now I discharge a good conscience therein, and I tell him that no man can (nor do he say any say it), charge me with doing wrong; but rather do as many good offices as any man. They think, he says, that I have a mind to get a good name with the King and Duke, who, he tells me, do not consider any such thing; but I shall have as good thanks to let all alone, and do as the rest. But I believe the contrary; and yet I told him I never go to the Duke alone, as others do, to talk of my own services. However, I will make use of his counsel, and take some course to prevent having the single ill-will of the office. Mr. Grant showed me letters of Sir William Petty's, wherein he says, that his vessel, which he hath built upon two keels (a model whereof, built for the King, he showed me), hath this month won a wager of £50 in sailing between Dublin and Holyhead with the packet-boat, the best ship or vessel the King hath there, and he offers to lay with any vessel in the world. It is about thirty ton in

burden, and carries thirty men, with good accommodation (as much more as any ship of her burden), and so any vessel of this figure shall carry more men, with better accommodation by half, than any other ship. This carries also ten guns, of about five tons weight. In their coming back from Holyhead they started together, and this vessel came to Dublin by five at night, and the packet-boat not before eight the next morning, and when they came they did believe that this vessel had been drowned, or at least behind, not thinking she could have lived in that sea. Strange things are told of this vessel, and he concludes his letter with this position, "I only affirm that the perfection of sailing lies in my principle, find it out who can."

August 8. I with Mr. Coventry down to the water-side, talking, wherein I see so much goodness and endeavours of doing the King service, that I do more and more admire him.

9th. To church, and heard Mr. Mills (who is lately returned out of the country, and it seems was fetched in by many of the parishioners, with great state) preach upon the authority of the ministers, upon these words, "We are, therefore, ambassadors of Christ." Wherein, among other high expressions, he said, that such a learned man used to say, that if a minister of the word and an angel should meet him together, he would salute the minister first, which methought was

a little too high. This day I began to make use of the silver pen (Mr. Coventry did give me) in writing of this sermon, taking only the heads of it in Latin, which I shall, I think, continue to do.

10th. To the Committee of Tangier, where my Lord Sandwich, my Lord Peterborough (whom I have not seen before since his coming back), Sir W. Compton, and Mr. Povy. Our discourse about supplying my Lord Teviott with money, wherein I am sorry to see, though they do not care for him, yet they are willing to let him for civility and compliment only have money also without expecting any account of it; and he being such a cunning fellow as he is, the King is like to pay dear for our courtier's ceremony. Thence by coach with my Lords Peterborough and Sandwich to my Lord Peterborough's house; and there, after an hour's looking over some fine books of the Italian buildings, with fine cuts, and also my Lord Peterborough's bows and arrows, of which he is a great lover, we sat down to dinner, my Lady coming down to dinner also, and there being Mr. Williamson, that belongs to Sir H. Bennet, whom I find a pretty understanding and accomplished man, but a little conceited. Yesterday, I am told, that Sir J. Lenthall in Southwark did apprehend about one hundred Quakers, and other such people, and hath sent some of them to the gaol at Kingston, it being now the time of the Assizes. Dr. Pierce tells me the Queen is

grown a very debonnaire lady; but my Lady Castle-maine, who rules the King in matters of state, and does what she lists with him, he believes is now falling quite out of favour. After the Queen is come back she goes to the Bath, and so to Oxford, where great entertainments are making for her. This day I am told that my Lord Bristol hath warrants issued out against him, to have carried him to the Tower, but he is fled away or hid himself. So much the Chancellor hath got the better of him.

13th. Met with Mr. Hoole, my old acquaintance of Magdalene, and walked with him an hour in the Park, discoursing chiefly of Sir Samuel Morland, whose lady is gone into France. It seems he buys ground and a farm in that country, and lays out money upon building, and God knows what, so that most of the money he sold his pension of £500 per annum for to Sir Arthur Slingsby is believed is gone. It seems he hath very great promises from the King, and Hoole has seen some of the King's letters, under his own hand, to Morland, promising him great things (and among others, the order of the Garter, as Sir Samuel says); but his lady thought it below her to ask anything at the King's first coming, believing the King would do it of himself, when as Hoole do really think if he had asked to be Secretary of State at the King's first coming, he might have had it. And the other day at her going into France, she did speak largely to the

King herself, how her husband hath failed of what his Majesty had promised, and she was sure intended him; and the King did promise still, as he is a King and a gentleman, to be as good as his word in a little time, to a tittle: but I never believe it.

21st. Meeting with Mr. Creed, he told me how my Lord Teviott hath received another attack from Guyland at Tangier with 10,000 men, and at last, as is said, is come, after a personal treaty with him, to a good understanding and peace with him.

23rd. To church, and so home to my wife; and with her read "Iter Boreale," a poem, made first at the King's coming home; but I never read it before, and now like it pretty well, but not so as it was cried up.

24th. At my Lord Sandwich's, where I was a good while alone with my Lord; and I perceive he confides in me and loves me as he uses to do, and tells me his condition, which is now very well; all I fear is that he will not live within compass. There come to him this morning his prints of the river Tagus and the city of Lisbon, which he measured with his own hand, and printed by command of the King. My Lord pleases himself with it, but methinks it ought to have been better done than by Jobing. Besides I put him upon having some took off upon white satin, which he ordered presently. I offered my Lord my accounts, and did give him up his old bond for £500 and took a

new one of him for £700, which I am, by lending him more money, to make up; and am glad of it.

25th. This noon going to the Exchange, I met a fine fellow with trumpets before him in Leadenhall Street, and upon inquiry I find that he is the clerk of the City Market; and three or four men carried each of them an arrow of a pound weight in their hands. It seems this Lord Mayor begins again an old custom, that upon the three first days of Bartholomew Fair, the first, there is a match of wrestling, which was done, and the Lord Mayor there and the Aldermen in Moorfields yesterday; second day, shooting; and to-morrow hunting. And this officer of course is to perform this ceremony of riding through the city, I think to proclaim or challenge any to shoot. It seems the people of the fair cry out upon it as a great hindrance to them.

26th. To Whitehall, where the Court full of waggons and horses, the King and Court going this day out towards the Bath. Pleased to see Capt. Hicke come to me with a list of all the officers of Deptford Yard, wherein he, being a high old Cavalier, do give me an account of every one of them to their reproach in all respects, and discovers many of their knaveries; and tells me, and so I thank God I hear everywhere, that my name is up for a good husband to the King, and a good man, for which I bless God; and that he did this by particular direction of Mr. Coventry.

28th. Cold all night and this morning, and a very great frost they say abroad, which is much, having had no summer at all almost.

September 2. To dinner with my Lord Mayor and the Aldermen, and a very great dinner and most excellent venison, but it almost made me sick by not daring to drink wine. After dinner into a withdrawing-room; and there we talked, among other things, of the Lord Mayor's sword. They tell me this sword is at least a hundred or two hundred years old; and another that he hath, which is called the Black Sword, which the Lord Mayor wears when he mourns, but properly is their Lenten sword to wear upon Good Friday and other Lent days, is older than that. Mr. Lewellin, lately come from Ireland, tells me how the English interest falls mightily there, the Irish party being too great, so that most of the old rebels are found innocent, and their lands, which were forfeited and bought or given to the English, are restored to them; which gives great discontent there among the English. Going through the City, my Lord Mayor told me how the pillar set up by Exeter House is only to show where the pipes of water run to the City; and observed that this City is as well watered as any city in the world, and that the bringing of water to the City hath cost it first and last above £300,000; but by the new building, and the building of St. James's by my Lord St. Albans, which is now about (and which the City

stomach I perceive highly, but dare not oppose it), were it now to be done, it would not be done for a million of money.

4th. To Westminster Hall, and there bought the first news books of L'Estrange's writing, he beginning this week; and makes, methinks, but a simple beginning. This day I read a Proclamation for calling in and commanding everybody to apprehend my Lord Bristol.

5th. I did inform myself well in things relating to the East Indies; both of the country, and the disappointment the King met with the last voyage, by the knavery of the Portugal Viceroy, and the inconsiderableness of the place of Bombay, if we had had it. But above all things it seems strange to me that matters should not be understood before they went out; and also that such a thing as this, which was expected to be one of the best parts of the Queen's portion, should not be better understood; it being, if we had it, but a poor place, and not really so as was described to our King in the draught of it, but a poor little island; whereas they made the King and Lord Chancellor, and other learned men about the King, believe that that, and other islands which are near it, were all one piece: and so the draught was drawn and presented to the King, and believed by the King, and expected to prove so when our men come thither; but it is quite otherwise.

12th. Up betimes, and by water to Whitehall; and

thence to Sir Philip Warwick, and there had half an hour's private discourse with him: and did give him some good satisfaction in our Navy matters, and he also me, as to the money paid and due to the Navy; so as he makes me assured by particulars, that Sir G. Carteret is paid within £80,000, every farthing that we to this day, nay to Michaelmas day next, have demanded; and that, I am sure, is above £50,000 more than truly our expenses have been, whatever is become of the money. Home with great content that I have thus begun an acquaintance with him, who is a great man, and a man of as much business as any man in England; which I will endeavour to deserve and keep.

22nd. This day the King and Queen are to come to Oxford. I hear my Lady Castlemaine is for certain gone to Oxford to meet him, having lain within here at home this week or two, supposed to have miscarried; but for certain is as great in favour as heretofore; at least Mrs. Sarah at my Lord's, who hears all from their own family, do say so. Every day brings news of the Turk's advance into Germany, to the awakening of all the Christian Princes thereabouts, and possessing himself of Hungary.

24th. I went forth by water to Sir Philip Warwick's, where I was with him a pretty while; and in discourse he tells me, and made it appear to me that the King cannot be in debt to the Navy at this time

£5,000: and it is my opinion that Sir G. Carteret do owe the King money, and yet the whole Navy debt paid. Thence I parted, being doubtful of myself that I have not spoke with the gravity and weight that I ought to do in so great a business. But I rather hope it is my doubtfulness of myself, and the haste which he was in, some very great personages waiting for him without, while he was with me, that made him willing to be gone.

28th. To Whitehall, where Sir J. Minnes and I did spend an hour in the Gallery, looking upon the pictures, in which he hath some judgment. And by-and-by the Commissioners for Tangier met: and there my Lord Teviott, together with Captain Cuttance, Captain Evans, and Jonas Moore, sent to that purpose, did bring us a brave draught of the mole to be built there; and report that it is likely to be the most considerable place the King of England hath in the world; and so I am apt to think it will. After discourse of this, and of supplying the garrison with some more horse, we rose; and Sir J. Minnes and I home again, finding the street about our house full, Sir R. Ford beginning his shrievalty to-day: and, what with his, and our houses being new painted, the street begins to look a good deal better than it did, and more graceful. News that the King comes to town for certain on Thursday next from his great progress.

29th. Come Mr. Sympson to set up my wife's chimney-piece in her closet, which pleases me.

30th. In the afternoon by water to Whitehall, to the Tangier Committee; where my Lord Teviott; which grieves me to see that his accounts being to be examined by us, there are none of the great men at the Board that in compliment will except against anything in them, and so none of the little persons dare do it: so the King is abused. Blessed be God, I do find myself £760 creditor, notwithstanding that for clothes for myself and wife, and laying out her closet, I have spent this month £47. To-morrow the King, Queen, Duke and his Lady, and the whole court comes to town from their progress. All the common talk for news is, the Turk his advance in Hungary.



University of California
SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90024-1388
Return this material to the library
from which it was borrowed.

2
URL-ED

AUG 24 1996

SEP 27 1996

Young

UCLA-College Library

DA 447 P4A4 v.1



L 005 739 803 4

College
Library

DA
447
P4A4
v.1

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



A 001 005 770 1

Ur