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**THE DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS.**

**1663—1664.**



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

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## INTRODUCTION.



OUR last entry from Mr. Pepys's Diary was dated September 30th, 1663. In this volume will be found his Diary in full, for the year 1664; the chief points in his record for October, November and December, 1663, being given briefly in this Introduction.

On the 5th of October Lord Sandwich sent a messenger to know whether the King intended to come to Newmarket, that if he did, he might be entertained at Hinchinbrooke.

On the 12th the officials of the Admiralty attended the Duke of York at St. James's; where Mr. Coventry, who was commonly accused of taking more fees than were just, of his own accord told this to the Duke, and appealed to him and to all to say whether he took more than had been taken by his predecessors. Sir G. Carteret said that Mr. Coventry sold places, and ought not to do so. Mr. Coventry replied hotly that it was Sir

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George Carteret who taught him to do so, "and that he told him that Mr. Smith should say that he made £5,000 the first year, and he believed he made £7,000. This Sir G. Carteret denied, and said, that if he did say so, he told a lie; for he could not, nor did know, that ever he did make that profit of his place; but that he believes he might say £2,500 the first year. Mr. Coventry instanced in another thing, particularly wherein Sir G. Carteret did advise with him about the selling of the Auditor's place of the stores, when in the beginning there was an intention of creating such an office. This he confessed, but with some lessening of the tale Mr. Coventry told, it being only for a respect to my Lord Fitz Harding. In fine, Mr. Coventry did put into the Duke's hand a list of above 250 places that he did give without receiving one farthing, so much as his ordinary fees for them, upon his life and oath; and that since the Duke's establishment of fees he had never received one token more of any man; and that in his whole life he never conditioned or discoursed of any consideration from any commanders since he came to the Navy. And afterwards, my Lord Barkeley merrily discoursing that he wished his

[Mr. Coventry's] profit greater than it was, and that he did believe that he [Mr. Coventry] had got £50,000 since he came in, Mr. Coventry did openly declare that his Lordship, or any of us, should have, not only all he had got, but all that he had in the world, and yet he did not come a beggar into the Navy, nor would yet be thought to speak in any contempt of his Royal Highness's bounty ; and should have a year to consider of it too, for £25,000. The Duke's answer was, that he wished we all had made more profit than we had of our places, and that we had all of us got as much as one man below stairs in the Court, which he presently named, and it was Sir George Lane.

“ 13th, I find at Court, that either the King is doubtful of some disturbance, or else would seem so, and I have reason to hope it is no worse, by his commanding little commanders of castles, &c., to repair to their charges ; and mustering the Guards the other day himself, where he found reason to dislike their condition to my Lord Gerard, finding so many absent men, or dead pays. My Lady Castlemaine, I hear, is in as great favour as ever, and the King supped with her the very first night he came from Bath ; and last night and the night

before supped with her ; when there being a chine of beef to roast, and the tide rising into their kitchen that it could not be roasted there, and the cook telling her of it, she answered, "Zounds! she must set the house on fire but it should be roasted!" So it was carried to Mrs. Sarah's husband's, and there it was roasted."

Next Pepys went to and described a service at a Jewish Synagogue. On the 17th there was discourse of the Queen's being very sick if not dead. On the 18th :—

"The parson, Mr. Mills, I perceive, did not know whether to pray for the Queen or no, and so said nothing about her ; which makes me fear she is dead. But inquiring of Sir J. Minnes, he told me that he heard she was better last night. To church again, and there a simple coxcomb preached worse than the Scot.

"19th. Waked with a very high wind, and said to my wife, "I pray God I hear not of the death of any great person, this wind is so high!" fearing that the Queen might be dead. So up ; and going by coach with Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes to St. James's, they tell me that Sir W. Compton, who it is true had been a little sickly for a week or



fortnight, but was very well upon Friday at night last at the Tangier Committee with us, was dead—died yesterday: at which I was most exceedingly surprised, he being, and so all the world saying that he was, one of the worthiest men and best officers of State now in England; and so in my conscience he was: of the best temper, valour, ability of mind, integrity, worth, fine person, and diligence of any one man he hath left behind him in the three kingdoms; and yet not forty years old, or if so, that is all. I find the sober men of the Court troubled for him; and yet not so as to hinder or lessen their mirth, talking, laughing, and eating, drinking, and doing everything else, just as if there was no such thing.

“Coming to St. James’s, I hear that the Queen did sleep five hours pretty well to-night, and that she waked and gargled her mouth, and to sleep again; but that her pulse beats fast, beating twenty to the King’s or my Lady Suffolk’s eleven; but not so strong as it was. It seems she was so ill as to be shaved, and pigeons put to her feet, and to have the extreme unction given her by the priests, who were so long about it that the doctors were angry. The King, they all say, is most fondly disconsolate

for her, and weeps by her, which makes her weep ; which one this day told me he reckons a good sign, for that it carries away some rheum from the head."

Then follows note of much talk about the Turk's proceedings, and that "the plague is got to Amsterdam, brought by a ship from Argier ; and it is also carried to Hambrough." Then follows more of the Queen's illness, said to be spotted fever, "that she was as full of spots as a leopard ;" of the King's grief, which does not prevent him from supping every night with Lady Castlemaine ; and of the skill of Dr. Prujeon, whose cordial got credit for the Queen's recovery. But she remained delirious, and all her talk was of having children. Rumours come next of the proceedings of the Turks, and of the King of France ; and this note from experience of a Lord Mayor's Dinner at Guildhall on the 29th of October :—

"Under every salt there was a bill of fare, and at the end of the table the persons proper for the table. Many were the tables, but none in the Hall but the Mayor's and the Lords of the Privy Council that had napkins or knives, which was very strange. We went into the Buttery and there stayed and talked, and then into the Hall again,

and there wine was offered, and they drunk, I only drinking some hippocras, which do not break my vow, it being, to the best of my present judgment, only a mixed compound drink, and not any wine. If I am mistaken, God forgive me ! but I do hope and think I am not. By and by met with Creed : and we, with the others, went within the several Courts, and there saw the tables prepared for the ladies, and judges, and bishops : all great signs of a great dinner to come. By and by, about one o'clock, before the Lord Mayor come, come into the Hall, from the room where they were first led into, the Chancellor, Archbishop before him, with the Lords of the Council, and other Bishops, and they to dinner. Anon comes the Lord Mayor, who went up to the Lords, and then to the other tables to bid welcome ; and so all to dinner. I sat near Proby, Baron, and Creed at the Merchant Strangers' table ; where ten good dishes to a mess, with plenty of wine of all sorts, of which I drunk none ; but it was very displeasing that we had no napkins nor change of trenchers, and drunk out of earthen pitchers, and wooden dishes. It happened that after the lords had half dined, come the French Ambassador up to the lords' table where he was to

have sat : he would not sit down nor dine with the Lord Mayor, who was not yet come, nor have a table to himself, which was offered ; but in a discontent went away again. After I had dined, I and Creed rose and went up and down the house, and up to the ladies' room, and there stayed gazing upon them. But though there were many and fine, both young and old, yet I could not discern one handsome face there ; which was very strange. I expected music, but there was none but only trumpets and drums, which displeased me. The dinner, it seems, is made by the Mayor and two Sheriffs for the time being, the Lord Mayor paying one-half, and they the other. And the whole, Proby says, is reckoned to come to about £700 or £800 at most. Being wearied with looking upon a company of ugly women, Creed and I went away, and took coach, and through Cheapside and there saw the pageants, which were very silly. The Queen mends apace, they say ; but yet talks idle still.

“30th. At my periwig-maker's, and there showed my wife the periwig made for me, and she likes it very well, and so to my brother's, and to buy a pair of boddice for her.

“31st. To my great sorrow find myself £43 worse than I was the last month, which was then £760, and now it is but £717. But it hath chiefly arisen from my layings-out in clothes for myself and wife ; viz., for her about £12, and for myself £55, or thereabouts ; having made myself a velvet cloak, two new cloth shirts, black, plain both ; a new shag gown, trimmed with gold buttons and twist, with a new hat, and silk tops for my legs, and many other things, being resolved hence-forward to go like myself. And also two periwigs, one whereof cost me £3, and the other 40s. I have worn neither yet, but will begin next week, God willing.”

On the 2nd of November Pepys “heard the Duke say that he was going to wear a periwig : and they say the King also will.” On the 8th Pepys enters that he went “to church, where I found that my coming in a periwig did not prove so strange as I was afraid it would, for I thought that all the church would presently have cast their eyes all upon me.”

The entry in the diary for November 9th is interesting for the fulness of its detail of talk upon current politics with the Duke of York, and with

Mr. Pierce the surgeon, who took a gloomy view of the condition of the court and country.

“9th. To the Duke, where, when we came into his closet, he told us that Mr. Pepys was so altered with his new periwig, that he did not know him. So to our discourse, and among and above other things, we were taken up in talking upon Sir J. Lawson’s coming home, he being come to Portsmouth; and Captain Berkeley is come to town with a letter from the Divan of Algiers to the King, wherein they do demand again the searching of our ships and taking out of strangers and their goods; and that what English ships are taken without the Duke’s pass, they will detain, though it be flat contrary to the words of the peace, as prizes, till they do hear from our King, which they advise him may be speedy. And this they did the very next day after they had received with great joy the Grand Seignior’s confirmation of the peace from Constantinople by Captain Berkeley, so that there is no command nor certainty to be had of these people. The King is resolved to send his will by a fleet of ships; and it is thought best and speediest to send these very ships that are now come home, five sail of good ships, back again,

after cleaning, victualling, and paying them. But it is a pleasant thing to think how their Pasha, Shavan Aga, did tear his hair to see the soldiers order things thus; for, just like his late predecessor, when they see the evil of war with England, then for certain they complain to the Grand Seignior of him, and cut his head off, this he is sure of, and knows as certain. Thence to Westminster Hall, where I met with Mr. Pierce, surgeon; and, among other things, he asked me seriously whether I knew anything of my Lord's being out of favour with the King; and told me, that for certain the King does take mighty notice of my Lord's living obscurely in a corner not like himself, and becoming the honour that he is come to. I was sorry to hear, and the truth is, from my Lord's discourse among his people, which I am told of, the uncertainty of princes' favour, and his melancholy keeping from Court, I am doubtful of some such thing; but I seemed wholly strange to him in it, but will make my use of it. He told me also how loose the Court is, nobody looking after business, but every man his lust and gain; and how the King is now become besotted upon Mrs. Stewart, that he gets into corners, and will be with her half an hour

together, kissing her to the observation of all the world ; and she now stays by herself and expects it, as my Lady Castlemaine used to do ; to whom the King, he says, is still kind, so as now and then he goes to her, as he believes ; but with no such fondness as he used to do. But yet it is thought that this new wench is so subtle, that it is verily thought, if the Queen had died, he would have married her. The Duke of Monmouth is to have part of the Cockpit new built for lodgings for him, and they say to be made Captain of the Guards in the room of my Lord Gerard. Mr. Blackburn and I fell to talk of many things, wherein he was very open to me : first, in that of religion, he makes it greater matter of prudence for the King and Council to suffer liberty of conscience ; and imputes the loss of Hungary to the Turk from the Emperor's denying them this liberty of their religion. He says that many pious ministers of the Word of God, some thousands of them, do now beg their bread ; and told me how highly the present clergy do carry themselves everywhere, so as that they are hated and laughed at by everybody ; among other things, for their excommunications, which they send upon the least occasions



almost that can be. And I am convinced in my judgment, not only from his discourse, but my thoughts in general, that the present clergy will never heartily go down with the generality of the commons of England; they have been so used to liberty and freedom, and they are so acquainted with the pride and debauchery of the present clergy. He did give me many stories of the affronts which the clergy receive in all places of England from the gentry and ordinary persons of the parish. He tells me what the City thinks of General Monk, as of a most perfidious man that hath betrayed everybody, and the King also; who, as he thinks, and his party, and so I have heard other good friends of the King say, it might have been better for the King to have had his hands a little bound for the present, than be forced to bring such a crew of poor people about him, and be liable to satisfy the demands of every one of them. He told me, that to his knowledge, being present at every meeting of the treaty at the Isle of Wight, the old King did confess himself overruled, and convinced in his judgment against the bishops, and would have suffered, and did agree, to exclude the service out of the churches, nay, his own

chapel ; and that he did always say, that this he did not by force, for that he would never abate one inch by any violence ; but what he did was out of his reason and judgment. He tells me that the King by name, with all his dignities, is prayed for by them that they call fanatics, as heartily and powerfully as in any of the other churches that are thought better : and that, let the King think what he will, it is them that must help him in the day of war. For so generally they are the most substantial sort of people, and the soberest ; and did desire me to observe it to my Lord Sandwich, among other things, that of all the old army now you cannot see a man begging about the streets ; but what ? You shall have this captain turned a shoemaker ; the lieutenant, a baker ; this a brewer ; that a haberdasher ; this common soldier, a porter ; and every man in his apron and frock, &c., as if they never had done anything else ; whereas, the others go with their belts and swords, swearing and cursing, and stealing ; running into people's houses, by force oftentimes, to carry away something ; and this is the difference between the temper of one and the other ; and concludes, and I think with some reason, that the spirits of the old Parliament

soldiers are so quiet and contented with God's providences, that the King is safer from any evil meant him by them one thousand times more than from his own discontented Cavalier. And then to the public management of business: it is done, as he observes, so loosely and so carelessly, that the kingdom can never be happy with it, every man looking after himself and his own lust and luxury; and that half of what money the Parliament gives the King is not so much as gathered. And to the purpose, he told me how the Bellamys, who had some of the northern counties assigned them for their debt for the petty warrant victualling, have often complained to him that they cannot get it collected, for that nobody minds, or, if they do, they won't pay it in. Whereas, which is a very remarkable thing, he hath been told by some of the Treasurers at War here of late, to whom the most of the £120,000 monthly was paid, that for most months the payments were gathered so duly, that they seldom had so much or more than forty shillings, or the like, short in the whole collection, whereas, now the very Commissioners for Assessments, and other public payments, are such persons and those that they choose in the country so like

themselves, that from top to bottom there is not a man careful of anything, or, if he be, is not solvent; that what between the beggar and the knave, the King is abused the best part of all his revenue. We then talked of the Navy, and of Sir W. Pen's rise to be a General. He told me he was always a conceited man, and one that would put the best side outward, but that it was his pretence of sanctity that brought him into play. Lawson, and Portman, and the fifth-monarchy men, among whom he was a great brother, importuned that he might be General; and it was pleasant to see how Blackburn himself did act it; how, when the Commissioners of the Admiralty would inquire of the captains and admirals of such and such men, how they would, with a sigh and casting up the eyes, say, 'Such a man fears the Lord,' or, 'I hope such a man hath the spirit of God.' But he tells me that there was a cruel article against Pen, after one fight, for cowardice, in putting himself within a coil of cables, of which he had much ado to acquit himself; and by great friends did it, not without remains of guilt, but that his brethren had a mind to pass it by, and Sir H. Vane did advise him to search his heart, and

see whether this fault or a greater sin was not the occasion of this so great trial. And he tells me that what Pen gives out about Cromwell's sending and entreating him to go to Jamaica is very false ; he knows the contrary : besides, the Protector never was a man that needed to send for any man, especially such a one as he, twice. He tells me that the business of Jamaica did miscarry absolutely by his pride, and that when he was in the Tower he would cry like a child. And that just upon the turn, when Monk was come from the North to the City, and did begin to think of bringing in the King, Pen was then turned Quaker. That Lawson was never counted anything but only a seaman and a stout man, but a false man, and that now he appears the greatest hypocrite in the world. And Pen the same. He tells me that it is much talked of that the King intends to legitimate the Duke of Monmouth ; and that neither he, nor his friends of his persuasion, have any hopes of getting their consciences at liberty but by God Almighty's turning of the King's heart, which they expect, and are resolved to live and die in quiet hopes of it, but never to repine, or act anything more than by prayers towards it.

And that not only himself, but all of them have, and are willing, at any time, to take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. Mr. Blackburn observed further to me, some certain notice that he had of the present plot so much talked of, that he was told by Mr. Rushworth how one Captain Oates, a great discoverer, did employ several to bring and seduce others into a plot, and that one of his agents met with one that would not listen to him, nor conceal what he had offered him, but so detected the trepan. He did also much insist upon the cowardice and corruption of the King's guards and militia."

There was a little talk on the 11th with Dr. Allen about physic and chemistry; on the 15th the Tower guns were fired for the Queen's birthday, and the Lord Mayor went in the evening from church to church to see that there was a due supply of bonfires, "which methinks is a poor thing to be forced to be commanded."

On the 19th Pepys went on business to my Lord Treasurer, who was laid up with gout. "Nothing displeased me in him but his long nails, which he lets grow upon a pretty thick white short hand, that it troubled me to see them. In our way Sir

G. Carteret told me there is no such thing likely yet as a Dutch war, neither they nor we being in a condition for it, though it will come certainly to that in some time, our interests lying the same way, that is to say, in trade." On the 26th there is note of the plague growing at Amsterdam, and of the proposal to make all ships from Amsterdam or Hamburg perform thirty days' quarantine.

"To Paul's Churchyard, and there looked upon the second part of 'Hudibras,' which I buy not, but borrow to read, to see if it be as good as the first, which the world cried so mightily up, though it hath not a good liking in me, though I had tried but twice or three times reading to bring myself to think it witty. To-day, for certain, I am told how in Holland publicly they have pictured our King with reproach: one way is with his pockets turned the wrong side outward, hanging out empty; another with two courtiers picking of his pockets; and a third, leading of two ladies, while others abuse him; which amounts to great contempt."

"29th. (Lord's day.) This morning I put on my best black cloth suit, trimmed with scarlet ribbon, very neat, with my cloak lined with velvet, and a

new beaver, which altogether is very noble, with my black silk knit canons I bought a month ago."

On the 1st of December Pepys was aroused by the absurdities of a trial at King's Bench on a question of ship insurance.

On the 3rd of December Pepys was rejoiced to hear from Sir G. Carteret that the navy was out of debt. On the 7th, there was "the greatest tide that ever was remembered in England to have been in this river, all Whitehall having been drowned." On the 10th of December "to St. Paul's Churchyard, to my bookseller's, and, having gained this day in the office by my stationer's bill to the King about 40s. or £3, calling for twenty books to lay this money out upon, and found myself at a great loss where to choose, and do see how my nature would gladly return to the laying out of money in this trade. Could not tell whether to lay out my money for books of pleasure, as plays, which my nature was most earnest in; but at last, after seeing Chaucer, Dugdale's 'History of Paul's,' Stow's 'London,' Gesner, 'History of Trent,' besides Shakespeare, Jonson, and Beaumont's plays, I at last chose Dr. Fuller's 'Worthies,' 'The Cabbala,' or 'Collections of



Letters of State,' and a little book, 'Delices de Hollande,' with another little book or two, all of good use or serious pleasure; and 'Hudibras,' both parts, the book now in greatest fashion for drollery, though I cannot, I confess, see enough where the wit lies. My mind being thus settled, I went by link home, and so to my office, and to read in 'Rushworth;' and so home to supper and to bed. Calling at Wotton's, my shoemaker's, to-day, he tells me that Sir H. Wright is dying; and that Harris is come to the Duke's house again; and of a rare play to be acted this week of Sir William Davenant's; the story of Henry the Eighth, with all his wives."

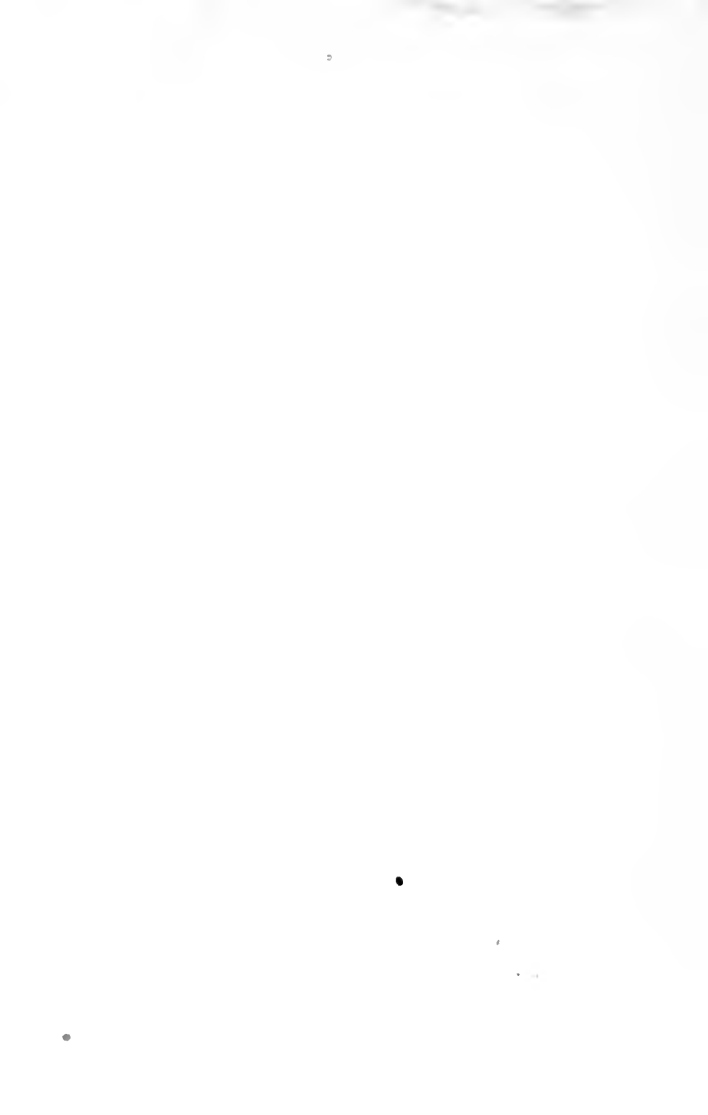
The next entries include much talk of the reported greatness of the King of France. On the 21st of December Pepys saw with disgust a cock-fight in Shoe Lane, and then went to Lord Sandwich's, where he heard rehearsal of an anthem made to be sung in the King's Chapel. On the 22nd of December Pepys heard that Lady Castlemaine had turned Papist. Also, he writes: "I heard to-day of a great fray lately between Sir H. Finch's coachman, who struck with his whip a coachman of the King's, to the loss of one of

his eyes ; at which the people of the Exchange seeming to laugh and make sport, with some words of contempt to him, my Lord Chamberlain did come from the King to shut up the 'Change, and by the help of a justice did it ; but upon petition to the King it was opened again." On the 28th of December Pepys saw the King play tennis, and then went to the Duke of Albemarle, "but I find him a heavy, dull man, methinks, by his answers to me." The last note of the year then follows :

"The Queen, after a long and sore sickness, is become well again ; and the King minds his mistress a little too much. If it pleased God—but I hope all things will go well, and in the Navy particularly, wherein I shall do my duty whatever comes of it. The great talk is the design of the King of France, whether against the Pope or King of Spain nobody knows ; but a great and a most promising Prince he is, and all the Princes of Europe have their eye upon him. My wife's brother come to great unhappiness by the ill disposition, my wife says, of his wife, and her poverty, which she now professes, after all her husband's pretence of a great portion. At present

I am concerned for my cousin Angier, of Cambridge, lately broke in his trade, and this day am sending his son John, a very rogue, to sea. My brother Tom I know not what to think of; for I cannot hear whether he minds his business or not; and my brother John at Cambridge, with as little hopes of doing good there; for when he was here he did give me great cause of dissatisfaction with his manner of life. Poll with my father; and God knows what she do there, or what will become of her, for I have not anything yet to spare her, and she grows now old, and must be disposed of one way or other. The Duchess of York is growing well again. The Turks very far entered into Germany, and all that part of the world at a loss what to expect from his proceedings. Myself, blessed be God! in a good way, and design and resolution of sticking to my business to get a little money with, doing the best service I can to the King also; which God continue! So ends the old year.”

H. M.



## PEPYS'S DIARY.

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*January 1, 1663-64.*—At the Coffee-house, where much talking about a very rich widow, young and handsome, of one Sir Nicholas Gold's, a merchant, lately fallen, and of great courtiers that already look after her: her husband not dead a week yet. She is reckoned worth £80,000. Went to the Duke's house, the first play I have been at these six months, according to my last vow, and here saw the so much cried-up play of *Henry the Eighth*; which, though I went with resolution to like it, is so simple a thing, made up of a great many patches, that, besides the shows and processions in it, there is nothing in the world good or well done.

2nd. To the King's house, and saw *The Usurper*, which is no good play, though better than what I saw yesterday.

4th. I to my Lord Sandwich's lodgings, but he not being up, I to the Duke's chamber, and there by-and-by to his closet, where, since his lady was ill, a little red bed of velvet is brought for him to lie alone, which

is a very pretty one. After doing business here, I to my Lord's again, and there spoke with him, and he seems now almost friends again, as he used to be. Here meeting Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, he told me, among other court news, how the Queen is very well again; and that she speaks now very pretty English, and makes her sense out now and then with pretty phrases: as among others this is mightily cried up; that, meaning to say that she did not like such a horse as well as the rest, he being too prancing and full of tricks, she said he did make too much vanity. To the Tennis Court, and there saw the King play at tennis, and others: but to see how the King's play was extolled, without any cause at all, was a loathsome sight, though sometimes, indeed, he did play very well, and deserved to be commended: but such open flattery is beastly. Afterwards to St. James's Park, seeing people play at Pell Mell; where it pleased me mightily to hear a gallant, lately come from France, swear at one of his companions for suffering his man, a spruce blade, to be so saucy as to strike a ball while his master was playing on the Mall. My wife is mighty sad to think of her father, who is going into Germany against the Turks; but what will become of her brother I know not. He is so idle, and out of all capacity, I think, to earn his bread.

6th. (Twelfth day.) This morning I began a practice, which I find, by the ease I do it with, that I shall

continue, it saving me money and time; that is, to trim myself with a razor: which pleases me mightily.

7th. At noon, all of us to dinner to Sir W. Pen's, where a very handsome dinner, Sir J. Lawson among others, and his lady and his daughter; but to see how Sir W. Pen imitates me in everything, even in having his chimney-piece in his dining-room the same with that in my wife's closet, and in everything else I perceive wherein he can. But to see again how he was out in one compliment: he lets alone drinking any of the ladies' healths that were there, my Lady Batten and Lawson, till he had begun with my Lady Carteret, who was absent, and that was well enough, and then Mr. Coventry's mistress, at which he was ashamed, and would not have had him have drunk it, at least before the ladies present, but his policy, as he thought, was such, that he would do it.

8th. By appointment, took Luellin, Mount, and W. Symons, and Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, home to dinner with me, and were merry. We spent all the afternoon together, and then to cards with my wife, who this day put on her Indian blue gown, which is very pretty. We had great pleasure this afternoon, among other things, to talk of our old passages together in Cromwell's time; and how W. Symons did make me laugh and wonder to-day when he told me how he had made shift to keep in, in good esteem and employment, through eight governments in one year, the year 1659,

which were indeed, and he did name them all; and then failed unhappy in the ninth, viz., that of the King's coming in. He made good to me the story which Luellin did tell me the other day, of his wife upon her death-bed; how she dreamt of her uncle Scobell, and did foretell, from some discourse she had with him, that she should die four days thence, and not sooner, and did all along say so, and did so. Upon the 'Change, a great talk there was of one Mr. Tryon, an old man, a merchant in Lyme Street, robbed last night, his man and maid being gone out after he was a-bed; and gagged and robbed of £1,050 in money, and about £4,000 in jewels, which he had in his house as security for money. It is believed that his man is guilty of confederacy, by their ready going to his secret till in his desk, wherein the key of his cash-chest lay.

9th. By discourse with my wife, thought upon inviting my Lord Sandwich to a dinner shortly. It will cost me at least ten or twelve pounds; but, however, some arguments of prudence I have, which I shall think again upon before I proceed to that expense. Called at Ludgate, at Ashwell's uncle's, but she was not within, to have spoke to her to have come to dress my wife at the time when my Lord dines here.

10th. (Lord's day.) My brother Tom come to see me, telling me how Mrs. Turner found herself discontented with her late bad journey, and not well taken by them in the country, they not desiring her coming down, nor



the burial of Mr. Edward Pepys's corpse there. All our discourse to-night was about Mr. Tryon's late being robbed; and that Colonel Turner, a mad, swearing confident fellow, well known by all, and by me, one much indebted to this man for his very livelihood, was the man that either did or plotted it; and the money and things are found in his hand, and he and his wife now in Newgate for it: of which we are all glad, so very a known rogue he was.

11th. To the Tennis Court till noon, and there saw several great matches played. By invitation to St. James's; where, at Mr. Coventry's chamber, I dined with my Lord Barkeley, Sir G. Carteret, Sir Edward Turner, Sir Ellis Layton, and one Mr. Seymour, a fine gentleman: where admirable good discourse of all sorts, pleasant and serious. This morning I stood by the King, arguing with a pretty Quaker woman, that delivered to him a desire of hers in writing. The King showed her Sir J. Minnes, as a man the fittest for her quaking religion; she modestly saying nothing till he begun seriously to discourse with her, arguing the truth of his spirit against hers; she replying still with these words, "O King!" and thou'd all along. The general talk of the town still is of Colonel Turner, about the robbery, who, it is thought, will be hanged. I heard the Duke of York tell to-night, how letters are come that fifteen are condemned for the late plot by the judges at York; and among others, Captain Oates,

against whom it was proved that he drew his sword at his going out, and flinging away the scabbard, said that he would either return victor or be hanged.

12th. Comes my uncle Wight and my aunt, with their cousins Mary and Robert, and by chance my uncle Thomas Pepys. We had a good dinner—the chief dish, a swan roasted, and that excellent meat.

15th. My wife tells me that my uncle Wight hath been with her, and played at cards with her, and is mightily inquisitive to know whether she is with child or no, which makes me wonder what his meaning is, and, after all my thoughts, I cannot think, unless it be in order to the making his will; and I would to God my wife had told him that she was!

17th. (Lord's day.) To the French church, and there heard a good sermon—the first time my wife and I were there ever together. We sat by three sisters, all pretty women. It was pleasant to hear the reader give notice to them, that the children to be catechised next Sunday were them of Houndsditch and Blanche Chapiton.

18th. Abroad to Whitehall, where the court all in mourning for the Duchess of Savoy. By coach to the 'Change, after having been at the coffee-house, where I hear Turner is found guilty of felony and burglary; and strange stories of his confidence at the bar, but yet great indiscretion in his arguing. All desirous of his being hanged.

19th. My eyes began to fail me, and to be in pain, which I never felt to nowadays.

20th. To my Lord Sandwich's, and I walked with him to the Tennis Court, and there left him, seeing the King play. My Lord Sandwich did also seal a lease for the house he is now taking in Lincoln's Inn Fields, which stands him in £250 per annum rent. To my brother's, whom I find not well in bed, sick, they say, of a consumption. To Mr. Commander's, in Warwick Lane, to speak to him about drawing up my will. Sir Richard Ford told me, that Turner is to be hanged tomorrow, and with what impudence he hath carried out his trial; but that last night, when he brought him news of his death, he began to be sober, and shed some tears, and he hopes will die a penitent; he having already confessed all the thing, but says it was partly done for a joke, and partly to get an occasion of obliging the old man by his care in getting him his things again, he having some hopes of being the better by him in his estate at his death. Mr. Pierce tells me, that my Lady Castlemaine is not at all set by, by the King, but that he doats upon Mrs. Stewart only, and, that, to the leaving of all business in the world, and to the open slighting of the Queen; that he values not who sees him, or stands by him while he dallies with her openly; and then privately in her chamber below, where the very sentries observe him going in and out; and that so commonly, that the Duke, or any of the

nobles, when they would ask where the King is, they would ordinarily say, "Is the King above or below?" meaning with Mrs. Stewart; that the King do not openly disown my Lady Castlemaine, but that she comes to Court; but that my Lord FitzHarding and the Hambletons, and sometimes my Lord Sandwich, they say, intrigue with her. But he says my Lord Sandwich will lead her from her lodgings in the darkest and obscurest manner, and leave her at the entrance into the Queen's lodgings, that he might be the least observed. That the Duke of Monmouth the King still doats on beyond measure, insomuch that the King only, the Duke of York, and Prince Rupert, and the Duke of Monmouth, do now wear deep mourning, that is, long cloaks, for the Duchess of Savoy; so that he mourns as a prince of the blood, while the Duke of York do no more, and all the nobles of the land not so much; which gives great offence. But that the Duke of York do give himself up to business, and is like to prove a noble prince; and so indeed I do from my heart think he will. He says that it is believed, as well as hoped, that care is taken to lay up a hidden treasure of money by the King against a bad day. I pray God it be so! but I should be more glad that the King himself would look after business, which it seems he does not in the least. I am resolved to forbear my laying out my money upon a dinner, till I see my Lord in a better posture, and by grave and humble

though high deportment, to make him think I do not want him, and that will make him the readier to admit me to his friendship again—I believe the soonest of anything but downright impudence, and thrusting myself, as others do, upon him, and imposing upon him, which yet I cannot do, nor will not endeavour. To bed, after I had by candle-light shaved myself and cut off all my beard.

21st. Up, and after sending my wife to my aunt Wight's, to get a place to see Turner hanged, I to the 'Change; and seeing people flock in the City, I inquired, and found that Turner was not yet hanged. So I went among them to Leadenhall Street, at the end of Lyme Street, near where the robbery was done; and to St. Mary Axe, where he lived. And there I got for a shilling to stand upon the wheel of a cart, in great pain, above an hour before the execution was done; he delaying the time by long discourses and prayers, one after another, in hopes of a reprieve; but none came, and at last he was flung off the ladder in his cloak. A comely-looking man he was, and kept his countenance to the end; I was sorry to see him. It was believed there were at least 12,000 or 14,000 people in the street. To the coffee-house, and heard the full of Turner's discourse on the cart, which was chiefly to clear himself of all things laid to his charge but this fault, for which he now suffers, which he confesses. He deplored the condition of his family, but

his chief design was to lengthen time, believing still a reprieve would come, though the sheriff advised him to expect no such thing, for the King was resolved to grant none. To my aunt Wight's, where Dr. Burnett did tell me how poorly the sheriffs did endeavour to get one jewel returned by Turner, after he was convicted, as a due to them, and not to give it to Mr. Tryon, the true owner, but ruled against them, to their great dishonour.

22nd. To Deptford, and there viewed Sir W. Petty's vessel ; which hath an odd appearance, but not such as people do make of it.

24th. (Lord's day.) To my office, and there fell on entering, out of a bye-book, part of my second journal-book, which hath lain these two years and more unentered. This evening also I drew up a rough draft of my last will.

25th. Troubled a little in mind, to think that my Lord Sandwich should continue this strangeness to me.

26th. Tom Killigrew told us of a fire last night in my Lady Castlemaine's lodging, where she bid £40 for one to adventure the fetching of a cabinet out, which at last was got to be done ; and the fire at last quenched, without doing much wrong.

27th. At the coffee-house, where I sat with Sir G. Ascue, and Sir William Petty, who in discourse is, methinks, one of the most rational men that ever I heard

speak with a tongue, having all his notions the most distinct and clear, and did, among other things (saying, that in all his life these three books were the most esteemed and generally cried up for wit in the world—"Religio Medici," "Osborne's Advice to a Son," and "Hudibras"), say that in these—the two first principally—the wit lies, and confirming some pretty sayings, which are generally like paradoxes, by some argument smartly and pleasantly urged, which takes with people who do not trouble themselves to examine the force of an argument, which pleases them in the delivery, upon a subject which they like; whereas, as by many particular instances of mine, and others, out of Osborne, he did really find fault and weaken the strength of many of Osborne's arguments, so as that in downright disputation they would not bear weight—at least, so far but that they might be weakened, and better found in their rooms to confirm what is there said. He showed finely whence it happens that good writers are not admired by the present age; because there are but few in any age that do mind anything that is abstruse and curious; and so longer before anybody do put the true praise, and set it on foot in the world, the generality of mankind pleasing themselves in the easy delights of the world, as, eating, drinking, dancing, hunting, fencing, which we see the meanest men do the best—those that profess it. A gentleman never dances so well as the dancing-master;

and an ordinary fiddler makes better music for a shilling, than a gentleman will do after spending forty. And so in all the delights of the world almost. To Covent Garden, to buy a mask at the French house, Madam Charett's, for my wife; in the way observing the street full of coaches at the new play, at *The Indian Queen*, which for show, they say, exceeds *Henry the Eighth*. Called to see my brother Tom, who was not at home, though they say he is in a deep consumption and will not live two months.

29th. To the "Fleece" in Cornhill by appointment, to meet my Lord Marlborough, a serious and worthy gentleman, who began to talk of the state of the Dutch in India, which is like to be in a little time without any control; for we are lost there, and the Portuguese as bad.

30th. The day kept solemnly for the King's murder. In the evening signed and sealed my last will and testament, which is to my mind, and I hope to the liking of God Almighty. This evening I tore some old papers; among others, a romance, which under the title of *Love a Cheat*, I begun ten years ago at Cambridge; and, reading it over to-night I liked it very well, and wondered a little at myself, at my vein at that time when I wrote it, doubting that I cannot do so well now if I would try.

31st. (Lord's day.) I did perfectly prepare a state of my estate, and annexed it to my last will and



testament, which now is perfect, and find that I am worth £858 clear, which is the greatest sum I ever yet was master of. My head very full of thoughts to provide for answering to the Exchequer for my uncle's being General Receiver in the year 1647, which I am at present wholly unable to do.

*February 1.* I hear how two men last night, justling for the wall about the new Exchange, did kill one another, each thrusting the other through: one of them of the King's Chapel, one Cave, and the other a retainer of my Lord General Middleton's. I to Whitehall; where, in the Duke's chamber, the King came and stayed an hour or two laughing at Sir W. Petty, who was there, about his boat; and at Gresham College in general: at which poor Petty was, I perceive, at some loss; but did argue discreetly and bear the unreasonable follies of the King's objections and other bystanders with great discretion; and offered to take odds against the King's best boats: but the King would not lay, but cried him down with words only. Gresham College he mightily laughed at, for spending time only in weighing of air, and doing nothing else since they sat. Mr. Pierce tells me how the King, coming the other day to his theatre to see *The Indian Queen*, which he commends for a very fine thing, my Lady Castlemaine was in the next box before he came; and leaning over other ladies a while to whisper with the King, she rose out of the box and went into the King's,

and set herself on the King's right hand, between the King and the Duke of York; which, he swears, put the King himself, as well as everybody else, out of countenance: and believes that she did it only to show the world that she is not out of favour yet, as was believed. To the King's Theatre, and there saw *The Indian Queen* acted; which, indeed, is a most pleasant show, and beyond my expectation; the play good, but spoiled with the rhyme, which breaks the sense. But above my expectation most, the eldest Marshall did do her part most excellently well as I ever heard woman in my life; but her voice is not so sweet as Ianthe's; but, however, we came home mightily contented. Here we met Mr. Pickering; and he tells me that the business runs high between the Chancellor and my Lord Bristol against the Parliament; and that my Lord Lauderdale and Cowper open high against the Chancellor; which I am sorry for. This day, W. Bowyer told me, that his father is dead lately, and died by being drowned in the river, coming over in the night; but he says he had not been drinking. He was taken with his stick in his hand, and cloak over his shoulder, as ruddy as before he died. His horse was taken overnight in the water, hampered in the bridle, but they were so silly as not to look for his master till the next morning that he was found drowned.

2nd. To the 'Change, and thence off to the "Sun" Tavern with Sir W. Warren. He did give me a pair

of gloves for my wife wrapped up in a paper, which I would not open, feeling it hard; but did tell him that my wife should thank him, and so went on in discourse. When I came home, Lord! in what pain I was to get my wife out of the room without bidding her go, that I might see what these gloves were; and, by-and-by, she being gone, it proves a pair of white gloves for her, and forty pieces in good gold, which did so cheer my heart, that I could eat no victuals almost for dinner. I was at a great loss what to do, whether to tell my wife of it or no, for fear of making her think me to be in a better condition, or in a better way of getting money, than yet I am.

3rd. To the "Mitre" Tavern, and there met with W. Howe come to buy wine for my Lord against his going down to Hinchinbroke, and I private with him a great while, discoursing of my Lord's strangeness to me; but he answers that I have no reason to think any such thing, but that my Lord is only in general a more reserved man than he was before. My wife is full of sad stories of her good-natured father, and roguish brother, who is going for Holland, and his wife, to be a soldier. In Covent Garden to-night, going to fetch home my wife, I stopped at the great coffee-house there, where I never was before: where Dryden, the poet, I knew at Cambridge, and all the wits of the town, and Harris the player, and Mr. Hoole of our College. And, had I had time then, or could at other times, it will be good

coming thither, for there, I perceive, is very witty and pleasant discourse. But I could not tarry, and, as it was late, they were all ready to go away.

4th. To Paul's School, and up to hear the upper form examined; and there was kept by very many of the Mercers, Clutterbuck, Barker, Harrington, and others; and with great respect used by them all, and had a noble dinner. Here they tell me that in Dr. Colett's will, he says that he would have a master found for the school that hath good skill in Latin, and if it could be, one that had some knowledge of the Greek; so little was Greek known here at that time. Dr. Wilkins, and one Mr. Smallwood, posers.

5th. Reading *Faber Fortunæ*, which I can never read too often. At home to look after some Brampton papers, and my uncle's accounts as General-Receiver of the county for 1647 of our monthly assessment, which, contrary to my expectation, I found in such good order that I did not expect, nor could have thought.

6th. Home, whither come one Father Fogourdy, an Irish priest, of my wife's and her mother's acquaintance in France—a sober and discreet person, but one that I would not have converse with my wife for fear of meddling with her religion. He confirms to me the news that for certain there is a peace made between the Pope and King of France.

7th. (Lord's day.) Up and to church, and thence home; and with great mirth read Sir W. Davenant's

two speeches in dispraise of London and Paris, by way of reproach one to the other.

8th. Mr. Pierce told me how the King do still doat upon his women, even beyond all shame: and that the good Queen will of herself stop before she goes sometimes into her dressing-room, till she knows whether the King be there, for fear he should be, as she hath sometimes taken him, with Mrs. Stewart; and that some of the best parts of the Queen's jointure are, contrary to faith and against the opinion of my Lord Treasurer and his council, bestowed or rented, I know not how, to my Lord FitzHarding and Mrs. Stewart, and others of that crew: that the King do doat infinitely upon the Duke of Monmouth, apparently as one that he intends to have succeed him. God knows what will be the end of it!

9th. Great talk of the Dutch proclaiming themselves, in India, Lords of the Southern Seas, and denying traffic there to all ships but their own, upon pain of confiscation; which makes our merchants mad. Great doubt of two ships of ours, the *Greyhound* and another, very rich, coming from the Straits, for fear of the Turks. Matters are made up between the Pope and the King of France, so that now all the doubt is, what the French will do with their armies. Mr. Moore told me that my Lord is mightily altered—that is, grown very high and stately, and does not admit of any to come into his chamber to him, as heretofore, and

that I must not think of his strangeness to me, for it is the same he does to everybody. I discoursed with him about my money that my Lord hath, and the £1,000 that I stand bound with him in, to my cousin Thomas Pepys, in both which I shall get myself at liberty as soon as I can; for I do not like his being angry and in debt both together to me; and, besides, I do not perceive he looks after paying his debts, but runs farther and farther in.

10th. By coach to my Lord Sandwich, to his new house, a fine house, but deadly dear, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where I found and spoke a little to him. He is high and strange still, but did ask me how my wife did, and at parting remembering him to his cousin. My wife abroad to buy Lent provisions. I did give my wife's brother 10s. and a coat that I had by me, a close-bodied, light-coloured coat, with a gold edging in each seam, that was the lace of my wife's best petticoat, that she had when I married her. He is going into Holland to seek his fortune. My pain do leave me without coming to any great excess; but my cold that I had got I suppose was not very great, it being only the leaving of my waistcoat unbuttoned one morning.

11th. Mr. Falconer come and visited my wife, and brought her a present—a silver state-cup and cover, value about three or four pounds, for the courtesy I did him the other day. I am almost sorry for this present,

because I would have reserved him for a place to go in summer a-visiting at Woolwich with my wife.

12th. Called at Alderman Backwell's, and there changed Mr. Falconer's state-cup, that he did give us the other day, for a fair tankard. The cup weighed with the fashion £5 16s., and another little cup that Joyce Norton did give us 17s.—both £6 13s.; for which we had a tankard, which came to £6 10s. at 5s. 7d. per oz., and 3s. in money.

13th. To the African House. Anon down to dinner, to a table which Mr. Coventry keeps here, out of his £300 per annum as one of the assistants to the Royal Company: a very pretty dinner, and good company, and excellent discourse. Home with my wife, and saw her day's work in ripping the silk standard, which we brought home last night, and it will serve to line a bed or for twenty uses, to our great content.

14th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church alone, where a lazy sermon of Mr. Mills, upon a text to introduce catechising in our parish, which I perceive he intends to begin.

15th. To Whitehall, to the Duke; where he first put on a periwig to-day: but methought his hair cut short in order thereto did look very pretty of itself, before he put on his periwig. Great news of the arrival of two rich ships, the *Greyhound* and another, which they were mightily afraid of, and great insurance given. This afternoon Sir Thomas Chamberlain came to the

office to me, and showed me several letters from the East Indies, showing the height that the Dutch are come to there, showing scorn to all the English, even in our only factory there of Surat, beating several men, and hanging the English standard St. George under the Dutch flag in scorn; saying that, whatever their masters do or say at home, they will do what they list, and be masters of all the world there; and have so proclaimed themselves sovereigns of all the South Seas: which certainly our King cannot endure, if the Parliament will give him money. But I doubt, and yet do hope, they will not yet, till we are more ready for it.

17th. With my wife, setting her down by her father's in Long Acre, in so ill-looking a place that I was troubled at it, to see her go thither. Mr. Pierce tells me of the King's giving of my Lord FitzHarding two leases which belong indeed to the Queen, worth £20,000 to him; and how people do talk of it! Home, and dined, where I found an excellent mastiff—his name Towser—sent me by a surgeon.

19th. Mr. Cutler came, and walked and talked with me a great while; and then to the 'Change together; and it being early, did tell me several excellent examples of men raised upon the 'Change by their great diligence and saving; as also his own fortune, and how credit grew upon him; that when he was not really worth £1,100, he had credit for £100,000; of Sir W. Rider, how he rose; and others. By-and-by joined



with us Sir John Bankes; who told us several passages of the East India Company; and how, in every case, when there was due to him and Alderman Mico £64,000 from the Dutch for injury done to them in the East Indies, Oliver, presently after the peace, they delaying to pay them the money, sent them word, that if they did not pay them by such a day, he would grant letters of mark to those merchants against them; by which they were so fearful of him, they did presently pay the money every farthing. Took my wife, and, taking a coach, went to visit my Ladies Jemimah and Paulina Montagu, and Mrs. Elizabeth Pickering, whom we find at their father's new house in Lincoln's Inn Fields; but the house all in dirt. They received us well enough; but I did not endeavour to carry myself over-familiarly with them: and so, after a little stay, there coming in presently after us my Lady Aberguenny and other ladies, we back again by coach.

21st. (Lord's day.) My wife called up the people to washing by four o'clock in the morning; and our little girl Susan is a most admirable slut, and pleases us mightily, doing more service than both the others, and deserves wages better.

22nd. This evening came Mr. Alsopp, the King's brewer, with whom I spent an hour talking and bewailing the posture of things at present; the King led away by half a dozen men, that none of his serious servants and friends can come at him. These are

Lauderdale, Buckingham, Hamilton, FitzHarding, to whom he hath, it seems, given £12,000 per annum in the best part of the King's estate; and that the old Duke of Buckingham could never get of the King. Progers is another, and Sir H. Bennet. He loves not the Queen at all, but is rather sullen to her; and she, by all reports, incapable of children. He is so fond of the Duke of Monmouth, that everybody admires it; and he says that the Duke hath said, that he would be the death of any man that says the King was not married to his mother: though Alsopp says, it is well known that she was a common strumpet before the King was acquainted with her. But it seems, he says, that the King is mighty kind to these his bastard children; and at this day will go at midnight to my Lady Castlemaine's nurses, and take the child and dance it in his arms: that he is not likely to have his tables up again in his house, for the crew that are about him will not have him come to common view again, but keep him obscurely among themselves. He hath this night, it seems, ordered that the Hall, which there is a ball to be in to-night before the King, be guarded, as the Queen Mother's is, by his Horse Guards; whereas heretofore they were by the Lord Chamberlain or Steward, and their people. But it is feared they will reduce all to the soldiery, and all other places be taken away; and, what is worst of all, will alter the present militia, and bring all to a flying

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army. That my Lord Lauderdale, being Middleton's enemy, and one that scorns the Chancellor, even to open affronts before the King, hath got the whole power of Scotland into his hand; whereas, the other day, he was in a fair way to have had his whole estate and honour, and life, voted away from him. That the King hath done himself all imaginable wrong in the business of my Lord Antrim, in Ireland; who, though he was the head of rebels, yet he by his letter owns to have acted by his father's and mother's, and his commissions; but it seems the truth is, he hath obliged himself, upon the clearing of his estate, to settle it upon a daughter of the Queen mother's, by my Lord Jermyn, I suppose, in marriage, be it to whom the Queen pleases; which is a sad story. It seems a daughter of the Duke of Lennox's was, by force, going to be married the other day, at Somerset House, to Harry Jermyn; but she got away and run to the King, and he says he will protect her. She is, it seems, very near akin to the King. Such mad doings there are every day among them! There was a French book in verse, the other day, translated and presented to the Duke of Monmouth, in such a high style, that the Duke of York, he tells me, was mightily offended at it. The Duke of Monmouth's mother's brother hath a place at Court, and, being a Welshman, I think, he told me will talk very broad of the King's being married to his sister. The King did the other day, at

the Council, commit my Lord Bristol's chaplain and steward, and another servant, who went upon the process begun there against their lord, to swear that they saw him at church, and receive the Sacrament as a Protestant, which, the Judges said, was sufficient to prove him such in the eye of the law; the King, I say, did commit them all to the Gate-house, notwithstanding their pleading their dependence upon him, and the faith they owed him as their lord, whose bread they eat. And that the King should say, that he would soon see whether he was King, or Bristol. That the Queen Mother hath outrun herself in her expenses, and is now come to pay very ill, or run in debt; the money being spent that she received for leases. He believes there is not any money laid up in bank, as I told him some did hope; but he says, from the best informers, he can assure me there is no such thing, nor anybody that should look after such a thing, and that there is not now above £80,000 of the Dunkirk money left in stock. That Oliver, the year when he spent £1,400,000 in the Navy, did spend in the whole expense of the kingdom £2,600,000. That all the Court are mad for a Dutch war; but both he and I did concur, that it was a thing rather to be dreaded than hoped for; unless, by the French King's falling upon Flanders, they and the Dutch should be divided. That our Ambassador had, it is true, an audience; but in the most dishonourable way that could be; for the princes of the blood,

though invited by our Ambassador, which was the greatest absurdity that ever Ambassador committed these 400 years, were not there ; and so were not said to give place to our King's Ambassador. And that our King did openly say, the other day in the Privy Chamber, that he would not be hectored out of his right and pre-eminences by the King of France, as great as he was. That the Pope is glad to yield to a peace with the French, as the news-book says, upon the basest terms that ever was. That the talk which these people about our King, that I named before have, is to tell him how neither privilege of Parliament nor City is anything ; but that his will is all, and ought to be so ; and their discourse, it seems, when they are alone, is so base and sordid, that it makes the ears of the very gentlemen of the back stairs, I think he called them, to tingle to hear it spoke in the King's hearing ; and that must be very bad indeed. That my Lord Bristol did send to Lisbon a couple of priests, to search out what they could against the Chancellor concerning the match, as to the point of his knowing beforehand that the Queen was not capable of bearing children ; and that something was given her to make her so. But, private as they were, when they came thither, they were clapped up prisoners. That my Lord Bristol endeavours what he can to bring the business into the House of Commons, hoping there to master the Chancellor, there being many enemies of his

there; but I hope the contrary. That whereas the late King did mortgage Clarendon to somebody for £20,000, and this King have given it to the Duke of Albemarle, and he sold it to my Lord Chancellor, whose title of Earldom is fetched from thence; the King hath this day sent his order to the Privy Seal for the payment of this £20,000 to my Lord Chancellor, to clear the mortgage. Ireland in a very distracted condition about the hard usage which the Protestants meet with, and the too good which the Catholics. And from all together, God knows my heart, I expect nothing but ruin can follow, unless things are better ordered in a little time.

23rd. (Shrove Tuesday.) This day, by the blessing of God, I have lived thirty-one years in the world; and, by the grace of God, I find myself not only in good health in everything, and particularly as to the stone, but only pain upon taking cold, and also in a fair way of coming to a better esteem and estate in the world than ever I expected. But I pray God give me a heart to fear a fall, and to prepare for it!

24th. (Ash Wednesday.) To the Queen's chapel, where I stayed and saw their mass, till a man came and bid me go out or kneel down: so I did go out. And thence to Somerset House; and there into the chapel, where Monsieur d'Espagne used to preach. But now it is made very fine, and was ten times more crowded than the Queen's chapel at St. James's;

which I wonder at. Thence down to the garden of Somerset House, and up and down the new building, which, in every respect, will be mighty magnificent and costly.

25th. To my Lord's, and saw the young ladies, and thence to Whitehall. Resolved of going to meet my Lord to-morrow, having got a horse of Mr. Coventry to-day.

26th. Up, and after dressing myself handsomely for riding, I out, and by water to Westminster, to Mr. Creed's chamber, and, after drinking some chocolate, and playing on the viol, Mr. Mallard being there, upon Creed's new viol, which proves, methinks, much worse than mine, we set out from an inn hard by, whither Mr. Coventry's horse was carried; and round about the bush through bad ways to Highgate. Good discourse had in the way between us; and, it being a most admirable pleasant day, stopped at the Cock, a mile on this side Barnet, being unwilling to put ourselves to the charge or doubtful acceptance of any provision against my Lord's coming by, and there got something and dined, setting a boy to look towards Barnet Hill, against their coming; and, after two or three false alarms, they came, and we met the coach very gracefully, and I had as kind a reception from both Lord and Lady as I could wish, and some kind discourse, and then rode by the coach a good way, and so fell to discoursing with several of the people, there

being a dozen attending the coach, and another coach for the maids and parson. But, when we came to my Lord's house, I went in; and, whether it was my Lord's neglect, or general indifference, I know not, but he made no kind of compliment there; and, methinks, the young ladies look somewhat highly upon me. So I went away, without bidding adieu to anybody, being desirous not to be thought too servile.

27th. Sir Martin Noell told us the dispute between him, as farmer of the additional duty, and the East India Company, whether calico be linen or no; which he says it is, having been ever esteemed so; they say it is made of cotton-wool, and grows upon trees, not like flax or hemp. But it was carried against the Company, though they stand out against the verdict.

28th. (Lord's day.) Up, and walked to Paul's; and, by chance, it was an extraordinary day for the Readers of the Inns of Court and all the students to come to church, it being an old ceremony not used these twenty-five years, upon the first Sunday in Lent. Abundance there was of students, more than there was room to seat but upon forms, and the church mighty full. One Hawkins preached, an Oxford man. A good sermon, upon these words: "But the Wisdom from above is first pure, then peaceable." Both before and after sermon I was most impatiently troubled at the choir, the worst that ever I heard. But what was extraordinary, the bishop of London, who sat there in a



pew, made a' purpose for him, by the pulpit, do give the last blessing to the congregation: which was, he being a comely old man, a very decent thing methought. The lieutenant of the Tower, Sir J. Robinson, would needs have me by coach home with him, where the officers of his regiment dined with him. I did go and dine with him—his ordinary table being very good, and his lady a very high carriaged, but comely big woman; I was mightily pleased with her. After dinner to chapel in the Tower with the lieutenant, with the keys carried before us, and the warders and gentleman-porter going before us; and I sat with the lieutenant in his pew in great state. None, it seems, of the prisoners in the Tower, that are there now, though they may, will come to prayers there.

29th. To Sir Philip Warwick, who showed me many excellent collections of the state of the revenue in former kings and the late times and the present. He showed me how the very assessments between 1643 and 1659, which were taxes, besides excise, customs, sequestrations, decimations, King and Queen's and Church lands, or anything else but just the assessments, come to above fifteen millions. He showed me a discourse of his concerning the revenues of this and foreign states. How that of Spain was great, but divided with his kingdoms, and so come to little. How that of France did, and do much, exceed ours before for quantity; and that it is at the will of the

prince to tax what he will upon his people ; which is not here. That the Hollanders have the best manner of tax, which is only upon the expense of provisions, by an excise ; and do conclude that no other tax is proper for England but a pound-rate, or excise upon the expense of provisions. He showed me every particular sort of payment away of money, since the King's coming in, to this day ; and told me from one to one, how little he hath received of profit from most of them ; and I believe him truly. That the £1,200,000 which the parliament with so much ado did first vote to the King, and since hath been re-examined by several committees of the present parliament, is yet above £300,000 short of making up really to the King the £1,200,000, as by particulars he showed me. And in my Lord Treasurer's excellent letter to the King upon this subject, he tells the King how it was the spending more than the revenue that did give the first occasion of his father's ruin, and did since to the rebels ; who, he says, just like Henry the Eighth, had great and sudden increase of wealth, but yet, by overspending both died poor ; and further tells the King how much of this £1,200,000 depends upon the life of the Prince, and so must be renewed by parliament again to his successor ; which is seldom done without parting with some of the prerogatives of the crown ; or, if denied, and he persists to take it of the people, it gives occasion to a civil war, which did in the late business of tonnage

and poundage prove fatal to the Crown. He showed me how many ways the Lord Treasurer did take before he moved the King to farm the customs in the manner he does, and the reasons that moved him to do it. He showed me a very excellent argument, to prove that our importing less than we export does not impoverish the kingdom, according to the received opinion: which, though it be a paradox, and that I do not remember the argument, yet methought there was a great deal in what he said. And, upon the whole, I find him a most exact and methodical man, and of great industry: and very glad that he thought fit to show me all this; though I cannot easily guess the reason why he should do it to me, unless from the plainness that he sees I use to him in telling him how much the King may suffer for our want of understanding the case of our Treasury. To make up my monthly accounts; and I find myself worth eight hundred and ninety and odd pounds, the greatest sum I ever yet knew. Calling at St. Paul's Churchyard, looked upon a pretty burlesque poem, called "Scarronides; or, Virgile Travesty;" extraordinary good. After dinner, my wife cut my hair short, which is grown pretty long again.

*March 2.* This morning, Mr. Burgby, one of the writing clerks belonging to the Council, a knowing man, complains to me how most of the Lords of the Council do look after themselves and their own ends, and none the public, unless Sir Edward Nicholas.

Sir G. Carteret is diligent, but for all his own ends and profit. My Lord Privy Seal, a destroyer of everybody's business, and does no good at all to the public. The Archbishop of Canterbury speaks very little, nor does much, being now come to the highest pitch that he can expect. He tells me, he believes that things will go very high against the Chancellor, by Bristol, and that bad things will be proved. Talks much of his neglecting the King; and making the King to trot every day to him, when he is well enough to go to visit his cousin, Chief-Justice Hyde, but not to the Council or King. He commends my Lord of Ormond mightily in Ireland; but cries out cruelly of Sir G. Lane, for his corruption; and that he hath done my Lord great dishonour, by selling of places here, which are now all taken away, and the poor wretches ready to starve. But nobody almost understands or judges of business better than the King, if he would not be guilty of his father's fault to be doubtful of himself, and easily be removed from his own opinion. That my Lord Lauderdale is never from the King's ear nor Council, and that he is a most cunning fellow. Upon the whole, that he finds things go very bad everywhere; and even in the Council nobody minds the public. To my Lord Sandwich, with whom I spoke, walking a good while with him in his garden, which, and the house, is very fine.

4th. There are several people trying a new-fashion gun brought my Lord Peterborough this morning, to

shoot off often, one after another, without trouble or danger. At Greenwich I observed the foundation-laying of a very great house for the King, which will cost a great deal of money. To Whitehall: and there being met by the Duke of York, he called me to him. I never had so much discourse with him before, and till now did ever fear to meet him. Home, my mind in great ease, to think of our coming to so good a respect with my Lord again, and my Lady, and that my Lady do so much cry up my father's usage of her children, and the goodness of the air there, found in the young ladies' faces at their return thence.

5th. To the office, where, though I had a great cold, I was forced to speak much upon a public meeting of the East India Company, at our office; where was also my Lord George Barkeley, in behalf of the company of merchants; I suppose he is on that company, who hearing my name, took notice of me, and condoled my cousin Edward Pepys's death, not knowing whose son I was, nor did demand it of me.

7th. My wife and I by coach to the Duke's house, where we saw *The Unfortunate Lovers*; but I know not whether I am grown more curious than I was or no, but I was not pleased with it, though I know not where to lay the fault, unless it was that the house was very empty, by reason of a new play at the other house. Yet here was my Lady Castlemaine in a box, and it was pleasant to hear an ordinary lady hard by

us, that it seems did not know her before, say, being told who she was, that "she was well enough."

8th. Luellin came and dined with me, but we made no long stay at dinner: *Heraclius* being acted, my wife and I have a mighty mind to see it. The play hath one very good passage well managed in it, about two persons pretending, and yet denying themselves to be son to the tyrant Phocas, and yet heir of Maronicius to the crown. The garments like Romans very well. The little girl is come to act very prettily, and spoke the epilogue most admirably. But, at the beginning, at the drawing up of the curtain, there was the finest scene of the Emperor, and his people about him, standing in their fixed and different postures in their Roman habits, above all that I ever saw at any of the theatres. Walked home, calling to see my brother Tom, who is in bed, and I doubt very ill.

10th. To dinner with my wife, to a good hog's harlet, a piece of meat I love, but have not eat of I think these seven years. At the Privy Seal I inquired, and found the bill come for the Corporation of the Royal Fishery; whereof the Duke of York is made present Governor, and several other very great persons to the number of thirty-two, made his assistants for their lives; whereof, by my Lord Sandwich's favour, I am one; and take it not only a matter of honour, but that, that may come to be of profit to me.

14th. To Whitehall; and in the Duke's chamber,

while he was dressing, two persons of quality that were there did tell his Royal Highness, how, the other night, in Holborn, about midnight, being at cards, a link-boy came by and run into the house, and told the people the house was a-falling. Upon this the whole family was frightened, concluding that the boy had said that the house was a-fire; so they left their cards above, and one would have got out of the balcony, but it was not open; the other went up to fetch down his children that were in bed: so all got clear out of the house. And no sooner so, but the house fell down indeed, from top to bottom. It seems my Lord Southampton's canal did come too near their foundation, and so weakened the house, and down it came; which, in every respect, is a most extraordinary passage. To my brother's. The doctors give him over, and so do all that see him. He talks no sense two words together now; and I confess it made me weep to see that he should not be able, when I asked him, to say who I was. The business between my Lords Chancellor and Bristol, they say, is hushed up; and the latter gone, or going, by the King's licence, to France.

15th. My poor brother Tom died. I left my wife to see him laid out, and I by coach home, carrying my brother's papers, all I could find, with me.

16th. Up, and down to my cousin Stradwick's, and uncle Fenner's, about discoursing for the funeral, which I am resolved to put off till Friday next. Then

back again to my brother's to look after things, and saw the coffin brought; and by and by Mrs. Holden came and saw him nailed up. This day the Parliament met again, after long prorogation, but what they have done I have not been in the way to hear.

17th. To the office, where we sat this afternoon, because of the Parliament which returned yesterday; but was adjourned till Monday next, upon pretence that many of the members were said to be upon the road; and also the King had other affairs, and so desired them to adjourn till then. But the truth is, the King is offended at my Lord of Bristol, as they say, whom he hath found to have been all this while pretending a desire of leave to go into France, and to have all the differences between him and the Chancellor made up, endeavouring to make factions in both Houses to the Chancellor. So the King did this to keep the Houses from meeting; and in the meanwhile sent a guard and a herald last night to have taken him at Wimbledon, where he was in the morning, but could not find him: at which the King was and is still mightily concerned, and runs up and down to and from the Chancellor's like a boy; and it seems would make Bristol's articles against the Chancellor to be treasonable reflections against his Majesty. So that the King is very high, as they say: and God knows what will follow upon it! To my brother's again, preparing things against to-morrow; and I have altered my



resolution of burying him in the churchyard among my young brothers and sisters, and bury him in the church, in the middle aisle, as near as I can to my mother's pew. This cost me 20s. more. Home by coach, bringing my brother's silver tankard, for safety, along with me.

18th. Up betimes, and walked to my brother's, where a great while putting things in order against anon; and so to Wotton, my shoemaker, and there got a pair of shoes blacked on the soles against anon for me: so to my brother's. To church, and, with the grave-maker, chose a place for my brother to lie in, just under my mother's pew. But to see how a man's tombs are at the mercy of such a fellow, that for sixpence he would, as his own words were, "I will jostle them together, but I will make room for him," speaking of the fulness of the middle aisle where he was to lie; and that he would, for my father's sake, do my brother that is dead all the civility he can; which was to disturb other corpses that are not quite rotten to make room for him; and methought his manner of speaking it was very remarkable: as of a thing that now was in his power to do a man a courtesy or not. I dressed myself, and so did my servant Bessie; and so to my brother's again: whither, though invited, as the custom is, at one or two o'clock, they came not till four or five. But, at last, one after another, they came, many more than I bid; and my reckoning that I bid

was one hundred and twenty; but I believe there was nearer one hundred and fifty. Their service was six biscuits a-piece, and what they pleased of burnt claret. My cousin Joyce Norton kept the wine and cakes above; and did give out to them that served, who had white gloves given them. But, above all, I am beholden to Mrs. Holden, who was most kind, and did take mighty pains not only in getting the house and everything else ready, but this day in going up and down to see the house filled and served, in order to mine and their great content, I think: the men sitting by themselves in some rooms, and the women by themselves in others, very close, but yet room enough. Anon to church, walking out into the street to the conduit, and so across the street, and had a very good company along with the corpse. And being come to the grave as above, Dr. Pierson, the minister of the parish, did read the service for burial: and so I saw my poor brother laid into the grave: and so all broke up, and I and my wife, and Madam Turner and her family to her brother's, and by-and-by fell to a barrel of oysters, cake, and cheese of Mr. Honiwood's, with him in his chamber and below, being too merry for so late a sad work. But, Lord! to see how the world makes nothing of the memory of a man an hour after he is dead! And, indeed, I must blame myself; for, though at the sight of him dead and dying, I had real grief for a while, while he was in my sight, yet

presently after, and ever since, I have had very little grief indeed for him.

19th. My wife and I alone, having a good hen, with eggs, to dinner, with great content. Then to my brother's, where I spent the afternoon in paying some of the charges of the burial.

21st. This day the Houses of Parliament met; and the King met them, with the Queen with him. And he made a speech to them: among other things, discoursing largely of the plots abroad against him and the peace of the kingdom; and that the dissatisfied party had great hopes upon the effect of the Act for a Triennial Parliament granted by his father, which he desired them to peruse, and, I think, repeal. So the Houses did retire to their own House, and did order the Act to be read to-morrow before them; and I suppose it will be repealed, though I believe much against the will of a good many that sit there.

23rd. To the Trinity House, and there dined very well: and good discourse among the old men. Among other things, they observed, that there are but two seamen in the Parliament, viz., Sir W. Batten, and Sir W. Pen, and not above twenty or thirty merchants, which is a strange thing in an island. In the evening, my Lady Jemima, Paulina, and Madame Pickering came to see us, but my wife would not be seen, being unready. Very merry with them; they mightily talking of their thrifty living for a fortnight before their

mother came to town, and other such simple talk, and of their merry life at Brampton, at my father's this winter.

25th. To Whitehall, and there to chapel, where it was most infinitely full, to hear Dr. Critton. Being not known, some great persons in the pew I pretended to, and went in, did question my coming in. I told them my pretence : so they turned to the orders of the chapel, which hung behind upon the wall, and read it, and were satisfied ; but they did not demand whether I was in waiting or no ; and so I was in some fear lest he that was in waiting might come and betray me. The Doctor preached upon the 31st chapter of Jeremiah, and the 21st and 22nd verses, about a woman compassing a man ; meaning the Virgin conceiving and bearing our Saviour. It was the worst sermon I ever heard him make, I must confess ; and yet it was good, and in two places very bitter, advising the King to do as the Emperor Severus did, to hang up a Presbyter John, a short coat and a long gown interchangeably, in all the Courts of England. But the story of Severus was pretty, that he hanged up forty senators before the Senate-house, and then made a speech presently to the Senate, in praise of his own lenity ; and then decreed that never any senator after that time should suffer in the same manner without consent of the Senate : which he compared to the proceedings of the Long Parliament against my Lord

Strafford. He said the greatest part of the lay magistrates in England were Puritans, and would not do justice; and the Bishops' powers were so taken away and lessened, that they could not exercise the power they ought. He told the King and the ladies, plainly speaking of death and of the skulls and bones of dead men and women, how there is no difference; that nobody could tell that of the great Marius or Alexander from a pioneer; nor, for all the pains the ladies take with their faces, he that should look in a charnel-house could not distinguish which was Cleopatra's, or fair Rosamond's, or Jane Shore's. My father finds Tom's matters very ill, and finds him to have been so negligent, that he used to trust his servants with cutting out of clothes, never hardly cutting out anything himself; and, by the abstract of his accounts, we find him to owe above £290, and to be coming to him under £200.

26th. To my office, about my Lord Peterborough's accounts for Tangier; but, Lord! to see how ridiculous Mr. Povy is in all he says or does; not like a man more fit to be in such employments as he is, and particularly that of a treasurer, as he is, to the King of England. In discourse, Sir W. Rider said, that he hath kept a journal of his life for almost these forty years, even to this day, and still do, which pleases me mightily. So home. This being my solemn feast for my cutting of the stone, it being now, blessed be God!

this day six years since the time; and I bless God I do in all respects find myself free from that disease, or any sign of it. Sir W. Batten told me how Sir Richard Temple hath spoke very discontentful words in the House about the 'lriennial Bill; but it hath been read the second time to-day, and committed; and, he believes, will go on without more ado, though there are many in the House are displeas'd at it, though they dare not say much. But, above all expectation, Mr. Prin is the man against it, comparing it to the idol whose head was of gold, and his body and legs and feet of different metal. So this Bill had several degrees of calling of Parliaments, in case the King, and then the Council, and then the Lord Chancellor, and then the Sheriffs should fail to do it. He tells me also, how, upon occasion of some 'prentices being put in the pillory to-day for beating of their masters, or such like thing, in Cheapside, a company of 'prentices came and rescued them, and pulled down the pillory; and they being set up again, did the like again. So that the Lord Mayor and Major-General Browne was fain to come and stay there, to keep the peace; and drums, all up and down the City, was beat to raise the trained bands for to quiet the town; and by-and-by, going out, we saw a trained band stand in Cheapside on their guard. It raining very fast, we met many brave coaches coming from the Park; and so we home ourselves, and ended the day with great content. My

wife found her gown came home laced, which is indeed very handsome, but will cost me a great deal of money, more than ever I intended, but it is but for once.

27th. (Lord's day.) It being church time, walked to St. James's to try if I could see the belle Butler, but could not; only saw her sister, who indeed is pretty, with a fine Roman nose. Thence walked through the ducking-pond fields; but they are so altered since my father used to carry us to Islington to the old man's, at the "King's Head," to eat cakes and ale (his name was Pitts), that I did not know which was the ducking-pond, nor where I was. So home; and in Cheapside, both coming and going, it was full of apprentices, who have been here all this day, and have done violence, I think, to the master of the boys that were put in the pillory yesterday. But, Lord! to see how the trained bands are raised upon this: the drums beating everywhere as if an enemy were upon them: so much is this City subject to be put into a disarray upon very small occasions. But it was pleasant to hear the boys, and particularly one little one, that I demanded the business of. He told me that that had never been done in the City since it was a City—two 'prentices put in the pillory! and that it ought not to be so.

28th. To T. Trice, and advised with him about our administering to my brother Tom; but, Lord! what a shame methinks, to me, that, in this condition, and at this age, I should know no better the laws of my own

country! Dinner with Mr. Coventry. The great matter to-day in the House hath been, that Mr. Vaughan, the great speaker, is this day come to town, and hath declared himself in a speech of an hour and a half, with great reason and eloquence, against the repealing of the Bill for Triennial Parliaments, but with no success: but the House have carried it that there shall be such Parliaments, but without any coercive power upon the King, if he will bring in this Act. But, Lord! to see how the best things are not done without some design; for I perceive all these gentlemen that I was with to-day were against it, though there was reason enough on their side, yet purely, I could perceive, because it was the King's mind to have it; and should he demand anything else I believe they would give it him. But this the discontented Presbyters, and the faction of the House, will be highly displeas'd with; but it was carried clearly against them in the House. We had excellent good table-talk, some of which I have entered in my book of stories. Home, and there find, by my wife, that Father Fogourdy hath been with her to-day, and she is mightily for our going to hear a famous Roulé preach at the French Ambassador's house: I pray God he do not tempt her in any matters of religion, which troubles me. And also, she had messages from her mother to-day, who sent for her old morning-gown, which was almost past wearing; and I used to call it



her kingdom, from the ease and content she used to have in the wearing of it. I am glad I do not hear of her begging anything of more value.

29th. To Sir G. Carteret's. About noon, Sir W. Batten came from the House of Parliament, and told us our Bill for our office was read the second time to-day with great applause, and is committed. By-and-by to dinner, where good cheer, and Sir G. Carteret in his humour a very good man, and the most kind father, and pleased father in his children that ever I saw. Here is now hung up a picture of my Lady Carteret, drawn by Lilly, a very fine picture, but yet not so good as I have seen of his doing.

30th. To Sir G. Carteret's, where my Lady made us drink our morning draught of several wines. I drank nothing but some of her coffee, which was poorly made, with a little sugar in it.

31st. To my office, where comes, by-and-by, Povy, Sir W. Rider, Mr. Bland, Creed, and Vernatty, about my Lord Peterborough's accounts, which we now went through, but with great difficulty, and many high words between Mr. Povy and I, for I could not endure to see so many things extraordinary put in against truth and reason. He was very angry, but I endeavoured all I could to profess my satisfaction in my Lord's part of the accounts, but not in those foolish idle things, they say I said, that others had put in. To an alehouse, where my cousin Scott was, and my

father's new tenant, Langford, a tailor, to whom I have presented my custom, and he seems a very modest, careful young man.

*April 1.* To Whitehall; and, in the Gallery, met the Duke of York; and also saw the Queen going to the Park, and her maids of honour: she herself looks ill, and methinks Mrs. Stewart is grown fatter, and not so fair as she was: and the Duke called me to him, and discoursed a good while with me; and after he was gone, twice or thrice stayed and called me again to him the whole length of the house, and at last talked of the Dutch; and I perceive do much wish that the Parliament will find reason to fall out with them. To walk in the garden with W. Howe, he telling me how my Lord is little at home, minds his carding and little else, takes little notice of anybody; but that he do not think he is displeas'd as I fear with me, but is strange to all. This day Mrs. Turner did lend me, as a rarity, a manuscript of one Mr. Wallis, written long ago, teaching the method of building a ship, which pleases me mightily.

3rd. (Lord's day.) Called up by W. Joyce, he being summoned to the House of Lords to-morrow for endeavouring to arrest my Lady Peters for a debt. In the afternoon my wife sent for me home to see her new laced gown; and indeed it becomes her very nobly, and is well made.

4th. Up, and walked to my Lord Sandwich's; and

there spoke with him about W. Joyce, who tells me he would do what was fit in so tender a point. Thence to Westminster, to the Painted Chamber, and there met the two Joyces. Will in a very melauncholy taking. I to the Lords' House before they sat, and stood within it, while the Duke of York came to me, and spoke to me a good while about the new ship at Woolwich. Afterwards, I spoke with my Lord Barkeley and my Lord Peterborough about Joyce. And so stayed without a good while, and saw my Lady Peters, an impudent jade, soliciting all the Lords on her behalf. And, at last, W. Joyce was called in; and, by the consequences, and what my Lord Peterborough told me, I find that he did speak all he said to his disadvantage, and so was committed to the Black Rod, which is very hard, he doing what he did by the advice of my Lord Peters' own steward. But the Sergeant of the Black Rod did direct one of his messengers to take him in custody, and peaceably conducted him to the "Swan with Two Necks," in Tothill Street, to a handsome dining-room, and there was most civilly used, my uncle Fenner, and his brother Anthony [Joyce], and some other friends, being with him. But who would have thought that the fellow that I should have sworn could have spoken before all the world should in this be so daunted as not to know what he said, and now to cry like a child! I protest, it is very strange to observe. So away to Westminster

Hall, and, meeting Mr. Coventry, he took me to his chamber, with 'Sir William Hickman, a member of their House, and a very civil gentleman. Here we dined very plentifully, and thence to Whitehall, to the Duke's, where we all met, and, after some discourse of the condition of the fleet, in order to a 'Dutch war, for that, I perceive, the Duke hath a mind it should come to, we away to the office. It was a sad sight, methought, to-day to see my Lord Peters coming out of the House, fall out with his lady, from whom he is parted, about this business, saying that she disgraced him. But she hath been a handsome woman, and is, it seems, not only a lewd woman, but very high spirited.

5th. Up very betimes, and walked to my cousin Anthony Joyce's and thence with him to his brother Will, in Tothill Street, where I find him pretty cheery over what he was yesterday, like a coxeomb, his wife being come to him, and having had his boy with him last night. Thence back, and there spoke to several Lords, and so did his solicitor, one that W. Joyce hath promised £5 to, if he be released. Lord Peterborough presented a petition to the House from W. Joyce; and a great dispute, we hear, there was in the House for and against it. At last, it was carried that he should be bailed till the House meets again after Easter, he giving bond for his appearance. Anon comes the King, and passed the Bill for repealing the Triennial

Act, and another about Writs of Error. I crowded in, and heard the King's speech to them; but he speaks the worst that ever I heard a man in my life—worse than if he read it all, and he had it in writing in his hand. I to W. Joyce, with his brother, and told them all. Here was Kate come, and is a comely fat woman. I went to W. Joyce, where I find the order come, and bail, his father and brother, given, and he paying his fees, which came to above £12, besides £5 he is to give one man, and his charges of eating and drinking here, and 10s. a day, as many days as he stands under bail—which I hope will teach him hereafter to hold his tongue better than he used to do. This day, great numbers of merchants came to a grand committee of the House, to bring in their claims against the Dutch. I pray God guide the issue for our good!

6th. Came John Noble, my father's old servant, to speak with me. I, smelling the business, took him home; and there, all alone, he told me how he had been serviceable to my brother Tom, in the business of getting his servant, an ugly jade, Margaret, with child. She was brought to bed in St. Sepulchre's parish of two children—one is dead, the other is alive; her name, Elizabeth, and goes by the name of Taylor, daughter to John Taylor. It seems Tom did a great while trust one Cranly with the business, who daily got money of him; and, at last, finding himself abused, he broke the matter to J. Noble, upon a vow of secrecy. Tom's first

plot was to go on the other side of the water, and give a beggar woman something to take the child. They did once go, but did nothing, J. Noble saying that seven years hence the mother might come to demand the child, and force him to produce it, or to be suspected of murder. Then I think it was that they consulted, and got one Cave, a poor pensioner in St. Bride's parish, to take it, giving him £5, he thereby promising to keep it for ever without more charge to them. The parish hereupon indite the man Cave for bringing this child upon the parish, and by Sir Richard Browne he is sent to the Counter. Cave then writes to Tom to get him out. Tom answers him in a letter of his own hand, which J. Noble showed me, but not signed by him, wherein he speaks of freeing him and getting security for him, but nothing as to the business of the child, or anything like it; so that, forasmuch as I could guess, there is nothing therein to my brother's prejudice as to the main point, and therefore I did not labour to tear or take away the paper. Cave being released, demands £5 more to secure my brother for ever against the child; and he was forced to give it him, and took bond of Cave in £100, made at a scrivener's—one Hudson, I think, in the Old Bailey, to secure John Taylor and his assigns, &c., in consideration of £10 paid him, from all trouble, or charge of meat, drink, clothes, and breeding of Elizabeth Taylor; and it seems in the doing of it, J. Noble was looked upon as the assignee of this John

Taylor. Noble says that he furnished Tom with this money, and is also bound by another bond to pay him 20s. more this next Easter Monday; but nothing for either sum appears under Tom's hand. I told him how I am like to lose a great sum by his death, and would not pay any more myself, but I would speak to my father about it against the afternoon. After dinner took coach and to Paternoster Row, and there bought a pretty silk for a petticoat for my wife. I heard to-day that the Dutch have begun with us by granting letters of mark against us, but I believe it not.

7th. To the 'Change, where everybody expects a war. Thence to dinner, where my wife got me a pleasant French fricassee of veal.

8th. Sir W. Batten and I to the almshouse, to see the new building which he, with some ambition, is building of there, during his being Master of Trinity House; and a good work it is. Home to the only Lenten supper I have had of wigs and ale.

10th. (Lord's day.) My wife dressed herself, it being Easter-day, but I, not being so well as to go out; she, though much against her will, stayed at home with me, for she had put on her new best gown, which indeed is very fine now with the lace; and this morning her tailor brought home her other new laced silk gown with a smaller lace, and new petticoat I bought the other day, both very pretty. We spent the day in pleasant talk and company one with another, reading in Dr. Fuller's

book what he says of the family of the Cliffords and Kingsmills.

12th. To my uncle Wight's, where dined my father, poor melancholy man, that used to be as full of life as anybody, and also my aunt's brother, Mr. Sutton, a merchant in Flanders—a very sober, fine man, and Mr. Cole and his lady; but, Lord! how I used to adore that man's talk! and now methinks he is but an ordinary man. To my Lord's: there I found my Lord and ladies, and my wife at supper. My Lord seems very kind. So home, and find my father come to lie at our house, and so supped, and saw him, poor man, to bed—my heart never being fuller of love to him, nor admiration of his prudence and pains heretofore in the world than now, to see how Tom hath carried himself in his trade; and how the poor man hath his thoughts going to provide for his younger children and my mother. But I hope they shall never want.

13th. To St. James's, where I found Mr. Coventry, the Duke being now come thither for the summer, with a goldsmith, sorting out his old plate to change for new; but, Lord! what a deal he hath!

14th. Up betimes, and, after my father's eating something, I walked out with him as far as Milk Street, he turning down to Cripplegate to take coach; and at the end of the street I took leave, being much afraid I shall not see him here any more—he do decay so much every day.



15th. At noon to the 'Change, where I met with Mr. Hill, the little merchant, with whom, I perceive, I shall contract a musical acquaintance; but I will make it as little troublesome as I can. To the Duke's house, and there saw *The German Princess* acted by the woman herself; but never was anything so well done in earnest worse performed in jest upon the stage. And indeed the whole play, abating the drollery of him that acts her husband, is very simple, unless here and there a witty sprinkle or two.

16th. With Mr. Coventry to the African House; and after a good and pleasant dinner, up with him, Sir W. Rider, the simple Povy of all, the most ridiculous fool that ever I knew to attend to business, and Creed, and Vernatty, about my Lord Peterborough's accounts; but the more we look into them, the more we see of them that makes dispute.

17th. (Lord's day.) Up, and I put on my best black cloth suit and my velvet cloak, and with my wife in her best laced suit to church, where we have not been these nine or ten weeks. A young simple fellow did preach; slept soundly all the sermon. Our parson, Mr. Mills, his own mistake in reading of the service, was very remarkable—that instead of saying, "We beseech thee to preserve to our use the kindly fruits of the earth," he cries, "Preserve to our use our gracious Queen Katherine!"

18th. Up, and by coach to Westminster, and there

solicited W. Joyce's business again; and did speak to the Duke of York about it, who did understand it very well. I afterwards did without the House fall in company with my Lady Peters, and endeavoured to mollify her; but she told me she would not, to redeem her from hell, do anything to release him; but would be revenged while she lived, if she lived the age of Methusalem. I made many friends, and so did others. At last, it was ordered by the Lords that it should be referred to the Committee of Privileges to consider. So I away by coach to the 'Change; and there do hear that a Jew hath put in a policy of four per cent. to any man, to insure him against a Dutch war for four months: I could find in my heart to take him at this offer. To Hyde Park, where I have not been since last year, where I saw the King with his periwig, but not altered at all; and my Lady Castlemaine in a coach by herself, in yellow satin and a pinner on, and many brave persons. And myself, being in a hackney and full of people, was ashamed to be seen by the world, many of them knowing me.

19th. To the Physic Gardens in St. James's Park, where I first saw orange trees and other fine trees.

20th. Mr. Coventry told me how the Committee for Trade have received now all the complaints of the merchants against the Dutch, and were resolved to report very highly the wrongs they have done us, when, God knows! it is only our own negligence and laziness

that hath done us the wrong : and this to be made to the House to-morrow.

21st. At the Lords' House heard that it is ordered, that, upon submission upon the knee, both to the House and my Lady Peters, W. Joyce shall be released. I forthwith made him submit, and ask pardon upon his knees ; which he did before several Lords. But my Lady would not hear it ; but swore she would post the Lords, that the world might know what pitiful Lords the King hath ; and that revenge was sweeter to her than milk : and that she would never be satisfied unless he stood in a pillory and demand pardon there. But I perceive the Lords are ashamed of her. I find that the House this day have voted that the King be desired to demand right for the wrong done us by the Dutch, and that they will stand by him with their lives and fortunes, which is a very high vote, and more than I expected. What the issue will be God knows !

22nd. I was called up this morning before four o'clock. It was full light enough to dress myself, and so by water against tide, it being a little cool, to Greenwich ; and thence, only that it was somewhat foggy till the sun got to some height, walked with great pleasure to Woolwich, in my way staying several times to listen to the nightingales. Thence home, and by coach to Mrs. Turner's, and there, after reading part of a good play, Mrs. The., my wife, and I, in their coach to Hyde Park, where great plenty of gallants, and pleasant it

was, only for the dust. Here I saw Mrs. Bendy, my Lady Spillman's fair daughter that was, who continues yet very handsome. Many others I saw with great content, and so home. I did also carry them into St. James's Park, and showed them the garden.

23rd. (Coronation day.) I met with Mr. Coventry, who himself is now full of talk of a Dutch war; for it seems the Lords have concurred in the Commons' vote about it; and so the next week it will be presented to the King, insomuch that he do desire we would look about to see what stores we lack, and buy what we can. Home to dinner, where I and my wife much troubled about my money that is in my Lord Sandwich's hand, for fear of his going to sea and being killed: but I will get what out of it I can.

25th. The Duke, which gives me great good hopes, do talk of setting up a good discipline in the fleet. In the Duke's chamber there is a bird, given him by Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, come from the East Indies—black the greatest part, with the finest collar of white about the neck; but talks many things, and neighs like the horse and other things, the best almost that ever I heard bird in my life. To my Lord Sandwich's, where by agreement I met my wife, and there dined with the young ladies; my Lady, being not well, kept her chamber. Much simple discourse at table among the young ladies. After dinner, walked in the garden, talking with Mr. Moore about my Lord's business. Ho

told me my Lord runs in debt every day more and more, and takes little care how to come out of it. He counted to me how my Lord pays use now for above £9,000, which is a sad thing, especially considering the probability of his going to sea, in great danger of his life, and his children, many of them, to provide for. Thence, the young ladies going out to visit, I took my wife by coach out through the City, discoursing how to spend the afternoon, and conquered, with much ado, a desire of going to the play; but took her out at Whitechapel, and took her out to Bethnal Green; so to Hackney, where I have not been many a year, since a little child I boarded there. Thence to Kingsland, by my nurse's house, Goody Lawrence, where my brother Tom and I were kept when young. Then to Newington Green, and saw the outside of Mrs. Herbert's house, where she lived, and my aunt Ellen with her; but Lord! how in every point I find myself to over-value things when a child. Thence to Islington, and so to St. John's to the "Red Bull," and there saw the latter part of a rude prize fight; and thence back to Islington, and at the "King's Head," where Pitts lived, we alight and ate and drank for remembrance of the old house sake; and so through Kingsland again, and so to Bishopsgate, and so home with great pleasure. The country mighty pleasant—only a little troubled at the young ladies leaving my wife so to-day, and from some passages fearing

my Lady might be offended. But I hope for the best.

26th. Saw W. Joyce, and the late business hath cost the poor man above £40; besides, he is likely to lose his debt. Lady Peters, Creed says, is a drunken jade, he himself having seen her drunk in the lobby of the House. With my Lord to the Duke. Methought the Duke did not show him any so great fondness as he was wont; and methought my Lord was not pleased that I should see the Duke made no more of him. Creed and I walked round the Park—a pleasant walk—observing the birds, which is very pleasant; and so walked to the New Exchange, and there had a most delicate dish of curds and cream. Home to the Old Exchange by coach, where great news and true, I saw by written letters, of strange fires seen at Amsterdam in the air—and not only there, but in other places thereabout. (The talk of a Dutch war is not so hot, but yet I fear it will come to it.) My wife gone this afternoon to the burial of my she-cousin Scott, a good woman; and it is a sad consideration how the Pepyses decay, and nobody almost that I know in a present way of increasing them.

27th. Home with Alderman Backewell, whose opinion is, that the Dutch will not give over the business without putting us to some trouble to set out a fleet, and then, if they see we go on well, will seek to salve up the matter. Met Mr. Sanchy, of Cambridge, whom

I have not met a great while. He seems a simple fellow, and tells me their master, Dr. Rainbow, is newly made Bishop of Carlisle. This day the Houses attended the King, and delivered their votes to him upon the business of the Dutch; and he thanks them, and promises an answer in writing.

29th. To see my Lady Sandwich, where we find all the children and my Lord recovered, and the house so melancholy that I thought my Lady had been dead, knowing that she was not well; but it seems she hath the measles, and I fear the small-pox, poor lady. It grieves me mightily; for it will be a sad hour to the family should she miscarry.

30th. My Lord Bristol's business is hushed up, and nothing made of it—he is gone, and the discourse in that ended.

*May 2.* By coach to the King's Playhouse, to see *The Labyrinth*, but coming too soon, walked to my Lord's to hear how my Lady does—who is pretty well; at least, past all fear. There by Captain Ferrers, meeting with an opportunity of my Lord's coach, to carry us to the Park anon, we directed it to come to the playhouse door; and so we walked, my wife and I and Mademoiselle. I paid for her going in, and there saw *The Labyrinth*, the prettiest play, methinks, that ever I saw, there being nothing in it but the odd accidents that fell out, by a lady's being bred up in man's apparel, and a man in woman's. Here was Mrs. Stewart, who

is indeed very pretty, but not like my Lady Castlemaine, for all that. Thence in the coach to the Park, where no pleasure, there being much dust, little company, and one of our horses almost spoiled by falling down; but all mended presently, and, after riding up and down, home. Set Mademoiselle at home, and we home, and to my office, whither comes Mr. Bland, and paid me the debt he acknowledged he owed me for my service in his business of the Tangier merchant—twenty pieces of new gold, a pleasant sight. It cheered my heart; and, he being gone, I home to supper, and showed them my wife; and she, poor wretch, would fain have kept them to look on, without any other design but a simple love to them; but I thought it not convenient, and so took them into my own hand.

3rd. To Mr. Coventry's chamber, and there upon my Lord Peterborough's account, where I endeavoured to show the folly, and punish it as much as I could, of Mr. Povy; for, of all the men in the world, I never knew any man of his degree so great a coxcomb in such employments. I see I have lost him for ever, but I value it not; for he is a coxcomb, and, I doubt, not over honest, by some things which I see; and yet, for all his folly, he hath the good luck, now and then, to speak his follies in so good words, and with as good a show, as if it were reason, and to the purpose. To Westminster Hall; and there, in the Lords' House, did in a great crowd, from ten o'clock till almost three,



hear the cause of Mr. Roberts, my Lord Privy Seal's son, against Win, who by false ways did get the father of Mr. Robert's wife, Mr. Bodvil, to give him the estate and disinherit his daughter. The cause was managed for my Lord Privy Seal by Finch, the Solicitor-General; but I do really think that he is a man of as great eloquence as ever I heard, or ever hope to hear in all my life. Mr. Cutler told me how for certain Lawson had proclaimed war again with Algiers, though they had, at his first coming, given back the ships which they had taken and all their men, though they refused afterwards to make him restitution for the goods which they had taken out of them. I went with Mr. Norbury, near hand to the "Fleece," a mum-house in Leadenhall, and there drank mum, and by-and-by broke up.

4th. To my cousin Scott's. There condoled with him the loss of my cousin his wife, and talked about his matters, as attorney to my father, in his administering to my brother Tom. He tells me we are like to receive some shame about the business of his bastard with Jack Noble; but no matter, so it cost us no money. The plague increases at Amsterdam.

5th. My eyes beginning every day to grow less and less able to bear with long reading or writing, though it be by daylight, which I never observed till now.

8th. (Lord's day.) This day, my new tailor, Mr.

Langford, brought me home a new black cloth suit and cloak lined with silk moire.

9th. To my Lady Sandwich's, who, good lady, is now, thanks be to God! so well as to sit up, and sent to us, if we were not afraid to come up to her. So we did; but she was mightily against my wife's coming so near her, though, poor wretch! she is as well as ever she was, as to the measles, and nothing can I see upon her face. There we sat talking with her above three hours, till six o'clock, of several things, with great pleasure, and so away.

13th. Up before three o'clock, and a little after upon the water, it being very light as at noon, and a bright sun-rising; but by-and-by a rainbow appeared, the first that ever in a morning I saw. In the Painted Chamber I heard a fine conference between some of the two Houses upon the Bill for Conventicles. The Lords would be freed from having their houses searched by any but the Lord Lieutenant of the County; and, upon being found guilty, to be tried only by their peers; and, thirdly, would have it added, that whereas the Bill says, "That that, among other things, shall be a conventicle wherein any such meeting is found doing any thing contrary to the Liturgy of the Church of England," they would have it added, "or practice." The Commons to the Lords said, that they knew not what might hereafter be found out which might be called the practice of the Church of England,

which were never established by any law, either common, statute, or canon: as singing of psalms, binding up prayers at the end of the Bible, and praying extempore before and after sermon; and though these are things indifferent, yet things, for aught they at present know, may be started, which may be said to be the practice of the Church which would not be fit to allow. For the Lords' privileges, Mr. Waller told them how tender their predecessors had been of the privileges of the Lords; but, however, where the peace of the kingdom stands in competition with them, they apprehend those privileges must give place. He told them that he thought, if they should own all to be the privileges of the Lords which might be demanded, they should be led like the man, who granted leave to his neighbour to pull off his horse's tail, meaning that he could not do it at once, that hair by hair had his horse's tail pulled off indeed: so the Commons, by granting one thing after another, might be served by the Lords. Mr. Vaughan, whom I could not to my grief perfectly hear, did say, if that they should be obliged in this manner to exempt the Lords from everything, it would in time come to pass that whatever, be it ever so great, should be voted by the Commons as a thing penal for a commoner, the contrary should be thought a privilege to the Lords; that also, in this business, the work of an hour, the cause of a search would be over before a Lord Lieutenant,

who may be many miles off, can be sent for; and that all this dispute is but about £100, for it is said in the Act, that it shall be banishment or payment of £100. I thereupon heard the Duke of Lennox say that there might be lords who could not always be ready to lose £100, or some such thing. They broke up without coming to any end in it. There was also in the Commons' House a great quarrel about Mr. Prin, and it was believed that he should have been sent to the Tower, for adding something to a Bill, after it was ordered to be engrossed, of his own head—a Bill for measures for wine and other things of that sort, and a Bill of his own bringing in; but it appeared he could not mean any hurt in it. But, however, the King was fain to write in his behalf, and all was passed over. But it is worth my remembrance, that I saw old Ryly, the herald, and his son; and spoke to his son, who told me, in very bad words concerning Mr. Prin, that the King had given him an office of keeping the Records, but that he never comes thither, nor had been there these six months; so that I perceive they expect to get his employment from him. Thus everybody is liable to be envied and supplanted.

16th. With Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, to see an experiment of killing a dog, by letting opium into his hind-leg. He and Dr. Clerke did fail mightily in hitting the vein, and in effect did not do the business after many trials, but, with the little they got in, the

dog did presently fall asleep, and so lay till we cut him up, and a little dog also, which they put it down his throat—he also staggered first, and then fell asleep, and so continued. Whether he recovered or no after I was gone I know not.

18th. A pretty cabinet sent me by Mr. Shales, which I gave my wife, and very conveniently it comes for her closet.

19th. To a Committee of Tangier, where God forgive how our report of my Lord Peterborough's accounts was read over and agreed to by the Lords, without one of them understanding it! And, had it been what it would, it had gone; and besides, not one thing touching the King's profit in it minded or hit upon.

20th. Mr. Edward Montagu is turned out of the Court, not to return again. His fault, I perceive, was his pride, and most of all his affecting to be great with the Queen; and it seems indeed he had more of her ear than everybody else, and would be with her talking alone two or three hours together; insomuch that the Lords about the King, when he would be jesting with them about their wives, would tell the King that he must have a care of his wife too, for she hath now the gallant; and they say the King himself did once ask Montagu how his mistress, meaning the Queen, did. He grew so proud, and despised everybody, besides suffering nobody, he or she, to get or do anything

about the Queen, that they all laboured to do him a good turn. They all say that he did give some affront to the Duke of Monmouth, which the King himself did speak to him of. But strange it is that this man should, from the greatest negligence in the world, come to be the miracle of attendance, so as to take all offices from everybody, either men or women, about the Queen. So he is gone, nobody pitying, but laughing at him; and he pretends only that he is gone to his father that is sick in the country.

22nd. (Lord's day.) To Whitehall. Here the Duke of York called me to him, to ask me whether I did intend to go with him to Chatham or no. I told him if he commanded, but I did believe there would be business here for me, and so he told me then it would be better to stay. After staying, and seeing the throng of people to attend the King to chapel, but Lord! what a company of sad, idle people they are.

23rd. The King is gone down with the Duke and a great crew this morning by break of day to Chatham.

24th. This day I heard that my uncle Fenner is dead, which makes me a little sad, to see with what speed a great many of my friends are gone, and more, I fear, for my father's sake, are going.

25th. This afternoon came Tom and Charles Pepys by my sending for, and received of me £40 in part towards their £70 legacy of my uncle's.

26th. Carried my wife to the Old Bailey, and there

we were led to the quest house, by the church, where all the kindred were by themselves at the burial of my uncle Fenner; but, Lord! what a pitiful rout of people there were of them, but very good service, and great company the whole was. And so anon to church, and a good sermon, and so home.

27th. To comfort my heart, Captain Taylor this day brought me £20 he promised me for my assistance to him about his masts.

29th. (Whit Sunday.) King's birth and Restoration day. Mr. Coventry and I did long discourse together of the business of the office and the war with the Dutch, and he seemed to argue mightily upon the little reason that there is for all this. For, first, as to the wrong we pretend they have done us: that of the East Indies, for their not delivering of Poleron, it is not yet known whether they have failed or no; that of their hindering the *Leopard* cannot amount to above £3,000, if true; that of the Guinea Company, all they had done us did not amount to above £200 or £300 he told me truly; and that now, from what Holmes, without any commission, hath done in taking an island and two forts, hath set as much in debt to them; and he believes that Holmes will have been so puffed up with this, that he by this time hath, being reinforced with more strength than he had then, hath, I say, done a great deal more wrong to them. He does, as to the effect of the war, tell me clearly that it is not any

skill of the Dutch that can hinder our trade if we will, we having so many advantages over them of winds, good ports, and men; but it is our pride, and the laziness of the merchant. The main thing he desired to speak with me about was, to understand my Lord Sandwich's intentions as to going to sea with this fleet; saying that the Duke, if he desires it, is most willing to do it, but, thinking that twelve ships is not a fleet fit for my Lord to be troubled to go out with, he is not willing to offer it to him till he hath some intimations of his mind to go or not. He spoke this with very great respect to my Lord, though, methinks, it is strange they should not understand one another better at this time than to need another's mediation. To the King's closet; whither by-and-by the King came, my Lord Sandwich carrying the sword. A bishop preached, but he was speaking too low for me to hear. By-and-by my Lord Sandwich came forth and called me to him; and we fell into discourse a great while about his business, wherein he seems to be very open with me, and to receive my opinion as he used to do, and I hope I shall become necessary to him again. He desired me to think of the fitness, or not, for him to offer himself to go to sea; and to give him my thoughts in a day or two. Thence after sermon among the ladies in the Queen's side, where I saw Mrs. Stewart, very fine and pretty, but far beneath my Lady Castlemaine. Thence with Mr. Povy home to dinner, where



extraordinary cheer; and after dinner, up and down to see his house. And in a word, methinks, for his perspective in the little closet; his room floored above with woods of several colours, like but above the best cabinet-work I ever saw; his grotto and vault, with his bottles of wine, and a well therein to keep them cool; his furniture of all sorts; his bath at the top of the house, good pictures, and his manner of eating and drinking, do surpass all that ever I did see of one man in all my life.

31st. To my Lord, and to discourse about his going to sea, and the message I had from Mr. Coventry to him. He wonders, as he well may, that this course should be taken, and he every day with the Duke, who, nevertheless, seems most friendly to him, who hath not yet spoke one word to my Lord of his desire to have him go to sea. My Lord do tell me clearly that were it not that he, as all other men that were of the Parliament side, are obnoxious to reproach, and so is forced to bear what otherwise he would not, he would never suffer everything to be done in the navy, and he never be consulted; and it seems, in the naming of all these commanders for this fleet, he hath never been asked one question. But we concluded it wholly inconsistent with his honour not to go with this fleet, nor with the reputation which the world hath of his interest at Court; and so he did give me commission to tell Mr. Coventry that he is most willing to receive any

commands from the Duke in this fleet, were it less than it is, and that particularly in this service. With this message I parted, and by coach to the office, where I found Mr. Coventry and told him this. Methought, I confess, he did not seem so pleased with it as I expected, or at least could have wished, and asked me whether I had told my Lord that the Duke do not expect his going, which I told him I had. To St. James's to one Lady Poultney's, where I found my Lord, I doubt, at some vain pleasure or other. I was told to-day that, upon Sunday night last, being the King's birthday, the King was at my Lady Castlemaine's lodgings, over the hither-gate at Lambert's lodgings, dancing with fiddlers all night almost; and all the world coming by taking notice of it.

*June 1.* By water to Woolwich, all the way reading Mr. Spencer's Book of Prodigies which is most ingeniously written, both for matter and style. Southwell, Sir W. Pen's friend, tells me the very sad news of my Lord Teviott's and nineteen more commissioned officers being killed at Tangier by the Moors, by an ambush of the enemy upon them, while they were surveying their lines, which is very sad, and he says afflicts the King much. To the King's house, and saw *The Silent Woman*; but methought not so well done or so good a play as I formerly thought it to be. Before the play was done, it fell such a storm of hail,

that we in the middle of the pit were fain to rise, and all the house in a disorder.

2nd. To a Committee of Tangier about providing provisions, money, and men; but it is strange to see how poorly and brokenly things are done of the greatest consequence, and how soon the memory of this great man is gone, or, at least, out of mind by the thoughts of who goes next, which is not yet known. My Lord of Oxford, Muskerry, and several others are discoursed of. It seems my Lord Teviott's design was to go a mile and a half out of the town, to cut down a wood, in which the enemy did use to lie in ambush. He had sent several spies; but all brought word that the way was clear, and so might be for anybody's discovery of an enemy before you are upon them. There they were all snapped, he and all his officers, and about two hundred men, as they say, there being left now in the garrison but four captains. This happened on the 3rd of May last, being not before that day twelvemonth of his entering into his government there: but, at his going out in the morning, he said to some of his officers, "Gentlemen, let us look to ourselves, for it was this day three years that so many brave Englishmen were knocked on the head by the Moors, when Fines made his sally out."

3rd. At the Committee for Tangier all the afternoon—the Duke of York and Mr. Coventry, for aught I see, being the only two that do anything like men;

Prince Rupert does nothing but swear and laugh, with an oath or two.

4th. I went forth with J. Noble, who tells me that he will secure us against Cave—that though he knows and can prove it, yet nobody else can prove it, to be Tom's child; that the bond was made by one Hudson, a scrivener, next to the "Fountain" tavern, in the Old Bailey; that the children were born and christened, and entered in the parish-book of St. Sepulchre's, by the name of Anne and Elizabeth Taylor; and he will give us security against Cave if we pay him the money. To the Duke, and was giving him an account how matters go, and of the necessity there is of a power to press seamen, without which we cannot really raise men for this fleet of twelve sail, besides that it will assert the King's power of pressing, which at present is somewhat doubted, and will make the Dutch believe that we are in earnest. To the Committee of Tangier all the afternoon, where still the same confused doings, and my Lord Fitzharding now added to the Committee, which will signify much. Mr. Coventry discoursing this noon about Sir W. Batten, what a sad fellow he is, told me how the King told him the other day how Sir W. Batten, being in the ship with him and Prince Rupert when they expected to fight with Warwick, did walk up and down sweating, with a napkin under his throat to dry up his sweat: and that Prince Rupert, being a most jealous man, and particularly of Batten,

do walk up and down swearing bloodily to the King, that Batten had a mind to betray them to-day, and that the napkin was a signal, "But, by God," says he, "if things go ill, the first thing I will do is to shoot him." He discoursed largely and bravely to me concerning the different sort of valours, the active and passive valour. For the latter, he brought as an instance General Blake, who, in the defending of Taunton and Lyme for the Parliament, did, through his sober sort of valour, defend it the most *opiniâtrément* that ever any man did anything, and yet never was the man that ever made an attack by land or sea, but rather avoided it on all, even fair occasions. On the other side, Prince Rupert, the boldest attacker in the world for personal courage, and yet, in the defending of Bristol, no man ever did anything worse, he wanting the patience and seasoned head to consult and advise for defence, and to bear with the evils of a siege. The like he says of my Lord Teviott, who was the boldest adventurer of his person in the world, and from a mean man in a few years was come to this greatness of command and repute only by the death of all his officers, he many times having the luck of being the only survivor of them all, by venturing upon services for the King of France that nobody else would, and yet no man upon a defence, he being all fury and of no judgment in a fight. He tells me, above all, of the Duke of York, that he is more himself, and more of

judgment is at hand in him, in the middle of a desperate service than at other times, as appeared in the business of Dunkirk, wherein no man ever did braver things, or was in hotter service in the close of that day, being surrounded with enemies; and then, contrary to the advice of all about him, his counsel carried himself and the rest through them safe, by advising that he might make his passage with but a dozen with him. "For," says he, "the enemy cannot move after me so fast with a great body, and with a small one we shall be enough to deal with them;" and, though he is a man naturally martial to the hottest degree, yet a man that never in his life talks one word of himself or service of his own, but only that he saw such or such a thing, and lays it down for a maxim that a Hector can have no courage. He told me also, as a great instance of some men, that the Prince of Condé's excellence is, that there not being a more furious man in the world, danger in fight never disturbs him more than just to make him civil, and to command in words of great obligation to his officers and men; but without any the least disturbance in his judgment or spirit.

6th. By barge with Sir W. Batten to Trinity House. Here were my Lord Sandwich, Mr. Coventry, my Lord Craven, and others. A great dinner, and good company, Mr. Prin, also, who would not drink any health, no, not the King's, but sat down with his hat on all the while; but nobody took notice of it to him at all.

8th. With Creed talking of many things, among others of my Lord's going so often to Chelsea; and he tells me that his daughters do perceive all, and do hate the place, and the young woman, Mrs. Betty Beck; for my Lord who sent them thither, only for a disguise for his going thither, will come under a pretence to see them, and pack them out of doors to the Park, and stay behind with her; but now the young ladies are gone to their mother to Kensington.

11th. With my wife only to take the air, it being very warm and pleasant, to Bow and Old Ford, and thence to Hackney. There alight, and played at shuffleboard, eat cream and good cherries, and so with good refreshment home.

13th. Spent the whole morning reading of some old navy books; wherein the order that was observed in the navy then, above what it is now, is very observable. Mr. Coventry did talk of a history of the navy of England, how fit it were to be written; and he did say that it hath been in his mind to propose to me the writing of the history of the late Dutch war, which I am glad to hear, it being a thing I much desire, and sorts mightily with my genius; and, if done well, may recommend me much. So he says he will get me an order for making of searches to all records, &c., in order thereto, and I shall take great delight in doing of it.

14th. By coach to Kensington. In the way over-

taking Mr. Laxton, the apothecary, with his wife and daughters—very fine young lassies—in a coach; and so both of us to my Lady Sandwich, who hath lain this fortnight here, at Dean Hodge's. Much company came hither to-day—my Lady Carteret, &c., Sir William Wheeler and his lady, and, above all, Mr. Beck, of Chelsea, and wife and daughter, my Lord's mistress, and one that hath not one good feature in her face, and yet is a fine lady, of a fine tail, and very well carriaged, and mighty discreet. I took all the occasion I could to discourse with the young ladies in her company to give occasion to her to talk, which now and then she did, and that mighty finely, and is, I perceive, a woman of such an air, as I wonder the less at my Lord's favour to her, and I dare warrant him she hath brains enough to entangle him. Two or three hours we were in her company, going into Sir H. Finch's garden, and seeing the fountain, and singing there with the ladies, and a mighty fine cool place it is, with a great laver of water in the middle, and the bravest place for music I ever heard. After much mirth, discoursing to the ladies in defence of the city against the country or court, and giving them occasion to invite themselves to-morrow to me to dinner to my venison pasty, I got their mother's leave, and so good night, very well pleased with my day's work, and, above all, that I have seen my Lord's mistress.

15th. I got Captain Witham to tell me the whole



story of my Lord Teviott's misfortune; for he was upon the guard with his horse near the town, when at a distance he saw the enemy appear upon a hill, a mile and a half off, and made up to them, and with much ado escaped himself; but what became of my Lord he neither knows nor thinks that anybody but the enemy can tell. Our loss was about four hundred. But he tells me that the greater wonder is that my Lord Teviott met no sooner with such a disaster, for every day he did commit himself to more probable danger than this, for now he had the assurance of all his scouts that there was no enemy thereabouts; whereas, he used every day to go out with two or three with him, to make his discoveries in greater danger, and yet the man that could not endure to have anybody else to go a step out of order to endanger himself. He concludes him to be the man of the hardest fate to lose so much honour at one blow that ever was. His relation being done, he parted, and I home. At home, to look after things for dinner. And anon at noon comes Mr. Creed by chance, and by-and-by the three young ladies, and very merry we were with our pasty, very well baked, and a good dish of roasted chickens, pease, lobsters, strawberries. And after dinner to cards, and about five o'clock, by water down to Greenwich, and up to the top of the hill, and there played upon the ground at cards. And so to the Cherry Garden, and then by water singing finely to the Bridge, and there landed;

and so took boat again and to Somerset House. And by this time, the tide being against us, it was past ten o'clock, and such a troublesome passage in regard to my Lady Paulina's fearfulness, that in all my life I never did see any poor wretch in that condition. Being come hither, there waited for them their coach; but it being so late, I doubted what to do how to get them home. After half an hour's stay in the street I sent my wife home by coach with Mr. Creed's boy, and myself and Creed in the coach home with them. But, Lord! the fear that my Lady Paulina was in every step of the way, and indeed, at this time of the night, it was no safe thing to go that road, so that I was even afraid myself, though I appeared otherwise. We came safe, however, to their house, where we knocked them up, my Lady and all the family being in bed. So put them into doors, and, leaving them with the maids, bade them good night. Then into the town, —Creed and I, it being about twelve o'clock and past; and to several houses—inns, but could get no lodging, all being in bed. At last we found some people drinking and roaring, and, after drinking, got an ill bed.

16th. I lay in my drawers and stockings and waistcoat till five of the clock, and so up; and being well pleased with our frolic, walked to Knightsbridge, and there ate a mess of cream, and so to St. James's, and I to Whitehall, and took coach, and found my wife well

got home last night, and now in bed. The talk upon the 'Change is, that De Ruyter is dead, with fifty men of his own ship, of the plague, at Calais: that the Holland Ambassador here do endeavour to sweeten us with fair words, and things like to be peaceable. With my cousin Richard Pepys upon the 'Change, about supplying us with bewpers, from Norwich, which I should be glad of, if cheap.

20th. I to the Duke, where we did our usual business. And among other discourse of the Dutch, he was merrily saying how they print that Prince Rupert, Duke of Albemarle, and my Lord Sandwich are to be Generals, and soon after is to follow them "Vieux Pen:" and so the Duke called him in mirth Old Pen. They have, it seems, lately wrote to the King, to assure him that their setting-out ships was only to defend their fishing-trade, and to stay near home—not to annoy the King's subjects; and to desire that he would do the like with his ships, which the King laughs at, but yet is troubled they should think him such a child, to suffer them to bring home their fish and East India Company's ships, and then they will not care for us. Meeting Pickering, he tells us how my Lady last week went to see Mrs. Beck, the mother; and by-and-by the daughter came in, but that my Lady do say herself, as he says, that she knew not for what reason, for she never knew they had a daughter, which I do not believe. She was troubled, and her heart did

rise as soon as she appeared, and seems the most ugly woman that ever she saw. This, if true, were strange, but I believe it is not. To my Lord's lodgings, and was merry with the young ladies, who make a great story of their appearing before their mother the morning after we carried them, the last week, home so late; and that their mother took it very well, at least, without any anger. Here I heard how the rich widow, my Lady Gold, is married to one Neale, after he had received a box on the ear by her brother, who was there a sentinel, in behalf of some courtier, at the door, but made him draw, and wounded him. She called Neale up to her, and sent for a priest, married presently, and went to bed. The brother sent to the Court and had a serjeant sent for Neale; but Neale sent for him up to be seen in bed, and she owned him for her husband, and so all is past. It seems Sir H. Bennet did look after her. My Lady very pleasant. After dinner came in Sir Thomas Crewe and Mr. Sidney [Montagu], lately come from France, who is grown a little, and a pretty youth he is, but not so improved as they did give him out to be, but like a child still. But yet I can perceive he hath good parts and good inclinations.

21st. Meeting Mr. Moore, I perceive by him my Lord's business of his family and estate goes very ill, and runs in debt mightily. I would to God I were clear of it, both as to my own money and the bond of

£1,000, which I stand debtor for him in, to my cousin Thomas Pepys.

22nd. To the 'Change and coffee-house, where great talk of the Dutch preparing of sixty sail of ships. The plague grows mightily among them, both at sea and land.

23rd. W. Howe was with me this afternoon, to desire some things to be got ready for my Lord against his going down to his ship, which will be soon, for it seems the King and both the Queens intend to visit him. The Lord knows how my Lord will get out of this charge, for Mr. Moore tells me to-day that he is £10,000 in debt, and this will, with many other things, that daily grow upon him, while he minds his pleasure as he does, set him further backward.

24th. To the City granaries, where it seems, every company have their granary, and obliged to keep such a quantity of corn always there, or, at a time of scarcity, to issue it at so much a bushel, and a fine thing it is to see their stores of all sorts, for piles for the bridge, and for pipes. To Whitehall, and Mr. Pierce showed me the Queen's bedchamber and her closet, where she had nothing but some pretty pious pictures and books of devotion; and her holy water at her head as she sleeps, with a clock by her bedside, wherein a lamp burns that tells her the time of the night at any time. Thence with him to the Park, and there met the Queen coming from chapel, with her Maids of

Honour, all in silver-lace gowns again, which is new to me, and that which I did not think would have been brought up again. Thence he carried me to the King's closet, where such variety of pictures and other things of value and rarity, that I was properly confounded, and enjoyed no pleasure in the sight of them, which is the only time in my life that ever I was so at a loss for pleasure, in the greatest plenty of objects to give it me.

26th. (Lord's day.) At my Lord Sandwich's, where his little daughter, my Lady Katherine, was brought, who is lately come from my father's at Brampton, to have her cheek looked after, which is and hath long been sore. But my Lord will rather have it be as it is, with a scar on her face, than endanger it being worse by tampering. I went home, and with Creed called at several churches, which, God knows, are supplied with very young men, and the churches very empty; and at our own church looked in, and there heard one preach whom Sir William Pen brought, which he desired us yesterday to hear, that had been his chaplain in Ireland, a very silly fellow. After dinner a frolic took us we would go this afternoon to the Hope; so my wife dressed herself, and with good victuals and drink, we took boat presently, and the tide with us, got down, but it was night, and the tide spent by the time we got to Gravesend; so there we stopped, but went not on shore, only Creed, to get some

cherries, and sent a letter to the Hope where the fleet lies. And so, it being rainy and thundering mightily and lightning, we returned with great pleasure home, about twelve o'clock, Creed telling pretty stories in the boat. He lay with me all night.

27th. To Paul's Churchyard, and there saw Sir Harry Spillman's book, and I bespoke it and others.

28th. Put on a half-shirt first this summer, it being very hot ; and yet so ill-tempered I am grown, that I am afraid I shall catch cold, while all the world is afraid to melt away. To the "Mitre," and there comes Dr. Burnett to us, and there I began to have his advice about my disease, and then invited him to my house, and I am resolved to put myself into his hands.

29th. Mr. Shepley tells me how my brave dog I did give him, going out betimes one morning, to Huntingdon, was set upon by five other dogs, and worried to pieces, of which I am a little, and he the most sorry I ever saw man for such a thing. To Westminster to see Dean Honiwood, whom I had not visited a great while. He is a good-natured but a very weak man, yet a Dean, and a man in great esteem. My Lady and I sat two hours alone, talking of the condition of her family's being greatly in debt, and many children now coming up to provide for. I did give her my sense very plainly of it, which she took well, and carried further than myself, to the bemoaning their condition, and remembering how finely things were

ordered about six years ago, when I lived there, and my Lord at sea every year.

30th. By water to Woolwich, and walked back from Woolwich to Greenwich all alone; saw a man that had a cudgel in his hand, and, though he told me he laboured in the King's yard, and many other good arguments that he is an honest man, yet, God forgive me! I did doubt he might knock me on the head behind with his club. But I got safe home. Great doubts yet whether the Dutch war go on or no. The fleet ready in the *Hope*, of twelve sail. The King and Queens go on board, they say, on Saturday next. Young children of my Lord Sandwich gone with their maids from my mother's, which troubles me—it being, I hear, from Mr. Shepley, with great discontent, saying that, though they buy good meat, yet can never have it before it stinks, which I am ashamed of.

*July 1.* Comes Dr. Burnett, who did write me down some direction what to do, but not with the satisfaction I expected. I did give him a piece, with good hopes, however, that his advice will be of use to me. Upon the 'Change, this day, I saw how uncertain the temper of the people is, that, from our discharging about 200 that lay idle, having nothing to do upon some of our ships, which were ordered to be fitted for service, and their works are now done, the town do talk that the King discharges all his men—200 yesterday, and 800 to-day—and that now he hath got £100,000 in his



hand, he values not a Dutch war. But I undeceived a great many, telling them how it is.

3rd. (Lord's day.) At noon to dinner, where the remains of yesterday's venison, and a couple of brave green geese, which we are fain to eat alone, because they will not keep, which troubled us. Thundering and lightning all the evening, and this year have had the most thunder and lightning, they say, of any in man's memory, and so it is, it seems, in France, and everywhere.

4th. This day the King and the Queen went to visit my Lord Sandwich and the fleet, going forth in the Hope.

6th. Up very betimes, and my wife also, and got us ready; and about eight o'clock, having got some bottles of wine and beer, and neat's tongues, we went to our barge at the Tower, where Mr. Pierce and his wife, and a kinswoman and his sister, and Mrs. Clerke and her sister and cousin were to expect us; and so set out for the Hope, all the way down playing at cards, and other sports, spending our time pretty merry. Come to the Hope about one, and there showed them all the ships, and had a collation of anchovies, gammon, &c., and after an hour's stay or more, embarked again for home; and so to cards and other sports, till we come to Greenwich, and there Mrs. Clerke, and my wife and I on shore to an alehouse, and so to the barge again, having shown them the

King's pleasure boat; and so home to the Bridge, bringing night home with us; so to the Tower wharf, and home, being very well pleased to-day with the company, especially Mrs. Pierce, who keeps her complexion as well as ever, and hath at this day, I think, the best complexion that ever I saw on any woman, young or old, or child either, all days of my life. Also Mrs. Clerke's kinswoman sings very prettily, but is very confident in it—Mrs. Clerke herself witty, but spoils all in being so conceited, and making so great a flutter with a few fine clothes, and some bad tawdry things worn with them. The reason of Dr. Clerke's not being here was, the King being sick last night, and let blood, and so he durst not come away to-day.

7th. To Whitehall, and there found the Duke and twenty more reading their commission (of which I am, and was also sent to, to come) for the Royal Fishery, which is very large, and a very serious charter it is; but the Company generally so ill fitted for so serious a work, that I do much fear it will come to little. Home, calling for my new books, viz., Sir H. Spillman's "Whole Glossary," Scapula's "Lexicon," and Shakespeare's plays, which I have got money out of my stationer's bills to pay for. The King is pretty well to-day.

8th, To the binder's, and directed the doing of my Chaucer, though they were not full neat enough for me, but pretty well it is; and thence to the clasp-maker's to have it clasped and bossed.

9th. To a Committee for Fishing; but the first thing was swearing to be true to the Company; and we were all sworn, but a great dispute we had, which, methought, is very ominous to the Company—some, that we should swear to be true to the best of our power, and others, to the best of our understanding—and carried in the last, though in that we are the least able to serve the Company, because we would not be obliged to attend the business when we can, but when we list.

10th. (Lord's day.) Up, and by water, towards noon, to Somerset House, and walked to my Lord Sandwich's, and there dined with my Lady and the children. After dinner, took our leaves, and my wife hers, in order to her going to the country to-morrow. My Lady showed us my Lady Castlemaine's picture, finely done, given my Lord; and a most beautiful picture it is. Thence with my Lady Jemima, and Mr. Sidney [Montagu], to St. Giles's Church, and there heard a long, poor sermon. Thence set them down, and in their coach to Kate Joyce's christening, where much company and good service of sweetmeats, and, after an hour's stay, left them, and in my Lord's coach—his noble, rich coach—home.

11th. Betimes up this morning, and getting ready, we by coach to Holborn, where, at nine o'clock, they set out, and I and my man Will on horseback by my wife to Barnet; a very pleasant day; and there dined

with her company, which was very good—a pretty gentlewoman with her, that goes but to Huntingdon, and a neighbour to us in town. Here we stayed two hours, and then parted for all together, and my poor wife I shall soon want, I am sure. Thence I and Will to see the Wells, half a mile off, and there I drank three glasses, and walked, and came back and drank two more; and so we rode home, round by Kingsland, Hackney, and Mile End, till we were quite weary; and, not being very well, I betimes to bed.

About eleven o'clock, knowing what money I have in the house, and hearing a noise, I began to sweat worse and worse, till I melted almost to water. I rung, and could not in half an hour make either of the wenches hear me; and this made me fear the more lest they might be gagged: and then I began to think that there was some design in a stone being flung at the window over our stairs this evening, by which the thieves meant to try what looking there would be after them, and know our company. These thoughts and fears I had, and do hence apprehend the fears of all rich men that are covetous, and have much money by them. At last, Jane rose, and then I understood it was only the dog wants a lodging, and so made a noise.

12th. Called up by my Lord Peterborough's gentleman, about getting his Lord's money to-day of Mr. Povy, wherein I took such order, that it was paid, and I had my £50 brought me, which comforts my heart.

Dined alone; sad for want of company, and not being very well, and know not how to eat alone.

14th. I rose a little after four o'clock, and abroad. Walked to my Lord's, and nobody up, but the porter rose out of bed to me; so I back again to Fleet Street, and there bought a little book of law; and thence hearing a Psalm sung, I went into St. Dunstan's, and there heard prayers read, which, it seems, is done there every morning at six o'clock, a thing I never did do at a chapel, except the College chapel, in all my life. Thence to my Lord's again, and my Lord being up, was sent for up, and he and I alone. He did begin with a most solemn profession of the same confidence in and love for me that he ever had, and then told me what a misfortune was fallen upon me and him: on me, by a displeasure which my Lord Chancellor did show to him last night against me, in the highest and most passionate manner that ever any man did speak, even to the not hearing of anything to be said to him; but he told me, that he did say all that could be said for a man as to my faithfulness and duty to his Lordship, and did me the greatest right imaginable. And what should the business be, but that I should be forward to have the trees in Clarendon Park marked and cut down, which he, it seems, hath bought of my Lord Albermarle; when, God knows! I am the most innocent man in the world in it, and did nothing of myself, nor knew of his concernment therein, but

barely obeyed my Lord Treasurer's warrant for the doing thereof. And said that I did most ungentlemanly-like with him, and had justified the rogues in cutting down a tree of his; and that I had sent the veriest fanatic [Deane] that is in England to mark them, on purpose to nose him. All which, I did assure my Lord, was most properly false, and nothing like it true; and told my Lord the whole passage. My Lord do seem most nearly affected with him, partly, I believe, for me, and partly for himself. So he advised me to wait presently upon my Lord, and clear myself in the most perfect manner I could, with all submission and assurance that I am his creature both in this and all other things, and that I do own that all I have is derived through my Lord Sandwich from his Lordship. So, full of horror, I went, and found him busy in trials of law in his great room; and, it being Sitting-day, durst not stay, but went to my Lord and told him so, whereupon he directed me to take him after diuner; and so away I home, leaving my Lord mightily concerned for me. So I to my Lord Chancellor's, and there, coming out after dinner, I accosted him, telling him that I was the unhappy Pepys that had fallen into his high displeasure, and come to desire him to give me leave to make myself better understood to his Lordship, assuring him of my duty and service. He answered me very pleasingly, that he was confident upon the score of my Lord Sandwich's character of me, but that he had reason to

think what he did, and desired me to call upon him some evening: I named to-night, and he accepted of it. To my Lord Chancellor's, and there heard several trials, wherein I perceive my Lord is a most able and ready man. After all done, he himself called, "Come, Mr. Pepys, you and I will take a turn in the garden." So he was led downstairs, having the gout, and there walked with me, I think above an hour, talking most friendly yet cunningly. I told him clearly how things were; how ignorant I was of his Lordship's concernment in it; how I did not do, nor say, one word singly, but what was done was the act of the whole Board. He told me by name that he was more angry with Sir G. Carteret than with me, and also with the whole body of the Board. But, thinking who it was of the Board that did know him least, he did place his fear upon me, but he finds that he is indebted to none of his friends there. I think I did thoroughly appease him, till he thanked me for my desire and pains to satisfy him; and upon my desiring to be directed who I should of his servants advise with about this business, he told me nobody, but would be glad to hear from me himself. He told me he would not direct me in anything, that it might not be said that the Lord Chancellor did labour to abuse the King, or, as I offered, direct the suspending the report of the Purveyors; but I see what he means, and will make it my work to do him service in it. But, Lord! to see how he is incensed

against poor Deane, as a fanatic rogue, and I know not what: and what he did was done in spite to his Lordship among all his friends and tenants. He did plainly say that he would not direct me in anything, for he would not put himself into the power of any man to say that he did so and so, but plainly told me, as if he would be glad I did something. Lord! to see how we poor wretches dare not do the King good service for fear of the greatness of these men. He named Sir G. Carteret, and Sir J. Minnes, and the rest, and that he was as angry with them all as with me. But it was pleasant to think that while he was talking to me, comes into the garden Sir G. Carteret; and my Lord avoided speaking with him, and made him and many others stay expecting him, while I walked up and down above an hour, I think, and would have me walk with my hat on. And yet, after all, there has been so little ground for his jealousy of me, that I am sometimes afraid that he does this only in policy to bring me to his side by scaring me, or else, which is worse, to try how faithful I would be to the King; but I rather think the former of the two. I parted with great assurance how I acknowledged all I had to come from his Lordship, which he did not seem to refuse, but with great kindness and respect parted.

15th. Up, and to my Lord Sandwich's, where he sent for me up, and I did give my Lord an account of what had passed with my Lord Chancellor yesterday,



with which he was pleased, and advised me by all means to go and study in the best manner I could to serve him in this business. After this discourse ended, he began to tell me that he had now pitched upon his day of going to sea upon Monday next, and that he would now give me an account how matters are with him. He told me that his work now in the world is only to keep up his interest at Court, having little hopes to get more considerably, he saying that he hath now about £8,000 per annum. It is true, he says, he oweth about £10,000, but he hath been at great charges in getting things to this pass in his estate, besides his building and good goods that he hath bought. He says that he hath now evened his reckonings at the Wardrobe till Michaelmas last, and hopes to finish it to Lady-day before he goes. He says now there is due, too, £7,000 to him there, if he knew how to get paid, besides £2,000 that Mr. Montagu do owe him. As to his interest, he says that he hath had all the injury done him that ever man could have by another bosom friend that knows all his secrets, by Mr. Montagu; but he says that the worst of it all is past, and he gone out and hated, his very person by the King, and he believes the more upon the score of his carriage to him; nay, that the Duke of York did say a little while since in his closet, that he did hate him because of his ungrateful carriage to my Lord of Sandwich. He says that he is as great with the Chan-

cellor, or greater, than ever in his life. That with the King he is the like; and he told me an instance, that whereas he formerly was of the private council to the King before he was last sick, and that by the sickness an interruption was made in his attendance upon him; the King did not constantly call him, as he used to do, to his private council, only in businesses of the sea and the like; but of late the King did send a message to him by Sir Harry Bennet, to excuse the King to my Lord that he had not of late sent for him as he used to do to his private council, for it was not out of any distaste, but to avoid giving offence to some others whom he did not name; but my Lord supposes it might be Prince Rupert, or it may be only that the King would rather pass it by an excuse than be thought unkind, but that now he did desire him to attend him constantly, which of late he hath done, and the King never more kind to him in his life than now. The Duke of York as much as is possible; and in the business of late, when I was to speak to my Lord about his going to sea, he says that he finds the Duke did it with the greatest ingenuity and love in the world; "and whereas," says my Lord, "here is a wise man hard by that thinks himself so, and, it may be, is in a degree so, naming by-and-by my Lord Crewe, would have had me condition with him that neither Prince Rupert nor anybody should come over his head, and I know not what." The Duke himself hath

caused, in his commission, that he be made admiral of this and what other ships or fleets shall hereafter be put out after these, which is very noble. He tells me, in these cases, and that of Mr. Montagu's, and all other's, he finds that bearing of them patiently is the best way, without noise or trouble, and things wear out of themselves and come fair again. But says he takes it from me, never to trust too much to any man in the world, for you put yourself into his power, and the best seeming friend and real friend, as to the present, may have or take occasion to fall out with you, and then out comes all. Then he told me of Sir Harry Bennet, though they were always kind, yet now it is become to an acquaintance and familiarity above ordinary, that for these months he hath done no business but with my Lord's advice in his chamber, and promises all faithful love to him and service upon all occasions. My Lord says, that he hath the advantage of being able, by his experience, to help out and advise him, and he believes that that chiefly do invite Sir Harry to this manner of treating him. "Now," says my Lord, "the only and the greatest embarrassment that I have in the world is, how to behave myself to Sir H. Bennet and my Lord Chancellor, in case that there do lie anything under the embers about my Lord Bristol, which nobody can tell; for then," says he, "I must appear for one or other, and I will lose all I have in the world rather than desert my Lord

Chancellor; so that," says he, "I know not for my life, what to do in that case." For Sir H. Bennet's love is come to the height, and his confidence, that he hath given my Lord a character, and will oblige my Lord to correspond with him. "This," says he, "is the whole condition of my estate and interest, which I tell you, because I know not whether I shall see you again or no." Then, as to the voyage, he thinks it will be of charge to him and no profit; but that he must not now look after nor think to increase, but study to make good what he hath, that what is due to him from the Wardrobe, or elsewhere, may be paid, which otherwise would fail, and all a man hath be but small content to him. So we seemed to take leave one of another; my Lord of me, desiring me that I would write to him, and give him information upon all occasions in matters that concern him, which, put together with what he preambled with yesterday, makes me think that my Lord do truly esteem me still, and desires to preserve my service to him, which I do bless God for. In the middle of our discourse, my Lady Crew came in, to bring my Lord word that he hath another son, my Lady being brought to bed just now, for which God be praised! and send my Lord to study the laying up of something the more! Thence with Creed to St. James's, and, missing Mr. Coventry, to Whitehall, where, staying for him in one of the galleries, there comes out of the chair-room Mrs.

Stewart, in a most lovely form, with her hair all about her ears, having her picture taking there. There was the King and twenty more, I think, standing by all the while, and a lovely creature she in the dress seemed to be.

16th. To the Tangier Committee, and there, above my expectation, got the business of our contract for the victualling carried for my people, viz., Alsopp, Lanyon, and Kabsey; and by their promise I do thereby get £300 per annum to myself, which do overjoy me, and the matter is left to me to draw up. Mr. Coventry did also surprise me with a question why Deane did not bring in their report of the timber of Clarendon. What he means thereby I know not, but at present put him off; nor do I know how to steer myself, but I must think of it, and advise with my Lord Sandwich.

17th. (Lord's day.) After dinner walked to my Lord's, and there found him and much other guests at table at dinner, and it seems they have christened his young son to-day—called him James. I got a piece of cake. Dr. Burnett showed me the manner of eating turpentine, which pleases me well, for it is with great ease.

18th. To my Lord's, and there took my leave of him, he seeming very friendly to me in as serious a manner as ever in his life. He sets out this morning for Deal. Sir G. Carteret and I did talk together in the

Park about my Lord Chancellor's business of the timber, he telling me freely that my Lord Chancellor was never so angry with him in all his life as he was for this business, and in a great passion, and that, when he saw me there, he knew what it was about, and plots now with me how we may serve my Lord, which I am mightily glad of, and I hope together we may do it. Thence home, and Creed with me, and there he took occasion to own his obligations to me, and did lay down twenty pieces of gold upon my shelf in my closet, which I did not refuse, but wish and expected should have been more. Now I am out of expectation, and shall henceforward know how to deal with him. After discourse, we went out by coach, and we alight at the Temple, and then he took final leave of me, in order to his following my Lord to-morrow. Thence to my Lord Chancellor, and discoursed his business with him. I perceive, and he says plainly, that he will not have any man to have it in his power to say that my Lord Chancellor did contrive the wronging the King of his timber, but yet, I perceive, he would be glad to have service done him therein; and told me Sir G. Carteret hath told him that he and I would look after his business, to see it done in the best manner for him.

19th. Coming to the rope-yard at Woolwich, we are told that Mr. Falconer, who hath been ill of a relapse these two days, is just now dead. We went up to his

widow, who is sick in bed also. The poor woman in great sorrow, and entreats our friendship, which we shall, I think, in everything do for her. I am sure I will.

20th. With Mr. Deane, discoursing upon the business of my Lord Chancellor's timber, in Clarendon Park, and how to make a report therein without offending him, which at last I drew up, and hope it will please him. But I would to God neither I nor he ever had anything to have done with it! To Whitehall, to the Committee for Fishing, but nothing done, it being a great day to-day there upon drawing at the lottery of Sir Arthur Slingsby. I got in, and stood by the two Queens and the Duchess of York, and just behind my Lady Castlemaine, whom I do heartily admire, and good sport to see how most that did give their ten pounds did go away with a pair of gloves only for their lot, and one gentlewoman, one Mrs. Fish, with the only blank. And one I stayed to see, drew a suit of hangings valued at £430, and they say are well worth the money, or near it. One other suit there is better than that, but very many lots of three and four-score pounds. I observed the King and Queen did get but as poor lots as any else. But the wisest man I met with was Mr. Cholmley, who insured as many as would, from the drawing of the one blank for 12d.; in which case there was the whole number of persons to one, which, I think, was three or four hundred.

And so he insured about 200 for 200 shillings, so he could not have lost if one of them had drawn it, for there was enough to pay the £10: but it happened another drew it, and so he got all the money he took.

I left the lottery, and went to a play—only a piece of it, which was at the Duke's house, *Worse and Worse*, just the same manner of play, and written, I believe, by the same man as *The Adventures of Five Hours*. Very pleasant it was, and I begin to admire Harris more than ever.

21st. This morning to the office. Comes Nicholas Osborne, Mr. Gauden's clerk, to desire of me what piece of plate I would choose to have of £100, or thereabouts, bestowed upon me, he having order to lay out so much, and, out of his freedom with me, do of himself come to make this question. I a great while urged my unwillingness to take any, not knowing how I could serve Mr. Gauden, but left it wholly to himself; so at noon I find brought home in fine leather cases a pair of the noblest flagons that ever I saw all the days of my life; whether I shall keep them or no I cannot tell, for it is to oblige me to him in the business of the Tangier victualling, wherein I doubt I shall not; but glad I am to see that I shall be sure to get something on one side or other, have it which will: so, with a merry heart, I looked upon them and locked them up. After dinner to give my Lord Chancellor a good account of his business, and he is very well pleased



therewith, and carries himself with great discretion to me, without seeming any way glad or beholding to me; and yet I know that he does think himself so.

22nd. To Deptford. Coming too soon, I spent an hour in looking round the yard, and putting Mr. Shish to measure a piece or two of timber, which he did most cruelly wrong, and to the King's loss 12s. or 13s. in a piece of 28 feet in contents. Thence to the Clerk of the Cheques, from whose house Mr. Falconer was buried to-day—Sir J. Minnes and I the only principal officers that were there. We walked to church with him, and then I left them without staying the sermon, and at night home; and there find, as I expected, Mr. Hill and Andrews, and one slovenly and ugly fellow, Signor Pedro, who sings Italian songs to the theorbo most neatly; and they spent the whole evening in singing the best piece of music counted of all hands in the world, made by Signor Charissimi, the famous master in Rome. Fine it was indeed, and too fine for me to judge of. Comes Mr. Lanyon, who tells me Mr. Alsopp is now become dangerously ill, and fears his recovery, which shakes my expectation of £300 per annum by the business; and, therefore, bless God for what Mr. Gauden hath sent me, which, from some discourse to-day with Mr. Osborne, swearing that he knows not anything of this business of the victualling; but the contrary, that it is not that that moves Mr. Gauden to me, for he hath had order for it any time

these two months. Whether this be true or not, I know not, but I shall hence with the more confidence keep it.

23rd. I took occasion to break the business of my Lord Chancellor's timber to Mr. Coventry in the best manner I could. He professed to me that, till Sir G. Carteret did speak of it at the table, after our officers were gone to survey it, he did not know that my Lord Chancellor had anything to do with it; but now he says that he had been told by the Duke that Sir G. Carteret had spoken to him about it, and that he had told the Duke that, were he in my Lord Chancellor's case, if he were his father, he would rather fling away the gains of £2,000 or £3,000, than have it said that the timber, which should have been the King's, if it had continued the Duke of Albemarle's, was concealed by us in favour of my Lord Chancellor; for, says he, he is a great man, and all such as he, and he himself particularly, have a great many enemies that would be very glad of such an advantage against him; and that he would speak to the Duke, that he and Sir G. Carteret might be appointed to attend my Lord Chancellor in it. All this disturbs me mightily. I know not what to say to it, nor how to carry myself therein; for a compliance will discommend me to Mr. Coventry, and a discompliance to my Lord Chancellor. But I think to let it alone, or at least meddle in it as little more as I can.

25th. Met with a printed copy of the King's commission for the repair of St. Paul's, which is very large, and large power for collecting money, and recovering of all people that had bought or sold formerly anything belonging to the church. And here I find my Lord Mayor of the city set in order before the Archbishop or any nobleman, though all the greatest officers of the State are there. But yet I do not hear, by my Lord Barkeley, who is one of them, that anything is like to come of it. No news, only the plague is very hot still, and increases among the Dutch.

26th. To Anthony Joyce's, to our gossip's dinner. I had sent a dozen and a half bottles of wine thither, and paid my double share besides, which is 18s. Very merry we were. Great discourse of the fray yesterday in Moorfields, how the butchers at first did beat the weavers, between whom there hath been ever an old competition for mastery, but at last the weavers rallied and beat them. At first the butchers knocked down all for weavers that had green or blue aprons, till they were fain to pull them off and put them in their breeches. At last the butchers were fain to pull off their sleeves, that they might not be known, and were soundly beaten out of the field, and some deeply wounded and bruised; till at last the weavers went out triumphing, calling £100 for a butcher.

27th. To Whitehall, where anon the Duke of York came, and a committee we had of Tangier, where I

read over my rough draught for the Tangier victualling, and acquainted them with the death of Mr. Alsopp, which Mr. Lanyon had told me this morning, which is a sad consideration to see how uncertain our lives are, and how little to be presumed of in our greatest undertakings.

28th. Home and then abroad, and seeing *The Bondman* upon the posts, I went to the Duke's house and saw it acted. It is true, for want of practice, they have many of them forgot their parts a little; but Betterton and my poor Ianthe [Mrs. Betterton?] outdo all the world. There is nothing more taking in the world with me than that play. I am overjoyed in hopes that, upon this month's account, I shall find myself worth £1,000, besides the rich present of two silver and gilt flagons, which Mr. Gauden did give me the other day. My Lord Sandwich newly gone to sea; and he did before his going, and by his letter since, show me all manner of respect and confidence.

30th. To the 'Change, where great talk of a rich present brought by an East India ship, from some of the Princes of India, worth to the King £70,000, in two precious stones, by which, at least, I hope to be £100 or £200 the better. This afternoon, with great content, I finished the contract for victualling of Tangier with Mr. Lanyon and the rest; and to my comfort, got him and Andrews to sign to the giving me £300 per annum.

31st. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church, where I have not been these many weeks.

*August 1.* To the coffee-house, and there all the house full of the victory General Souse, who is a Frenchman, a soldier of fortune, commanding part of the German army, hath had against the Turks; killing 4,000 men and taking most extraordinary spoil. Thence taking up Harman and his wife, carried them to Anthony Joyce's, where he had my venison in a pasty well done; but, Lord! to see how much they made of it, as if they had never ate any before: and very merry we were. Mrs. Harman is a very pretty, humoured wretch, whom I could love with all my heart, being so good and innocent company. Last night I was waked with knocking at Sir W. Pen's door; and what was it but people running up and down to bring him word that his brother (Captain Pen), who hath been a good while, it seems, sick, is dead.

2nd. To the King's play-house, and there saw *Bartholomew Fair*, which do still please me; and is, as it is acted, the best comedy in the world, I believe. I chanced to sit by Tom Killigrew, who tells me that he is setting up a nursery (for actors); that is, is going to build a house in Moorfields, wherein he will have common plays acted. But four operas it shall have in the year, to act six weeks at a time: where we shall have the best scenes and machines, the best music, and everything

as magnificent as is in Christendom ; and to that end, hath sent for voices and painters and other persons from Italy. Thence homeward called upon my Lord Marlborough.

4th. To a play at the King's house, *The Rival Ladies*, a very innocent and most pretty witty play. I was much pleased with it, and, it being given me, I look upon it as no breach of my oath. Here we hear that Clun, one of their best actors, was the last night going out of town, after he had acted the Alchemist, wherein was one of his best parts that he acts, to his country-house, set upon and murdered ; one of the rogues taken, an Irish fellow : it seems he was most cruelly butchered and bound. The house will have a great miss of him. Thence visited my Lady Sandwich, who tells me my Lord Fitzhardinge is to be made a Marquis.

5th. About ten o'clock I dressed myself, and so mounted upon a very pretty mare, sent me by Sir W. Warren, according to his promise yesterday. And so through the city, not a little proud, God knows, to be seen upon so pretty a beast, and to my cousin W. Joyce's who presently mounted too, and he and I out of town towards Highgate, in the way at Kentish town, he showing me the place and manner of Clun's being killed and laid in a ditch, and yet was not killed by any wounds, having only one in his arm, but bled to death through his struggling. He told me also the manner

of it, of his going home so late from drinking with his mistress, and manner of having it found out. Thence forward to Barnet, and so by night to Stevenage, it raining a little, and there to my great trouble find that my wife was not come, nor any Stamford coach gone down this week, so that she cannot come. To bed, and after a little sleep, W. Joyce comes in his shirt into my chamber with a note, and a messenger from my wife, that she was come by York coach to Bigglesworth, and would be with us to-morrow morning. So, mightily pleased at her discreet action in this business, to sleep again.

6th. Here lay Dean Honiwood last night. I met and talked with him this morning, and a simple priest he is, though a good well-meaning man. W. Joyce and I took to a game at bowls on the Green there till eight o'clock, and then comes my wife and a coach full of women, only one man riding by. Very joyful, and mounted, and away with them to Welling, and there alight, and dined very well and merry, and glad to see my poor wife. After dinner, out again and to London, all the way the mightiest merry at a couple of young gentlemen come down to meet the same gentlewoman, that ever I was in my life, and so W. Joyce, too, to see how one of them was horsed upon a hard trotting sorrel horse, and both of them soundly wearied and galled. But it is not to be set down how merry we were all the way. We alight in Holborn, and by

another coach home, and found all things well, and most mighty neat and clean.

7th. (Lord's day.) My wife telling me sad stories of the ill, improvident, disquiet, and sluttish manner, that my father and mother and Pall do live in the country, which troubles me mightily, and I must seek to remedy it. Showed my wife, to her great admiration and joy, Mr. Gauden's present of plate, the two flagons, which indeed are so noble that I hardly can think that they are yet mine. I saw several poor creatures carried by, by constables, for being at a conventicle. They go like lambs without any resistance. I would to God they would either conform or be more wise, and not be caught!

8th. After dinner, to hang up my five pictures in my dining-room, which makes it very pretty, and so my wife and I abroad to the King's play-house. Here we saw *Flora's Figaries*. I never saw it before; and, by the most ingenious performance of the young jade Flora, it seemed as pretty a pleasant play as ever I saw.

9th. This day comes the news that the Emperor hath beat the Turks; killed the Grand Vizier and several great Pachas, with an army of 80,000 men killed and routed; with some considerable loss of his own side, having lost three generals, and the French forces all cut off almost; which is thought as good a service to the Emperor as beating the Turks almost.



10th. Abroad to find out one to engrave my tables upon my new sliding rule with silver plates, it being so small, that Browne, that made it, cannot get one to do it. So I got Cocker, the famous writing-master, to do it, and I sat an hour by him to see him design it all; and strange it is to see him, with his natural eyes, to cut so small at his first designing it, and read it all over, without any missing, when for my life I could not with my best skill read one word or letter of it; but it is use. He says that the best light for his life to do a very small thing by, contrary to Chancer's words to the Sun, "that he should lend his light to them that small seals grave," it should be by an artificial light of a candle, set to advantage, as he could do it, I find the fellow, by his discourse, very ingenious: and, among other things, a great admirer of and well read in the English poets, and undertakes to judge of them all, and that not impertinently. After dinner, Deane and I had great discourse again about my Lord Chancellor's timber, out of which I wish I may get well.

11th. Comes Cocker with my rule, which he hath engraved to admiration, for goodness and smallness of work: it cost me 14s. the doing. This day, for a wager before the King, my Lords of Castlehaven, and Arran, a son of my Lord of Ormond's they two alone did run down and kill a stout buck in St. James's Park.

12th. To Whitehall, and did much business at a Tangier Committee; where, among other things, speaking about propriety of the houses there, and how we ought to let the Portuguese have right done them, as many of them as continue, or did sell the houses while they were in possession, and something further in their favour, the Duke, after an anger I never observed in him before, did cry, says he, "All the world rides us, and I think we shall never ride anybody."

13th. Comes Mr. Reeve with a microscope and scotoscope. For the first I did give him £5 10s., a great price, but a most curious bauble it is, and he says, as good, nay, the best he knows in England. The other he gives me, and is of value; and a curious curiosity it is to discover objects in a dark room with. Mr. Creed dining with me, I got him to give my wife and me a play this afternoon, lending him money to do it, which is a fallacy that I have found now once, to avoid my vow with, but never to be more practised, I swear. To the new play, at the Duke's house, of *Henry the Fifth*; a most noble play, written by my Lord Orrery; wherein Betterton, Harris, and Ianthe's parts are most incomparably wrote and done, and the whole play the most full of height and raptures of wit and sense that ever I heard; having but one incongruity, that King Harry promises to plead for Tudor to their mistress, Princess Katherine of France, more than, when it comes to it, he seems to do; and Tudor refused

by her with some kind of indignity, not with a difficulty and honour that it ought to have been done in to him.

14th. (Lord's day.) Comes Mr. Herbert, Mr. Honiwood's man, and dined with me—a very honest, plain, and well-meaning man I think him to be; and, by his discourse and manner of life, the true emblem of an old ordinary serving-man. By-and-by comes W. Joyce in his silk suit and cloak lined with velvet: stayed talking with me, and I very merry at it. He supped with me; but a cunning crafty fellow he is, and dangerous to displease, for his tongue spares nobody.

15th. With Sir. J. Minnes; he talking of his cures abroad while he was with the King as a doctor. And among others, Sir J. Denham, he told me he had cured to a miracle. At Charing Cross, and there saw the great Dutchman that is come over, under whose arm I went with my hat on, and could not reach higher than his eyebrows with the tip of my fingers. He is a comely and well-made man, and his wife a very little but pretty comely Dutch woman. It is true, he wears pretty high-heeled shoes, but not very high, and do generally wear a turban, which makes him show yet taller than he really is.

16th. Wakened about two o'clock this morning with a noise of thunder, which lasted for an hour, with such continued lightnings, not flashes, but flames, that all the sky and air was light; and that for a great

while, not a minute's space between new flames all the time; such a thing as I never did see, nor could have believed had ever been in nature; and being put into a great sweat with it, could not sleep till all was over; and that accompanied with such a storm of rain as I never heard in my life. I expected to find my house in the morning overflowed; but I find not one drop of rain in my house, nor any news of hurt done.

17th. Sir W. Batten did give me three bottles of his essence water, which I drank, and I found myself mightily cooled with them and refreshed. With Sir Thomas Crewe, who told me how Mr. Edward Montagu is for ever blown up, and now quite out with his father again; to whom he pretended that his going down was, not that he was cast out of the Court, but that he had leave to be absent a month; but now he finds the truth. Mr. Pierce tells me the King do still sup every night with my Lady Castlemaine.

18th. Dined alone at home, my wife going to-day to dine with Mrs. Pierce, and thence with her and Mrs. Clerke to see a new play, *The Court Secret*. My wife says the play is the worst that ever she saw in her life.

19th. To Sir W. Pen's to see his lady the first time, who is a well-looking, fat, short, old Dutchwoman, but one that hath been heretofore pretty handsome, and is now very discreet, and I believe hath more wit than her husband. Here we stayed talking a good while, and very well pleased I was with the old woman. The

news of the Emperor's victory over the Turks is by some doubted, but by most confessed to be very small, though great of what was talked, which was 80,000 men to be killed and taken of the Turk's side.

20th. I walked to Cheapside to see the effect of a fire there this morning since four o'clock; which I find in the house of Mr. Bois, that married Dr. Fuller's niece, who are both out of town, leaving only a maid and man in town. It began in their house, and hath burned much and many houses backward, though none forward, and that in the great uniform pile of buildings in the middle of Cheapside. I am very sorry for them, for the Doctor's sake. Thence to the 'Change, and so home to dinner. And thence to Sir W. Batten's, whither Sir Richard Ford came, the sheriff, who hath been at this fire all the while; and he tells me, upon my question, that he and the Mayor were there, as it is their duties to be, not only to keep the peace, but they have power of commanding the pulling down of any house or houses, to defend the city. By-and-by comes in the common crier of the city to speak with him; and when he was gone, says he, "You may see by this man the constitution of the magistracy of this city; that this fellow's place, I dare give him, if he will be true to me, £1,000 for his profits every year, and expect to get £500 more to myself thereby, when," says he, "I in myself am forced to spend many times as much."

21st. (Lord's day.) Mr. Coventry told us the Duke was gone ill of a fit of an ague to bed; so we sent this morning to see how he does.

23rd. Talking with my wife, and angry about her desiring to have a French maid all of a sudden, which I took to arise from yesterday's being with her mother. But that went over, and so she be well qualified, I care not much whether she be French or no, so a Protestant. I went into New Bridewell, on my way to Mr. Cole, and there I saw the new model, and it is very handsome: several at work—among others, one pretty strumpet brought in last night, which works very lazily. I did give them 6d. to drink. The Dutch East India fleet are now come home safe, which we are sorry for. Our fleets on both sides are hastening out to Guinea.

24th. To the Wardrobe, and there saw one suit of clothes made for my boy, and linen set out.

25th. Jack Noble came to me to tell me that he had Cave in prison, and that he would give me and my father good security, that neither we nor any of our family should be troubled with the child, for he could prove that he was fully satisfied for him; and that, if the worst come to the worst, the parish must keep it; that Cave did bring the child to his house, but they got it carried back again, and that thereupon he put him in prison. When he saw that I would not pay him the money, nor made anything of being secured against the child, he then said that then he must go to law, not

himself, but come in as a witness for Cave against us. I could have told him that he could bear witness that Cave is satisfied, or else there is no money due to himself; but I let alone any such discourse, only getting as much out of him as I could. I perceive he is a rogue, and hath inquired into everything, and consulted with Dr. Pepys.

26th. By water to Deptford Dockyard, and there saw the new ship in very great forwardness. To Whitehall. There I could not get into the Park, and so was fain to stay in the gallery over the gate to look to the passage into the Park, into which the King hath forbid of late anybody's coming. To see some pictures at one Huysman's, a picture-drawer, a Dutchman, which is said to exceed Lilly; and indeed there is both of the Queens and Maids of Honour, particularly Mrs. Stewart's, in a buff doublet like a soldier, as good pictures, I think, as ever I saw. The Queen is drawn in one like a shepherdess, in the other like St. Catherine, most like and most admirably. I was mightily pleased with this sight indeed. Mr. Pen, Sir William's son, is come back from France, and come to visit my wife; a most modest person, grown, she says, a fine gentleman.

27th. To Cutler's house, and there had a very good dinner; and had two or three pretty young ladies of their relations there. Home, and there find my boy, Tom Edwards, come, sent me by Captain Cook, having

been bred in the King's Chapel these four years. I propose to make a clerk of him; and if he deserves well, to do well by him. Find him a very school-boy that talks innocently and impertinently. All the news this day is that the Dutch are, with twenty-two sail of ships of war, cruising up and down about Ostend, at which we are alarmed. My Lord Sandwich is come back into the Downs, with only eight sail, which is, or may be, a prey to the Dutch if they knew our weakness and inability to set out any more speedily.

29th. Mr. Hughes came to speak with me, and told me that as he came this morning from Deptford he left the King's yard afire. So I presently took a boat and down, and there found by God's providence the fire out; but if there had been any wind it must have burned all our stores, which is a most dreadful consideration. Home, and Creed and I met at my Lady Sandwich's and there dined; but my Lady is become as handsome I think as ever she was; and so good and discreet a woman I know not in the world. I must remember that, never since I was a housekeeper, I ever lived so quietly without any noise, or one angry word almost, as I have done since my present maids Bessie, Jane, and Susan came and were together. Now I have taken a boy, and am taking a woman, I pray God we may not be worse!

30th. Comes Mr. Pen to visit me. I perceive some-



thing of learning he hath got, but a great deal, if not too much, of the vanity of the French garb, and affected manner of speech and gait. I fear all real profit he hath made of his travel will signify little.

31st. Casting up my monthly accounts, and, blessed be God ! find myself worth £1,020. Prince Rupert, I hear this day, is to go to command this fleet going to Guinea against the Dutch. I doubt few will be pleased with his going, being accounted an unhappy man. Pretty well in health since I left off wearing of a gown within doors all day, and then go back with my legs into the cold, which brought me daily pain.

*September 1.* To the 'Change, and thence brought Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, and Creed, and dined very merry and handsomely ; but my wife not being well, she was not with us ; and we cut up the great cake Moorcock lately sent us, which is very good.

2nd. To Bartholomew fair, and our boy with us, and there showed them and myself the dancing on the ropes, and several other the best shows ; but pretty it is to see how our boy carries himself so innocently clownish as would make one laugh. Then up and down to buy combs for my wife to give her maids.

3rd. I have had a bad night's rest to-night, not sleeping well, as my wife observed ; and I thought myself to be mightily bit with fleas, and in the morning she chid her maids for not looking for the fleas a' days. But when I rose I found that it was only the change of

the weather from hot to cold, which, as I was two winters ago, do stop my pores, and so my blood tingles and itches all day all over my body.

4th. (Lord's day.) All the morning looking over my old wardrobe, and laying by things for my brother John and my father, by which I shall leave myself very bare in clothes, but yet as much as I need, and the rest could but spoil in the keeping. Mr. Hill came to be tell me that he had got a gentlewoman for my wife—one Mrs. Ferrabosco, that sings most admirably. I seemed glad of it; but I hear she is too gallant for me, and I am not sorry that I miss her.

5th. With the Duke; where all our discourse of war in the highest measure. Prince Rupert was with us; who is fitting himself to go to sea in the *Heneretta*. And afterwards I met him and Mr. Gray, and says he, "I can answer but for one ship, and in that I will do my part; for it is not in that as in an army, where a man can command everything." Came W. Bowyer, and dined with us; but strange to see how he could not endure onions in sauce to lamb, but was overcome with the sight of it, and so was forced to make his dinner of an egg or two. To Woolwich, with a galley, all the way reading Sir J. Suckling's *Aglaura*, which methinks, is but a mean play: nothing of design in it.

6th. Called upon Doll, our pretty 'Change woman, for a pair of gloves trimmed with yellow ribbon, to [match] the petticoat my wife bought yesterday,

which cost me 20s.; but she is so pretty, that, God forgive me! I could not think it too much, which is a strange slavery that I stand in to beauty, that I value nothing near it. This day Mr. Coventry did tell us how the Duke did receive the Dutch Ambassador the other day; by telling him that, whereas they think us in jest, he believes that the Prince Rupert, which goes in this fleet to Guinea, will soon tell them that we are in earnest, and that he himself will do the like here in the head of the fleet here at home; and that he did not doubt to live to see the Dutch as fearful of provoking the English, under the government of a King, as he remembers them to have been under that of a Coquin.

7th. With Creed walked to Bartholomew fair—this being the last day, and there I saw the best dancing on the ropes that I think I ever saw in my life.

8th. All haste made in setting out this Guinea fleet, but yet not such as will ever do the King's business, if we come to a war. My wife this afternoon being very well dressed by her new woman, Mary Mercer, a decayed merchant's daughter that our Will helps us to, did go to the christening of Mrs Mills, the parson's wife's child, where she never was before.

9th. Up, and put things in order against dinner. I out and bought some things: among others, a dozen of silver salts; and at noon comes my company, namely Anthony and Will Joyce and their wives; my aunt James, newly come out of Wales, and my cousin Sarah

Gyles. Her husband did not come; and by her I did understand afterwards, that it was because he was not able to pay me the 40s. she had borrowed a year ago of me. I was as merry as I could, giving them a good dinner; but W. Joyce did so talk, that he made everybody else dumb, but only laugh at him. I forgot there was Mr. Harman and his wife, my aunt, a very good harmless woman. All their talk is of her and my two she-cousin Joyces, and Will's little boy Will, who was also here to-day. They eyed mightily my great cupboard of plate—I this day putting my two flagons upon my table; and indeed it is a fine sight, and better than ever I did hope to see of my own. Mercer dined with us at table, this being her first dinner in my house. After dinner, my wife and Mercer, and Tom and I sat till eleven at night, singing and fiddling, and a great joy it is to see me master of so much pleasure in my house. The girl plays pretty well upon the harpsichord, but only ordinary tunes, but hath a good hand; sings a little, but hath a good voice and ear. My boy, a brave boy, sings finely, and is the most pleasant boy at present, while his ignorant boy's tricks last, that I ever saw.

10th. All the morning much troubled to think what the end of our great sluggishness will be; for we do nothing in this office like people able to carry on a war. We must be put out, or other people put in. My wife and I, and Mercer to the Duke's house, and there saw

*The Rivals*, which is no excellent play, but good acting in it; especially Gosnell comes and sings and dances finely; but, for all that, fell out of the key, so that the music could not play to her afterwards; and so did Harris also go out of the time to agree with her. This night I received, by Will, £105, the first fruits of my endeavours in the late contract for victualling of Tangier, for which God be praised! for I can, with a safe conscience, say that I have therein saved the King £5,000 per annum, and yet got myself a hope of £300 per annum, without the least wrong to the King.

11th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church in the best manner I have gone a good while—that is to say, with my wife and her woman, Mercer, along with us, and Tom, my boy waiting on us. A dull sermon. With Mr. Blaggrave, walking in the Abbey, he telling me the whole government and discipline of Whitehall Chapel, and the caution now used against admitting any debauched persons. This afternoon, it seems, Sir J. Minnes fell sick at church, and, going down the gallery stairs, fell down dead, but came to himself again, and is pretty well.

12th. Up, and to my cousin Anthony Joyce's, and there took leave of my aunt James, and both cousins, their wives, who are this day going down to my father's by coach. I did give my aunt 20s. to carry as a token to my mother, and 10s. to Pall. With the Duke; and

saw him with great pleasure play with his little girl, like an ordinary private father of a child. To Mr. Creed's lodgings, talking mightily of the convenience and necessity of a man's wearing good clothes after eating a mess of cream.

13th. To Fishmongers' Hall, where we met the first time upon the Fishery Committee, and many good things discoursed of, concerning making of farthings, which was proposed as a way of raising money for this business, and then that of lotteries, but with great confusion; but I hope we shall fall into greater order.

15th. After dinner many people came in and kept me all the afternoon: among others, the Master and Wardens of Surgeons' Hall, who stayed arguing their cause with me.

16th. Mr. Gauden coming to me, I had a good opportunity to speak to him about his present, which hitherto hath been a burden to me, because I was doubtful that he meant it as a temptation to me to stand by him in the business of Tangier victualling; but he clears me it was not, and that what he did was for my old kindnesses to him and dispatching of his business. Met Sir W. Warren, and afterwards to the "Sun" tavern, where he brought to me, being all alone, a £100 in a bag, which I offered him to give him my receipt for, but he told me no, it was my own, which he had a little while since promised me; and so most kindly he did give it me, and I as joyfully, even

out of myself, carried it home in a coach—he himself expressly taking care that nobody might see this business done, though I was willing enough to have carried a servant with me to have received it, but he advised me to do it myself. Met Mr. Pargiter, and he would needs have me drink a cup of horseradish ale, which he and a friend of his, troubled with the stone, have been drinking of, which we did, and then walked into the fields as far almost as Sir G. Whitmore's, all the way talking of Russia, which, he says, is a sad place; and though Moscow is a very great city, yet it is from the distance between house and house, and few people compared with this, and poor, sorry houses, the Emperor himself living in a wooden house; his exercise only flying a hawk at pigeons, and carrying pigeons ten or twelve miles off, and then laying wagers which pigeon shall come soonest home to her house. All the winter within doors, some few playing at chess, but most drinking their time away. Women live very slavishly there, and, it seems, in the Emperor's court, no room hath above two or three windows, and those the greatest not a yard wide or high, for warmth in winter time, and that the general cure for all diseases there is their sweating-houses; or people that are poor they get into their ovens, being heated, and there lie. Little learning among them of any sort. Not a man that speaks Latin, unless the Secretary of State by chance. Old Hardwicke came and redeemed a watch

he had left with me in pawn for 40s. seven years ago, and I let him have it.

18th. (Lord's day.) Last night my aunt Wight did send my wife a new scarf, laced, as a token for her many givings to her; but my aim is to get myself something more from my uncle's favour than this.

19th. My wife having put on to-day her winter new suit of moire, which is handsome, after dinner I did give her £15 to lay out in linen and necessaries for the house, and to buy a suit for Pall. Dr. Pierce tells me, when I was wondering that Frazer should order things with the Prince in that confident manner, that Frazer is so great with my Lady Castlemaine, and Stewart, and all the ladies at Court, in helping to slip their calves when there is occasion, and with the great men in curing of them, that he can do what he please with the King, in spite of any man, and upon the same score with the Prince; they all having more or less occasion to make use of him. Colonel Reames did this day tell me how it is clear that, if my Lord Teviott had lived, he would have quite undone Tangier, or designed himself to be master of it. He did put the King upon most great, chargeable, and unnecessary works there; and took the course industriously to deter all other merchants but himself to deal there, and to make both King and all others pay what he pleased for all that was brought thither.

20th. Met Captain Poyntz, who hath some place, or



title to a place, belonging to gaming. I discoursed with him about our business of improving of the Lotteries, for the King's benefit, and that of the Fishery, and had some light from him in the business. I find with great delight that I am come to my good temper of business again. God continue me in it!

21st. To Huysman's, the great picture-drawer, and saw again very fine pictures, and have his promise, for Mr. Povy's sake, to take pains in what picture I shall set him about, and I think to have my wife's. To Povy's to dinner, where great and good company; among others, Sir John Skeffington, whom I knew at Magdalene College, a fellow commoner, my fellow pupil, but one with whom I had no great acquaintance, he being then, God knows! much above me.

22nd. My wife not well, and she tells me she thinks she is with child, but I neither believe nor desire it. But God's will be done! Home to bed; having got a strange cold in my head by flinging off my hat at a dinner, and sitting with the wind in my neck.

23rd. Comes Mr. Fuller, that was the wit of Cambridge, and Prævaricator in my time, and stayed all the morning with me discoursing, and his business to get a man discharged, which I did do for him. To the office, where Sir G. Carteret and we met about an order of the Council for the hiring him a house, giving him £1,000 fine, and £70 per annum for it. Here Sir J. Minnes took occasion, in the most childish and most

unbecoming manner, to reproach us all, but most himself, that he was not valued as Comptroller among us, nor did anything but only set his hand to paper, which is but too true, and everybody had a palace, and he no house to lie in, and wished he had but as much to build him a house with, as we have laid out in carved work. It was to no end to oppose, but all bore it, and after laughed at him for it.

24th. Comes one Phillips, who is concerned in the Lottery, and from whom I collected much concerning that business. He told me that Monsieur du Puy, that is so great a man at the Duke of York's, and this man's great opponent, is a knave, and by quality but a tailor. We were told to-day of a Dutch ship of 300 or 400 tons, where all the men were dead of the plague, and the ship cast ashore at Gottenburg.

25th. (Lord's day.) My throat being yet very sore, and my head out of order, went not to church, but spent all the morning reading of *The Mad Lovers*, a very good play. Read another play, *The Custom of the Country*, which is a very poor one, methinks.

26th. I have looked a little too much after Tangier and the Fishery, and that in the sight of Mr. Coventry; but I have good reason to love myself for serving Tangier, for it is one of the best flowers in my garden.

28th. My Lord Rutherford would needs carry me and another Scotch Lord to a play, and so we saw,

coming late, part of *The General*, my Lord Orrery Broghill's second play; but Lord! to see how no more either in words, sense, or design, it is to his *Harry the V.*, is not imaginable, and so poorly acted, though in finer clothes, is strange. My mind at a great loss how to go down to Brampton this week to satisfy Pigott; but, what with the fears of my house, my money, my wife, and my office, I know not how in the world to think of it; Tom Hater being out of town, and I having near £1,000 in my house.

29th. After dinner, to Sir G. Carteret, and with him to his new house he is taking in Broad Street, and there surveyed all the rooms and bounds, in order to the drawing up a lease thereof; and that done, Mr. Cutler, his landlord, took me up and down, and showed me all his ground and house, which is extraordinary great, he having bought all the Augustine Pryors, and many, many a £1,000 he hath, and will bury there. Fresh news come of our beating the Dutch at Guinea, quite out of all their castles almost, which will make them quite mad here at home sure. And Sir G. Carteret did tell me that the King do joy mightily at it: but asked him, laughing, "But," says he, "how shall I do to answer this to the Ambassador when he comes?" Nay, they say that we have beat them out of the New Netherlands, too; so that we have been doing them mischief for a great while in several parts of the world, without public knowledge or reason.

Their fleet for Guinea is now, they say, ready and abroad, and will be going this week.

30th. At my accounts, it being a great month both for profit and layings out—the last being £89 for kitchen and clothes for myself and wife, and a few extraordinaries for the house; and my profits, besides salary, £239; so that I have this week, notwithstanding great layings out, and preparations for laying out, which I make as paid this month, my balance to come to £1,203.

*October 1.* We go now on with vigour in preparing against the Dutch: who, they say, will now fall upon us without doubt upon this high news come of our beating them so wholly in Guinea.

2nd. (Lord's day.) Walked with my boy through the city, putting in at several churches, among others at Bishopsgate, and there saw the picture usually put before the King's book, put up in the church, but very ill painted, though it were a pretty piece to set up in a church. I intended to have seen the Quakers, who, they say, do meet every Lord's day at the Mouth, at Bishopsgate; but I could see none stirring, nor was it fit to ask for the place; so I walked over Moorfields, and thence to Clerkenwell church, and there, as I wished, sat next pew to the fair Butler, who indeed is a most perfect beauty still; and one I do very much admire myself for my choice of her for a beauty, having the best lower part of her face that ever I saw

all days of my life. After church, I walked to my Lady Sandwich's, through my Lord Southampton's new buildings in the fields behind Gray's Inn; and, indeed, they are a very great and a noble work. My Lady asked me my opinion about Creed, whether he would have a wife or no, and proposed Mrs. Wright for him, which, she says, she heard he was once inquiring after. She desired I would take a good time and manner of proposing it, and I said I would, though I believed he would love nothing but money, and much was not to be expected there, she said. So away back to Clerkenwell church, and so we walked all over the fields home, and there my wife was angry with me for not coming home, and for gadding abroad to look after beauties.

3rd. With Sir J. Minnes by coach to St. James's; and there all the news now of very hot preparations for the Dutch: and, being with the Duke, he told us he was resolved to take a trip himself, and that Sir W. Pen should go in the same ship with him. Which honour, God forgive me! I could grudge him, for his knavery and dissimulation, though I do not envy much the having the same place myself. Talk also of great haste in the getting out another fleet, and building some ships; and now it is likely we have put one another's dalliance past a retreat.

4th. This morning Sir W. Pen went to Chatham to look after the ships now going out thence, and par-

ticularly that wherein the Duke and himself go. He took Sir G. Ascue with him, whom, I believe, he hath brought into play. After dinner to a play, to see *The General*; which is so dull and so ill acted, that I think it is the worst I ever saw or heard in all my days. I happened to sit near to Sir Charles Sedley; who I find a very witty man, and he did at every line take notice of the dulness of the poet, and badness of the action, and that most pertinently, which I was mightily taken with.

5th. To New Bridewell, and there I did with great pleasure see the many pretty works, and the little children employed, every one to do something, which was a very fine sight, and worthy encouragement. Fell in discourse with the Secretary of the Virtuosi of Gresham College. He tells me of a new-invented instrument to be tried before the College anon, and I intend to see it. So to Trinity House, and there I dined among the old dull fellows. Comes Mr. Cocker to see me, and I discoursed with him about his writing and ability of sight, and how I shall do to get some glass or other to help my eyes by candlelight; and he tells me he will bring me the helps he hath within a day or two and show me what he does. To the music meeting at the Post-office, where I was once before. And thither anon came all the Gresham College, and a great deal of noble company: and the new instrument was bought called the arched vial, where, being tuned

with lute strings and played on with keys like an organ, a piece of parchment is always kept moving; and the strings, which by the keys are pressed down upon it, are grated in imitation of a bow by the parchment; and so it is intended to resemble several viols played on with one bow, but so basely and so harshly that it will never do. But after three hours' stay it could not be fixed in tune; and so they were fain to go to some other music of instruments. This morning by three o'clock, the Prince, and King and Duke with him, went down the river, and the Prince under sail the next tide after, and so is gone from the Hope. God give him better success than he used to have!

7th. Come Mr. Cocker, and brought me a globe of glass and a frame of oiled paper, as I desired, to show me the manner of his gaining light to grave by, and to lessen the glaringness of it at pleasure by an oiled paper. This I bought of him, giving him a crown for it; and so well satisfied he went away.

9th. (Lord's day.) Mr. Fuller, my Cambridge acquaintance, coming, he told me he was to preach at Barking church, and so I to hear him, and he preached well and neatly. To bed without prayers, it being cold, and to-morrow washing-day.

10th. Sir W. Pen do grow every day more and more regarded by the Duke, because of his service heretofore in the Dutch war, which I am confident is by some strong obligations he hath laid upon Mr. Coven-

try; for Mr. Coventry must needs know that he is a man of very mean parts, but only a bred seaman. Sat up till past twelve at night to look over the account of the collections for the Fishery, and to the loose and base manner that moneys so collected are disposed of in, would make a man never part with a penny in that manner; and above all, the inconvenience of having a great man, though never so seeming pious as my Lord Pembroke is. He is too great to be called to an account, and is abused by his servants, and yet obliged to defend them for his own sake. This day, by the blessing of God, my wife and I have been married nine years; but my head being full of business, I did not think of it to keep it in any extraordinary manner. But bless God for our long lives, and loves, and health together, which the same God long continue, I wish from my very heart!

11th. Luellin tells me what an obscene, loose play this *Parson's Wedding* is, that is acted by nothing but women at the King's house. To the Fishery in Thames Street, and there several good discourses about the letting of the Lotteries, and, among others, one Sir Thomas Clifford, whom yet I knew not, do speak very well and neatly. My wife tells me the sad news of my Lady Castlemaine's being now become so decayed that one would not know her; at least far from a beauty, which I am sorry for. This day, with great joy, Captain Titus told us the particulars of the French



expedition against Gigery upon the Barbary coast, in the Straits with 6,000 chosen men. They have taken the fort of Gigery, wherein were five men and three guns, which makes the whole story of the King of France's policy and power to be laughed at.

12th. For news, all say De Ruyter is gone to Guinea before us. Sir 'J. Lawson is come to Portsmouth, and our fleet is hastening all speed: I mean, this new fleet. Prince Rupert with his is got into the Downs.

13th. Taking leave of my wife, I by coach to the "Red Lion" in Aldersgate Street, and there, by agreement, met W. Joyce and Tom Trice, and mounted—I upon a very fine mare that Sir W. Warren helps me to—and so very merrily rode till it was very dark, I leading the way through the dark to Welling, and there to supper and to bed; but very bad accommodation at the "Swan." In my way to Brampton, in this day's journey, I met with Mr. White, Cromwell's chaplain that was, and had a great deal of discourse with him. Among others, he tells me that Richard is, and hath long been, in France, and is now going into Italy. He owns publicly that he does correspond with him, and returns him all his money. That Richard hath been in some straits in the beginning, but relieved by his friends. That he goes by another name, but do not disguise himself, nor deny himself to any man that challenges him. He tells me, for certain, that offers had been made to the old man of marriage between the

King and his daughter to have obliged him, but he would not. He thinks, with me, that it never was in his power to bring in the King with the consent of any of his officers about him; and that he scorned to bring him in as Monk did, to secure himself and deliver everybody else. When I told him of what I found written in a French book of one Monsieur Sorbière, that gives an account of his observations here in England; among other things, he says, that it is reported that Cromwell did in his life-time transpose many of the bodies of the kings of England from one grave to another, and that, by that means, it is not known certainly whether the head that is now set up upon a post be that of Cromwell or of one of the kings; Mr. White tells me that he believes he never had so poor a low thought in him to trouble himself about it. He says the hand of God is much to be seen; and that all his children are in good condition enough as to estate, and that their relations that betrayed their family are all now either hanged or very miserable.

14th. Up by break of day, and got to Brampton by three o'clock where my father and mother overjoyed to see me, my mother ready to weep every time she looked upon me. To the [Manorial] Court, and there did all our business to my mind. So home, and after supper I to bed.

15th. My father and I up, and walked alone to Hinchinbroke; and among the late chargeable works

that my Lord hath done there, we saw his waterworks, which are very fine; and so is the house all over, but I am sorry to think of the money at this time spent therein. Taking leave, W. Joyce and I set out, calling on T. Trice at Bugden, and got by night to Stevenage, and there mighty merry, though I in bed, more weary than the other two days, which I think proceeded from our galloping so much; but I find that a coney skin in my breeches preserves me perfectly from galling.

16th. (Lord's day.) It raining, we set out betimes, and about nine o'clock got to Hatfield in church-time, and I alight, and saw my simple Lord Salisbury sit there in the gallery. To Barnet, and there dined at the "Red Lion;" thence home by four o'clock, weary, but very well.

18th. We made a very great contract with Sir W. Warren for 3,000 load of timber. In the afternoon to the Fishery, where very confused and very ridiculous my Lord Craven's proceedings, especially his finding fault with Sir J. Collaton and Colonel Griffin's report in the accounts of the lottery-men. Thence I with Mr. Gray in his coach to Whitehall; but the King and Duke being abroad, we returned to Somerset House. I find him a very worthy and studious gentleman in the business of trade. He says that it is concluded, among merchants, that where a trade hath once been and do decay it never recovers again; and, therefore, that the manufacture of cloth of England will never

come to esteem again; that, among other faults, Sir Richard Ford cannot keep a secret: that Sir Ellis Layton is, for a speech of forty words, the wittiest man that ever he knew in his life, but longer he is nothing. At Somerset House I saw the Queen Dowager's new rooms, which are most stately and nobly furnished; and there I saw her and the Duke of York and Duchess. The Duke espied me and came to me, and talked with me a very great while.

19th. Weighed my two silver flagons at Stevens's. They weigh 212 oz., 27 dwt., which is about £50, at 5s. per oz.; and then they judge the fashion to be worth about 5s. per oz. more; nay, some say 10s. an ounce the fashion. Sorry to see that the fashion is worth so much, and the silver come to no more.

20th. Took two silver tumblers home, which I have bought.

21st. To Sir W. Turner's, and there bought my cloth, coloured, for a suit and cloak, to line with plush. I find that I must go handsomely, whatever it costs me, and the charge will be made up in the fruits it brings. Comes Mr. Martin to trouble me again to get him a lieutenant's place, for which he is as fit as a fool can be. But I put him off like an ass, as he is.

23rd. (Lord's day.) To church. At noon comes unexpected Mr. Fuller and dines with me. At night to the office doing business, and then home to supper. Then a psalm, to prayers, and to bed.

24th. Into the galleries at Whitehall to talk with my Lord Sandwich; among other things, about the Prince's writing up to tell us of the danger he and his fleet lie in at Portsmouth, of receiving affronts from the Dutch; which my Lord said he would never have done, had he lain there with one ship alone; nor is there any great reason for it because of the sands. However, the fleet will be ordered to go and lay themselves up at the Cowes. Much beneath the prowess of the Prince, I think, and the honour of the nation, at the first to be found to secure themselves. My Lord is well pleased to think that if the Duke and the Prince go, all the blame of any miscarriage will not light on him; and that, if anything goes well, he hopes he shall have the share of the glory, for the Prince is by no means well esteemed of by anybody. This day the great O'Neale died; I believe, to the content of all the Protestant pretenders in Ireland.

25th. Taking care of a piece of plate for Mr. Commissioner Pett, against the launching of his new great ship to-morrow at Woolwich, which I singly did move to His Royal Highness yesterday, and did obtain it for him to the value of twenty pieces. And he, under his hand, do acknowledge to me that he did never receive so great a kindness in the world as from me herein.

26th. My people rising mighty betimes, to fit themselves to go by water; and my boy, he could not sleep,

but wakes about four o'clock, and in bed lay playing on his lute till daylight, and it seems did the like last night till twelve o'clock. About eight o'clock, my wife and her woman, and Bessie and Jane, and W. Hewer and the boy to the waterside, and there took boat, and by-and-by I out of doors to look after the flagon, to get it ready to carry to Woolwich. By-and-by the flagon being finished at the burnisher's, I home, and there fitted myself, and took a hackney-coach I hired, it being a very cold and foul day, to Woolwich, all the way reading in a good book touching the Fishery, and that being done, in the book upon the statute of charitable uses, mightily to my satisfaction. At Woolwich; I there up to the King and Duke. Here I stayed above with them while the ship was launched, which was done with great success; and the King did very much like the ship, saying, she had the best bow that ever he saw. But, Lord! the sorry talk and discourse among the great courtiers round about him, without any reverence in the world, but with so much disorder. By-and-by the Queen comes and her maids of honour; one whereof, Mrs. Boynton, and the Duchess of Buckingham had been very sick coming by water in the barge, the water being very rough; but what silly sport they made with them in very common terms, methought was very poor, and below what people think these great people say and do. The launching being done, the King and

company went down to take barge ; and I sent for Mr. Pett, and put the flagon into the Duke's hand, and he, in the presence of the King, did give it Mr. Pett, taking it upon his knee. This Mr. Pett is wholly beholding to me for, and he does know, and I believe will acknowledge it. Going out of the gate, an ordinary woman prayed me to give her room to London, which I did, but spoke not to her all the way, but read as long as I could see my book again. Dark when we came to London, and a stop of coaches in Southwark. Into the "Bear," at the Bridge foot to Sir W. Batten. Presently the stop is removed, and there going out to find my coach, I could not find it; so I fain to go through the dark and dirt over the bridge, and my leg fell in a hole broke on the bridge, but the constable standing there to keep people from it, I was caught up, otherwise I had broke my leg : for which mercy the Lord be praised! So home, where the little girl hath looked to the house well, but no wife come home, which made me begin to fear for her, the water being very rough, and cold and dark. But by-and-by she and her company came in all well, at which I was glad, though angry. The City did last night very freely lend the King £100,000, without any security but the King's word, which was very noble.

27th. At noon, Sir G. Carteret, Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, Sir W. Pen, and myself, were treated at

the "Dolphin," by Mr. Foley, the ironmonger, where a good plain dinner, but I expected music, the missing of which spoiled my dinner, only very good merry discourse at dinner.

28th. My tailor brings me home my fine, new coloured-cloth suit, my cloak lined with plush—as good a suit as ever I wore in my life, and mighty neat to my great content.

29th. Up, and it being my Lord Mayor's Show, my boy and three maids went out; but it being a very foul, rainy day from morning till night, I was sorry my wife let them go out. All the talk is that De Ruyter is come overland home with six or eight of his captains to command here at home, and their ships kept abroad in the Straits: which sounds as if they had a mind to do something with us.

30th. (Lord's day.) Put on my new, fine, coloured cloth suit, with my cloak lined with plush, which is a dear and noble suit, costing me about £17.

31st. To a Committee of Tangier, when Mr. Coventry proposed the retrenching some of the charge of the horse. The first word asked by the Duke of Albemarle was, "Let us see who commands them," there being three troops. One of them he calls to mind was by Sir Toby Bridges. Says he, "there is a very good man. If you must reform two of them, be sure let him command the troop that is left." This day, I hear young Mr Stanley, a brave young gentleman that went



out with young Jermin with Prince Rupert, is already dead of the small-pox at Portsmouth. All preparations against the Dutch, and the Duke of York fitting himself with all speed to go to the fleet which is hastening for him; being now resolved to go in the *Charles*.

*November 3.* To the office, where strange to see how Sir W. Pen is flocked to by people of all sorts against his going to sea. This night Sir W. Batten did tell me strange news, which troubles me, that my Lord Sandwich will be sent Governor to Tangier, which, in some respects, indeed I should be glad of, for the good of the place and the safety of his person, but I think his honour will suffer, and, it may be, his interest fail by his distance.

4th. To St. James's where I find Mr. Coventry full of business, packing up for his going to sea with the Duke. Walked with him, talking, to Whitehall, where to the Duke's lodgings, who is gone thither to lodge lately. Talking about the management of our office, Mr. Coventry tells me the weight of dispatch will lie most upon me, and told me freely his mind touching Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minues, the latter of whom, he most aptly said, was like a lapwing, that all he did was to keep a flutter, to keep others from the nest that they would find. He told me an old story of the former about the light-houses, how just before he had certified to the Duke against the use of them, and what

a burden they are to trade, and presently after, at his being at Harwich, comes to desire that he might have the setting one up there, and gets the usefulness of it certified also by the Trinity House. After discoursing as how the King hath resolved upon Captain [Silas] Taylor and Colonel Middleton, the first to be commissioner for Harwich, and the latter for Portsmouth, home, and Mr. Duke, our Secretary for the Fishery, dined with me.

5th. To the Duke's house to see *Macbeth*, a pretty good play, but admirably acted. Thence home; the coach being forced to go round by London Wall home, because of the bonfires; the day being mightily observed in the City.

6th. (Lord's day.) Up, and with my wife to church. Dined at home. At night to supper with my uncle Wight, where very merry, and so home. To prayers and to bed.

7th. To Whitehall, where mighty thrusting about the Duke now upon his going. We were with him long. He advised us to follow our business close, and to be directed in his absence by the Committee of the Council for the Navy. By-and-by a meeting of the Fishery, where the Duke was; but I see the greatest businesses are done so superficially, that I wonder anything succeeds at all among us that is public. To my Lady Sandwich's, and there met my wife and dined, but I find that I dine as well myself—that is, as neatly,

and my meat as good and well-dressed, as my good Lady does, in the absence of my Lord.

8th. To the office, where by-and-by Mr. Coventry came, and after doing a little business, took his leave of us, being to go to sea with the Duke to-morrow. At noon, I and Sir J. Minnes and Lord Barkeley, who with Sir J. Duncum and Mr. Chichley are made Masters of the Ordnance, to the office of the Ordnance, to discourse about wadding for guns. Thence to dinner, all of us to the Lieutenant's of the Tower; where a good dinner, but disturbed in the middle of it by the King's coming into the Tower; and so we broke up, and to him, and went up and down the storehouses and magazines; which are, with the addition of the new great storehouse, a noble sight. This day, Mr. Lever sent my wife a pair of silver candlesticks, very pretty ones. The first man that ever presented me, to whom I have not only done little service, but apparently did him the greatest disservice in his business of accounts, as Purser-General, of any man at the Board.

9th. Called up, as I had appointed, between two and three o'clock. I and my boy Tom by water with a galley down to the Hope, it being a fine starry night. Got thither by eight o'clock, and there, as expected, found the *Charles*, her mainmast setting. Commissioner Pett aboard. I up and down to see the ship I was so well acquainted with, and a great work it is,

the setting so great a mast. Thence the Commissioner and I on board Sir G. Ascue, in the *Henry*, who lacks men mightily, which makes me think that there is more believed to be in a man that hath heretofore been employed than truly there is; for one would never have thought a month ago that he would have wanted 1000 men at his heels. Nor do I think he hath much of a seaman in him: for he told me, says he, "Heretofore we used to find our ships clear and ready, everything to our hands in the Downs. Now I come, and must look to see things done like a slave—things that I never minded, nor cannot look after." And by his discourse I find that he hath not minded anything in her at all. To Whitehall, and there the King being in his Cabinet Council, I desiring to speak with Sir G. Carteret, I was called in, and demanded by the King himself many questions, to which I did give him full answers. There were at this Council my Lord Chancellor, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Treasurer, the two Secretaries, and Sir G. Carteret. Not a little contented at this chance of being made known to these persons, and called often by my name by the King. The Duke of York is this day gone away to Portsmouth.

10th. Abroad, intending to have spoke with my Lord Chancellor about the old business of his wood at Clarendon, but could not. My little girl Susan is fallen sick of the measles, we fear, or, at least, of the scarlet fever.

11th. To the Council-chamber at Whitehall, where, looking upon some books of heraldry of Sir Edward Walker's making, which are very fine, I observed the Duke of Monmouth's arms are neatly done, and his title, "The most noble and high-born Prince, James Scott, Duke Monmouth," &c.; nor could Sir J. Minnes, nor anybody there tell whence he should take the name of Scott. And then I found my Lord Sandwich, his title under his arms is, "The most noble and mighty Lord, Edward Earl of Sandwich," &c. Sir Edward Walker, afterwards coming in, in discourse did say that there was none of the families of Princes in Christendom that do derive themselves so high as Julius Cæsar, nor so far, by 1000 years, that can directly prove their rise; only some in Germany do derive themselves from the patrician families of Rome, but that uncertainly; and, among other things, did much inveigh against the writing of romances, that 500 years hence being wrote of matters in general true, as the romance of Cleopatra, the world will not know which is true and which is false. A gentleman told us he saw the other day, and did bring the draught of it to Sir Francis Pridgeon, a monster born of an hostler's wife at Salisbury, two women children perfectly made, joined at the lower part of their bellies, and every part as perfect as two bodies, and only one pair of legs coming forth on one side from the middle where they were joined. It was alive twenty-four

hours, and cried, and did as all hopeful children do; but being shown too much to people, was killed. To the Council at Whitehall, where a great many Lords : Anglesea in the chair. But, Lord ! to see what work they will make us, and what trouble we shall have to inform men in a business they are to begin to know, when the greatest of our hurry is, is a thing to be lamented; and I fear the consequence will be bad to us. Put on my new shaggy purple gown with gold buttons and loop lace.

13th. (Lord's day.) This morning to church, where mighty sport to hear our clerk sing out of tune, though his master sits by him, that begins and keeps the time aloud for the parish. With my wife within doors, and getting a speech out of *Hamlet*, "To be or not to be," without book. In the evening to sing psalms, and so to prayers and to bed.

14th. Up, and with Sir W. Batten to Whitehall, to the Lords of the Admiralty, and there did our business betimes. Thence to Sir Philip Warwick about Navy business : and my Lord Ashley ; and afterwards to my Lord Chancellor, who is very well pleased with me, and my carrying of his business. And so to the 'Change, where mighty busy ; and so home to dinner, where Mr. Creed and Mr. Moore ; and after dinner I to my Lord Treasurer's, to Sir Philip Warwick there, and then to Whitehall to the Duke of Albemarle about Tangier ; and then homeward to the coffee-house to

hear news. And it seems the Dutch, as I afterwards found by Mr. Coventry's letters, have stopped a ship of masts of Sir W. Warren's, coming for us in a Swede's ship, which they will not release upon Sir G. Downing's claiming her: which appears as the first act of hostility, and is looked upon as so by Mr. Coventry. The *Elias*, coming from New England, Captain Hill, commander, is sunk; only the captain and a few men saved. She foundered at sea.

15th. To a Committee of Tangier, where, and everywhere else, thank God, I find myself growing in repute; and so home, and late, very late at business, nobody minding it but myself, and so home to bed, weary and full of thoughts.

16th. This day my wife went to the burial of a little boy of W. Joyce's.

17th. This day I received from Mr. Foley, but for me to pay for if I like it, an iron chest, having now received back some money I had laid out for the King, and I hope to have a good sum of money by me, thereby, in a few days—I think about £800. But when I came home at night I could not find the way to open it; but, which is a strange thing, my little girl Susan could carry it alone from one table clear from the ground, and set upon another, when neither I nor any one in my house but Jane, the cook-maid, could do it.

18th. To the Committee of the Fishery, where so poor simple doings about the business of the Lottery,

that I was ashamed to see it, that a thing so low and base should have anything to do with so noble an undertaking. But I had the advantage this day to hear Mr. Williamson discourse, who came to be a contractor with others for the Lotteries, and indeed I find he is a very logical man and a good speaker. I had a letter from Mr. Coventry, that tells me that my Lord Brouncker is to be one of our commissioners, of which I very glad if any more must be.

20th. (Lord's day.) Up, and with my wife to church, where Pegg Pen very fine in her new coloured silk suit, laced with silver lace.

21st. This day, for certain, news is come that Teddeman hath brought in eighteen or twenty Dutchmen, merchants, their Bourdeaux fleet, and two men-of-war to Portsmouth. And I had letters this afternoon that three are brought into the Downs and Dover; so that the war is begun: God give a good end to it!

22nd. To my Lord Treasurer's: where, with Sir Philip Warwick, studying all we could to make the last year swell as high as we could. And it is much to see how he does study for the King, to do it to get all the money from the Parliament he can: and I shall be serviceable to him therein, to help him to heads upon which to enlarge the report of the expense. He did observe to me how obedient this Parliament was for a while, and the last Session how they begin to differ, and to carp at the King's officers; and what they will



do now, he says, is to make agreement for the money, for there is no guess to be made of it. He told me he was prepared to convince the Parliament that the subsidies are a most ridiculous tax, the four last not rising to £40,000, and unequal. He talks of a tax of Assessment of £70,000 for five years; the people to be secured that it shall continue no longer than there is really a war; and the charges thereof to be paid. He told me, that one year of the late Dutch war cost £1,623,000. Thence to my Lord Chancellor's, and there stayed along with Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes, to speak with my Lord about our Prize Office business; but, being sick and full of visitants, we could not speak with him, and so away home, where Sir Richard Ford did meet us with letters from Holland this day, that it is likely the Dutch fleet will not come out this year; they have not victuals to keep them out, and it is likely they will be frozen before they can get back. Captain Cock is made Steward for sick and wounded seamen.

23rd. Sir G. Carteret was here this afternoon; and strange to see how we plot to make the charge of this war to appear greater than it is, because of getting money.

24th. To a coffee-house to drink chocolate—very good; and so by coach to Westminster, being the first day of the Parliament's meeting. After the House had received the King's speech, and what more he had

to say, delivered in writing, the Chancellor being sick, it rose.

25th. At my office all the morning to prepare an account of the charge we have been put to extraordinary by the Dutch already ; and I have brought it to appear £852,700 ; but God knows this is only a scare to the Parliament, to make them give the more money. Thence to the Parliament House, and there did give it to Sir Philip Warwick ; the House being hot upon giving the King a supply of money. Mr. Jennings tells me the mean manner that Sir Samuel Morland lives near him, in a house that he hath bought and laid out money upon, in all to the value of £1,200 ; but is believed to be a beggar. At Sir W. Batten's, I hear that the House hath given the King £2,500,000, to be paid for this war, only for the Navy, in three years' time : which is a joyful thing to all the King's party, I see ; but was much opposed by Mr. Vaughan and others that it should be so much.

27th. (Lord's day.) To church in the morning, then dined at home, and to my office, and there all the afternoon setting right my business of flags. In the evening came Mr. Andrews and Mr. Hill, and we sung, with my boy, Ravenscroft's 4-part psalms—most admirable music. After supper, fell into the rarest discourse with Mr. Hill about Rome and Italy : but most pleasant that ever I had in my life.

28th. Certain news of our peace made by Captain

Allen with Algiers; and that the Dutch have sent part of their fleet round by Scotland; and resolve to pay off the rest half-pay, promising the rest in the spring, hereby keeping their men. But how true this, I know not.

29th. Sir G. Carteret told us how the King inclines to our request of making us Commissioners of the Prize Office.

30th. To the Committee of the Lords, and there did our business; but, Lord! what a sorry dispatch these great persons give to business. My heart glad to see my accounts fall so right in this time of missing moneys and confusion. Home and to bed.

*December 2.* After dinner with my wife and Mercer to the Duke's house, and there saw *The Rivals*, which I had seen before; but the play not good, nor any thing but the good actings of Betterton and his wife, and Harris. Thence homewards, and the coach broke with us in Lincoln's Inn Fields. We all to Sir J. Minnes, where good discourse of the late troubles, they knowing things, all of them, very well; and Cocke, from the King's own mouth, being then intrusted himself much, do know particularly that the King's credulity to Cromwell's promises, private to him, against the advice of his friends, and the certain discovery of the practices and discourses of Cromwell in council, by Major Huntington, did take away his life, and nothing else. To my office to fit up an

account for Povy. At it till almost two o'clock, then to supper and to bed.

3rd. To a Committee of the Fishery: there only to hear Sir Edward Ford's proposal about farthings, wherein, O God! to see almost everybody interested for him, only my Lord Anglesey, who is a grave, serious man. My Lord Barkeley was there, but is the most hot, fiery man in discourse, without any cause, that ever I saw, even to breach of civility to my Lord Anglesea, in his discourse, opposing to my Lord's. At last, though without much satisfaction to me, it was voted that it should be requested of the King, and that Sir Edward Ford's proposal is the best yet made. The Duke of York is expected to-night with great joy from Portsmouth, after his having been abroad at sea three or four days with the fleet: and the Dutch are all drawn into their harbours. But it seems like a victory; and a matter of some reputation to us it is, and blemish to them; but in no degree like what it is esteemed at, the weather requiring them to do so.

4th. (Lord's day.) This day I hear the Duke of York is come to town, though expected last night, as I observed, but by what hindrance stopped I can't tell.

5th. Up, and to Whitehall with Sir J. Minnes; and there, among an infinite crowd of great persons, did kiss the Duke's hand, but had no time to discourse. By appointment comes my cousin Roger Pepys and Mrs. Turner and dined with me, and very merry we

were. To Whitehall, and there saw Mr. Coventry come to town, and with all my heart am glad to see him.

6th. To the Old Exchange, and there hear that the Dutch are fitting their ships out again, which puts us to new discourse, and to alter our thoughts of the Dutch as to their want of courage or force. Povy tells me how he believes, and in part knows, Creed to be worth £10,000—nay, that now and then, he hath £3,000 or £4,000 in his hands, for which he gives [Creed] the interest the King gives, which is ten per cent., and that Creed do come and demand it every three months the interest to be paid him, which Povy looks upon as a cunning and mean trick of him; but for all that he will do, and is very rich.

7th. By coach to my Lady Sandwich's, and there dined with her, and found all well and merry. Thence to Whitehall, and we waited on the Duke, who looks better than he did, methinks, before his voyage; and, I think, a little more stern than he used to do. Povy and Creed stayed and ate with me; but I was sorry I had no better cheer for Povy; for the fool may be useful, and is a cunning fellow in his way, though a strange one, and that, that I meet not in any other man, nor can describe in him.

9th. This day I had several letters from several places, of our bringing in great numbers of Dutch ships.

10th. At the office, where comes my Lord Brouncker with his patent in his hand, and I in his coach with him to the 'Change, where he set me down : a modest, civil person he seems to be, but wholly ignorant in the business of the Navy as possible, but I hope to make a friend of him, being a worthy man. Major Holmes is come from Guinea, and is now at Plymouth with great wealth, they say.

11th. (Lord's day.) To church alone in the morning. In the afternoon to the French church, where much pleased with the three sisters of the parson—very handsome, especially in their noses, and sing prettily. I heard a good sermon of the old man, touching duty to parents. Here was Sir Samuel Morland and his lady very fine, with two footmen in new liveries, the church taking much notice of them, and going into their coach after sermon with great gazing. So I home : my cousin, Mary Pepys's husband, comes after me, and told me that out of the money he received some months since he did receive 1s. 6d. too much, and did now come and give it me, which was very pretty.

12th. To Whitehall, where all of us with the Duke, Mr. Coventry did privately tell me the reason of his advice against our pretences to the Prize Office, in his letter from Portsmouth, because he knew that the King and the Duke had resolved to put in some Parliament men that deserved well, and that would be obliged by putting them in. Comes Cutler to tell us that the

King of France hath forbid any canvass to be carried out of his kingdom, This day to see how things are ordered in the world, I had a command from the Earl of Sandwich at Portsmouth, not to be forward with Mr. Chomley and Sir J. Lawson about the Mole at Tangier, because that what I do therein will, because of his friendship to me known, redound against him, as if I had done it upon his score. So I wrote to my Lord my mistake, and am contented to promise never to pursue it more, which goes against my mind with all my heart.

14th. To my bookseller's and there spoke for several books against new year's day, I resolving to lay out about £7 or £8: and bespoke also some plate spoons and forks.

15th. It seems, of all mankind there is no man so led by another as the Duke is by my Lord Muskerry and this Fitzhardinge: insomuch, as when the King would have him to be Privy Purse, the Duke wept, and said, "But, Sir, I must have your promise, if you will have my dear Charles from me, that if ever you have occasion for an army again, I may have him with me; believing him to be the best commander of an army in the world." But Mr. Chomley thinks, as all other men I meet do, that he is a very ordinary fellow. It is strange how the Duke also does love naturally, and affect the Irish above the English. He, of the company he carried with him to sea, took above two-thirds

Irish and French. He tells me the King does hate my Lord Chancellor; and that they, that is, the King and Lord Fitzhardinge, do laugh at him for a dull fellow; and in all this business of the Dutch war does nothing by his advice, hardly consulting him. Only he is a good minister in other respects, and the King cannot be without him; but, above all, being the Duke's father-in-law, he is kept in; otherwise Fitzhardinge were able to fling down two of him. This all the wise and grave Lords see and cannot help it, but yield to it. But he bemoans what the end of it may be, the King being ruled by these men, as he hath been all along since his coming: to the razing all the strongholds in Scotland, and giving liberty to the Irish in Ireland, whom Cromwell had settled all in one corner; who are now able, and it is feared every day a massacre beginning among them. To the coffee-house, where great talk of the comet seen in several places; and among our men at sea, and by my Lord Sandwich, to whom I intend to write about it to-night. This night I began to burn wax candles in my closet at the office to try the change, and to see whether the smoke offends like that of tallow candles.

16th. Bought a looking-glass by the Old Exchange, which costs me £5 5s. and 6s. for the hooks. A very fair glass.

17th. To the 'Change, and there, among others, had my first meeting with Mr. L'Estrange, who hath en-



deavoured several times to speak with me. It is to get now and then some news of me, which I shall, as I see cause, give him. He is a man of fine conversation I think, but I am sure most courtly and full of compliments. Mighty talk there is of this comet that is seen a'nights; and the King and Queen did sit up last night to see it, and did, it seems. And to-night I thought to have done so too: but it is cloudy, and so no stars appear. But I will endeavour it. Mr. Gray did tell me to-night, for certain, that the Dutch, as high as they seem, do begin to buckle; and that one man in this Kingdom did tell the King that he is offered £40,000 to make a peace, and others have been offered money also. It seems the taking of their Bordeaux fleet thus, arose from a printed Gazette of the Dutch's boasting of fighting, and having beaten the English: in confidence whereof, it coming to Bordeaux, all the fleet comes out, and so falls into our hands.

18th. (Lord's day.) After supper, Mr. Fuller, the parson, and I, told many stories of apparitions and delusions thereby, and I out with my stories of Tom Mallard; and then to prayers and to bed.

19th. With Sir J. Minnes to Whitehall, and there we waited on the Duke; and, among other things, Mr. Coventry took occasion to vindicate himself before the Duke and us, being all there, about the choosing of Taylor for Harwich. Upon which the Duke did clear him, and did tell us that he did expect that, after he

had named a man, none of us shall then oppose or find fault with the man; but if we had anything to say, we ought to say it before he had chosen him. Sir G. Carteret thought himself concerned, and endeavoured to clear himself: and by-and-by Sir W. Batten did speak, knowing himself guilty, and did confess, that, being pressed by the Council, he did say what he did, that he was accounted a fanatic; but did not know that at that time he had been appointed by his Royal Highness. To which the Duke replied, that it was impossible but he must know that he had appointed him; and so it did appear that the Duke did mean all this while Sir W. Batten.

21st. To Mrs. Turner, to Salisbury Court, and with her a little; and carried her, the porter staying for me, our eagle, which she desired the other day, and we were glad to be rid of her. They are much pleased with her. My Lord Sandwich this day writes me word that he hath seen at Portsmouth the comet, and says it is the most extraordinary thing he ever saw.

22nd. Met with a copy of verses, mightily commended by some gentlemen there, of my Lord Mordaunt's, in excuse of his going to sea this late expedition with the Duke of York. But, Lord! they are sorry things, only a Lord made them. Thence to the 'Change; and there among the merchants, I hear fully the news of our being beaten to dirt at Guinea, by De Ruyter with his fleet. The particulars, as much as by Sir G.

Carteret afterwards I heard, I have said in a letter to my Lord Sandwich this day at Portsmouth: it being most wholly to the utter ruin of our Royal Company, and reproach and shame to the whole nation, as well as justification to them, in their doing wrong to no man as to his private property, only taking whatever is found to belong to the Company, and nothing else. Dined at the "Dolphin"—Sir G. Carteret, Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, and I, with Sir William Boreman, and Sir Theophilus Biddulph and others, Commissioners of the Sewers, about our place below to lay masts in. But coming a little too soon, I out again, and took boat down to Redriffe; and just in time within two minutes, and saw the new vessel of Sir William Petty's launched, the King and Duke being there. It swims and looks finely, and I believe will do well. Coming away back immediately to dinner, where a great deal of good discourse, and Sir G. Carteret's discourse of this Guinea business, with great displeasure at the loss of our honour there, and do now confess that the trade brought all these troubles upon us between the Dutch and us.

24th. Having sat up all night till past two o'clock this morning, our porter being appointed, comes and tells us that the bellman tells him that the star is seen upon Tower Hill; so I, that had been all night setting in order all my old papers in my chamber, did leave off all, and my boy and I to the Tower

Hill, it being a most fine, bright, moonshine night, and a great frost, but no comet to be seen. At noon to the 'Change, to the coffee-house; and there heard Sir Richard Ford tell the whole story of our defeat at Guinea, wherein our men are guilty of the most horrid cowardice and perfidiousness, as he says and tells it, that ever Englishmen were. Captain Raynolds, that was the only commander of any of the King's ships there, was shot at by De Ruyter, with a bloody flag flying. He, instead of opposing, which indeed, had been to no purpose, but only to maintain honour, did poorly go on board himself, to ask what De Ruyter would have, and so yield to whatever De Ruyter would desire. The King and the Duke are highly vexed at it, it seems, and the business deserves it. I saw the comet, which now, whether worn away or no, I know not, appears not with a tail, but only is larger and duller than any other star, and is come to rise betimes, and to make a great arch, and is gone quite to a new place in the heavens than it was before; but I hope, in a clearer night, something more will be seen.

25th. (Lord's day.) To Mr. Rawlinson's church, where I heard a good sermon of one that I remember was at Paul's with me—his name Maggett; and very great store of fine women there is in this church, more than I know anywhere else about us.

26th. To Sir W. Batten's, where Mr. Coventry and all our families here, and Sir Richard Ford and his,

and a great feast, and good discourse and merry, and so home to bed, where my wife and people innocently at cards, very merry. I to bed, leaving them to their sport and blindman's buff.

27th. Up at seven, and to Deptford and Woolwich in a galley; the Duke calling me out of a barge in which the King was with him to know whither I was going. I told him to Woolwich, but was troubled afterwards I should say no further, being in a galley, lest he should think me too profuse in my journeys. The comet appeared again to-night, but duskily. I went to bed, leaving my wife and all her folks, and Will also, to come to make Christmas gambols to-night.

28th. My wife to bed at eight o'clock in the morning, which vexed me a little, but I believe there was no hurt in it at all, but only mirth. Visited my Lady Sandwich, and was there with her and the young ladies playing at cards till night. Then home to bed, leaving my wife and people up to more sports, but without any great satisfaction to myself.

30th. To several places to pay away money, to clear myself in all the world, and, among others, paid my bookseller £6 for books I had from him this day, and the silversmith £22 18s. for spoons, forks, and sugar-box.

31st. To my accounts of the whole year till past twelve at night, it being bitter cold, but yet I was well satisfied with my work; and above all, to find myself, by the great blessing of God, worth £1,349, by which,

as I have spent very largely, so I have laid up above £500 this year above what I was worth this day twelve-month. The Lord make me for ever thankful to his holy name for it! Soon as ever the clock struck one, I kissed my wife in the kitchen by the fireside, wishing her a merry new year.

So ends the old year, I bless God, with great joy to me, not only from my having made so good a year of profit, as having spent £420, and laid up £540 and upwards; but I bless God I never have been in so good plight as to my health in so very cold weather as this is, nor indeed in any hot weather, these ten years, as I am at this day, and have been these four or five months. But I am at a great loss to know whether it be my hare's foot, or taking every morning of a pill of turpentine, or my having left off the wearing of a gown. My family is my wife, in good health, and happy with her; her woman Mercer, a pretty, modest, quiet maid; her chamber-maid Bessie, her cook-maid Jane, the little girl Susan, and my boy, which I have had about half a year, Tom Edwards, which I took from the King's chapel; and as pretty and loving quiet a family I have as any man in England. My credit in the world and my office grows daily, and I am in good esteem with everybody, I think. My troubles of my uncle's estate pretty well over; but it comes to be of little profit to us, my father being much supported by my purse. But great vexations remain upon my

father and me from my brother Tom's death and ill condition, both to our disgrace and discontent, though no great reason for either. Public matters are all in a hurry about a Dutch war. Our preparations great; our provocations against them great; and, after all our presumption, we are now as much afraid of them as we lately contemned them. Everything else in the State quiet, blessed be God! My Lord Sandwich at sea with the fleet, at Portsmouth; sending some about to cruise for taking of ships, which we have done to a great number. This Christmas I judged it fit to look over all my papers and books, and to tear all that I found either boyish or not to be worth keeping or fit to be seen, if it should please God to take me away suddenly. Among others, I found these two or three notes, which I thought fit to keep:—

## AGE OF MY GRANDFATHER'S CHILDREN.

Thomas,	1595.	Edith, October 11, 1599.
Mary, March 16,	1597.	John, (my father), Jan 14, 1601.

My father and mother married at Newington in Surrey,  
Oct 15, 1626.

## THEIR CHILDREN'S AGES.

Mary, July 24, 1627.	<i>mort.*</i>	Sarah, August 25, 1635.	<i>mort.</i>
Paulina, Sept. 18, 1628.	<i>mort.</i>	Jacob, May 1, 1637.	<i>mort.</i>
Esther, March 27, 1630.	<i>mort.</i>	Robert, Nov. 18, 1638.	<i>mort.</i>
John, January 10, 1631.	<i>mort.</i>	Paulina, Oct. 18, 1640.	
Samuel, Feb. 23, 1632.		John, Nov. 26, 1641.	<i>mort.</i>
Thomas, June 18, 1634.	<i>mort.</i>	December 31, 1664.	

\* The word "*mort*" must have been in some instances added long after the entry was first made.

## CHARMS.

## 1. FOR THE STENCHING OF BLOOD.

Sanguis mane in te  
 Sicut Christus fuit in se ;  
 Sanguis mane in tuâ venâ  
 Sicut Christus in suâ poenâ ;  
 Sanguis mane fixus,  
 Sicut Christus quando fuit crucifixus.

## 2. A THORN.

Jesus, that was of a Virgin born,  
 Was pricked both with nail and thorn ;  
 It neither wealed nor belled, rankled nor boned ;  
 In the name of Jesus no more shall this.

Or, thus :—

Christ was of a Virgin born,  
 And he was pricked with a thorn ;  
 And it did neither bell nor swell ;  
 And I trust in Jesus this never will.

## 3. A CRAMP.

Cramp be thou faintless,  
 As our Lady was sinless,  
 When she bare Jesus.

## 4. A BURNING.

There came three angels out of the East ;  
 The one brought fire, the other brought frost—  
 Out fire ; in frost,  
 In the name of the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost.

AMEN.



THE DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS.

1664—1665.



## INTRODUCTION.

THIS volume of Pepys's Diary contains his notes of the year memorable as that of the Plague of London, after which came, in the next year, the Great Fire that burnt out the Plague. All the great plagues of old were caused by ignorance of the conditions that must be fulfilled by men who live together in communities and wish to live in health. In the old days, even in isolated country homes, conditions of health were violated to a dangerous extent. Even in these days the want of practical knowledge and the strength of bad traditions bring Death into many a pretty English village, and pay him sacrifice, especially of children; though they are not sacrificed as they were in the Plague of Carthage, 534 years before Christ, to appease the gods. Seventy-three years after that Plague of Carthage, there was a plague in Rome that was said to have destroyed a hundred thousand in and around the city. The plague in Athens, about thirty years after the plague in Rome, has been described by Thucydides. A plague in the Greek Islands, Egypt, and Syria (188 B.C.) was said to have destroyed two thousand persons every day. During a plague in the Roman Empire in the middle of the third century after Christ, for some time the deaths by plague in Rome alone were estimated at five thousand daily. The Black Death, which swept through Europe in 1348-9, was worse than all that had preceded, and was followed by two other great pestilences before the end of the century. London had always some plague, and, roughly speaking, about once in ten years a considerable spread of it, which, under certain conditions, made some year memorable as a Plague Year.

The Great Plague of London in 1665 began at the close of the year 1664, with two or three deaths in one family in Westminster. The flight of neighbouring families into the city was supposed to be the cause of its spread. A Plague Year was commonly considered to be due in England once in twenty years, and expectation of a great plague was in this case strengthened by a conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in Sagittarius on the tenth of October, and of Saturn and Mars in the same sign on the twelfth of November. In December, 1664, a hard frost set in which lasted for three months.

The outbreak of the plague was confined to a few cases until the frost broke. Infected houses were then shut up by order of the magistrates. Their inmates might not come out of them, friends and relations of the inmates might not enter these closed houses, each of them marked with a red cross, and the inscription, "Lord, have mercy upon us." At the door of every closed house was a guard to hand in food and medicine, and compel every inmate to stay in, after recovery, for a forty days' quarantine. Each new case in a house so closed imposed new quarantine, and the result was not seldom the death of all the inmates. Dr. Nathaniel Hodges, a Fellow of the College of Physicians, who remained in practice in the City during the Plague Year and afterwards wrote an account of it, wisely condemned this practice of sealing houses up, and advised that, at the next outbreak of plague, hospitals should be fitted up outside the city for the special treatment and isolation of plague cases. Dr. Hodges believed that in the homes closed by the red cross, one cause of increased mortality was greed of the hired nurses, who, "out of greediness to plunder the dead, would strangle their patients and charge it to the distemper in their throats." He tells of a nurse leaving a house in which all were dead, who herself fell dead in the street laden with her robberies, and of a citizen whom

his nurse stripped and left for dead, "but, recovering again, he came a second time into the world naked."

The infection continued with fluctuating force through May and June, and in July the panic became general. Sooner or later all those who could leave London did so. Milton removed to Chalfont St. Giles; Dryden went to stay with his wife's family at Charlton. The Government appointed a monthly fast for Public Prayer, and called also upon the College of Physicians to draw up a paper of instructions. Four fellows of the College of Physicians were officially appointed to attend the infected on all occasions; and it was made the duty of two aldermen to see that this was done. Other physicians, including the Regius Professor at Cambridge, joined in the work as volunteers, but nine of them fell victims to the Plague. The rich amply supplied the wants of the poor, but the Plague raged at first so much more fiercely among the common people that some called it the Poor's Plague. The full force of the Plague was felt in the months of August and September. Three, four, or five thousand died in London every week of the Plague. In one week the mortality was eight thousand. It swept off rich and poor, but more women than men, and nearly all the children. Of those born in London in this year, 1665, but few escaped.

About the beginning of September, the deaths were more than twelve thousand in a week. Orders were given to burn fires for three days in all the streets. But when heavy rain had put out the last fires the mortality was at its highest. Four thousand died in one night. There was no famine with this pestilence. The rich were liberal, the markets well supplied, and it was an unusually good fruit year. Cherries and grapes in their several seasons were unusually plentiful.

One plague produced another: there was a great plague of quacks, increasing the mortality. The

escape of tainted citizens carried the Plague of London into the neighbouring counties, and especially brought desolation into the towns upon the Thames. In October the Plague declined, as gradually as it had arisen. In the beginning of November, shops that had been shut up during the absence of their owners were reopened. Though the Plague had not quite disappeared, its terrors were past. Fugitives returned. Confidence was so great that rooms, and even beds, in which there had been quite recent deaths by Plague were used without purification. There was a slight fresh outbreak of mild cases in the spring of 1666 without any great mortality. But in 1665 the whole number of deaths registered by the parish clerks within the London Bills of Mortality was 97,306, and of these 68,597 died of the Plague. In the Plague of 1625, the deaths from plague in London had been 35,417. But a plague in Naples in 1656 had carried off four hundred thousand in six months. London was saved from the recurrence of this scourge by the rebuilding made necessary by the Fire of London in 1666, which we shall find described in the next volume of Mr. Pepys's Diary. War with the Dutch, another incident of 1665, was continued into 1666, and will be accounted for in the Introduction to Mr. Pepys's Diary of that "*Annus Mirabilis*."

H. M.

## PEPYS'S DIARY.

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*January 1 1664-5, (Lord's day).* This day I was dividing my expense, to see what my clothes and every particular have stood me in : I mean all the branches of my expense. At noon a good venison-pasty and a turkey to ourselves, without anybody so much as wished by us, a thing unusual for so small a family of my condition ; but we did it, and were very merry.

2nd. To my Lord Brouncker's by appointment, in the Piazza, in Covent Garden, where I occasioned much mirth with a ballet I brought with me, made from the seamen at sea to their ladies in town ; saying Sir W. Pen, Sir G. Asene, and Sir J. Lawson made them. Here a most noble French dinner and banquet. The street full of footballs, it being a great frost.

3rd. Up, and found Mr. Coventry walking in St. James's Park. I did my errand to him about the felling of the King's timber in the forests, and then to my Lord of Oxford, Justice in Eyre, for his consent thereto, for want whereof my Lord Privy Seal stops the whole business. Certain news that the Dutch

have taken some of our colliers to the North: some say four, some say seven. To Sir W. Batten's, who is going out of town to Harwich to-morrow to set up a lighthouse there, which he hath lately got a patent from the King to set up, that will turn much to his profit.

4th. To my Lord of Oxford's, but his Lordship was in bed at past ten o'clock: and Lord help us! so rude a dirty family I never saw in my life. To the 'Change, where I hear of some more of our ships lost to the northward. Mr. Moore and I to *Love in a Tub*, which is very merry, but only so by gesture, not wit at all, which methinks is beneath the house.

6th. At night home, being twelfth-night, and there chose my piece of cake, but went up to my viol and then to bed, leaving my wife and people at their sports, which they continued till morning, not coming to bed at all.

8th (Lord's day). To Whitehall Chapel, where one Dr. Beaumont preached a good sermon, and afterwards a brave anthem upon the 150th Psalm, where upon the word "trumpet" very good music was made.

9th. Walked to Whitehall. I saw the Royal Society bring their new book, wherein is nobly writ their charters and laws, and comes to be signed by the Duke as a Fellow; and all the Fellows are to be entered there, and lie as a monument; and the King hath put his, with the word Founder. Holmes was



this day sent to the Tower, but I perceive it is made matter of jest only; but if the Dutch should be our masters, it may come to be of earnest to him to be given over to them for a sacrifice, as Sir W. Raleigh was. To a Tangier committee, where I was accosted and most highly complimented by my Lord Bellases, our new governor, beyond my expectation, and I may make good use of it. Our patent is renewed, and he and my Lord Barkeley and Sir Thomas Ingram put in as commissioners.

11th. This evening by a letter from Plymouth, I hear that two of our ships, the *Leopard* and another, in the Straits, are lost by running aground; and that three more had like to have been so, but got off, whereof *Captain Allen* one: and that a Dutch fleet are gone thither; and if they should meet with our lame ships, God knows what would become of them. This I reckon most sad news; God make us sensible of it! When I came home, I was much troubled to hear my poor canary-bird, that I have kept these three or four years, was dead.

12th. Spoke with a Frenchman who was taken, but released by a Dutch man-of-war of thirty-six guns, with seven more of the King's, or greater ships, off the North Foreland, by Margate, which is a strange attempt, that they should come to our teeth; but the wind being easterly, the wind that should bring our force from Portsmouth will carry them away home.

13th. Walked to my Lord Bellasses' lodgings in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and there he received and discoursed with me, in the most respectful manner that could be; telling me that he desired my advice and my constant correspondence, which he much valued, and my courtship, in which, though I understand his design very well, and that it is only a piece of courtship, yet it is a comfort to me that I am become so considerable as to have him need say that to me, which, if I did not do something in the world, would never have been. Yesterday's news confirmed, though a little different; but a couple of ships in the Straits we have lost, and the Dutch have been in the Margate Road. To the King's house, to a play, *The Traitor*, where, unfortunately, I met with Sir W. Pen, so that I must be forced to confess it to my wife, which troubles me. Thence walked home, being ill satisfied with the present actings of the house, and prefer the other house before this. To my Lady Batten's, where I find Pegg Pen, the first time that ever I saw her to wear spots.

14th. Our late ill news confirmed, in loss of two ships in the Straits, but are now the *Phœnix* and *Nonsuch*. To the King's house, there to see *Volpone*, a most excellent play; the best I think I ever saw, and well acted.

15th (Lord's day). To church, where a most insipid young coxcomb preached. After dinner. to read in

“Rushworth’s Collections,” about the charge against the late Duke of Buckingham, in order to the fitting me to speak and understand the discourse anon before the King, about the suffering the Turkey merchants to send out the fleet at this dangerous time, when we can neither spare them ships to go, nor men, nor King’s ships to convey them. With Sir W. Pen in his coach to my Lord Chancellor’s, where, by and by, Mr. Coventry, Sir W. Pen, Sir J. Lawson, Sir G. Ascue and myself were called in to the King, there being several of the Privy Council, and my Lord Chancellor lying at length upon a couch, of the gout, I suppose; and there Sir W. Pen spoke pretty well to dissuade the King from letting the Turkish ships go out: saying, in short, the King having resolved to have 130 ships out by the spring he must have above twenty of them merchantmen, towards which he in the whole river could find but twelve or fourteen, and of them, the five ships taken up by these merchants were a part, and so could not be spared. That we should need 30,000 sailors to man these 130 ships, and of them in service we have not above 16,000: so that we shall need 14,000 more. That these ships will, with their convoys, carry about 2,000 men, and those the best men that could be got; it being the men used to the Southward that are the best men for war, though those bred in the North, among the colliers, are good for labour. That it will not be safe for the merchants,

nor honourable for the King, to expose these rich ships with his convoy of six ships to go, it not being enough to secure them against the Dutch, who, without doubt, will have a great fleet in the Straits. This Sir J. Lawson enlarged upon. Sir G. Ascue chiefly spoke that the war and trade could not be supported together. Mr. Coventry showed how the medium of the men the King hath one year with another employed in his navy since his coming, hath not been above 3,000 men, or at most 4,000 men; and now having occasion of 30,000, the remaining 26,000 must be found out of the trade of the nation. He showed how the cloths, sending by these merchants to Turkey, are already bought and paid for to the workmen, and are as many as they would send these twelve months or more; so the poor do not suffer by their not going, but only the merchant, upon whose hands they lie dead; and so the inconvenience is the less. And yet for them he propounded, either the King should, if his treasurer would suffer it, buy them, and showed the loss would not be so great to him: or dispense with the Act of Navigation, and let them be carried out by strangers; and ending that he doubted not but when the merchants saw there was no remedy, they would and could find ways of sending them abroad to their profit. All ended with a conviction, unless future discourse with the merchants should alter it, that it was not fit for them to go out, though the ships be

loaded. So we withdrew, and the merchants were called in. Staying without, my Lord Fitz Harding come thither, and fell to discourse of Prince Rupert's disease, telling the horrible degree of its breaking out on his head. He observed, also, from the Prince, that courage is not what men take it to be, a contempt of death; for, says he, how chagrined the Prince was the other day when he thought he should die.

16th. Ned Pickering met me and told me how active my Lord is at sea, and that my Lord Hinchingbroke is now at Rome; and, by all report, a very noble and hopeful gentleman. Thence to Mr. Povy's, and dined well after his old manner of plenty and curiosity. To a Tangier committee, where my Lord Barkeley was very violent against Povy. My Lord Ashley, I observe, is a most clear man in matters of accounts, and most ingeniously did discourse and explain all matters.

17th. To my Lord Ashley's, where to see how simply, beyond all patience, Povy did again by his many words and non-understanding, confound himself and his business to his disgrace, and rendering everybody doubtful of his being either a fool or a knave, is very wonderful. We broke up all dissatisfied. Here it was mighty strange to find myself sit here in committee with my hat on, while Mr. Sherwin stood bare as a clerk, with his hat off to his Lord Ashley and the rest; but I thank God I think myself never a whit

the better man for all that. A brave dinner by having a brace of pheasants, and very merry about Povy's folly.

18th. To my bookseller's, and there did give thorough direction for the new binding of a great many of my old books, to make my whole study of the same binding within very few.

19th. To Exeter House, and there was a witness of most base language against Mr. Povy from my Lord Peterborough, who is most furiously angry with him, because the other, as a fool, would needs say that the £26,000 was my Lord Peterborough's account and that he had nothing to do with it. This day was buried, but I could not be there, my cousin Percival Angier; and yesterday I received the news that Dr. Tom Pepys is dead at Impington, for which I am but little sorry, not only because he would have been troublesome to us, but a shame to his family and profession—he was such a coxcomb.

20th. To my bookseller's, and there took home Hook's book of Microscopy, a most excellent piece, and of which I am very proud. Homeward, in my way buying a hare and taking it home, which arose upon my discourse to-day with Mr. Batten in Westminster Hall, who showed me my mistake that my hare's foot hath not the joint to it, and assures me he never had his colic since he carried it about him; and it is a strange thing how fancy works, for I no sooner

handled his foot but I became very well, and so continue.

21st. Mr. Povy carried me to Somerset House, and there showed me the Queen-Mother's chamber and closet, most beautiful places for furniture and pictures, and so down the great stone stairs to the garden, and tried the brave echo upon the stairs, which continues a voice so long as the singing three notes, concords, one after another, they all three shall sound in consort together a good while most pleasantly. To a Tangier committee, where I saw nothing ordered by judgment, but great heat and passion and faction, now in behalf of my Lord Bellasses and to the reproach of my Lord Teviott. Now mighty well, and truly I can but impute it to my fresh hare's foot.

22nd (Lord's day). To church. Thence home, discoursing among other things, of a design I have of making a match between Mrs. Betty Pickering and Mr. Hill, my friend the merchant that loves music, and comes to me on Sundays, a most ingenious and sweet natured and highly accomplished person. I know not how their fortunes may agree, but their disposition and merits are much of a sort, and persons though different yet equally, I think, acceptable.

23rd. Up, and with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen to Whitehall, but there finding the Duke gone to his lodgings in St. James's for altogether, his Duchess being ready to lie in, we to him, and there did our

usual business. And here I met the great news confirmed by the Duke's own relation, by a letter from Captain Allen. First, of our own loss of two ships, the *Phoenix* and *Nonsuch* in the Bay of Gibraltar; then of his and his seven ships with him in the Bay of Cales, or thereabouts, fighting with the thirty-four Dutch Smyrna fleet; sinking the *King Salamon*, a ship worth £150,000 or more, some say £200,000, and another, and taking of three merchant-ships. Two of our ships were disabled by the Dutch unfortunately falling, against their will, against them; the *Advice*, Captain W. Poole, and *Antelope*, Captain Clerke. The Dutch men-of-war did little service. Captain Allen, before he would fire one gun, came within pistol-shot of the enemy. The Spaniards at Cales did stand laughing at the Dutch, to see them run away and flee to the shore, thirty-four or thereabouts, against eight Englishmen at most. I do purpose to get the whole relation, if I live, of Captain Allen himself. In our loss of the two ships in the Bay of Gibraltar, the world do comment upon the misfortune of Captain Moone of the *Nonsuch*, who did lose in the same manner the *Satisfaction*, as a person that hath ill luck attending him, without considering that the whole fleet was ashore. Captain Allen led the way, and himself writes that all the masters of the fleet, old and young, were mistaken, and did carry their ships aground. But I think I heard the Duke say



that Moone, being put into the *Oxford*, had in this conflict regained his credit by sinking one and taking another. Captain Seale, of the *Milford*, hath done his part very well in boarding the *King Salamon*, which held out half-an-hour after she was boarded, and his men kept her an hour after they did master her, and then she sank and drowned about seventeen of her men.

24th. The Dutch have, by consent of all the Provinces, voted no trade to be suffered for eighteen months, but that they apply themselves wholly to the war. Home to supper, having a great cold, got on Sunday last by sitting too long with my head bare for Mercer to comb and wash my ears.

25th. Dined upon a hare pie, very good meat. Mr. Hill tells me that he is to be assistant to the secretary of the Prize Office, Sir Ellis Layton, which, methinks, is but something low, but perhaps may bring him something considerable; but it makes me alter my opinion of his being so rich as to make a fortune for Mrs. Pickering.

27th. I away to Whitehall, and there walked up and down talking with Mr. Slingsby, who is a very ingenious person, about the Mint. He argues, that there being £700,000 coined in the Rump time, and by all the treasurers of that time, it being their opinion that the Rump money was in all payments, one with another, about a tenth part of all their money; then,

says he, the nearest guess we can make is, that the money passing up and down in business is £700,000. He also made me fully understand that the old law of prohibiting bullion to be exported is, and ever was, a folly and injury rather than good. Arguing thus, that if the exportations exceed the importations, then the balance must be brought home in money, which, when our merchants know cannot be carried out again, they will forbear to bring home in money, but let it lie abroad for trade, or keep in foreign banks; or, if our importations exceed our exportations, then, to keep credit, the merchants will and must find ways of carrying out money by stealth, which is a most easy thing to do, and is everywhere done, and therefore the law against it signifies nothing in the world. Besides, that it is seen that where money is free there is great plenty, where it is restrained, as here, there is great want, as in Spain.

28th. To clear all my matters about colours, and I find myself to have got clear by that commodity, £50, and something more, and earned it with due pains and care and issuing of my own money, and saved the King near £100 in it.

30th. This is solemnly kept as a fast all over the City, but I kept my house, putting my closet to rights again. To my office, and being late at it, comes Mercer to me, to tell me that my wife was in bed and desired me to come home, for they hear, and have,

night after night, lately heard noises over their head upon the leads. Now, knowing that I have a great sum of money in my house, this puts me into a most mighty affright, that for more than two hours I could not almost tell what to do or say, but feared this night, and remembered that this morning I saw a woman and two men stand suspiciously in the entry in the dark; I calling to them, they made me only this answer, the woman saying that the men came to see her; but who she was I could not tell. The truth is, my house is mighty dangerous, having so many ways to be come to, and at my windows over the stairs, to see who goes up and down; but, if I escape to-night, I will remedy it. God preserve us this night safe! So, at almost two o'clock, I home to my house, and in great fear to bed, thinking every running of a mouse really a thief, and so to sleep, very brokenly all night long, and found all safe in the morning.

*February 1.* After being in bed, my people come and say there is a great stink of burning, but no smoke. We called up Sir J. Minnes's and Sir W. Batten's people, and Griffin, and the people at the madhouse, but nothing could be found to give occasion to it. At this trouble we were till past three o'clock, and then the stink ceasing, I to sleep and my people to bed.

3rd. To Mrs. Turner's, who I perceive is vexed, because I do not serve her in something against the

great feasting for her husband's reading, in helping her to some good penn'eths, but I care not. My bill for the rebinding of some old books to make them suit with my study, cost me, besides other new books in the same bill, £3, but it will be very handsome. News is come from Deal that the same day my Lord Sandwich sailed thence with the fleet, that evening some Dutch men-of-war were seen on the back side of the Goodwin, and by all conjecture, must be seen by my Lord's fleet, which, if so, they must engage. To my uncle Wight's where the Wights all dined, and among the others pretty Mrs. Margaret, who indeed is a very pretty lady; and, though by my vow it costs me 12d. a kiss after the first, yet I did adventure upon a couple. To visit my Lady Sandwich, and she discoursed largely to me her opinion of a match, if it could be thought fit by my Lord, for my Lady Jemimah with Sir G. Carteret's eldest son; but I doubt he hath yet no settled estate in land. But I will inform myself and give her my opinion. Then Mrs. Pickering, after private discourse ended, we going into the other room, did at my Lady's command tell me the manner of a masquerade before the King and Court the other day, where six women, my Lady Castlemaine and Duchess of Monmouth being two of them, and six men, the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Arran, and Monsieur Blanfort, being three of them, in vizards, but most rich and antique dresses, did

dance admirably and most gloriously. God give us cause to continue the mirth!

4th. I to the "Sun" behind the 'Change, to dinner to my Lord Bellasses. He told us a very handsome passage of the King's sending him his message about holding out the town of Newark, of which he was then governor for the King. This message he sent in a slug-bullet, being written in cipher, and wrapped up in lead and sealed. So the messenger came to my Lord and told him he had a message from the King, but it was yet in his belly; so they did give him some physic and out it came. This was a month before the King's flying to the Scots; and therein he told him that at such a day, the 3rd or 6th of May, he should hear of his being come to the Scots, being assured by the King of France, that in coming to them he should be used with all the liberty, honour, and safety that could be desired. And at the just day he did come to the Scots. He told us another odd passage, how the King having newly put out Prince Rupert of his generalship, upon some miscarriage at Bristol, and Sir Richard Willis of his governorship of Newark at the entreaty of the gentry of the county, and put in my Lord Bellasses, the great officers of the King's army mutinied, and came in that manner with swords drawn, into the market-place of the town where the King was, which the King hearing, says, "I must horse." And there himself personally, when everybody expected

they should have been opposed, the King came, and cried to the head of the mutineers, which was Prince Rupert, "Nephew, I command you to be gone." So the Prince, in all his fury and discontent, withdrew, and his company scattered.

6th. One of the coldest days, all say, they ever felt in England.

7th. At home at dinner. It being Shrove Tuesday, had some very good fritters. This day, Sir W. Batten, who hath been sick four or five days, is now very bad, so as the people begin to fear his death; and I at a loss whether it will be better for me to have him die, because he is a bad man, or live, for fear a worse should come.

9th. Sir William Petty tells me that Mr. Barlow is dead, for which, God knows my heart, I could be as sorry as is possible for one to be for a stranger, by whose death he gets £100 per annum.

10th. To Paul's Churchyard, there to see the last of my books new bound; among others, my "Court of King James," and "The Rise and Fall of the Family of the Stuarts;" and much pleased I am now with my study; it being, methinks, a beautiful sight. In Mr. Grey's coach to Westminster, where I heard that yesterday the King met the Houses to pass the great bill for £2,500,000.

12th (Lord's day). To church, to St. Lawrence's in the Jewry, to hear Dr. Wilkins, the great scholar, for

curiosity, I having never heard him : but was not satisfied with him at all. I was well pleased with the church, it being a very fine church.

13th. On board Sir W. Petty's *Experiment*, which is a fine roomy vessel, and I hope may do well. Light upon some Dutchmen, with whom we had good discourse, touching stoving, and making of cables. But to see how despicably they speak of us for using so many hands more to do anything than they do—they closing a cable with twenty that we use sixty men upon. Captain Stokes, it seems, is dead at Portsmouth.

14th (St. Valentine). This morning comes betimes Dick Pen, to be my wife's Valentine, and came to our bedside. By the same token I had him brought to my side, thinking to have made him kiss me ; but he perceived me, and would not, so went to his Valentine, a notable, stout, witty boy. My Lord Sandwich is, it seems, with his fleet at Aldborough Bay.

15th. Busy all the morning. At noon, with Creed to the Trinity House, where a very good dinner among the old jokers, and an extraordinary discourse of the manner of the loss of the *Royal Oak* coming home from Bantam, upon the rocks of Scilly. Thence with Creed to Gresham College, where I had been by Mr. Povy the last week proposed to be admitted a member ; and was this day admitted by signing a book, and being taken by the hand of the president, my Lord Brouncker,

and some words of admittance said to me. After this being done, they to the Crown Tavern behind the 'Change, and there my Lord and most of the company to a club supper; Sir P. Neale, Sir R. Murray, Dr. Clerke, Dr. Whistler, Dr. Goddard, and others of the most eminent worth. Above all Mr. Boyle was at the meeting, and above him, Mr. Hooke, who is the most, and promises the least, of any man in the world that ever I saw. Here excellent discourse till ten at night, and then home.

16th. To Whitehall, where a committee of Tangier, but, Lord! to see what a degree of contempt—nay, scorn, Mr. Povy, through his prodigious folly, hath brought on himself in his accounts, that if he be not a man of a great interest, he will be kicked out of his employment for a fool.

17th. Povy tells me how he was hunted the other day, and is still, by my Lord Barkeley; and, among other things, tells me what I did not know, that my Lord will say openly that he hath fought more set fields than any man in England hath done.

18th. At noon, to the Royal Oak Tavern in Lombard Street, where Sir William Petty and the owners of the double-bottomed boat, the *Experiment* did entertain my Lord Brouncker, Sir R. Murray, myself, and others, with marrow-bones and a chine of beef. of the victuals they have made for this ship, and excellent company and good discourse; but, above all, I do



value Sir William Petty. Thence home, and took my Lord Sandwich's draught of the harbour of Portsmouth down to Ratcliffe, to one Burston, to make a plate for the King, and another for the Duke, and another for himself, which will be very neat. My Lord Sandwich, and his fleet of twenty-five ships in the Downs, returned from cruising, but could not meet with any Dutchmen.

19th (Lord's day). Hearing by accident of my maid's letting in a roguing Scotchwoman that haunts the office, to help them to wash and scour in our house, and that very lately I fell mightily out, and made my wife, to the disturbance of the house and neighbours, to beat our little girl, and then we shut her down into the cellar, and there she lay all night.

20th. Rode into the beginning of my Lord Chancellor's new house, near St. James's, which common people have already called Dunkirk House, from their opinion of his having a good bribe for the selling of that town. And very noble I believe it will be. Near that is my Lord Barkeley beginning another on one side, and Sir J. Denham on the other. To the Sun Tavern, where we dined merry, but my club and the rest came to 7s. 6d., which was too much.

21st. I dined with Sir W. Batten and my lady, they being nowadays very fond of me. My Lady Sandwich tells me how my Lord Castlemaine is coming over from France, and it is believed will soon be made

friends with his lady again. What mad freaks the Maids of Honour at Court have—that Mrs. Jennings, one of the Duchess's maids, the other day, dressed herself like an orange wench, and went up and down and cried oranges, till, falling down, or by some accident, her fine shoes were discerned, and she put to a great deal of shame; that such as these tricks being ordinary, and worse among them, thereby few will venture upon them for wives; my Lady Castlemaine will in merriment say, that her daughter, not above a year old or two, will be the first maid in the Court that will be married. This day my Lord Sandwich wrote me word from the Downs, that he is like to be in town this week.

22nd. At noon to the 'Change, busy; where great talk of a Dutch ship in the North put on shore, and taken by a troop of horse.

23rd. This day, by the blessing of Almighty God, I have lived thirty-two years in the world, and am in the best degree of health at this minute that I have been almost in my lifetime, and at this time in the best condition of estate that ever I was in—the Lord make me thankful!

25th. At noon to the 'Change, where, just before I come, the Swede that had told the King and the Duke so boldly a great lie of the Dutch flinging our men back to back into the sea at Guinny, so particularly, and readily, and confidently, was whipped round

the 'Change, he confessing it a lie, and that he did it in hopes to get something. It is said the judges, upon demand, did give it their opinion that the law would judge him to be whipped, to lose his ears, or to have his nose slit; but I do not hear that anything more is to be done to him. They say he is delivered over to the Dutch Ambassador to do what he pleased with him. To the Sun Tavern, and there dined with Sir W. Batten and Mr. Gifford, the merchant; and I hear how Nick Colborne, that lately lived and got a great estate there, is gone to live like a prince in the country; and that this Wadlow, that did the like at the Devil by St. Dunstan's, did go into the country, and there spent almost all he had got, and hath now chased this Colborne out of his house, that he might come to his old trade again.

27th. We to a Committee of the Council to discourse concerning pressing of men; but, Lord! how they meet! never sit down; one comes, now another goes, then comes another; one complaining that nothing is done, another swearing that he hath been there these two hours and nobody come. At last my Lord Anglesey says, "I think we must be forced to get the King to come to every committee, for I do not see that we do anything at any time but when he is here." And I believe he said the truth, and very constant he he is on council-days, which his predecessors, it seems, very rarely were. To Sir Philip Warwick's; and

there he did contract with me a kind of friendship and freedom of communication, wherein he assures me to make me understand the whole business of the Treasurer of the Navy, that I shall know, as well as Sir G. Carteret, what money he hath; and will needs have me come to him sometimes, or he meet me, to discourse of things tending to the serving the King; and I am mighty proud and happy in becoming so known to such a man. And I hope shall pursue it.

*March 1.* Being the day that by a promise, a great while ago made to my wife, I was to give her £20 to lay out in clothes against Easter, I did give it her, and then she abroad to buy her things. To Gresham College, where Mr. Hooke read a second very curious lecture about the late comet; among other things, proving very probably that this is the very same comet that appeared before in the year 1618, and that in such a time probably it will appear again, which is a very new opinion; but all will be in print. Then to the meeting, where Sir G. Carteret's two sons, his own, and Sir N. Slaning, were admitted of the society, and this day I did pay my admission money, 40s., to the Society. Here was very fine discourses and experiments, but I do lack philosophy enough to understand them, and so cannot remember them. Among others, a very particular account of the making of the several sorts of bread in France, which is accounted the best place for bread in the world.

2nd. Begun this day to rise betimes before six o'clock, and going down to call my people, found Bessie and the girl with their clothes on, lying within their bedding upon the ground close by the fireside, and a candle burning all night, pretending they would rise to scour. But Bessie is going, and so she will not trouble me long.

3rd. To see Mrs. Turner, who takes it mightily ill I did not come to dine with the Reader in Law, her husband, which, she says, was the greatest feast that ever was yet kept by a reader, and I believe it was well. But I am glad I did not go, which confirms her in an opinion that I am grown proud.

4th. William Howe came to see me. He tells me how little respectfully Sir W. Pen did carry it to my Lord on board the Duke's ship at sea, and that Captain Minnes, a favourite of Prince Rupert's, do show my Lord little respect; but that everybody else esteems my Lord as they ought. This day was proclaimed at the 'Change the war with Holland.

5th. (Lord's day). To my Lord Sandwich's, and dined with my Lord, it being the first time he hath dined at home since his coming from sea; and a pretty odd demand it was of my Lord to my Lady before me: "How do you, sweetheart? How have you done all this week?" himself taking notice of it to me that he had hardly seen her the week before. At dinner he did use me with the greatest solemnity in the world

in carving for me and nobody else, and calling often to my Lady to cut for me, and all the respect possible.

6th. With Sir J. Minnes to St. James's, and there did our business with the Duke. Great preparations for his speedy return to sea. I saw him try on his buff coat and hat-piece covered with black velvet. It troubles me more to think of his venture than of anything else in the whole war. I saw Bessie go away, she having, of all wenches that ever lived with us, received the greatest love and kindness, and good clothes besides wages, and gone away with the greatest ingratitude.

8th. This morning is brought me to the office the sad news of *The London*, in which Sir J. Lawson's men were all bringing her from Chatham to the Hope, and thence he was to go to sea in her; but a little on this side the buoy of the Nore, she suddenly blew up. About twenty-four men and a woman that were in the round-house and coach saved, the rest being above three hundred drowned, the ship breaking all in pieces, with eighty pieces of brass ordnance. She lies sunk, with her round-house above water. Sir J. Lawson hath a great loss in this of so many good chosen men, and many relations among them.

9th. At Paul's school, where I visited Mr. Crum-lum at his house. Among other discourse, we fell to the old discourse of Paul's school; and he did, upon my declaring my value of it, give me one of Lilly's

grammars of a very old impression, as it was in the Catholic times, at which I shall much set by. This night my wife had a new suit of flowered ash-coloured silk, very noble.

10th. At noon to the 'Change, where very hot, people's proposal of the city giving the King another ship for *The London*, that is lately blown up. It would be very handsome, and, if well managed, might be done; but, I fear, if it be put into ill hands, or that the courtiers do solicit it, it will never be done. To the Committee of Tangier at Whitehall, where my Lord Barkeley, and Craven, and others; but, Lord! to see how superficially things are done in the business of the lottery, which will be the disgrace of the fishery, and without profit.

11th. Sir J. Minnes from Lee Road, where they have been to see the wreck of *The London*, out of which, they say, the guns may be got, but the hull of her will be wholly lost, as not being capable of being weighed.

12th. (Lord's day.) Borrowing Sir J. Minnes's coach, to my Lord Sandwich's, but he was gone abroad. I sent the coach back for my wife, my Lord a second time dining at home on purpose to meet me, he having not dined once at home, but those times, since his coming from sea. I sat down and read over the Bishop of Chichester's sermon upon the anniversary of the King's death—much cried up, but methinks but

a mean sermon. Down to dinner, where my wife in her new lace whisk, which indeed is very noble, and I am much pleased with it, and so my lady also. Here very pleasant my Lord was at dinner; and after dinner did look over his plate, which Burston hath brought him to-day, and is the last of the three that he will have made. After much discourse with my lady about Sir G. Carteret's son, of whom she hath some thoughts for a husband for my Lady Jemima, we away home by coach again.

13th. This day my wife began to wear light-coloured locks, quite white almost, which, though it makes her look very pretty, yet, not being natural, vexes me, that I will not have her wear them.

14th. Dined with Sir W. Batten and Sir. J. Minnes at the Tower, with Sir J. Robinson, at a farewell dinner which he gives Major Holmes at his going out of the Tower, where he hath for some time, since his coming from Guinny, been a prisoner, and, it seems, had presented the Lieutenant with fifty pieces yesterday. Here a great deal of good victuals and company.

15th. To dinner, where my wife being gone down upon a sudden warning from my Lord Sandwich's daughters, to the *Hope* with them, to see the Prince, I dined alone. Anon to Gresham College, where among o'ther good discourse, there was tried the great poison of Maccassa upon a dog, but it had no effect all the time we sat there.



16th. This afternoon, Mr. Harris, the sailmaker, sent me a noble present of two large silver candlesticks and snuffers, and a slice to keep them upon, which indeed is very handsome.

17th. The Duke did give us some commands, and so broke up, not taking leave of him. But the best piece of news is, that instead of a great many troublesome Lords, the whole business is to be left with the Duke of Albemarle to act as Admiral in his stead; which is a thing that do cheer my heart; for the other would have vexed us with attendance, and never done the business. Povy and I by water to London together. In the way, of his own accord, he proposed to me that he would surrender his place of Treasurer to me to have half the profit. The thing is new to me; but, the more I think, the more I like it, and do put him upon getting it done by the Duke.

19th. (Lord's day.) To my Lord Sandwich's to dinner, and after dinner to Mr. Povy's, who hath been with the Duke of York, and by the mediation of Mr. Coventry, the Duke told him that the business shall go on, and he will take off Brouncker, and my Lord Fitz-Harding is quiet, too. Mr. Povy and I in his coach to Hyde Park, being the first day of the tour there, where many brave ladies; among others, Castlemaine lay impudently upon her back in her coach, asleep, with her mouth open. There was also my Lady Kerneguy, once my Lady Anne Hambleton. Here I

saw Sir J. Lawson's daughter and husband, a fine couple, and also Mr. Southwell and his new lady, very pretty. Thence back, putting in at Dr. Where's where I saw his lady, a very fine woman.

20th. Creed and I had Mr. Povy's coach sent for us, and we to his house; where we did some business, in order to the work of this day. Povy and I to my Lord Sandwich, who tells me that the Duke is not only a friend to the business, but to me, in terms of the greatest love and respect and value of me that can be thought, which overjoys me. Thence to St. James's, and there was in great doubt of Brouncker; but at last I hear that Brouncker desists. The Duke did direct Secretary Bennet to declare his mind to the Tangier Committee, that he approves of me for Treasurer; and with a character of me to be a man whose industry and discretion he would trust soon as any man's in England: and did the like to my Lord Sandwich. So to Whitehall, to the Committee of Tangier, where there were present, my Lord of Albemarle, my Lord Peterborough, Sandwich, Berkeley, FitzHarding, Secretary Bennet, Sir Thomas Ingram, Sir John Lawson, Povy and I; where after other business, Povy did declare his business very handsomely; that he was sorry he had been so unhappy in his accounts, as not to give their Lordships the satisfaction he intended, and that he was sure his accounts were right, and continues to submit them to

examination, and is ready to lay down in ready money the fault of his account; and that for the future, that the work might be better done, and with more quiet to him, he desired by approbation of the Duke, he might resign his place to Mr. Pepys. Whereupon Secretary Bennet did deliver the Duke's command, which was received with great content and allowance beyond expectation; the Secretary repeating also the Duke's character of me. And I could discern my Lord Fitz-Harding was well pleased with me, and signified full satisfaction, and whispered something seriously of me to the Secretary, and there I received their constitution under all their hands presently; so that I am already confirmed their Treasurer, and put into a condition of striking of tallies: and all without one harsh word of dislike, but quite the contrary; which is a good fortune beyond all imagination. Here we rose, and Povy and Creed and I, all full of joy, thence to dinner, they setting me down at Sir J. Winter's by promise, and dined with him, and a worthy fine man he seems to be, and of good discourse; and a fine thing it is to see myself come to the condition of being received by persons of this rank, he being, and having long been Secretary to the Queen-Mother. News is this day come of Captain Allen being come home from the Straits, as far as Portland, with eleven of the King's ships, and about twenty-two of merchantmen.

21st. My tailor coming to me, did consult all my

wardrobe, how to order my clothes against next summer. Received a couple of state-caps, very large, coming I suppose, to about £6 a-piece, from Burrows, the slop-seller.

22nd. To Mr. Houblon's, the merchant, where Sir William Petty, and abundance of most ingenious men, owners and freighters of *The Experiment* now going with her two bodies to sea. Most excellent discourse. Sir William Petty did tell me that in good earnest he hath in his will left some parts of his estate to him that could invent such and such things. After dinner, Mr. Hill took me with Mrs. Houblon, who is a fine gentlewoman, into another room, and there made her sing, which she does very well, to my great content. Thence to Gresham College, and there did see a kitling killed almost quite, but that we could not quite kill her with such a way: the air out of a receiver, wherein she was put, and then the air being let in upon her, revives her immediately—nay, and this air is to be made by putting together a liquor and some body that ferments—the steam of that does the work. I saw the Duke, kissed his hand, and had his most kind expressions of his value and opinion of me, which comforted me above all things in the world: the like from Mr. Coventry most heartily and affectionately. Saw among other fine ladies, Mrs. Middleton, a very great beauty; and I saw Waller, the poet, whom I never saw before.

23rd. To my Lord Sandwich, who follows the Duke this day by water down to the *Hope*, where the Prince lies. He received me, busy as he was, with mighty kindness and joy at my promotions; telling me most largely how the Duke hath expressed on all occasions his good opinion of my service and love for me.

24th. To Povy's, and there delivered him his letters of greatest import to him that is possible, yet dropped by young Bland, just come from Tangier, upon the road by Sittingburne, taken up, and sent to Mr. Pett, at Chatham. Thus everything done by Povy is done with a fatal folly and neglect. To my Lady Sandwich's, where my wife all this day, having kept Good Friday very strict with fasting. Here we supped, and talked very merry. My lady alone with me, very earnest about Sir. G. Carteret's son with whom I perceive they do desire my Lady Jemima may be matched.

26th. (Lord's day and Easter day.) This is the day seven years which by the blessing of God, I have survived of my being cut of the stone, and am now in very perfect good health, and have long been; and though the last winter hath been as hard a winter as any have been these many years, yet I never was better in my life, nor have not, these ten years, gone colder in the summer than I have done all this winter, wearing only a doublet, and a waistcoat cut open on the back; abroad, a cloak, and within doors a coat I slipped on

Now I am at a loss to know whether it be my hare's foot which is my preservation; for I never had a fit of the colic since I wore it, or whether it be my taking a pill of turpentine every morning.

27th. Up betimes to Mr. Povy's, and there did sign and seal my agreement with him about my place of being Treasurer for Tangier. Thence to the Duke of Albemarle, the first time that we officers of the Navy have waited upon him since the Duke of York's going, who hath deputed him to be Admiral in his absence; and I find him a quiet heavy man, who will help business when he can, and hinder nothing. I did afterwards alone give him thanks for his favour to me about my Tangier business, which he received kindly, and did speak much of his esteem of me. Thence, and did the same to Sir H. Bennet, who did the like to me very fully. To my Lord Peterborough's; where Povy, Creed, Williamson, Auditor Beale, and myself, and mighty merry to see how plainly my Lord and Povy do abuse one another about their accounts, each thinking the other a fool, and I thinking they were not either of them, in that point, much in the wrong, though in everything, and even in this manner of reproaching one another, very witty and pleasant. Among other things, we had here the genteelst dinner and the neatest house that I have seen many a day, and the latter beyond anything I ever saw in a nobleman's house. Thence visited my Lord Barkeley, and he

mighty friendly to me about the same business of Tangier. He said that the Parliament must be called again soon, and more money raised, not by tax, for he said he believed the people could not pay it, but he would have either a general excise upon everything, or else that every city incorporate should pay a toll into the King's revenue, as he says it is in all the cities in the world; for here a citizen hath no more laid on them than their neighbours in the country, whereas, as a city, it ought to pay considerably to the King for their charter, but I fear this will breed ill blood.

29th. Drawing up a proposal for Captain Taylor for him to deliver to the city about his building the new ship, which I have done well, and I hope will do the business.

31st. To visit my Lord of Falmouth, who did also receive me pretty civilly, but not as I expected: he, I perceive, believing that I had undertaken to justify Povy's accounts, taking them upon myself; but I rectified him therein. I find Creed mightily transported by my Lord of Falmouth's kind words to him, and saying that he hath a place in his intention for him, which he believes will be considerable. A witty man he is in every respect, but of no good nature, nor a man ordinarily to be dealt with.

*April 1.* With Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. Batten, and Sir J. Minnes, to my Lord Treasurer, and there did lay open the expense for the six months past, and an

estimate of the seven months to come, to November next; the first rising to above £500,000, and the latter will, as we judge, come to above £1,000,000. But to see how my Lord Treasurer did bless himself, crying he would do no more than he could, nor give more money than he had, if the occasion and expense were never so great, which is but a bad story.

3rd. To a play at the Duke's, of my Lord Orrery's, called *Mustapha*, which, being not good, made Betterton's part and Ianthe's but ordinary too. All the pleasure of the play was, the King and my Lady Castlemaine were there: and pretty witty Nell Gwynne, at the King's house, and the younger Marshall sat next us; which pleased me mightily.

5th. This day was kept publicly, by the King's command, as a fast day against the Dutch War. To Woolwich and Deptford, where did a very great deal of business, and then home, and there by promise find Creed, and he and my wife, and Mercer and I, by coach to take the air; and where we had formerly been, at Hackney, did there eat some pullets we carried with us, and some things of the house; and after a game or two at shuffle board, home, and Creed lay with me; but being sleepy, he had no mind to talk about business, which indeed I intended, by inviting him to lie with me, so to bed, he and I to sleep, being the first time I have been so much at my ease, and taken so much fresh air these many weeks or months.



6th. I went to Jervas's, my barber, for my periwig that was mending there. Great talk of a new comet : and it is certain do appear as bright as the late one at the best ; but I have not seen it myself.

7th. Sir Philip Warwick did show me nakedly the King's condition for money for the Navy ; and he assures me, unless the King can get some noblemen or rich money-gentlemen to lend him money, or to get the City to do it, it is impossible to find money ; we having already, as he says, spent one year's share of the three-years' tax, which comes to £2,500,000.

8th. To the Old Exchange, and there, of my pretty seamstress, bought four bands. The French Ambassadors are come incognito before their train, which will hereafter be very pompous. It is thought they come to get our King to join with the King of France, in helping him against Flanders, and they to do the like to us against Holland. We have lain a good while with a good fleet at Harwich. The Dutch not said yet to be out. We, as high as we make our show, I am sure, are unable to set out another small fleet, if this should be worsted. Wherefore, God send us peace ! I cry.

9th. (Lord's day.) To church with my wife in the morning in her new light-coloured silk gown, which is, with her new point, very noble.

10th. My Lord Brouncker took me and Sir Thomas Harvey in his coach to the Park, which is very

troublesome with the dust; and ne'er a great beauty there to-day but Mrs. Middleton.

11th. At noon dined at the "Sun," behind the 'Change, with Sir Edward Deering and his brother and Commissioner Pett, we having made a contract with Sir Edward this day about timber.

12th. To a Committee of Tangier, where, contrary to all expectation, my Lord Ashley, being vexed with Povy's accounts, did propose it as necessary that Povy should be still continued Treasurer of Tangier till he had made up his accounts; and with such arguments as, I confess, I was not prepared to answer, but by putting off of the discourse, and so, I think, brought it right again, but it troubled me. Sir G. Carteret, my Lord Brouncker, Sir Thomas Harvey, and myself, down to my Lord Treasurer's chamber to him and the Chancellor, and the Duke of Albemarle; and there I did give them a large account of the charge of the Navy, and want of money. But strange to see how they hold up their hands, crying, "What shall we do?" Says my Lord Treasurer, "Why, what means all this, Mr. Pepys? This is all true, you say; but what would you have me to do? I have given all I can for my life. Why will not people lend their money? Why will they not trust the King as well as Oliver? Why do our prizes come to nothing, that yielded so much heretofore?" And this was all we could get, and went away without other answer, which is one of

the saddest things that, at such a time as this, with the greatest action on foot that ever was in England, nothing should be minded, but let things go on of themselves and do as well as they can.

13th. To Sheriff Waterman's to dinner, all of us men of the office in town, and our wives, my Lady Carteret and daughters, and Ladies Batten, Pen, and my wife, &c. Very good cheer we had, and merry music at and after dinner, and a fellow danced a jig; but when the company began to dance, I came away lest I should be taken out; and God knows how my wife carried herself, but I left her to try her fortune.

14th. Up, and betimes to Mr. Povy, being desirous to have an end of my trouble of mind touching my Tangier business, whether he hath any desire of accepting what my Lord Ashley offered, of his becoming Treasurer again; and there I did, with a seeming most generous spirit, offer him to take it back again upon his own terms; but he did answer me, that he would not, above all things in the world, at which I was for the present satisfied; but, going away thence and speaking with Creed, he puts me in doubt that the very nature of the thing will require that he be put in again; and did give me the reasons of the auditors, which, I confess, are so plain, that I know not how to withstand them. But he did give me most ingenious advice what to do in it, and anon, my Lord Barkeley and some of the Commissioners coming together

though not in a meeting, I did procure that they should order Povy's payment of his remain of accounts to me; which order, if it do pass, will put a good stop to the fastening of the thing upon me. Called my wife and with her through the City, to Mile-End Green, and ate some cream and cakes, and so back home. This morning, I was saluted with the news that the fleets, our's and the Dutch, were engaged, and that the guns were heard at Walthamstow to play all yesterday, and that Captain Teddiman's legs were shot off in the *Royal Catherine*. But before night I heard the contrary, both by letters of my own and messengers thence, that they were all well of our side, and no enemy appears yet, and that the *Royal Catherine* is come to the fleet, and likely to prove as good a ship as any the King hath, of which I am heartily glad, both for Christopher Pett's sake, and Captain Teddiman, that is in her.

16th. (Lord's day.) I walked to the Rolls Chapel, expecting to hear the great Stillingfleet preach, but he did not; but a very sorry fellow, which vexed me. Captain [Silas] Taylor, my old acquaintance at Westminster, supped with me, and a good understanding man he is, and a good scholar; and, among other things a great antiquary. He can, as he says, show the very original charter to Worcester, of King Edgar's, wherein he styles himself Rex Marium Britanniae, &c.; which is the great text that Mr. Selden and others do

quote, but imperfectly and upon trust. But he hath the very original, which, he says, he will show me. This night news is come of our taking three Dutch men-of-war, with the loss of one of our captains.

17th. To the Duke of Albemarle's, where he showed me Mr. Coventry's letters, how three Dutch privateers are taken, in one whereof Everson's son is captain. But they have killed poor Captain Golding in *The Diamond*. Two of them, one of 32, and the other of 20 odd guns, did stand stoutly up against her, which hath 46, and the *Yarmouth*, that hath 52 guns, and as many more men as they. So that they did more than we could expect, not yielding till many of their men were killed. And Everson, when he was brought before the Duke of York, and was observed to be shot through the hat, answered, that he wished it had gone through his head rather than been taken. One thing more is written; that two of our ships the other day appearing upon the coast of Holland, they presently fired their beacons round the country to give them notice. And news is brought the King, that the Dutch Smyrna fleet is seen upon the back of Scotland; and thereupon the King hath wrote to the Duke, that he do appoint a fleet to go to the Northward to try to meet them coming home round: which God send! Thence to Whitehall, where the King, seeing me, did come to me, and, calling me by name, did discourse with me about the ships in the river; and this is the

first time that ever I knew the King did know me personally; so that hereafter I must not go thither, but with expectation to be questioned, and to be ready to give good answers. Thence with Creed, who came to dine with me, to the Old James, where we dined with Sir W. Rider and Cutler, and, by-and-by, being called by my wife, we all to a play, *The Ghosts*, at the Duke's house, but a very simple play. This day was left at my house a very neat silver watch, by one Briggs, a scrivener and solicitor, which I was angry with my wife for receiving, or at least, for opening the box whercin it was, and so far witnessing our receipt of it, as to give the messenger 5s. for bringing it; but it can't be helped, and I will endeavour to do the man a kindness, he being a friend of my uncle Wight's.

18th. To Sir Philip Warwick, and with him to my Lord Treasurer, who signed my commission for Tangier Treasurer, and the docket of my Privy Seal, for the moneys to be paid to me.

19th. Up by five o'clock, and by water to Whitehall; and there took coach, and with Mr. Moore to Chelsea: where, after all my fears what doubts and difficulties my Lord Privy Seal would make at my Tangier Privy Seal, he did pass it at first reading, without my speaking with him: and then called me in, and was very civil to me. I passed my time in contemplating, before I was called in, the picture of my Lord's son's lady, a most beautiful woman, and most like to Mrs.

Butler. Thence, very much joyed, to London back again, and found out Mr. Povy; told him this, and then went and left my Privy Seal at my Lord Treasurer's: and so to the 'Change, and thence to Trinity House; where a great dinner of Captain Crisp, who is made an Elder Brother. And so, being very pleasant at dinner, away home, Creed with me, and there met Povy; and we to Gresham College, where we saw some experiments upon a hen, a dog, and a cat, of the Florence poison. The first it made for a time drunk, but it came to itself again quickly; the second it made vomit mightily, but no other hurt. The third I did not stay to see the effect of it.

21st. This day we hear that the Duke and the fleet are sailed yesterday. Pray God go along with them, that they have good speed in the beginning of their work.

22nd. My wife making great preparation to go to Court to chapel to-morrow.

23rd. (Lord's day.) Mr. Povy, according to promise, sent his coach betimes, and I carried my wife and her woman to Whitehall Chapel, and heard the famous young Stillingfleet, whom I knew at Cambridge, and he is now newly admitted one of the King's chaplains; and was presented, they say, to my Lord Treasurer for St. Andrew's, Holborn, where he is now minister, with these words: that they, the Bishops of Canterbury, London, and another, believed he is the ablest young

man to preach the Gospel of any since the Apostles. He did make a most plain, honest, good, grave sermon, in the most unconcerned and easy yet substantial manner that ever I heard in my life, upon the words of Samuel to the people: "Fear the Lord in truth with all your heart, and remember the great things that he hath done for you;" it being proper to this day, the day of the King's Coronation. After dinner, Creed and we by coach took the air in the fields beyond St. Pancras, it raining now and then, which it seems is most welcome weather. After supper, Creed and I together to bed, in Mercer's bed; and so to sleep.

24th. To the Duke of Albemarle, where very busy. To my Lady Sandwich's to dinner, where my wife by agreement. Thence to the cock-pit, and there walked an hour with my Lord Duke of Albemarle alone in his garden, where he expressed in great words his opinion of me: that I was the right hand of the Navy here, nobody but I taking any care of anything therein: so that he should not know what could be done without me. At which I was, from him, not a little proud. So by coach with my wife and Mercer to the Park; but the King being there, and I now-a-days being doubtful of being seen in any pleasure, did part from the tour, and away out of the Park to Knightsbridge, and there ate and drank in the coach, and so home.

25th. This afternoon, W. Pen, lately come from his father in the fleet, did give me an account how the



fleet did sail, about 103 in all, besides small catches, they being in sight of six or seven Dutch scouts, and sent ships in chase of them.

27th. Creed dined with me; and, after dinner, walked in the garden, he telling me that my Lord Treasurer now begins to be scrupulous, and will know what becomes of the £26,000 saved by my Lord Peterborough, before he parts with any more money, which puts us into new doubts, and me into a great fear, that all my cake will be dough still. This night, William Hewer is returned from Harwich, where he hath been paying off some ships this fortnight, and went to sea a good way with the fleet, which was 96 in company then, men-of-war, besides some come in, and following them since, which makes now above 100—whom God bless!

28th. Down the river to visit the victualling-ships, where I find all out of order. And come home to dinner, and then to write a letter to the Duke of Albemarle about them, and carried it myself to the Council-chamber; and, when they rose, my Lord Chancellor, passing by, stroked me on the head, and told me that the Board had read my letter, and taken order for the punishing of the watermen for not appearing on board the ships. And so did the King afterwards, who do now know me so well, that he never sees me but he speaks to me about our Navy business.

29th. Troubled in my mind to hear that Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes do take notice that I am now-a-days much from the office upon no office business; but what troubles me more is, that I do omit to write, as I should do, to Mr. Coventry, which I must not do, though this night I minded it so little as to sleep in the middle of my letter to him, and committed forty blots and blurs, but of this I hope never more to be guilty.

30th. (Lord's day.) I with great joy find myself to have gained this month above £100 clear, and in the whole to be worth £1,400. Thus I end this month in great content as to my estate and gettings: in much trouble as to the pains I have taken, and the rubs I expect to meet with, about the business of Tangier. The fleet, with about 106 ships upon the coast of Holland, in sight of the Dutch, within the Texel. Great fears of the sickness here in the City, it being said that two or three houses are already shut up. God preserve us all!

*May 1.* I met my Lord Brouncker, Sir Robert Murray, Dean Wilkins, and Mr. Hooke, going by coach to Colonel Blunt's to dinner. So they stopped, and took me with them. No extraordinary dinner, nor any other entertainment good; but afterwards to the trial of some experiments about making of coaches easy. Thence to Deptford, and in to Mr. Evelyn's, which is a most beautiful place, but it being dark and late I

stayed not; but Dean Wilkins and Mr. Hooke and I walked to Redriffe; and noble discourse all day long did please me.

3rd. To the inn by Cripplegate, expecting my mother's coming to town, but she is not come this week, the coach being too full. My Lord Chief-Justice Hyde did die suddenly this week, a day or two ago, of an apoplexy.

5th. After dinner, to Mr. Evelyn's; he being abroad, we walked in his garden, and a lovely noble ground he hath indeed. And among other rarities, a hive of bees, so as, being hived in glass, you may see the bees making their honey and combs mighty pleasantly. This day, after I had suffered my own hair to grow long, in order to wearing it, I find the convenience of periwigs is so great, that I have cut off all short again, and will keep to periwigs.

7th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church with my wife. Yesterday begun my wife to learn to limn of one Browne, which Mr. Hill helps her to, and by her beginning, upon some eyes, I think she will do very fine things, and I shall take great delight in it.

9th. This day we have news of eight ships being taken by some of ours, going into the Texel—their two man-of-war that convoyed, running in. They came from about Ireland, round to the North.

10th. To the Cock-pit, where the Duke of Albemarle did give Sir W. Batten and me an account of the late

taking of eight ships, and of his intent to come back to the Gun-fleet with the fleet presently; which creates us much work and haste therein against the fleet comes. And thence to the Guard in Southwark, there to get some soldiers, by the Duke's order, to go keep pressmen on board our ships.

12th. By water to the Exchequer, and strike my tallies for £17,500, which methinks is so great a testimony of the goodness of God to me, that I, from a mean clerk there, should come to strike tallies myself for that sum, and in the authority that I do now, is a very stupendous mercy to me. But to see how every little fellow looks after his fees, and to get what he can for everything, is a strange consideration. The King's fees that he must pay himself for this £17,500 coming to above £100. After dinner comes my cousin, Thomas Pepys, of Hatcham, to receive some money of my Lord Sandwich's, and then I paid him what was due to him, upon my uncle's score, but, contrary to my expectation, did get him to sign and seal to any sale of lands for payment of debts.

13th. To the 'Change after office, and received my watch from the watch-maker, and a very fine one it is, given me by Briggs, the scrivener. But Lord, to see how much of my old folly and childishness hangs upon me still, that I cannot forbear carrying my watch in my hand in the coach all this afternoon, and seeing what o'clock it is one hundred times, and am apt to

think with myself how could I be so long without one; though I remember since, I had one and found it a trouble, and resolved to carry one no more about me while I lived. Troubled at a letter from Mr. Cholmly from Tangier, wherein he does advise me how people are at work to overthrow our victualling business, by which I shall lose £300 per annum. I am much obliged to him for this secret kindness, and look after this.

14th. (Lord's day.) To church, it being Whit-Sunday; my wife very fine in a new yellow bird's-eye hood, as the fashion is now; my mother having her new suit brought home, which makes her very fine. My wife and she and Mercer to Thomas Pepys's wife's christening of his first child. I took a coach, and to Wanstead, the house where Sir H. Mildmay died, and now Sir Robert Brookes lives, having bought it of the Duke of York, it being forfeited to him: a fine seat, but an old-fashioned house, and being not full of people, looks flatly. I all the afternoon in the coach, reading the treasonous book of the Court of King James, printed a great while ago, and worth reading, though ill intended.

15th. After dinner to the King's playhouse, all alone, and saw, *Love's Mistress*—some pretty things, and good variety in it, but no or little fancy. Letters from Sir G. Downing, of four days' date, that the Dutch are come out and joined, well manned, and

resolved to board our best ships, and fight, for certain, they will.

17th. To Langford's, where I never was since my brother died there. I find my wife and Mercer, having with him agreed upon two rich silk suits for me, which is fit for me to have, but yet the money is too much, I doubt, to lay out altogether; but it is done, and so let it be, it being the expense of the world that I can the best bear with, and the worst spare.

18th. To the duke of Albemarle, where we did examine Nixon and Stanesby, about their late running from two Dutchmen; for which they were committed to a vessel to carry them to the fleet to be tried. A most foul unhandsome thing as ever was heard, for plain cowardice on Nixon's part. Thence with the Duke of Albemarle in his coach to my Lord Treasurer, and there was before the King, who ever now calls me by my name, and Lord Chancellor, and many other great Lords, discoursing about insuring some of the King's goods, wherein the King accepted of my motion that we should; and so away, well pleased.

19th. To the Exchequer, and there got my tallies for £17,500, the first payment I ever had out of the Exchequer, and at the Legg spent 14s. upon my old acquaintance, some of them the clerks, and away home with my tallies in a coach, fearful every moment of having one of them fall out, or snatched from me. Sir W. Warren did give me several good hints and

principles not to do anything suddenly, but consult my pillow upon my Treasurership of Tangier, and every great thing in my life, before I resolve anything in it.

21st. (Lord's day.) This day is brought home one of my new silk suits—the plain one, but very rich camelot and noble. Tried it, and pleases me, but did not wear it, being I would not go out to-day to church.

22nd. To Deptford, it being Trinity-Monday, and so the day of choosing the master of Trinity House for the next year, where, to my great content, I find that, contrary to the practice and design of Sir W. Batten, to break the rule and custom of the Company in choosing their masters by succession, he would have brought in Sir W. Rider or Sir W. Pen, over the head of Hurleston, who is a knave, too; besides, I believe, the younger brothers did all oppose it against the elder, and with great heat did carry it for Hurleston, which I know will vex him to the heart. Thence, the election being over, to church, where an idle sermon from that conceited fellow, Dr. Britton, saving that his advice to unity, and laying aside all envy and enmity among them, was very apposite. To the Trinity House, and a great dinner as is usual.

23rd. Late comes Sir Arthur Ingram to my office to tell me. that, by letters from Amsterdam, of the 18th of this month, the Dutch fleet, being about 100 men-of-war, besides fire-ships, &c., did set out upon the 13th and 14th inst. Being divided into seven

squadrons, viz. 1. General Opdam. 2. Cottenar, of Rotterdam. 3. Trump. 4. Schram, of Horne. 5. Stillingworth, of Freezland. 6. Everson. 7. One other, not named, of Zealand.

24th. To the Coffee House, where all the news is of the Dutch being gone out, and of the plague growing upon us in this town, and of remedies against it: some saying one thing, and some another.

26th. In the evening by water to the Duke of Albemarle, whom I found mightily off the hooks, that the ships are not gone out of the river, which vexed me to see.

28th. (Lord's day.) I hear that Nixon is condemned to be shot to death for his cowardice by a Council of War. To Sir Philip Warwick's to dinner, where abundance of company come in unexpectedly; and here I saw one pretty piece of household stuff, as the company increaseth, to put a larger leaf upon an oval table. After dinner, much good discourse with Sir Philip, who, I find, I think a most pious good man, and a professor of a philosophical manner of life, and principles like Epictetus. Thence to my Lady Sandwich's, where, to my shame, I had not been a great while. Here, upon my telling her a story of my Lord Rochester's running away on Friday night last with Mrs. Mallett, the great beauty and fortune of the North, who had supped at Whitehall with Mrs. Stewart, and was going home to her lodgings with her grandfather, my Lord



Haly, by coach ; and was at Charing Cross seized on by both horse and footmen, and forcibly taken from him, and put into a coach with six horses, and two women provided to receive her, and carried away. Upon immediate pursuit my Lord of Rochester, for whom the King had spoke to the lady often, but with no success, was taken at Uxbridge ; but the lady is not yet heard of, and the King mighty angry, and the Lord sent to the Tower. Hereupon my lady did confess to me, as a great secret, her being concerned in this story ; for if this match breaks between my Lord Rochester and her, then, by the consent of all her friends, my Lord Hinchingbroke stands fair, and is invited for her. She is worth, and will be at her mother's death, who keeps but a little from her, £2,500 per annum. Pray God give a good success to it ! But my poor lady, who is afraid of the sickness, and resolved to be gone into the country, is forced to stay in town a day or two, or three, about it, to see the event of it.

29th. To the Swan, and there drank at Herbert's, and so by coach home—it being kept a great holiday through the city, for the birth and restoration of the King. Home to dinner, and then with my wife, mother, and Mercer, in one boat, and I in another, down to Woolwich. We have everywhere taken some prizes. Our merchants had good luck to come home safe—colliers from the North, and some Streights' men,

just now. And our Hamburg ships, of whom we were so much afraid, are safe in Hamburg. Our fleet resolve to sail out again from Harwich in a day or two.

30th. To dinner, to Sir G. Carteret's. Here a very fine, neat, French dinner, without much cost, we being all alone with my lady, and one of the house with her: and then, in the evening, by coach, with my wife, and mother, and Mercer, our usual tour by coach, and at the old house at Islington: but, Lord! to see how my mother found herself talk upon every object to think of old stories.

31st. To the 'Change, where great the noise and trouble of having our Hamburg ships lost; and that very much placed upon Mr. Coventry's forgetting to give notice to them of the going away of our fleet from the coast of Holland. But all without reason, for he did; but the merchants, not being ready, stayed longer than the time ordered for the convoy to stay, which was ten days. To Hnysman's, the painter, who, I intend, shall draw my wife. He was not within, but I saw several good pictures.

*June 1.* After dinner I put on my new camelot suit; the best that ever I wore in my life, the suit costing me above £24. In this I went with Creed to Goldsmith's Hall, to the burial of Sir Thomas Viner; which Hall, and Haberdashers' also, was so full of people, that we were fain for ease and coolness to go

forth to Paternoster Row, to choose a silk to make me a plain ordinary suit. That done, we walked to Cornhill, and there, at Mr. Cade's, stood in the balcony, and saw all the funeral, which was with the blue-coat boys and old men, all the Aldermen, and Lord Mayor, &c., and the number of the company very great: the greatest I ever did see for a tavern.

2nd. Met an express from Sir W. Batten at Harwich, that the fleet is all sailed from Solebay, having spied the Dutch fleet at sea, and that, if the calms hinder not, they must needs now be engaged with them. A letter also came to me from Mr. Hater, committed by the Council this afternoon to the Gate House, upon the misfortune of having his name used by one, without his knowledge or privity, for the receiving of some powder that he had bought. Up to Court about these two, and for the former was led up to my Lady Castlemaine's lodgings, where the King, and she, and others were at supper, and there I read the letter and returned: and to Sir G. Carteret about T. Hater, and shall have him released to-morrow upon my giving bail for his appearance. Sir G. Carteret did go on purpose to the King to ask this, and it is granted.

3rd. To Whitehall, and upon entering into recognisances, T. Hater was released. Home, vexed to be kept from the office all the morning, which I had not been in many months before if not some years. All

this day, by all people upon the river, and almost everywhere else hereabout, were heard the guns, our two fleets for certain being engaged; which was confirmed by letters from Harwich, but nothing particular; and all our hearts full of concernment for the Duke, and I particularly for my Lord Sandwich and Mr. Coventry, after his Royal Highness.

4th. (Lord's day.) News came that our fleet is pursuing the Dutch, who, either by cunning or by being worsted, do give ground, but nothing more for certain.

5th. Great talk of the Dutch being fled, and we in pursuit of them, and that our ship *Charity* is lost upon our Captain's, Wilkinson, and Lieutenant's yielding, but of this there is no certainty, save the report of some of the sick men of the *Charity*, turned adrift in a boat, and taken up and brought on shore yesterday to Solebay, and the news hereof brought by Sir Henry Felton. Certain news come that our fleet is in sight of the Dutch ships.

6th. To my Lady Sandwich's; who, poor lady, expects every hour to hear of my Lord; but in the best temper, neither confident nor troubled with fear, that I ever did see in my life. She tells me my Lord Rochester is now declaredly out of hopes of Mrs. Mallett, and now she is to receive notice in a day or two how the King stands inclined to the giving leave for my Lord Hinchingbroke to look

after her, and, that being done, to bring it to an end shortly.

7th. This morning my wife and mother rose about two o'clock; and with Mercer, Mary, the boy, and W. Hewer, as they had designed, took boat, and down to refresh themselves on the water to Gravesend. To the Dolphin tavern, where Sir J. Minnes, Lord Brouncker, Sir Thomas Harvey, and myself dined, upon Sir G. Carteret's charge, and very merry we were, Sir Thomas Harvey being very droll. To the New Exchange, and there drunk whey, with much entreaty getting it for our money, and they would not be entreated to let us have one glass more. So took water to Fox-Hall, to the Spring Garden, and there walked an hour or two with great pleasure, saving our minds ill at ease concerning the fleet and my Lord Sandwich: but we have no news of them, and ill reports run up and down of his being killed, but without ground. Here stayed, pleasantly walking, and spending but sixpence till nine at night. The hottest day that ever I felt in my life. This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and "Lord have mercy upon us!" written there; which was a sad sight to me, being the first of the kind that, to my remembrance, I ever saw.

8th. I to my Lord Treasurer's by appointment of Sir Thomas Ingram's, to meet the Goldsmiths; where

I met with the great news at last newly come, brought by Bab May from the Duke of York, that we have totally routed the Dutch; that the Duke himself, the Prince, my Lord Sandwich, and Mr. Coventry, are all well; which did put me into such joy, that I forgot almost all other thoughts. With great joy to the Cockpit, where the Duke of Albemarle, like a man out of himself with content, new-told me all; and by-and-by comes a letter from Mr. Coventry's own hand to him, which he never opened, which was a strange thing, but did give it me to open and read, and consider what was fit for our office to do in it, and leave the matter with Sir W. Clerke; which, upon such a time and occasion, was a strange piece of indifference, hardly possible. I copied out the letter, and did also take minutes out of Sir W. Clerke's other letters; and the sum of the news is:—

VICTORY OVER THE DUTCH, JUNE 3, 1665.

This day they engaged: the Dutch neglecting greatly the opportunity of the wind they had of us; by which they lost the benefit of their fire-ships. The Earl of Falmouth, Muskerry, and Mr. Richard Boyle killed on board the Duke's ship, the *Royal Charles*, with one shot: their blood and brains flying in the Duke's face; and the head of Mr. Boyle striking down the Duke, as some say. Earl of Marlborough, Portland, Rear Admiral Sansum, to Prince Rupert, killed, and Captain Kirby and Ableson. Sir John Lawson wounded on

the knee : hath had some bones taken out, and is likely to be well again. Upon receiving the hurt, he sent to the Duke for another to command the *Royal Oak*. The Duke sent Jordan out of the *St. George*, who did brave things to her. Captain Jeremiah Smith, of the *Mary*, was second to the Duke, and stepped between him and Captain Seaton, of the *Urania*, 76 guns and 400 men, who had sworn to board the Duke; killed him 200 men, and took the ship; himself losing 99 men, and never an officer saved, but himself and lieutenant. His master indeed is saved, with his leg cut off. Admiral Opdam blown up, Trump killed, and said by Holmes; all the rest of their admirals, as they say, but Everson, whom they dare not trust for his affection to the Prince of Orange, are killed: we have taken and sunk, as is believed, about twenty-four of their best ships; killed and taken near 8,000 or 10,000 men, and lost, we think, not above 700. A greater victory never known in the world. They are all fled; some 43 got into the Texel, and others elsewhere, and we in pursuit of the rest. Thence, with my heart full of joy, home; then to my Lady Pen's, where they are all joyed, and not a little puffed up at the good success of their father; and good service indeed is said to have been done by him. Had a great bonfire at the gate; and I, with my Lady Pen's people, and others, to Mrs. Turner's great room, and there down into the street. I did give the boys four shillings among

them, and mighty merry: so home to bed, with my heart at great rest and quiet, saving that the consideration of the victory is too great for me presently to comprehend.

9th. To Whitehall, and in my way met with Mr. Moore, who eases me in one point wherein I was troubled; which was, that I heard of nothing said or done by my Lord Sandwich: but he tells me that Mr. Cooling, my Lord Chamberlain's secretary, did hear the King say that my Lord Sandwich had done nobly and worthily. The King, it seems, is much troubled at the fall of my Lord Falmouth; but I do not meet with any man else that so much as wishes him alive again, the world conceiving him a man of too much pleasure to do the King any good, or offer any good office to him. But I hear, of all hands, he is confessed to be a man of great honour, that did show it in this his going with the Duke, the most that ever any man did. Home, where my people busy to make ready a supper against night for some guests, in lieu of my stone-feasts. With my tailor to buy a silk suit, which though I had one lately, yet I do, for joy of the good news we have lately had of our victory over the Dutch, which makes me willing to spare myself something extraordinary in clothes; and, after long resolution of having nothing but black, I did buy a coloured silk ferrandin.

10th. In the evening home to supper; and there, to



my great trouble, hear that the plague is come into the City, though it hath, these three or four weeks since its beginning, been wholly out of the City; but where should it begin but in my good friend and neighbour's, Dr. Burnett, in Fenchurch Street; which, in both points, troubles me mightily.

11th. (Lord's day.) Up, and expected long a new suit; but coming not, dressed myself in my new black silk camelot suit; and, when fully ready, comes my new one of coloured ferrandin, which my wife puts me out of love with, which vexes me. At noon, by invitation, comes my two cousin Joyces and their wives—my aunt James and he-cousin Harman—his wife being ill. Had a good dinner for them, and as merry as I could be in such company. They being gone, I out of doors a little, to show, forsooth, my new suit. I saw poor Dr. Burnett's door shut; but he hath, I hear, gained great good-will among his neighbours: for he discovered it himself first, and caused himself to be shut up of his own accord; which was very handsome.

12th. Up, and in my yesterday's new suit to the Duke of Albemarle, and thence returned; and, with my tailor, bought some good lace for my sleeve bands in Paternoster Row. The Duke of York is sent for last night, and expected to be here to-morrow.

13th. At noon with Sir G. Carteret to my Lord Mayor's to dinner, where much company in a little

room. His name, Sir John Lawrence. Here were at table three Sir Richard Brownes, viz.: he of the Council, a clerk, and the Alderman, and his son; and there was a little grandson, also Richard, who will hereafter be Sir Richard Browne. The alderman did here openly tell in boasting how he had, only upon suspicion of disturbances, if there had been any bad news from sea, clapped up several persons that he was afraid of; and that he had several times done the like, and would do, and take no bail where he saw it unsafe for the King. But by-and-by he said that he was now sued in the Exchequer for false imprisonments, that he had, upon the same score, imprisoned while he was Mayor four years ago, and asked advice about it. I told him I believed there was none, and told my story of Field, at which he was troubled, and said that it was then unsafe for any man to serve the King, and, I believed, knew not what to do therein; but that Sir Richard Browne, of the Council, advised him to speak with my Lord Chancellor about it. My Lord Mayor very respectful to me; and so I after dinner away, and found Sir J. Minnes ready with his coach and four horses at our office gate, for him and me to go out of town to meet the Duke of York coming from Harwich to town, and so far as Ilford, and there 'light. By-and-by comes to us Sir John Shaw and Mr. Neale, that married the rich widow Gold, upon the same errand. After eating a dish of cream, we took coach again,

hearing nothing of the Duke, and away home—a most pleasant evening and road.

14th. I met with Mr. Cooling, who observed to me how he finds everybody silent in the praise of my Lord Sandwich to set up the Duke and the Prince; but that the Duke did, both to the King and my Lord Chancellor, write abundantly of my Lord's courage and service. And I this day met with a letter of Captain Ferrer's, wherein he tells how my Lord was with his ship in all the heat of the day, and did most worthily. To Westminster, and there saw my Lord Marlborough brought to be buried, several Lords of the Council carrying him, and with the heralds in some state.

15th. Up, and put on my new stuff suit with close knees, which becomes me most nobly, as my wife says. At noon, put on my first laced band, all lace; and to Kate Joyce's to dinner, where my mother, wife, and abundance of their friends, and good usage. At Woolwich, discoursed with Mr. Sheldon about my bringing my wife down for a month or two to his house, which he approves of, and, I think, will be very convenient. This day, the News-book, upon Mr. Moore's showing L'Estrange, Captain Ferrer's letter, did do my Lord Sandwich great right as to the late victory. The Duke of York not yet come to town. The town grows very sickly, and people to be afraid of it: there dying this last week of the plague 112,

from 43 the week before; whereof but one in Fenchurch Street, and one in Broad Street, by the Treasurer's office.

16th. After dinner, and doing some business at the office, I to Whitehall, where the Court is full of the Duke and his courtiers returned from sea. I kissed his hands, and we waited all the afternoon. By-and-by saw Mr. Coventry, which rejoiced my very heart. Anon, he and I, from all the rest of the company, walked into the Matted Gallery; where after many expressions of love, we fell to talk of business; among other things, how my Lord Sandwich, both in his councils and personal service, hath done most honourably and serviceably. Sir. J. Lawson is come to Greenwich, but his wound in his knee yet very bad. Jonas Poole, in the *Vanguard*, did basely, so as to be, or will be, turned out of his ship. Captain Holmes expecting, upon Sansum's death, to be made Rear-Admiral to the Prince—but Harman is put in—hath delivered up to the Duke his commission, which the Duke took and tore. He, it seems, had bid the Prince, who first told him of Holmes's intention, that he should dissuade him from it; for that he was resolved to take it if he offered it. Yet Holmes would do it, like a rash, proud coxcomb. But he is rich, and hath, it seems, sought an occasion of leaving the service. Several of our captains have done ill. The great ships are the ships to do the business, they quite

deadening the enemy. They run away upon sight of the Prince. It is strange to see how people do already slight Sir William Barkeley, my Lord FitzHarding's [Earl of Falmouth's] brother, who, three months since, was the delight of the Court. Captain [Jeremiah] Smith, of the *Mary*, the Duke talks mightily of; and some great thing will be done for him. Strange to hear how the Dutch do relate, as the Duke says, that they are the conquerors; and bonfires are made in Dunkirk in their behalf; though a clearer victory can never be expected. Mr. Coventry thinks they cannot have lost less than 6,000 men, and we not dead above 200, and wounded about 400; in all about 600. Captain Grove, the Duke told us this day hath done the basest thing at Lowestoft, in hearing of the guns, and could not, as others, be got out, but stayed there, for which he will be tried; and is reckoned a prating coxcomb and of no courage.

17th. It struck me very deep this afternoon going with a hackney coach from Lord Treasurer's down Holborn, the coachman I found to drive easily and easily, at last stood still, and came down hardly able to stand, and told me that he was suddenly struck very sick, and almost blind—he could not see; so I alight, and went into another coach, with a sad heart for the poor man and for myself also lest he should have been struck with the plague. Sir John Lawson, I hear, is worse than yesterday; the King went to see him

to-day most kindly. It seems his wound is not very bad; but he hath a fever, a thrush, and a hiccup, all three together, which are, it seems, very bad symptoms.

18th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church, where Sir W. Pen was the first time since he came from sea after the battle. Mr. Mills made a sorry sermon. Sir W. Batten and my lady are returned from Harwich. I went to see them, and it is pretty to see how we appear kind one to another, though neither of us care twopence for another.

19th. To my little new goldsmith's [Colvill], whose wife, indeed, is one of the prettiest, modest, black women that ever I saw. I paid for a dozen of silver salts, £6 14s. 6d. Thence to see Sir J. Lawson, who is better, but continues ill—his hiccup not being yet gone, could have little discourse with him.

20th. Thanksgiving-day for victory over the Dutch. To the Dolphin Tavern, where all we officers of the Navy met with the Commissioners of the Ordnance by agreement, and dined; where good music at my direction. Our club came to 34s. a man, nine of us. By water to Foxhall, and there walked an hour alone, observing the several humours of the citizens that were there this holiday, pulling off cherries, and God knows what. This day I informed myself that there died four or five at Westminster of the plague in several houses, upon Sunday last, in Bell Alley, over against the Palace-gate; yet people do think that the

number will be fewer in the town than it was the last week. The Dutch are come out again with twenty sail under Bankert; supposed gone to the northward, to meet their East India fleet.

21st. I find our tallies will not be money in less than sixteen months, which is a sad thing for the King to pay all that interest for every penny he spends; and, which is strange, the goldsmiths with whom I spoke do declare that they will not be moved to part with money upon the increase of their consideration of ten per cent., which they have. I find all the town almost going out of town, the coaches and waggons being all full of people going into the country.

22nd. In great pain whether to send my mother into the country to-day or no; I hearing, by my people, that the poor wretch hath a mind to stay a little longer, and I cannot blame her. At last I resolved to put it to her, and she agreed to go because of the sickness in town and my intentions of removing my wife. She was to the last unwilling to go, but would not say so, but put it off till she lost her place in the coach, and was fain to ride in the waggon part.

23rd. To a Committee for Tangier, where unknown to me, comes my Lord Sandwich, who, it seems, came to town last night. After the Committee was up, my Lord Sandwich did take me aside in the robe-chamber, telling me how much the Duke and Mr. Coventry did, both in the fleet and here, make of him, and that in

some opposition to the Prince; and, as a more private passage, he told me that he hath been with them both when they have made sport of the Prince, and laughed at him; yet that all the discourse of the town, and the printed relation, should not give him one word of honour, my Lord thinks very strange; he assuring me, that, though by accident the Prince was in the van in the beginning of the fight for the first pass, yet, all the rest of the day, my Lord was in the van, and continued so. That notwithstanding all this noise of the Prince, he had hardly a shot in his side, nor a man killed, whereas he [Lord Sandwich] above 30 in her hull, and not one mast whole nor yard; but the most battered ship of the fleet, and lost most men, saving Captain Smith of the *Mary*. That the most the Duke did was almost out of gun-shot; but that, indeed, the Duke did come up to my Lord's rescue, after he had a great while fought with four of them. How poorly Sir John Lawson performed, notwithstanding all that was said of him; and how his ship turned out of the way, while Sir John Lawson himself was upon the deck, to the endangering of the whole fleet. It therefore troubles my Lord, that Mr. Coventry should not mention a word of him in his relation. I did, in answer, offer that I was sure the relation was not compiled by Mr. Coventry, but by L'Estrange, out of several letters, as I could witness, and that Mr. Coventry's letter that he did give the Duke of Albe-



marle he as much wrote as the Prince; for I myself read it first, and then copied it out, which I promised to show my Lord, with which he was something satisfied. From that discourse my Lord did begin to tell me how much he was concerned to dispose of his children, and would have my advice and help; and propounded to match my Lady Jemima to Sir G. Carteret's eldest son, which I approved of, and did undertake the speaking with him about it as from myself, which my Lord liked. To one Mr. Finch, one of the Commissioners of the Excise, to be informed about some things of the Excise, in order to our settling matters therein better. I find him a very discreet, grave person. Home by hackney-coach, which is become a very dangerous passage now-a-days, the sickness increasing mightily.

24th. (Midsummer day.) To Dr. Clerke's, and there I, in the best manner I could, broke my errand about a match between Sir G. Carteret's eldest son and my Lord Sandwich's eldest daughter, which he, as I knew he would, took with great content; and we both agreed that my Lord and he, being both men relating to the sea, under a kind respect of His Majesty, already good friends, and both virtuous and good families, their alliance might be of good use to us; and he did undertake to find out Sir George this morning, and put the business in execution. So I to Whitehall, where I, with Creed and Povy, attended

my Lord Treasurer, and did prevail with him to let us have an assignment for £15,000 or £20,000, which, I hope, will do our business for Tangier. To Sir G. Carteret, and, in the best manner I could, moved the business. He received it with great respect and content, and thanks to me, and promised that he would do what he possibly could for his son, to render him fit for my Lord's daughter, and showed great kindness to me, and sense of my kindness to him herein. Sir William Pen told me this day that Mr. Coventry is to be sworn a Privy Councillor, at which my soul is glad.

25th. (Lord's day.) To Whitehall, where, after I again visited Sir G. Carteret, and received his and now his lady's full content in my proposal, my Lord Sandwich did direct me to return to Sir G. Carteret, and give him thanks for his kind acceptance of this offer, and that he would the next day be willing to enter discourse with him about the business. My Lord, I perceive, intends to give £5,000 with her, and expects about £800 per annum jointure. To Greenwich by water, thinking to have visited Sir J. Lawson, where, when I came, I find that he died this morning, at which I was much surprised, and indeed the nation hath a great loss; though I cannot, without dissembling, say that I am sorry for it, for he was a man never kind to me at all. Mr. Coventry, among other talk, entered upon the great question now in the House about the Duke's going to sea again; about

which the whole House is divided. He did concur with me that, for the Duke's honour and safety, it were best, after so great a service and victory and danger, not to go again; and, above all, that the life of the Duke cannot but be a security to the Crown; if he were away, it being more easy to attempt anything upon the King. But how the fleet will be governed without him, the Prince [Rupert] being a man of no government, and severe in council, that no ordinary man can offer any advice against his—saying, truly, that it had been better he had gone to Guinny; and that, were he away, it were easy to see how things might be ordered—my Lord Sandwich being a man of temper and judgment, as much as any man he ever knew, and that upon good observation he said this, and that his temper must correct the Prince's. But I perceive he is much troubled what will be the event of the question.

26th. To the Committee of Tangier, where my Lord Treasurer was, the first and only time he ever was there, and did promise us £15,000 for Tangier, and no more, which will be short. With Creed to the "King's Head" ordinary, and good sport with one Mr. Nicholls, a prating coxcomb, that would be thought a poet, but would not be got to repeat any of his verses. Home, and there find my wife's brother and his wife, a pretty little modest woman, where they came to dine with my wife. He did come to desire my assistance

for a living, and, upon his good promises of care, and that it should be no burden to me, I did say and promise I would think of finding something for him, and the rather because his wife seems a pretty discreet young thing, and humble; and he, above all things, desirous to do something to maintain her, telling me sad stories of what she endured in Holland; and I hope it will not be burdensome. The plague increases mightily, I this day seeing a house, at a bit-maker's, over against St. Clement's Church, in the open street, shut up, which is a sad sight.

28th. I did take my leave of Sir William Coventry, who, it seems, was knighted, and sworn a Privy Councillor two days since: who with his old kindness treated me, and I believe I shall ever find him a noble friend. In my way to Westminster Hall, I observed several plague-houses in King's Street and near the Palace.

29th. By water to Whitehall, where the Court full of waggons and people ready to go out of town. This end of the town every day grows very bad of the plague. The Mortality Bill is come to 267, which is about ninety more than the last; and of these but four in the City, which is a great blessing to us. Took leave again of Mr. Coventry, though I hope the Duke is not gone to stay, and so do others too. Home, calling at Somerset House, where all were packing up too. The Queen-mother setting out for France this

day, to drink Bourbon waters this year, she being in a consumption; and intends not to come till winter come twelvemonths.

30th. To Whitehall, to the Duke of Albemarle, who, I find at Secretary Bennet's, there being now no other great statesman, I think, but my Lord Chancellor, in town. At night, back by water, and in the dark and against the tide shot the bridge, groping with their pole for the way, which troubled me before I got through. So home about one or two o'clock in the morning, my family at a great loss what was become of me. Thus this book of two years ends. Myself and family in good health, consisting of myself and wife, Mercer, her woman, Mary, Alice, and Susan, our maids, and Tom, my boy. In a sickly time of the plague growing on; having upon my hands the troublesome care of the Treasury of Tangier, with great sums drawn upon me, and nothing to pay them with; also the business of the office great. Considering of removing my wife to Woolwich; she lately busy in learning to paint, with great pleasure and success. All other things well; especially a new interest I am making, by a match in hand between the eldest son of Sir G. Carteret, and my Lady Jemima Montagu. The Duke of York gone down to the fleet; but all suppose not with intent to stay there, as it is not fit, all men conceive he should.

*July 1.* To Westminster, where I hear the sickness

increases greatly. Sad at the news, that seven or eight houses in Buryinghall Street are shut up of the plague.

2nd. (Lord's day.) Sir G. Carteret did send me word that the business between my Lord and him is fully agreed on, and is mightily liked of the King and the Duke of York. Sir J. Lawson was buried late last night at St. Dunstan's by us, without any company at all. The condition of his family is but very poor.

3rd. The season growing so sickly, that it is much to be feared how a man can escape having a share with others in it, for which the good Lord God bless me! or make me fitted to receive it.

4th. I hear this day the Duke and Prince Rupert are both come back from sea, and neither of them go back again. Bankert is come home with the little fleet he has been abroad with, without doing anything, so that there is nobody of an enemy at sea. We are in great hopes of meeting with the Dutch East India fleet, which is mighty rich, or with De Ruyter, who is so also. Sir Richard Ford told me this day at table a fine account, how the Dutch were like to have been mastered by the present Prince of Orange his father to be besieged in Amsterdam—having drawn an army of foot into the town, and horse near to the town by night, within three miles, and they never knew of it: but by chance the Hamburg post in the night fell among the horse, and heard their design, and knowing the way, it

being very dark and rainy, better than they, went from them, and did give notice to the town before the others could reach the town, and so were saved. It seems this De Witt and another family, the Beckarts, were among the chief of the families that were enemies to the Prince, and were afterwards suppressed by the Prince, and continued so till he was, as they say, poisoned; and then they turned all again, as it were, against the young Prince, and have so carried it to this day, it being about 12 and 14 years, and De Witt at the head of them.

5th. Mr. Coventry tells me how matters are ordered in the fleet: my Lord Sandwich goes Admiral; under him, Sir G. Ascue and Sir T. Teddiman: Vice-Admiral, Sir W. Pen; and under him, Sir W. Barkeley and Sir Jos. Jordan: Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Allen; and under him, Sir Christopher Mings and Captain Harman. Walked round to Whitehall, the Park being quite locked up; and I observed a house shut up this day in the Pall Mall, where heretofore, in Cromwell's time, we young men used to keep our weekly clubs. Sir G. Carteret do now take all my Lord Sandwich's business to heart, and makes it the same with his own. He tells me how at Chatham it was proposed to my Lord Sandwich to be joined with the Prince in the command of the fleet, which he was most willing to; but, when it came to the Prince, he was quite against it, saying, there could be no government, but that it would be better to have two fleets, and neither under

the command of the other, which he would not agree to. So the King was not pleased; but, without any unkindness, did order the fleet to be ordered as above, as to the Admirals and commands: so the Prince is come up; and Sir G. Carteret, I remember, had this word thence, that, says he, by this means, though the King told him that it would be but for this expedition, yet I believe we shall keep him out for altogether. He tells me how my Lord was much troubled at Sir W. Pen's being ordered forth, as it seems he is to go to Solebay, and with the best fleet he can, to go forth, and no notice taken of my Lord Sandwich going after him, and having the command over him. By water to Woolwich, where I found my wife come, and her two maids, and very prettily accommodated they will be; and I left them going to supper, grieved in my heart to part with my wife, being worse by much without her, though some trouble there is in having the care of a family at home this plague time.

6th. Alderman Backewell is ordered abroad upon some private score with a great sum of money; wherein I was instrumental the other day in shipping him away. It seems some of his creditors have taken notice of it, and he was like to be broke yesterday in his absence: Sir G. Carteret telling me that the King and the kingdom must as good as fall with that man at this time; and that he was forced to get £4,000 himself to answer Backewell's people's occasions, or he must have broke;



but committed this to me as a great secret. I could not see Lord Brouncker, nor had much mind, one of the two great houses within two doors of him being shut up: and, Lord! the number of houses visited, which this day I observed through the town, quite round in my way, by Long Lane and London Wall. To Sir W. Batten, and spent the evening at supper; and, among other discourse, the rashness of Sir John Lawson for breeding up his daughter so high and proud, refusing a man of great interest, Sir W. Berkeley, to match her with a melancholy fellow, Colonel Norton's son, of no interest nor good-nature nor generosity at all, giving her £6,000, when the other would have taken her with two—when he himself knew that he was not worth the money himself in all the world, he did give her that portion, and is since dead, and left his wife and two daughters beggars, and the other gone away with £6,000, and no content in it, through the ill qualities of her father-in-law and husband, who, it seems, though a pretty woman, contracted for her as if he had been buying a horse; and, worst of all, is now of no use to serve the mother and two little sisters in any stead at Court, whereas the other might have done what he would for her: so here is an end of this family's pride, which, with good care, might have been what they would, and done well. Sir W. Pen, it seems, sailed last night from Solebay with about sixty sail of ships, and my Lord Sandwich

in the Prince and some others, it seems, going after them to overtake them.

7th. At this time I have two tierces of claret, two quarter casks of canary, and a smaller vessel of sack; a vessel of tent, another of Malaga, and another of white wine, all in my wine-cellar together; which, I believe, none of my friends of my name now alive ever had of his own at one time.

9th. (Lord's day.) To Sir G. Carteret, and there find my lady in her chamber, not very well, but looks the worst almost that ever I did see her in my life. It seems her drinking of the water at Tunbridge did almost kill her. Received with most extraordinary kindness by my Lady Carteret and her children, and dined most nobly. Took boat and home, and there shifted myself into my black silk suit; and, having promised Harman yesterday, I to his house, which I find very mean, and mean company. His wife very ill: I could not see her. Here I, with her father and Kate Joyce, who was also very ill, were godfathers and godmothers to his boy, and was christened Will. Mr. Meriton christened him. The most observable thing I found there to my content, was to hear him and his clerk tell me, that in this parish of Michell's Cornhill, one of the middlemost parishes, and a great one of the town, there hath, notwithstanding this sickliness, been buried of any disease, man, woman, or child, not one for thirteen months last past, which is very strange;

and the like in a good degree, in most other parishes, I hear, saving only of the plague in them. It is mighty pretty to think how my poor Lady Sandwich, between her and me, is doubtful whether her daughter will like of the match or no, and how troubled she is for fear of it, which I do not fear at all, and desire her not to do it, but her fear is the most discreet and pretty that ever I did see.

10th. Having a coach of Mr. Povy's attending me, by appointment, in order to my coming to dine at his country-house, at Branford, where he and his family is, I went, and Mr. Tasbrough with me therein, it being a pretty chariot, but most inconvenient as to the horses throwing dust and dirt into one's eyes and upon one's clothes. Creed rode before, and Mr. Povy and I after him in the chariot; and I was set down by him at the Park pale, where one of his saddle horses was ready for me, he himself not daring to come into the house or be seen, because that a servant of his out of his house, happened to be sick, but is not yet dead, but was never suffered to come into his house after he was ill. But this opportunity was taken to injure Povy, and most horribly he is abused by some persons here-upon, and his fortune, I believe, quite broke; but that he hath a good heart to bear, or a cunning one to conceal his evil. It is, I perceive, an unpleasant thing to be at Court, everybody being fearful one of another, and all so sad inquiring after the plague, so that I stole

away by my horse to Kingston, and there, with much trouble, was forced to press two sturdy rogues to carry me to London, and met at the water-side with Mr. Charnock, Sir Philip Warwick's clerk, who had been with company, and was quite foxed. I took him with me in my boat, and so away to Richmond, and there by night walked with him to Mortlake, a very pretty walk, and there stayed a good while.

11th. All night down by water, a most pleasant passage, and came thither by two o'clock, and so walked from the Old Swan home, and there to bed to my Will—he lodging at my desire in my house.

12th. After doing what business I could in the morning, it being a solemn fast-day for the plague growing upon us, I took boat, and down to Deptford, where I stood with great pleasure an hour or two by my Lady Sandwich's bedside, talking to her, she lying prettily in bed, of my Lady Jemima's being from my Lady Pickering's when our letters came to that place; she being at my Lord Montagu's at Boughton. The truth is, I had received letters of it two days ago, but had dropped them, and was in a very extraordinary strait what to do for them, or what account to give my lady: but sent to Mortlake, where I had been the night before, and there they were found, which with mighty joy came safe to me; but all ending with satisfaction to my lady and me, though I find my Lady Carteret not much pleased with this delay, and

principally because of the plague, which renders it unsafe to stay long at Deptford. I ate a bit, my Lady Carteret being the most kind lady in the world, and so took boat, and a fresh boat at the Tower, and so up the river, against tide all the way, I having lost it by staying prating to and with my lady; and, from before one, made it seven before we got to Hampton Court; and, when I came there, all business was over, saving my finding Mr. Coventry at his chamber; and so away to my boat, and all night upon the water, and came home by two o'clock, shooting the bridge at that time of night. Heard Mr. Williamson repeat at Hampton Court, to-day, how the King of France hath lately set out a most high arrest against the Pope, which is reckoned very lofty and high.

13th. By water at night late to Sir G. Carteret's, but there being no oars to carry me, I was fain to call a sculler that had a gentleman already in it, and he proved a man of love to music, and he and I sung together the way down with great pleasure. Above 700 died of the plague this week,

14th. I by water to Sir G. Carteret's and there find my Lady Sandwich buying things for my Lady Jem.'s wedding: and my Lady Jem. is, beyond expectation, come to Dagenhams, where Mr. Carteret is to go to visit her to-morrow; and my proposal of waiting on him, he being to go alone to all persons strangers to him, was well accepted, and so I go with him. But,

Lord! to see how kind my Lady Carteret is to her! Sends her most rich jewels, and provides bedding and things of all sorts most richly for her, which makes my lady and me out of our wits almost to see the kindness she treats us all with, as if they would buy the young lady.

15th. Mr. Carteret and I to the ferry-place at Greenwich, and there stayed an hour crossing the water to and again to get our coach and horses over; and by-and-by set out, and so toward Dagenhams. Thither we come, and by that time it began to get dark, and were kindly received by Lady Wright and my Lord Crewe. And to discourse they went, my Lord discoursing with him, asking of him questions of travel, which he answered well enough in a few words; but nothing to the lady from him at all. To supper, and after supper to talk again, he yet taking no notice of the lady. My Lord would have had me have consented to leaving the young people together to-night, to begin their amours, his staying being but to be little. But I advised against it, lest the lady might be too much surprised. So they led him up to his chamber, where I stayed a little, to know how he liked the lady, which he told me he did mightily: but Lord! in the dullest insipid manner that ever lover did. So I bade him good night, and down to prayers with my Lord Crewe's family; and after prayers, my Lord and Lady Wright and I to consult what to do; and it was agreed at last

to have them go to church together as the family used to do, though his lameness was a great objection against it. But at last my Lady Jem. sent me word by my Lady Wright, that it would be better to do just as they used to do before his coming; and therefore she desired to go to church, which was yielded to them.

16th. (Lord's day.) I up, having lain with Mr. Moore in the chaplain's chamber. And having trimmed myself, down to Mr. Carteret; and we walked in the gallery an hour or two, it being a most noble and pretty house that ever, for the bigness, I saw. Here I taught him what to do: to take the lady always by the hand to lead her, and telling him that I would find opportunity to leave them together, he should make these and these compliments, and also take a time to do the like to Lord Crewe and Lady Wright. After I had instructed him, which he thanked me for, owning that he needed my teaching him, my Lord Crewe came down and family, the young lady among the rest; and so by coaches to church four miles off; where a pretty good sermon and a declaration of penitence of a man that had undergone the Church's censure for his wicked life. Thence back again by coach, Mr. Carteret having not had the confidence to take his lady once by the hand, coming or going, which I told him of when we came home, and he will hereafter do it. So to dinner. My Lord excellent discourse. Then to walk in the gallery, and to

sit down. By-and-by my Lady Wright and I go out, and then my Lord Crewe, he not by design, and lastly my Lady Crewe came out, and left the young people together. And a little pretty daughter of my Lady Wright's most innocently came out afterwards and shut the door to, as if she had done it, poor child, by inspiration: which made us without have good sport to laugh at. They together an hour, and by-and-by church time, whither he led her into the coach and into the church, where several handsome ladies. But it was most extraordinary hot that ever I knew it. So home again, and to walk in the gardens, where we left the young couple a second time; and my Lady Wright and I to walk together, who tells me that some new clothes must of necessity be made for Lady Jemima, which and other things I took care of. Anon to supper, and excellent discourse and dispute between my Lord Crewe and the chaplain, who is a good scholar, but a Nonconformist. Here this evening I spoke with Mrs. Carter, my old acquaintance, that hath lived with my lady these twelve or thirteen years, the sum of all whose discourse and others for her is, that I would get her a good husband; which I have promised, but know not when I shall perform.

17th. Up all of us, and to billiards; my Lady Wright, Mr. Carteret, myself, and everybody. By-and-by, the young couple left together. Anon to dinner; and after dinner Mr. Carteret took my advice



about giving to the servants £10 among them, which he did, by leaving it to the chief man-servant, Mr. Medows, to do for him. Before we went I took my Lady Jem. apart, and would know how she liked this gentleman, and whether she was under any difficulty concerning him. She blushed, and hid her face awhile; but at last I forced her to tell me. She answered that she could readily obey what her father and mother had done; which was all she could say, or I expect. But, Lord! to see among other things, how all these great people here are afraid of London, being doubtful of anything that comes from thence, or that hath lately been there, that I was forced to say that I lived wholly at Woolwich. So anon took leave, and for London. In our way Mr. Carteret did give me mighty thanks for my care and pains for him, and is mightily pleased, though the truth is, my Lady Jem. hath carried herself with mighty discretion and gravity, not being forward at all in any degree, but mighty serious in her answers to him, as by what he says and I observed, I collect. To Deptford, where mighty welcome, and brought the good news of all being pleased. Mighty mirth of my giving them an account of all; but the young man could not be got to say one word before me or my Lady Sandwich of his adventures; but, by what he afterwards related to his father and mother and sisters, he gives an account that pleases them mightily. Here Sir G. Carteret would have

me lie all night, which I did most nobly, better than ever I did in my life; Sir G. Carteret being mighty kind to me, leading me to my chamber; and all their care now is to have the business ended; and they have reason, because the sickness puts all out of order, and they cannot safely stay where they are.

18th. To the 'Change, where a little business, and a very thin Exchange; and so walked through London to the Temple, where I took water for Westminster to the Duke of Albemarle, to wait on him, and so to Westminster Hall, and there paid for my news-books, and did give Mrs. Michell, who is going out of town because of the sickness, and her husband, a pint of wine. I was much troubled this day to hear at Westminster how the officers do bury the dead in the open Tuttle fields, pretending want of room elsewhere; whereas the New Chapel church-yard was walled in at the public charge in the last plague time, merely for want of room; and now none, but such as are able to pay dear for it can be buried there.

19th. To Deptford, where I find all full of joy, and preparing to go to Dagenhams to-morrow.

20th. To Deptford, and after dinner saw my Lady Sandwich and Mr. Carteret and his two sisters over the water, going to Dagenhams, and my Lady Carteret toward Cranburne. Walked to Redriffe, where I hear the sickness is, and indeed is scattered almost everywhere, there dying 1,089 of the plague this week. My

Lady Carteret did this day give me a bottle of plague-water home with me. I received yesterday a letter from my Lord Sandwich, giving me thanks for my care about their marriage business, and desiring it to be dispatched, that no disappointment may happen therein. Lord! to see how the plague spreads! it being now all over King's Street, at the Axe, and next door to it, and in other places.

21st. To Anthony Joyce's, and there broke to him my desire to have Pall married to Harman, whose wife, poor woman, is lately dead, to my trouble, I loving her very much, and he will consider it. Late in my chamber, setting some papers in order; the plague growing very raging, and my apprehensions of it great.

22nd. The Duke of Albemarle being gone to dinner to my Lord of Canterbury's, I thither, and there walked and viewed the new hall, a new old-fashioned hall, as much as possible—begun, and means left for the ending of it by Bishop Juxon. To Fox-hall, where to the Spring Garden; but I do not see one guest there, the town being so empty of anybody to come thither. Only, while I was there, a poor woman came to scold with the master of the house that a kinswoman, I think, of hers that was nearly dead of the plague, might be buried in the churchyard; for, for her part, she should not be buried in the commons, as they said she should. I by coach home, not meeting

with but two coaches and but two carts from Whitehall to my own house, that I could observe, and the streets mighty thin of people. I met this noon with Dr. Burnett, who told me, and I find in the news book this week that he posted upon the 'Change, that whoever did spread the report that, instead of dying of the plague, his servant was by him killed, it was forgery, and showed me the acknowledgment of the master of the pest-house, and that his servant died of a bubo on his right groin, and two spots on his right thigh, which is the plague. All the news is great: that we must of necessity fall out with France, for he will side with the Dutch against us. That Alderman Backewell is gone over, which indeed he is, with money, and that Ostend is in our present possession. But it is strange to see how poor Alderman Backewell is like to be put to it in his absence, Mr. Shaw, his right hand, being ill. And the Alderman's absence gives doubts to people, and I perceive they are in great straits for money, besides what Sir G. Carteret told me about fourteen days ago. Our fleet, under my Lord Sandwich, being about the latitude  $55\frac{1}{2}$ , which is a great secret, to the northward of the Texel.

23rd. (Lord's day.) Called by Mr. Cutler, by appointment, and with him, in his coach and four horses, over London Bridge to Kingston, a very pleasant journey. and to Hampton Court, where I followed the King to chapel, and there heard a good sermon; and after

sermon with my Lord Arlington, Sir Thomas Ingram, and others; spoke to the Duke about Tangier, but not to much purpose. I was not invited anywhere to dinner, though a stranger, which did also trouble me; but yet I must remember it is a Court, and indeed where most are strangers; but, however, Cutler carried me to Mr. Marriott's, the housekeeper, and there we had a very good dinner and good company, among others Lilly, the painter. Thence to the council-chamber, but the council began late to sit; so that when I got free, and came back to look for Cutler, he was gone with his coach, without leaving any word with anybody to tell me so; so that I was forced with great trouble to walk up and down, looking for him, and at last forced to get a boat to carry me to Kingston, and there, after eating a bit at a neat inn, which pleased me well, I took boat, and slept all the way, without intermission, from thence to Queenhithe, where, it being about two o'clock, too late and too soon to go home to bed, I lay and slept till about four.

24th. Up and home, and there dressed myself, and by appointment to Deptford, to Sir G. Carteret's, between six and seven o'clock, where I found him and my lady almost ready, and by-and-by went over to the ferry, and took coach and six horses nobly for Dagenhams, himself and lady, and their little daughter Louisaune and myself in the coach, where, when we come, we were bravely entertained, and spent the day

most pleasantly with the young ladies, and I so merry as never before. With great content all the day, as I think I ever passed a day in my life, because of the contentfulness of our errand, and the nobleness of the company, and our manner of going. But I find Mr. Carteret as backward almost in his caresses as he was the first day. At night, about seven o'clock, took coach again; but, Lord! to see in what a pleasant humour Sir G. Carteret hath been both coming and going—so light, so fond, so merry, so boyish, so much content he takes in this business—it is one of the greatest wonders I ever saw in my mind. In serious discourse he did say that if he knew his son to be a debauchee, as many and most are nowadays about the Court, he would tell it, and my Lady Jem. should not have him; and so enlarged both he and she about the baseness and looseness of the Court, and told several stories of the Duke of Monmouth, and Richmond, and some great person, my Lord of Ormond's second son, married to a lady of extraordinary quality, fit, and that might have been made a wife, for the King himself about six months since; and discoursed how much this would oblige the kingdom, if the King would banish some of these great persons publicly from the Court. We set out so late, that it grew dark, so as we doubted the losing of our way: and a long time it was, or seemed, before we could get to the waterside, and that about eleven at night, where, when we came, all

merry, we found no ferry-boat was there, nor no oars to carry us to Deptford. However, afterwards oars was called from the other side at Greenwich; but, when it came, a frolic, being mighty merry, took us, and there we would sleep all night in the coach in the Isle of Dogs: so we did, there being now with us my Lady Scott; and with great pleasure drew up the glasses, and slept till daylight, and then some victuals and wine being brought us, we ate a bit, and so up and took boat, merry as might be; and, when come to Sir G. Carteret's, there all to bed.

25th. Our good humour in everybody continuing, I slept till seven o'clock. Sad the story of the plague in the City, it growing mightily. This day came a letter to me from Paris, from my Lord Hinchingbroke, about his coming over; and I have sent this night an order from the Duke of Albemarle for a ship of thirty-six guns to go to Calais to fetch him.

26th. To Greenwich, to the Park, where I heard the King and Duke are come by water this morning from Hampton Court. They asked me several questions. The King mightily pleased with his new buildings there. I followed them to Castle's ship, in building, and there met Sir W. Batten, and thence to Sir G. Carteret's, where all the morning with them; they not having any but the Duke of Monmouth and Sir W. Killigrew, and one gentleman and a page more. Great variety of talk, and was often led

to speak to the King and Duke. By-and-by they to dinner, and all to dinner and sat down to the King, saving myself, which, though I could not in modesty expect, yet, God forgive my pride! I was sorry I was there, that Sir W. Batten should say that he could sit down where I could not. The King having dined, he came down, and I went in the barge with him, I sitting at the door. Down to Woolwich, and there I just saw and kissed my wife, and saw some of her painting, which is very curious; and away again to the King, and back again with him in the barge, hearing him and the Duke talk, and seeing and observing their manner of discourse. And, God forgive me! though I admiré them with all the duty possible, yet the more a man considers and observes them, the less he finds of difference between them and other men, though, blessed be God! they are both princes of great nobleness and spirits. The Duke of Monmouth is the most skittish leaping gallant that ever I saw, always in action, vaulting or leaping, or clambering. Sad news of the death of so many in the parish of the plague, forty last night. The bell always going. To the Exchange, where I went up and sat talking with my beauty, Mrs. Batelier, a great while, who is indeed one of the finest women I ever saw in my life. The sickness has got into our parish this week, and is got, indeed, everywhere; so that I begin to think of setting things in order, which I pray God enable me to put, both as to soul and body.



27th. With Mr. Gauden to Hampton Court, where I saw the King and Queen set out towards Salisbury, and after them the Duke and Duchess, whose hands I did kiss. And it was the first time I did ever, or did see anybody else, kiss her hand, and it was a most fine white and fat hand. But it was pretty to see the young pretty ladies dressed like men, in velvet coats, caps with ribbons, and with laced bands, just like men. Only the Duchess herself it did not become. They gone, we with great content took coach again; and, hungry, come to Clapham about one o'clock, and Creed there, too, before us, where a good dinner, the house having dined, and so to walk up and down in the gardens, mighty pleasant. By-and-by comes, by promise to me, Sir G. Carteret, and viewed the house above and below, and sat and drank there, and I had a little opportunity to kiss and spend some time with the ladies above—his daughter, a buxom lass, and his sister Fissant, a serious lady, and a little daughter of hers, that begins to sing prettily. Thence, with mighty pleasure, with Sir G. Carteret by coach, with great discourse of kindness with him to my Lord Sandwich, and to me also; and I every day see more good by the alliance—to Half-way House, and so home, in my way being shown my cousin Patience's house, which seems, at distance, a pretty house. At home met the weekly bill, where above 100 increased in the bill; and of them, in all, about 1,700 of the

plague, which hath made the officers this day resolve of sitting at Deptford, which puts me to some consideration what to do.

28th. Set out with my Lady Sandwich all alone with her with six horses to Dagenhams; going by water to the Ferry. And a pleasant going, and a good discourse; and, when there, very merry, and the young couple now well acquainted. But, Lord! to see in what fear all the people here do live. How they are afraid of us that come to them, insomuch that I am troubled at it, and wish myself away. But some cause they have; for the chaplain, with whom, but a week or two ago, we were here mighty high disputing, is since fallen into a fever, and dead, being gone hence to a friend's a good way off: a sober and a healthful man. These considerations make us all hasten the marriage, and resolve it upon Monday next, which is three days before we intended it.

29th. Up betimes, and, after viewing some of my wife's pictures, which now she is come to do very finely, to the office. At noon to dinner, where I hear that my Will is come in thither, and laid down upon my bed, ill of the headache, which put me into extraordinary fear; and I studied all I could to get him out of the house, and set my people to work to do it without discouraging him, and myself went forth to the Old Exchange to pay my fair Batelier for some linen, and took leave of her, they breaking up shop for a

while; and so by coach to Kate Joyce's, and there used all the vehemence and rhetoric I could to get her husband to let her go down to Brampton, but I could not prevail with him; he urging some simple reasons, but most that of profit, minding the house, and the distance, if either of them should be ill. However, I did my best, and more than I had a mind to do, but that I saw him so resolved against it, while she was mightily troubled at it. At last he yielded she should go to Windsor, to some friends there; so I took my leave of them, believing it is great odds that we ever all see one another again; for I dare not go any more to that end of the town. Will is gone to his lodging, and is likely to do well, it being only the headache.

30th. (Lord's day.) Up, and in my night-gown, cap, and neck-cloth, undressed all day long—lost not a minute, but in my chamber, setting my Tangier accounts to rights. Will is very well again. It was a sad noise to hear our bell to toll and ring so often to-day, either for deaths or burials, I think, five or six times.

31st. Up, and very betimes by six o'clock at Deptford, and there find Sir G. Carteret and my Lady ready to go; I being in my new-coloured silk suit, and coat trimmed with gold buttons and gold broad lace round my hands, very rich and fine. By water to the Ferry, where, when we came, no coach there, and tide

of ebb so far spent as the horse-boat could not get off on the other side of the river to bring away the coach. So we were fain to stay there in the unlucky Isle of Dogs, in a chill place, the morning cool and wind fresh, above two, if not three hours, to our great discontent. Yet, being upon a pleasant errand, and seeing that it could not be helped, we did bear it very patiently; and it was worth my observing to see how, upon these two scores, Sir G. Carteret, the most passionate man in the world, and that was in greatest haste to be gone, did bear with it, and very pleasant all the while, at least, not troubled so much as to fret and storm at it. Anon the coach comes. In the meantime there coming a news thither with his horse to go over, and told us he did come from Islington this morning, and that Proctor, the vintner of the Mitre in Wood Street, and his son, are dead this morning there of the plague; he having laid out abundance of money there, and was the greatest vintner for some time in London for great entertainments. We, fearing the canonical hour would be past before we got thither, did, with a great deal of unwillingness, send away the licence and wedding-ring; so that when we came, though we drove hard with six horses, yet we found them gone from home, and going towards the church, met them coming from church, which troubled us. But, however, that trouble was soon over, hearing it was well done; they being both in

their old clothes, my Lord Crewe giving her, there being three coachfuls of them. The young lady mighty sad, which troubled me; but yet I think it was only her gravity in a little greater degree than usual. All saluted her, but I did not, till my Lady Sandwich did ask me whether I saluted her or no. So to dinner, and very merry we were, but in such a sober way as never almost anything was in so great families, but it was much better. After dinner company divided, some to cards, others to talk. My Lady Sandwich and I up to settle accounts and pay her some money. And mighty kind she is to me, and would fain have had me gone down for company with her to Hinchinbroke; but for my life I cannot. At night to supper, and so to talk; and which, methought, was the most extraordinary thing, all of us to prayers as usual, and the young bride and bridegroom too; and so after prayers soberly to bed. Whereas I feared we must have sat up all night, we did here all get good beds, and I lay in the same I did before, with Mr. Brisband, who is a good scholar and sober man; and we lay in bed, getting him to give me an account of Rome, which is the most delightful talk a man can have of any traveller, and so to sleep. Thus I ended this month with the greatest joy that ever I did any in my life, because I have spent the greatest part of it with abundance of joy, and honour, and pleasant journeys, and brave entertainments, and without cost

of money, and at last live to see the business ended with great content on all sides. This evening with Mr. Brisband, speaking of enchantments and spells, I telling him some of my charms; he told me this, of his own knowledge, at Bordeaux in France. The words were these:—

“Voici un corps mort,  
Roide comme un bâton,  
Froid comme marbre,  
Leger comme un esprit,  
Levons le au nom de Jésus Christ.”

He saw four little girls, very young ones, all kneeling, each of them upon one knee; and one began the first line, whispering in the ear of the next, and the second to the third, and the third to the fourth, and she to the first. Then the first began the second line, and so round quite through, and putting each one finger only to a boy that lay flat upon his back upon the ground, as if he was dead. At the end of the words they did, with their four fingers, raise this boy as high as they could reach; and Mr. Brisband being there and wondering at it, as also being afraid to see it, for they would have had him to have bore a part in saying the words in the room of one of the little girls that was so young that they could hardly make her learn to repeat the words, did, for fear there might be some slight used in it by the boy, or that the boy might be light, call the cook of the house, a very lusty fellow—as Sir

G. Carteret's cook, who is very big—and they did raise him just in the same manner. This is one of the strangest things I ever heard, but he tells it me of his own knowledge, and I do heartily believe it to be true. I inquired of him whether they were Protestant or Catholic girls, and he told me they were Protestant, which made it the more strange to me. Thus we end this month, as I said, after the greatest glut of content that ever I had, only under some difficulty because of the plague, which grows mightily upon us, the last week being about 1,700 or 1,800 of the plague. My Lord Sandwich at sea with a fleet of about one hundred sail, to the northward, expecting De Ruyter or the Dutch East India fleet. My Lord Hinchingbroke coming over from France, and will meet his sister at Scott's Hall. Myself having obliged both these families in this business very much, as both my lady and Sir G. Carteret and his lady do confess exceedingly, and the latter do also now call me cousin, which I am glad of. So God preserve us all friends long, and continue health among us!

*August 1.* Lay long; then up, and my Lord Crewe and Sir G. Carteret being gone abroad, I first to see the bridegroom and bride, and found them both up, and he gone to dress himself. Thence down, and Mr. Brisband and I to billiards. Anon came my Lord and Sir G. Carteret in, who have been looking abroad and visiting some farms that Sir G. Carteret hath there-

abouts, and among other things, report the greatest stories of the bigness of the calves they find there, ready to sell to the butchers—as big, they say, as little cows, and that they do give them a piece of chalk to lick, which they hold makes them white in the flesh within. About five o'clock Sir G. Carteret and his lady and I took coach with the greatest joy, drove hard, and it was night ere we got to Deptford, where, with much kindness from them to me, I left them, and home to the office, where I find all well.

2nd. Up, it being a public fast, as being the first Wednesday of the month, for the plague; within doors all day, and upon my monthly accounts late. I did find myself really worth £1,900, for which the great God of heaven and earth be praised!

3rd. Up, and betimes to Deptford to Sir G. Carteret's, where, not knowing the horse which had been hired by Mr. Unthwayt for me, I did desire Sir G. Carteret to let me ride his new £40 horse, and so to the ferry, where I was forced to stay a great while before I could get my horse brought over, and then mounted and rode very finely to Dagenhams; all the way people, citizens, walking to and fro, inquire how the plague is in the City this week by the bill, which by chance at Greenwich I had heard was 2,020 of the plague, and 3,000 and odd of all diseases; but methought it was a sad question to be so often asked me. Coming to Dagenhams I there met our company



coming out of the house, having stayed as long as they could for me. So I let them go a little way before, and went and took leave of my Lady Sandwich, good woman, who seems very sensible of my service in this late business, and having her directions in some things; among others to get Sir G. Carteret and my Lord to settle the portion, and what Sir G. Carteret is to settle, into land soon as may be, she not liking it should lie long undone for fear of death on either side. So took leave of her, and down to the buttry and ate a piece of cold venison pie and drank, and took some bread and cheese in my hand, and so mounted after them, Mr. Marr very kindly staying to lead me the way. By-and-by met my Lord Crewe returning; Mr. Marr telling me by the way how a maid-servant of Mr. John Wright's, who lives thereabouts, falling sick of the plague, she was removed to an out-house, and a nurse appointed to look to her; who being once absent the maid got out of the house at the window and ran away. The nurse coming and knocking, and having no answer, believed she was dead, and went and told Mr. Wright so, who and his lady were in a great strait what to do to get her buried. At last resolved to go to Brentwood, hard by, being in the parish, and there get people to do it. But they would not; so he went home full of trouble, and in the way met the wench walking over the common, which frightened him worse than before, and was forced to

send people to take her, which he did, and they got one of the pest-coaches, and put her into it to carry her to a pest-house. And passing in a narrow lane, Sir Anthony Browne, with his brother and some friends in the coach, met this coach with the curtains drawn close. The brother being a young man, and believing there might be some lady in it that would not be seen, and the way being narrow, he thrust his head out of his own into her coach and to look, and there saw somebody looking very ill, and in a silk dress, and stunk mightily, which the coachman also cried out upon. And presently they came up to some people that stood looking after it, and told our gallants that it was a maid of Mr. Wright's carried away sick of the plague; which put the young gentleman into a fright had almost cost him his life, but is now well again. I, overtaking our young people, alight and into the coach to them, where mighty merry all the way; and anon came to the Blockhouse, over against Gravesend, where we stayed a great while in a little drinking-house. Sent back our coaches to Dagenhams. I by-and-by by boat to Gravesend, where no news of Sir G. Carteret come yet; so back again and fetched them all over, but the two saddle-horses that were to go with us, which could not be brought over in the horse-boat, the wind and tide being against us, without towing; so we had some difference with some watermen, who would not tow them over under twenty

shillings, whereupon I swore to send one of them to sea, and will do it. Anon some others did it for ten shillings. By-and-by comes Sir G. Carteret, and so we set out for Chatham, in my way overtaking some company, wherein was a lady, very pretty, riding singly, her husband in company with her. By-and-by he and I fell into acquaintance, having known me formerly at the Exchequer. His name is Nokes, over against Bow Church. He was servant to Alderman Dashwood. We promised to meet if ever we came both to London again, and at parting I had a fair salute on horseback in Rochester streets, of the lady. My Lady Carteret came to Chatham in a coach by herself before us. Great mind they have to buy a little hackney, that I rode on from Greenwich, for a woman's horse.

4th. Up by five o'clock, and by six walked out alone, with my Lady Slaning, to the Dock Yard, where walked up and down, and so to Mr. Pett's, who led us into his garden, and there the lady, the best-humoured woman in the world, and a devout woman, I having spied her on her knees half-an-hour this morning in her chamber, clambered up to the top of the banqueting-house to gather nuts; and so to the Hill-house to breakfast, and mighty merry. Then they took coach, and Sir G. Carteret kissed me himself heartily, and my lady several times with great kindness, and then the young ladies, and so, with much

joy, bade "God be with you!" and an end, I think, it will be to my mirth for a great while, it having been the passage of my whole life the most pleasing for the time, considering the quality and nature of the business, and my noble usage in the doing of it, and very many fine journeys, entertainments, and great company. So home, and found all things well, and letters that my Lord Hinchingbroke is arrived at Dover, and would be at Scott's Hall this night, where the whole company will meet. I wish myself with them.

5th. In the morning up, and my wife showed me several things of her doing, especially one fine woman's Persian head, mighty finely done, beyond what I could expect of her: and so away by water, having ordered in the yard six or eight bargemen to be whipped, who had last night stolen some of the King's cordage from out of the yard. De Ruyter is come home with all his fleet, which is very ill news. I am told of a great riot on Thursday last in Cheapside; Colonel Danvers, a delinquent, having been taken, and in his way to the Tower was rescued from the captain of the guard, and carried away; one only of the rescuers being taken.

7th. Talking with Mrs. Pegg Pen, and looking over her pictures, and commended them; but, Lord! so far short of my wife's as no comparison. Comes Rayner, the boatmaker, about some business, and

brings a piece of plate with him, which I refused. He gone, then comes Luellin about Mr. Deering's business of plank, to have the contract perfected, and offers me twenty pieces in gold, but I refused it.

8th. To my office a little, and then to the Duke of Albemarle's about some business. The streets empty all the way now, even in London, which is a sad sight. And to Westminster Hall, where talking, hearing very sad stories from Mrs. Mumford; among others, of Mr. Mitchell's son's family. And poor Will, that used to sell us ale at the Hall-door, his wife and three children died, all, I think, in a day. So home, through the City again, wishing I may have taken no ill in going; but I will go, I think, no more thither. The news of De Ruyter's coming home is certain; and told to the great disadvantage of our fleet, and the praise of De Ruyter; but it cannot be helped.

10th. My she-cousin Porter, the turner's wife, to tell me that her husband was carried to the Tower, for buying of some of the King's powder, and would have my help, but I could give her none, not daring to appear in the business. By-and-by to the office, where we sat all the morning; in great trouble to see the bill this week rise so high, to above 4,000 in all, and of them above 3,000 of the plague. Home, to draw over anew my will, which I had bound myself by oath to despatch by to-morrow night; the town growing

so unhealthy that a man cannot depend upon living two days.

11th. To the Exchequer about striking new tallies, and I find the Exchequer, by proclamation, removing to Nonsuch. Setting my house and all things in the best order I can, lest it should please God to take me away, or force me to leave my house.

12th. Sent for by Sir G. Carteret, to meet him and my Lord Hinchingbroke at Deptford, but my Lord did not come thither, he having crossed the river at Gravesend to Dagenhams, whither I dare not follow him, they being afraid of me; but Sir G. Carteret says he is a most sweet youth in every circumstance. Sir G. Carteret being in haste of going to the Duke of Albemarle and the Archbishop, he was pettish. The people die so, that now it seems they are fain to carry the dead to be buried by daylight, the nights not sufficing to do it in. And my Lord Mayor commands people to be within at nine at night all, as they say, that the sick may have liberty to go abroad for air. There is one also dead out of one of our ships at Deptford, which troubles us mightily—the *Providence*, fire-ship, which was just fitted to go to sea; but they tell me to-day no more sick on board. And this day W. Bodham tells me that one is dead at Woolwich, not far from the rope-yard. I am told, too, that a wife of one of the grooms at Court is dead at Salisbury; so that the King and

Queen are speedily to be all gone to Wilton. So God preserve us!

13th (Lord's day.) I find myself worth, besides Brampton estates, the sum of £2,164, for which the Lord be praised!

14th. To Sir G. Carteret; and, among other things, he told me, that he was not for the fanfaron, to make a show with a great title, as he might have had long since, but the main thing to get an estate, and another thing, speaking of minding of business—"By G—d," says he, "I will and have already almost brought it to that pass, that the King shall not be able to whip a cat, but I mean to be at the tail of it!" meaning, so necessary he is, and the King and my Lord Treasurer all do confess it, which, while I mind my business, is my own case in this office of the Navy. After dinner, beat Captain Cocke at billiards; won about 8s. of him and my Lord Brouncker. This night I did present my wife with a diamond ring, awhile since given me by Mr. Vine's brother, for helping him to be a purser, valued at about £10, the first thing of that nature I did give her. Great fears we have that the plague will be a great bill this week.

15th. It was dark before I could get home, and so land at Church-yard stairs, where, to my great trouble, I met a dead corpse of the plague, in the narrow alley, just bringing down a little pair of stairs. But I

thank God I was not much disturbed at it. However, I shall beware of being late abroad again.

16th. To the Exchange, where I have not been a great while. But, Lord! how sad a sight it is to see the streets empty of people, and very few upon the 'Change. Jealous of every door that one sees shut up, lest it should be the plague; and about us two shops in three, if not more, generally shut up. This day I had the ill news from Dagenhams, that my poor Lord of Hinchingbroke's indisposition is turned to the small-pox. I am most heartily sorry for it.

18th. To Sheerness, where we walked up and down, laying out the ground to be taken in for a yard to lay provisions for cleaning and repairing of ships, and a most proper place it is for the purpose. Late in the dark to Gravesend, where great is the plague, and I troubled to stay there so long for the tide.

19th. Come letters from the King and Lord Arlington, for the removal of our office to Greenwich. I also wrote letters, and made myself ready to go to Sir G. Carteret at Windsor; and having borrowed a horse of Mr. Blackborough, sent him to wait for me at the Duke of Albemarle's door: when, on a sudden, a letter comes to us from the Duke of Albemarle, to tell us that the fleet is all come back to Solebay, and are presently to be despatched back again. Whereupon I presently by water to the Duke of Albemarle to know what news; and there I saw a letter from my



Lord Sandwich to the Duke of Albemarle, and also from Sir. W. Coventry and Captain Teddiman; how my Lord having commanded Teddiman, with twenty-two ships, of which but fifteen could get thither, and of those fifteen but eight or nine could come up to play, to go to Bergen; where, after several messages to and from the Governor of the Castle, urging that Teddiman ought not to come thither with more than five ships, and desiring time to think of it, all the while he suffering the Dutch ships to land their guns to the best advantage; Teddiman, on the second pretence, began to play at the Dutch ships, whereof ten East Indiamen, and in three hours' time, the town and castle, without any provocation, playing on our ships, they did cut all our cables, so as the wind being off the land, did force us to go out, and rendered our fire-ships useless, without doing anything, but what hurt of course our guns must have done them: we having lost five commanders, besides Mr. Edward Montagu and Mr. Windham. Our fleet is come home, to our great grief, with not above five weeks' dry, and six days' wet provisions: however, must go out again; and the Duke hath ordered the *Sovereign*, and all other ships ready, to go out to the fleet and strengthen them. This news troubles us all, but cannot be helped. Having read all this news and received commands of the Duke with great content, he giving me the words which, to my great joy, he hath several

times said to me, that his greatest reliance is upon me; and my Lord Craven also did come out to talk with me, and told me that I am in mighty esteem with the Duke, for which I bless God. Home; and having given my fellow-officers an account hereof at Chatham, and wrote other letters, I by water to Charing Cross, to the post-house, and there the people tell me they are shut up; and so I went to the new post-house, and there got a guide and horses to Hounslow. So to Staines, and there by this time it was dark night, and got a guide, who lost his way in the forest, till, by the help of the moon, which recompenses me for all the pains I ever took about studying of her motions, I led my guide into the way back again; and so we made a man rise that kept a gate, and so he carried us to Cranborne, where in the dark I perceived an old house new building, with a great deal of rubbish, and was fain to go up a ladder to Sir G. Carteret's chamber. And there, in his bed, I sat down, and told him all my bad news, which troubled him mightily; but yet we were very merry and made the best of it; and being myself weary, did take leave; and, after having spoken with Mr. Fenn in bed, I to bed in my lady's chamber that she uses to lie in, where the Duchess of York that now is was born. So to sleep; being very well, but weary, and the better by having carried with me a bottle of strong water; whereof, now and then a sip did me good.

20th. (Lord's day.) Sir G. Carteret come and walked by my bedside half-an-hour, talking, and telling how my Lord is unblameable in all this ill success, he having followed orders; and that all ought to be imputed to the falseness of the King of Denmark, who, he told me as a secret, had promised to deliver up the Dutch ships to us, and we expected no less; and swears it will, and will easily, be the ruin of him and his kingdom, if we fall out with him, as we must in honour do; but that all that can be, must be to get the fleet out again, to intercept De Witt, who certainly will be coming home with the East India fleet, he being gone thither. I up, and to walk forth to see the place; and I find it to be a very noble seat in a noble forest, with the noblest prospect towards Windsor, and round about over many counties that can be desired; but otherwise a very melancholy place and little variety, save only trees. So took horse for Staines, and thence to Branford, to Mr. Povy's. Mr. Povy not being at home, I lost my labour—only ate and drank there with his lady, and told my bad news, and hear the plague is round about them there. After church, to my inn, and ate and drank, and so about seven o'clock by water, and got, between nine and ten, to Queenhithe, very dark; and I could not get my waterman to go elsewhere for fear of the plague. Thence with a lantern, in great fear of meeting of dead corpses carrying to be buried; but, blessed be God! met none, but did see

now and then a link, which is the mark of them, at a distance.

21st. Called up by message from my Lord Brouncker and the rest of my fellows, that they will meet me at the Duke of Albemarle's this morning; so I up, and weary, however, got thither before them, and spoke with my Lord, and with him and other gentlemen to walk in the Park, where, I perceive, he spends much of his time, having no whither else to go; and here I heard him speak of some Presbyter people that he caused to be apprehended yesterday, at a private meeting in Covent Garden, which he would have released upon paying £5 per man for the poor, but it was answered they would not pay anything; so he ordered them to another prison from the guard. By-and-by comes my fellow-officers, and the Duke walked in, and to counsel with us; and that being done, we parted, and Sir W. Batten and I to the office, where, after business, I to his house to dinner, whither comes Captain Cocke, for whose epicurism a dish of partridges was sent for. Thence to my Lord Brouncker at Greenwich, to look after the lodgings appointed for us there for our office, which do by no means please us; they being in the heart of all the labourers and workmen there, which makes it as unsafe as to be, I think, at London. Messengers went to get a boat for me to carry me to Woolwich, but all to no purpose; so I was forced to walk it in the dark, at ten o'clock at night, with Sir J.

Minnes's George with me, being mightily troubled for fear of the dogs at Coome farm, and more for fear of rogues by the way, and yet more because of the plague which is there, which is very strange, it being a single house all alone from the town, but it seems they used to admit beggars, for their own safety, to lie in their barns, and they brought it to them. To my wife, and having first viewed her last piece of drawing since I saw her, which is seven or eight days, which pleases me beyond anything in the world, to bed, with great content, but weary.

22nd. Up, and being importuned by my wife and her two maids, which are both good wenches, for me to buy a necklace of pearl for her, and I promising to give her one of £60 in two years at furthest, and less if she pleases me in her painting. I went away and walked to Greenwich, in my way seeing a coffin with a dead body therein, dead of the plague, lying in an open close belonging to Coome farm, which was carried out last night, and the parish have not appointed anybody to bury it; but only set a watch there all day and night, that nobody should go thither or come thence: this disease making us more cruel to one another than we are to dogs. Walked to Redriffe, troubled to go through the little lane, where the plague is, but did, and took water and home, where all well.

23rd. Busy writing letters, and received a very kind and good one from my Lord Sandwich, of his arrival

with the fleet at Solebay, and the joy he had of my late news he met with, of the marriage of my Lady Jemimah, and he tells me more, the good news that all our ships, which were in such danger that nobody would insure upon them, from the Eastland, were all safe arrived.

25th. This day I am told that Dr. Burnett, my physician, is this morning dead of the plague, which is strange, his man dying so long ago, and his house this month open again. Now himself dead. Poor, unfortunate man!

26th. With Mr. Andrews and Mr. Yeabsly, talking about their business. We parted at my Lord Brouncker's door, where I went in, having never been there before, and there he made a noble entertainment for Sir J. Minnes, myself, and Captain Cocke, none else, saving some painted lady that dined there; I know not who she is. But very merry we were, and after dinner into the garden, and to see his and her chamber, where some good pictures, and a very handsome young woman for my lady's woman. By water home, in my way seeing a man taken up dead out of the hold of a small catch that lay at Deptford. I doubt it might be the plague, which, with the thought of Dr. Burnett, did something disturb me.

28th. To Mr. Colville, the goldsmith's, having not for some days been in the streets; but now how few people I see, and those looking like people that had

taken leave of the world. To the Exchange, and there was not fifty people upon it, and but few more like to be, as they told me. I think to take adieu to-day of the London streets. In much the best posture I ever was in in my life, both as to the quantity and the certainty I have of the money I am worth, having most of it in my hand. But then this is a trouble to me what to do with it, being myself this day going to be wholly at Woolwich; but, for the present, I am resolved to venture it in an iron chest—at least for a while. Just now comes news that the fleet is gone, or going this day, out again, for which God be praised! and my Lord Sandwich hath done himself great right in it, in getting so soon out again. I met my wife walking to the water-side, with her painter, Mr. Browne, and her maids.

29th. To Greenwich, and called at Sir Theophilus Biddulph's, a sober, discreet man, to discourse of the preventing of the plague in Greenwich, and Woolwich, and Deptford, where in every place it begins to grow very great.

30th. Abroad, and met with Hadley, our clerk, who, upon me asking how the plague goes, told me it increases much, and much in our parish; for, says he, there died nine this week, though I have returned but six; which is a very ill practice, and makes me think it is so in other places: and therefore the plague much greater than people take it to be. I went forth, and

walked towards Moorfields to see, God forgive my presumption! whether I could see any dead corpse going to the grave; but, as God would have it, did not. But Lord! how everybody's looks and discourse in the street is of death, and nothing else; and few people going up and down, that the town is like a place distressed and forsaken.

31st. Up, and, after putting several things in order to my removal, to Woolwich; the plague having a great increase this week, beyond all expectation, of almost 2,000, making the general bill 7,000, odd 100; and the plague above 6,000. Thus this month ends with great sadness upon the public, through the greatness of the plague everywhere through the kingdom almost. Every day sadder and sadder news of its increase. In the City died this week 7,496, and of them 6,102 of the plague. But it is feared that the true number of the dead this week is near 10,000; partly from the poor that cannot be taken notice of, through the greatness of the number, and partly from the Quakers and others that will not have any bell ring for them. Our fleet gone out to find the Dutch, we having about 100 sail in our fleet, and in them the *Sovereign* one; so that it is a better fleet than the former with which the Duke was. All our fear is, that the Dutch should be got in before them, which would be a very great sorrow to the public, and to me particularly, for my Lord Sandwich's sake; a great deal of money being spent,



and the kingdom not in a condition to spare, nor a parliament, without much difficulty to meet, to give more. And to that, to have it said, what hath been done by our late fleets? As to myself, I am very well, only in fear of the plague, and as much of an ague, by being forced to go early and late to Woolwich, and my family to lie there continually. My late greetings have been very great, to my great content, and am likely to have yet a few more profitable jobs in a little while; for which Tangier and Sir W. Warren I am wholly obliged to.

*September 1.* At the Duke of Albemarle's I overheard some examinations of the late plot that is discoursed of, and a great deal of do there is about it. Among other discourses I heard read an examination and discourse of Sir Philip Howard's, with one of the plotting party. These words being, "Then said Sir P. Howard, 'If you so come over to the King, and be faithful to him, you shall be maintained, and be set up with a horse and arms,'" and I know not what. And then said such a one, "Yes, I will be true to the King," And thus I believe twelve times Sir P. Howard answered him a damn me, which was a fine way of rhetoric to persuade a Quaker or Anabaptist from his persuasion. And this was read in the hearing of Sir P. Howard before the Duke and twenty more officers, and they made sport of it, only without any reproach, or he being anything ashamed of it. But the plotter did at

last bid them remember that he had not told them what King he would be faithful to.

3rd. (Lord's day.) Up, and put on my coloured silk suit, very fine, and my new periwig, bought a good while since, but durst not wear, because the plague was in Westminster when I bought it; and it is a wonder what will be the fashion after the plague is done as to periwigs, for nobody will dare to buy any hair for fear of the infection, that it had been cut off the heads of people dead of the plague. My Lord Brouncker, Sir J. Minnes, and I, up to the Vestry at the desire of the Justices of the Peace, in order to the doing something for the keeping of the plague from growing; but, Lord! to consider the madness of people of the town, who will, because they are forbid, come in crowds along with the dead corpses to see them buried; but we agreed on some orders for the prevention thereof. Among other stories, one was very passionate, methought, of a complaint brought against a man in the town, for taking a child from London from an infected house. Alderman Hooker told us it was the child of a very able citizen in Gracious Street, a saddler, who had buried all the rest of his children of the plague, and himself and wife now being shut up in despair of escaping, did desire only to save the life of this little child; and so prevailed to have it received stark-naked into the arms of a friend, who brought it, having put it into new fresh clothes, to Greenwich; where, upon

hearing the story, we did agree it should be permitted to be received and kept in the town. By water to Woolwich, in great apprehensions of an ague. Here was my Lord Brouncker's lady of pleasure, who, I perceive, goes everywhere with him; and he, I find, is obliged to carry her, and make all the courtship to her that can be.

4th. Walked home, my Lord Brouncker giving me a very neat cane to walk with; but it troubled me to pass by Coome farm, where about twenty-one people have died of the plague.

5th. After dinner comes Colonel Blunt, in his new chariot made with springs; as that was of wicker wherein a while since we rode at his house. And he hath rode, he says, now his journey, many miles in it with one horse, and out-drives any coach, and out-goes any horse, and so easy, he says. So, for curiosity, I went into it to try it, and up the hill to the heath, and over the cart ruts, and found it pretty well, but not so easy as he pretends.

6th. To London to pack up more things; and there I saw fires burning in the street, as it is through the whole City, by the Lord Mayor's order. Thence by water to the Duke of Albemarle's: all the way fires on each side of the Thames, and strange to see in broad daylight two or three burials upon the bankside, one at the very heels of another: doubtless, all of the plague; and yet at least forty or fifty people going

along with every one of them. The Duke mighty pleasant with me; telling me that he is certainly informed that the Dutch were not come home upon the 1st instant, and so he hopes our fleet may meet with them.

7th. To the Tower, and there sent for the weekly bill, and find 8,252 dead in all, and of them 6,978 of the plague; which is a most dreadful number, and shows reasons to fear that the plague hath got that hold that it will yet continue among us. Thence to Branford, reading "The Villain," a pretty good play, all the way. There a coach of Mr. Povy's stood ready for me, and he at his house ready to come in, and so we together merrily to Swakely, to Sir R. Viner's: a very pleasant place, bought by him of Sir James Harrington's lady. He took us up and down with great respect, and showed us all his house and grounds; and it is a place not very modern in the garden nor house, but the most uniform in all that ever I saw, and some things to excess. Pretty to see over the screen of the hall, put up by Sir J. Harrington, a long Parliament-man, the King's head, and my Lord of Essex on one side, and Fairfax on the other; and upon the other side of the screen, the parson of the parish, and the lord of the manor and his sisters. The window-cases, door-cases, and chimneys of all the house are marble. He showed me a black boy that he had, that died of a consumption; and, being dead, he

caused him to be dried in an oven, and lies there entire in a box. By-and-by to dinner, where his lady I find yet handsome, but hath been a very handsome woman, now is old: hath brought him near £100,000; and now he lives, no man in England in greater plenty, and commands both King and Council with his credit he gives them. After dinner Sir Robert led us up to his long gallery, very fine, above stairs, and better or such furniture I never did see. A most pleasant journey we had back. Povy tells me, by a letter he showed me, that the King is not, nor hath been of late, very well, but quite out of humour; and, as some think, in a consumption, and weary of everything. He showed me my Lord Arlington's house that he was born in, in a town called Harlington: and so carried me through a most pleasant country to Branford, and there put me into my boat, and good night. So I wrapped myself warm, and by water got to Woolwich about one in the morning.

9th. To my Lord Brouncker's, all of us, to dinner, where a good venison pasty, and mighty merry. Here was Sir W. Doyly, lately come from Ipswich about the sick and wounded, and Mr. Evelyn and Captain Cocke. My wife also was sent for by my Lord Brouncker, and was here. After dinner, my Lord and his mistress would see her home again, it being a most rainy afternoon, and I, forced to go to the office on foot, was almost wet to the skin, and spoiled my silk breeches

almost. I was forced to get a bed at Captain Cocke's, where I found Sir W. Doyly, and he, and Evelyn at supper; and I with them full of discourse of the neglect of our masters, the great officers of State, about all business, and especially that of money: having now some thousand prisoners, kept to no purpose at a great charge, and no money provided almost for the doing of it. We fell to talk largely of the want of some persons understanding to look after businesses, but all goes to wreck. "For," says Captain Cocke, "my Lord Treasurer, he minds his ease, and lets things go how they will: if he can have his £8,000 per annum, and a game at l'Ombre, he is well. My Lord Chancellor he minds getting of money and nothing else; and my Lord Ashley will rob the devil and the altar, but he will get money if it be to be got." But that which puts us into this great melancholy was news brought to-day, which Captain Cocke reports as a certain truth, that all the Dutch fleet, man-of-war and merchant East India ships, are got every one in from Bergen the 3rd of this month, Sunday last, which will make us all ridiculous.

10th. (Lord's day.) Walked home; being forced thereto by one of my watermen falling sick yesterday, and it was God's great mercy that I did not go by water with them yesterday, for he fell sick on Saturday night, and it is to be feared of the plague. So I sent him away to London with his family; but another boat

came to me this morning. My wife, before I came out, telling me the ill news that she hears that her father is very ill, and then I told her I feared of the plague, for that the house is shut up. And so she much troubled, and did desire me to send them something, and I said I would, and will do so. But before I came out there happened news to come to me by an express from Mr. Coventry, telling me the most happy news of my Lord Sandwich's meeting with part of the Dutch; his taking two of their East India ships and six or seven others, and very good prizes; and that he is in search of the rest of the fleet, which he hopes to find upon the Wellbank, with the loss only of the *Hector*, poor Captain Cuttle. To Greenwich, and there sending away Mr. Andrews, I to Captain Cocke's, where I find my Lord Brouncker and his mistress, and Sir J. Minnes, where we supped; there was also Sir W. Doyly and Mr. Evelyn; but the receipt of this news did put us all into such an ecstasy of joy, that it inspired into Sir J. Minnes and Mr. Evelyn such a spirit of mirth, that in all my life I never met with so merry a two hours as our company this night was. Among other humours, Mr. Evelyn's repeating of some verses made up of nothing but the various acceptations of *may* and *can*, and doing it so aptly upon occasion of something of that nature, and so fast, did make us all die almost with laughing, and did so stop the mouth of Sir J. Minnes in the middle of all his mirth, and in a

thing agreeing with his own manner of genius, that I never saw any man so outdone in all my life; and Sir J. Minnes's mirth, too, to see himself outdone, was the crown of all our mirth. In this humour we sat till about ten at night, and so my Lord and his mistress home, and we to bed.

11th. Over to the ferry, where Sir W. Batten's coach was ready for us, and to Walthamstow drove merrily, and there a good plain venison dinner. After dinner, to billiards, where I won an angel. Sir W. Hiekes was there, and my Lady Batten invited herself to dine with him this week, and she invited us all to dine with her there, which we agreed to, only to vex him, he being the most niggardly fellow, it seems, in the world. So to Greenwich, where my Lord Rutherford and Creed come from Court, and have brought me several orders for money to pay for Tangier; and, among the rest, £7,000 and more, to this Lord, which is an excellent thing to consider, that, though they can do nothing else, they can give away the king's money upon their progress. I did give him the best answer I could to pay him with tallies, and that is all they could get from me.

13th. My Lord Brouncker, Sir J. Minnes, and I took boat, and in my Lord's coach to Sir W. Hiekes's, whither, by-and-by, my Lady Batten and Sir William comes. It is a good seat, with a fair grove of trees by it, and the remains of a good garden; but so let to run



to ruin, both house and everything in and about it, so ill furnished and miserably looked after, I never did see in all my life. Not so much as a latch to his dining-room door, which saved him nothing, for the wind blowing into the room for want thereof, flung down a great bow-pot that stood upon the side-table, and that fell upon some Venice glasses, and did him a crown's worth of hurt. He did give us the meanest dinner, of beef, shoulder and umbles of venison, which he takes away from the keeper of the Forest, and a few pigeons, and all in the meanest manner that ever I did see, to the basest degree. I was only pleased at a very fine picture of the Queen-Mother, when she was young, by Vandyke; a very good picture, and a lovely face.

14th. To London, where I have not been now a pretty while. To the Duke of Albemarle, where I find a letter of the 12th, from Solebay, from my Lord Sandwich, of the fleet's meeting with about eighteen more of the Dutch fleet, and his taking of most of them; and the messenger says, they had taken three after the letter was wrote and sealed; which being twenty-one, and the fourteen took the other day is forty-five sail; some of which are good, and others rich ships. And, having taken a copy of my Lord's letter. I away toward the 'Change, the plague being all thereabouts. Here my news was highly welcome, and I did wonder to see the 'Change so full: I believe 200 people; but not a man or merchant of any fashion, but plain men all. And,

Lord ! to see how I did endeavour all I could to talk with as few as I could, there being now no observation of shutting up of houses infected, that to be sure we do converse and meet with people that have the plague upon them. I spent some thoughts upon the occurrences of this day, giving matter for as much content on one hand, and melancholy on another, as any day in all my life. For the first, the finding of my money and plate, and all safe at London, and speeding in my business this day. The hearing of this good news to such excess, after so great a despair of my Lord's doing anything this year ; adding to that, the decrease of 500 and more, which is the first decrease we have yet had in the sickness since it began ; and great hopes that the next week it will be greater. Then, on the other side, my finding that though the bill in general is abated, yet the City within the walls is increased, and likely to continue so, and is close to our house there. My meeting dead corpses of the plague, carried to be buried close to me at noonday through the City in Fenchurch Street. To see a person sick of the sores carried close by me by Gracechurch in a hackney coach. My finding the " Angel Tavern," at the lower end of Tower Hill, shut up ; and more than that, the ale-house at the Tower Stairs ; and more than that, that the person was then dying of the plague when I was last there, a little while ago, at night. To hear that poor Payne, my waiter, hath buried a child, and is dying

himself. To hear that a labourer I sent but the other day to Dagenhams, to know how they did there, is dead of the plague; and that one of my own watermen, that carried me daily, fell sick as soon as he had landed me on Friday morning last, when I had been all night upon the water, and I believe he did get his infection that day at Branford, and is now dead of the plague. To hear that Captain Lambert and Cuttle are killed in the taking these ships; and that Mr. Sydney Montagu is sick of a desperate fever at my Lady Carteret's, at Scott's Hall. To hear that Mr. Lewis hath another daughter sick. And lastly, that both my servants, W. Hewer and Tom Edwards, have lost their fathers, both in St. Sepulchre's parish, of the plague this week, do put me into great apprehensions of melancholy, and with good reason. But I put off my thoughts of sadness as much as I can, and the rather to keep my wife in good heart, and family also.

15th. With Captain Cocke, and there drank a cup of good drink, which I am fain to allow myself during this plague time, by advice of all, and not contrary to my oath, my physician being dead, and chirurgeon out of the way, whose advice I am obliged to take. In much pain to think what I shall do this winter time; for going every day to Woolwich I cannot, without endangering my life; and staying from my wife at Greenwich is not handsome.

16th. To the office, where I find Sir J. Miunes gone

to the fleet, like a doting fool, to do no good but proclaim himself an ass; for no service he can do here, nor inform my Lord, who is come in thither to the buoy of the Nore, in anything worth his knowledge. The likelihood of the increase of the plague this week makes us a little sad. To Captain Cocke's, meaning to lie there, it being late, and he not being at home, I walked to him to my Lord Brouncker's, and there stayed a while, they being at tables: and so by-and-by parted, and walked to his house; and, after a mess of good broth, to bed, in great pleasure, his company being most excellent.

17th. (Lord's day.) To church, where a company of fine people, and a fine church, and very good sermon, Mr. Plume being a very excellent scholar and preacher. To Gravesend in the *Bezan* yacht, and there come to anchor for all night, and supped and talked, and with much pleasure at last settled ourselves to sleep, having very good lodgings upon cushions in the cabin.

18th. By break of day we came to within sight of the fleet, which was a very fine thing to behold, being above 100 ships, great and small; with the flag-ships of each squadron, distinguished by their several flags on their main, fore, or mizzen-masts. Among others, the *Sovereign*, *Charles*, and *Prince*; in the last of which my Lord Sandwich was. And so we come on board, and we find my Lord Sandwich newly up in his night-gown very well. He received us kindly; telling

us the state of the fleet, lacking provisions, having no beer at all, nor have had, most of them, these three weeks or month, and but few days' dry provisions. And, indeed, he tells us that he believes no fleet was ever set to sea in so ill condition of provision as this was when it went out last. He did inform us in the business of Bergen, so as to let us see how the judgment of the world is not to be depended on in things they know not; it being a place just wide enough, and not so much hardly, for ships to go through to it, the yard-arms sticking in the very rocks. He does not, upon his best inquiry, find reason to except against any part of the management of the business by Teddiman; he having stayed treating no longer than during the night, while he was fitting himself to fight, bringing his ship abreast, and not a quarter of an hour longer, as it is said; nor could more ships have been brought to play, as is thought. Nor could men be landed, there being 10,000 men effectively always in arms of the Danes; nor, says he, could we expect more from the Danes than he did, it being impossible to set fire on the ships but it must burn the town. But that wherein the Dane did amiss is, that he did assist them, the Dutch, all the time while he was treating with us, when he should have been neutral to us both. But, however, he did demand but the treaty of us; which is, that we should not come with more than five ships. A flag of truce is said, and confessed by my Lord,

that he believes it, was hung out; but, while they did hang it out, they did shoot at us; so that it was not seen, or perhaps they would not cease upon sight of it, while they continued actually in action against us. But the main thing my Lord wonders at and condemns the Dane for is, that the blockhead, who is so much in debt to the Hollander, having now a treasure more by much than all his crown was worth, and that, which would for ever have beggared the Hollander, should not take this time to break with the Hollander and thereby pay his debt, which must have been forgiven him, and have got the greatest treasure into his hands that ever was together in the world. By-and-by, my Lord took me aside to discourse of his private matters, and was very free with me touching the ill condition of the fleet that it hath been in, and the good fortune that he hath had, and nothing else, that these prizes are to be imputed to. He also talked with me about Mr. Coventry's dealing with him in sending Sir W. Pen away before him, which was not fair nor kind; but that he hath mastered and cajoled Sir W. Pen, that he hath been able to do nothing in the fleet, but been obedient to him; but withal tells me he is a man that is but of very mean parts, and a fellow not to be lived with, so false and base he is; which I knew well enough to be true; and did, as I had formerly done, give my Lord my knowledge of him. By-and-by was called a council of war on board, when comes Sir W.

Pen there, and Sir Christopher Mings, Sir Edward Spragg, Sir Joseph Jordan, Sir Thomas Teddiman, and Sir Roger Cuttance. Great spoil, I hear, there hath been of the two East India ships, and that yet they will come into the King very rich; so that I hope this journey will be worth a £100 to me. So to our yacht again, having seen many of my friends there, and continued till we came into Chatham river. Among others, I hear that W. Howe will grow very rich by this late business, and grows very proud and insolent by it; but it is what I ever expected. I hear by everybody how much my poor Lord Sandwich was concerned for me during my silence a while, lest I had been dead of the plague in this sickly time.

19th. To Sir John Minnes's, where I find my Lady Batten come, and she and my Lord Brouncker and his mistress, and the whole house-full there at cards.

20th. Up, and after being trimmed, the first time I have been touched by a barber these twelve months, I think, and more, by-and-by Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten met, to go into my Lord Brouncker's coach, and so we four to Lambeth, and thence to the Duke of Albemarle, to inform him what we have done as to the fleet, which is very little, and to receive his direction. But, Lord! what a sad time it is to see no boats upon the river; and grass grows all up and down Whitehall court, and nobody but poor wretches in the streets! And which is worst of all, the Duke showed us the

number of the plague this week, brought in the last night from the Lord Mayor; that it is increased about 600 more than the last, which is quite contrary to our hopes and expectations, from the coldness of the late season. For the whole general number is 8,297, and of them the plague 7,165; which is more, in the whole, by above 50, than the biggest bill yet: which is very grievous to us all. I find Sir W. Batten and his lady gone home to Walthamstow, with some necessity, hearing that a maid-servant of theirs is taken ill.

21st. Up between five and six o'clock; and by the time I was ready my Lord Brouncker's coach comes for me; and taking Will Hewer with me, who is all in mourning for his father, who is lately dead of the plague, as my boy Tom's is also, I set out, and took about £100 with me to pay the fees at the Exchequer at Nonsuch, and so I rode in some fear of robbing. When I came thither I find only Mr. Ward, who led me to Burges's bedside, and Spicer's, who, watching of the house, as it is their turns every night, did lie long in bed to-day, and I find nothing at all done in my business, which vexed me. But not seeing how to help it, I did walk up and down with Mr. Ward to see the house. Walked up and down the house and park, and a fine place it hath heretofore been, and a fine prospect about the house. A great walk of an elm and a walnut set one after another in order. And all the house on the outside filled with figures of stories,



and good painting of Rubens' or Holbein's doing. And one great thing is, that most of the house is covered—I mean, the posts and quarters in the walls, with lead, and gilded. I walked also into the ruined garden. Strange to see how young W. Bowyer looks at forty-one years; one would not take him for twentyfore or more, and is one of the greatest wonders I ever did see. I got to my Lord Brouncker's before night, and there I sat and supped with him and his mistress, and Cocke, whose boy is yet ill. Thence, after losing a crown betting at tables, we walked home; Cocke seeing me to my new lodging.

22nd. At Blackwall. Here is observable what Johnson tells us, that in digging the late dock they did, twelve feet under ground, find perfect trees overcovered with earth. Nut-trees, with the branches and the very nuts upon them; some of whose nuts he showed us. Their shells black with age; and their kernel, upon opening, decayed, but their shell perfectly hard as ever. And a yew-tree, upon which the very ivy was taken up whole about it, which, upon cutting with an adze, we found it to be rather harder than the living tree usually is. The arms, they say, were taken up at first whole, about the body, which is very strange. To Woolwich, and my Lord Sandwich not being come, we took a boat, and about a mile off met him in his catch, and boarded him, and came up with him; and after making a little halt at my house,

which I ordered, to have my wife see him, we altogether by coach to Mr. Boreman's, where Sir J. Minnes did receive him very handsomely, and there he is to lie; and Sir J. Minnes did give him, on the sudden, a very handsome supper and brave discourse, my Lord Brouncker, and Captain Cocke, and Captain Herbert being there, with myself. Here my Lord did witness great respect to me and very kind expressions, and did take notice how I was overjoyed at first to see the King's letter to his Lordship, and told them how I did kiss it, and that, whatever he was, I did always love the King. Among other discourse concerning long life, Sir J. Minnes saying that his great grandfather was alive in Edward V.'s time; my Lord Sandwich did tell us how few there have been of his family since King Harry VIII.; that is to say, the then Chief Justice, and his son and the Lord Montagu, who was father to Sir Sidney, who was his father. And yet, what is more wonderful, he did assure us, from the mouth of my Lord Montagu himself, that, in King James's time, when he had a mind to get the King to cut off the entail of some land which was given in Harry VIII.'s time to the family, with the remainder in the Crown, he did answer the King in showing how unlikely it was that ever it could revert to the Crown, but that it would be a present convenience to him; and did show that, at that time, there were 4,000 persons derived from the very body of the Chief Justice. It

seems the number of daughters in the family having been very great, and they too had most of them many children and grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. This he tells as a most known and certain truth. After supper my Lord Brouncker took his leave, and I also did mine, taking Captain Herbert home to my lodging to lie with me, who did mighty seriously inquire after who was that in the black dress with my wife yesterday, and would not believe that it was my wife's maid Mercer, but it was she.

23rd. To my Lord Sandwich, who did advise alone with me how far he might trust Captain Cocke in the business of the prize-goods, my Lord telling me that he hath taken into his hands £2,000 or £3,000 value of them: it being a good way, he says, to get money, and afterwards to get the King's allowance thereof, it being easier, he observes, to keep money when got of the King than to get it when it is too late. I advised him not to trust Cocke too far. Thence to Lambeth—his Lordship, and all our office, and Mr. Evelyn, to the Duke of Albemarle, where we sat down to consult of the disposing and supporting of the fleet with victuals and money, and for the sick men and prisoners; and I did propose the taking out some goods out of the prizes, to the value of £10,000, which was accorded to: but what inconveniences may arise from it I do not yet see, but fear there may be many. Here we dined, and I did hear my Lord Craven

whisper, as he is mightily possessed with a good opinion of me, much to my advantage, which my good Lord did second, and anon my Lord Craven did speak publicly of me to the Duke, in the hearing of all the rest; and the Duke did say something of the like advantage to me—I believe, not much to the satisfaction of my brethren; but I was mightily joyed at it. Thence took leave, leaving my Lord Sandwich to go visit the Bishop of Canterbury. With Captain Cocke set out in the yacht for the fleet about ten o'clock at night.

24th. (Lord's day.) Waked, and up, and drank; and then, being about Grays, and a very calm, curious morning, we took our wherry, and to the fishermen, and bought a great deal of fine fish, and to Gravesend to White's, and had part of it dressed; and, in the meantime, we to walk about a mile from the town, and so back again; and there one of our watermen told us he had heard of a bargain of cloves for us, and we went to a blind alehouse at the further end of the town, to a couple of wretched, dirty seamen, who, poor wretches, had got together about thirty-seven pounds of cloves and ten pounds of nutmegs, and we bought them of them—the first at 5s. 6d. per pound, and the latter at 4s., and paid them in gold; but Lord, to see how silly these men are in the selling of it, and easy to be persuaded almost to anything. But it would never have been allowed by my conscience to

have wronged the poor wretches, who told us how dangerously they had got some, and dearly paid for the rest of these goods.

25th. Found ourselves come to the fleet, and so aboard the *Prince*; and there, after a good while in discourse, we did agree to a bargain of £5,000 for my Lord Sandwich, for silk, cinnamon, nutmegs, and indigo. And I was near signing to an undertaking for the payment of the whole sum; but I did by chance escape it; having since, upon second thoughts, great cause to be glad of it, reflecting upon the craft and not good condition, it may be, of Captain Cocke. I could get no trifles for my wife, and so away to the *Prince*, and presently comes my Lord on board from Greenwich, with whom, after a little discourse about his trusting of Cocke, we parted, and to our yacht; but it being calm we, to make haste, took our wherry towards Chatham; but it growing dark we were put to great difficulties—our simple yet confident waterman not knowing a step of the way; and we found ourselves to go backward and forward, which in the dark night and a wild place did vex us mightily. At last we got a fisher boy by chance, and took him into the boat, and being an odd kind of boy, did vex us too; for he would not answer us aloud when we spoke to him, but did carry us safe thither, though with a mistake or two; but I wonder they were not more. In our way I was astonished, and so were we all, at the

strange nature of the sea-water in a dark night, that it seemed like fire upon every stroke of the oar, and they say is a sign of wind. We, in our clothes, to bed.

27th. Up and saw and admired my wife's picture of Our Saviour, now finished, which is very pretty. By water to Greenwich, where to the "King's Head," the great music-house, the first time I was ever there. Much troubled to hear from Creed, that he was told at Salisbury that I am come to be a great swearer and drunkard; but Lord! to see how my late little drinking of wine is taken notice of by envious men, to my disadvantage. To Captain Cocke's, and he not yet come from town, to Mr. Evelyn, where much company; and thence in his coach with him to the Duke of Albemarle, by Lambeth, who was in a mighty pleasant humour; and tells us that the Dutch do stay abroad, and our fleet must go out again, or be ready to do so. Here we got several things ordered, as we desired, for the relief of the prisoners, and sick and wounded men. Here I saw this week's bill of mortality, wherein, blessed be God! there is above 1,800 decrease, being the first considerable decrease we have had. Most excellent discourse with Mr. Evelyn touching all manner of learning, wherein I find him a very fine gentleman, and particularly of painting, in which he tells me the beautiful Mrs. Middleton is rare, and his own wife does brave things. Captain Cocke brought one parcel of our goods by waggons, and I

first resolved to have lodged them at our office; but the thoughts of its being the King's house altered our resolution, and so put them at his friends, Mr. Glanville's, and there they are safe. Would the rest of them were so too! In discourse, we come to mention my profit, and he offers me £500 clear, and I demand £600. We part to-night, and I lie at Mr. Glanville's house, there being none there but a maid-servant and a young man, being in some pain, partly from not knowing what to do in this business, having a mind to be at a certainty in my profit, and partly through his having Jack sick still, and his blackamoor now also fallen sick. So he being gone, I to bed.

29th. I had my horse I borrowed of Mr. Gilethropp, Sir W. Batten's clerk, brought to me at Greenwich, and so set out and rode hard, and was at Nonsuch by about eight o'clock, a very fine journey and a fine day. There I came just about chapel-time, and so I went to chapel with them, and thence to the several offices about my tallies, which I find done, but strung for sums not to my purpose. But, Lord! what ado I had to persuade the dull fellows to it, especially Mr. Warder, Master of the Pells, and yet without any manner of reason for their scruple. But at last I did, and so walked to Ewell, and to horse again, and came to Greenwich before night. Sir Martin Noell is this day dead of the plague in London, where he hath lain sick of it these eight days.

30th. The great burden we have upon us at this time at the office is the providing for prisoners and sick men that are recovered, they lying before our office doors all night and all day, poor wretches. Having been on shore, the captains won't receive them on board, and other ships we have not to put them on, nor money to pay them off, or provide for them. God remove this difficulty! Hither came Luellin to me, and would force me to take Mr. Deering's twenty pieces in gold he did offer me a good while since, which I did, yet really and sincerely against my will and content, being not likely to reap any comfort in having to do with, and be beholden to, a man that minds more his pleasure and company than his business. Was set upon by the poor wretches, whom I did give words and some little money to, and the poor people went away like lambs, and, in good earnest, are not to be censured, if their necessities drive them to bad courses. Thence to the office, and thence to Captain Cocke's, where I find Mr. Temple, the fat blade, Sir Robert Viner's chief man. I do end this month with the greatest content, and may say that these last three months, for joy, health, and profit, have been much the greatest that ever I received all my life in any twelve months, having nothing upon me but the consideration of the sickliness of the season to mortify me.

*October 1.* (Lord's day.) Embarked on board the *Bezan*, and came to the fleet about two of the clock.



My Lord received me mighty kindly; and among other things, to my great joy, he did assure me that he had wrote to the King and Duke about these prize-goods, and told me that they did approve of what he had done, and that he would own what he had done, and would have me tell all the world so, and did, under his hand, give Cocke and me his certificate of our bargains, and giving us full power of disposal of what we have so bought. This do ease my mind of all my fear. He did discourse to us of the Dutch fleet being abroad, eighty-five of them still. After supper Captain Cocke and I, and Temple, on board the *Bezan*, and there to cards for a while, and so to sleep. But, Lord! the mirth which it caused to me, to be waked in the night by their snoring round about me: I did laugh till I was ready to burst, and waked one of the two companions of Temple, who could not a good while tell where he was, that he heard one laugh so, till he recollected himself, and I told him what it was at, and so to sleep again, they still snoring.

2nd. Having sailed all night, and I do wonder how they in the dark could find the way, we got by morning to Gillingham, and thence all walked to Chatham; and there, with Commissioner Pett, viewed the Yard; and, among other things, a team of four horses came close by us, he being with me, drawing a piece of timber, that I am confident one man could easily have

carried upon his back. I made the horses be taken away, and a man or two to take the timber away with their hands. To Rochester, to visit the old castle ruins, which hath been a noble place; but, Lord! to see what a dreadful thing it is to look upon the precipices, for it did fright me mightily; the place hath been great and strong in former ages. So to walk up and down the cathedral and thence to the "Crown," whither Mr. Fowler, the mayor of the town, was come in his gown, and is a very reverend magistrate. Took horses to Gravesend, and there stayed not, but got a boat, the sickness being very much in the town still, and so called on board my Lord Brouncker and Sir John Minnes, on board one of the East Indiamen at Erith, and there do find them full of envious complaints for the pillaging of the ships, but I did not pacify them.

3rd. Sir W. Batten is gone this day to meet to adjourn the Parliament to Oxford. Comes one to tell me my Lord Rutherford is come; so I to the "King's Head" to him, where I find his lady—a fine young Scotch lady, pretty handsome and plain. My wife also and Mercer by-and-by come, Creed bringing them; and so presently to dinner, and very merry. That being done, and some music and other diversions, at last go away my Lord and Lady. This night I hear that of our two watermen that used to carry our letters, and were well on Saturday last, one is dead,

and the other dying sick of the plague; the plague though decreasing elsewhere, yet being greater about the Tower and thereabouts.

4th. This night comes Sir George Smith to see me at the office, and tells me how the plague is decreased this week 740, for which God be praised! but that it increases at our end of the town still. All the town is full of Captain Cocke's being in some ill condition about prize-goods, his goods being taken from him, and I know not what.

5th. Among other things, talking of my sister Pall, and my wife of herself is very willing that I should give her £400 to her portion, and would have her married soon as we could; but this great sickness time do make it unfit to send for her up. Read a book of Mr. Evelyn's translating, and sending me as a present, about directions for gathering a library; but the book is above my reach, but his epistle to my Lord Chancellor is a very fine piece. Then to Mr. Evelyn's, to discourse of our confounded business of prisoners, and sick and wounded seamen, wherein he and we are so much put out of order. And here he showed me his gardens, which are, for variety of evergreens and hedge of holly, the finest things I ever saw in my life. Thence in his coach to Greenwich, and there to my office, all the way having fine discourse of trees and the nature of vegetables. Renewed my promises of observing my vows as I used to do; for I find that

since I left them off my mind is run a wool-gathering and my business neglected.

7th. Did business, though not much, at the office, because of the horrible crowd and lamentable moan of the poor seamen that lie starving in the streets for lack of money, which do trouble and perplex me to the heart; and more at noon, when we were to go through them, for then above a whole hundred of them followed us; some cursing, some swearing, and some praying to us. A letter came this afternoon from the Duke of Albemarle, signifying the Dutch to be in sight, with eighty sail, yesterday morning, off Solebay, coming right into the bay. God knows what they will and may do to us, we having no force abroad able to oppose them, but to be sacrificed to them. At night came two waggons from Rochester, with more goods from Captain Cocks; and in housing them came two of the Custom-house, and did seize them: but I showed them my *transire*. However, after some angry words, we locked them up, and sealed up the key, and did give it to the constable to keep till Monday, and so parted. But Lord! to think how the poor constable came to me in the dark going home. "Sir," says he, "I have the key, and, if you would have me do any service for you, send for me betimes to-morrow morning, and I will do what you would have me." Whether the fellow do this out of kindness or knavery, I cannot tell, but it is pretty to observe. Talking with him

in the highway, come close by the bearers with a dead corpse of the plague; but Lord! to see what custom is that I am come almost to think nothing of it.

8th. (Lord's day.) A letter from the Duke of Albe-marle to me, to order as many ships forth out of the river as I can presently, to join to meet the Dutch; having ordered all the captains of the ships in the river to come to me, I did some business with them, and so to Captain Cocke's to dinner—he being in the country. But here his brother Solomon was, and for guests, myself, Sir G. Smith, and a very fine lady, Mrs. Penington, and two more gentlemen. But both before and after dinner, most excellent witty discourse with this lady, who is a very fine witty lady, one of the best I ever heard speak, and indifferent handsome. To the office, where ended my business with the captains; and I think, of twenty-two ships, we shall make shift to get out seven, God help us! men being sick, or provisions lacking. This day I hear the Pope is dead; and one said that the news is, that the King of France is stabbed, but that the former is very true, which will do great things sure, as to the troubling of that part of the world, the King of Spain (Philip IV.) being so lately dead. And one thing more—Sir Martin Noell's lady is dead with grief for the death of her husband; but it seems nobody can make anything of his estate, whether he be dead worth anything or no, he having dealt in so many things, public and private, as nobody

can understand whereabouts his estate is, which is the fate of these great dealers at everything.

9th. To the Duke of Albemarle, and what should it be, but to tell me that if my Lord Sandwich do not come to town, he do resolve to go with the fleet to sea himself, the Dutch, as he thinks, being in the Downs, and so desired me to get a pleasure-boat for to take him in to-morrow morning, and do many other things, and with a great liking of me, and my management especially, as that coxcomb Lord Craven do tell me, and I perceive it, and I am sure take pains enough to deserve it.

10th. Up and receive a stop from the Duke of Albemarle of setting out any more ships, or providing a pleasure-boat for himself, which I am glad of, and do think, what I thought yesterday, that this resolution of his was a sudden one and silly. Sir G. Ascue says, that he did from the beginning declare against these [prize] goods, and would not receive his dividend; and that he and Sir W. Pen are at odds about it, and that he fears Mings hath been doing ill offices to my Lord. I did to-night give my Lord an account of all this.

11th. Comes up my landlady, Mrs. Clerke, to make an agreement for the time to come; and I, for the having room enough, and to keep out strangers, and to have a place to retreat to for my wife, if the sickness should come to Woolwich, am to pay dear; so, for three rooms, and a dining-room, and for dinner, and

bread and beer and butter at nights and mornings, I am to give her £5 10s. per month. To Erith, and there we met Mr. Seymour, one of the Commissioners for prizes, and a Parliament man, and he was mighty high, and had now seized our goods on their behalf; and he mighty imperiously would have all forfeited. But I could not but think it odd that a Parliament man, in a serious discourse before such persons as we and my Lord Brouneker, and Sir John Minnes, should quote "Hudibras," as being the book I doubt he hath read most. To Woolwich, where we had appointed to keep the night merrily; and so, by Captain Coeke's coach, had brought a very pretty child, a daughter of one Mrs. Tooker's, next door to my lodging, and so she, and a daughter and kinsman of Mrs. Pett's, made up a fine company at my lodgings at Woolwich, where my wife, and Mereer, and Mrs. Barbara Sheldon, danced, and mighty merry we were, but especially at Mercer's dancing a jig, which she does the best I ever did see, having the most natural way of it, and keeps time the most perfectly I ever did see. This night is kept in lieu of yesterday, for my wedding-day of ten years; for which God be praised! being now in an extreme good condition of health and estate and honour, and a way of getting more money, though at this hour under some discomfiture, rather than damage, about some prize goods that I have bought off the fleet, in partnership with Captain Cocke, and for the discourse

about the world concerning my Lord Sandwich, that he hath done a thing so bad ; and indeed it must needs have been a very rash act ; and the rather because of a Parliament now newly met to give money, and will have some account of what hath already been spent, besides the precedent for a General to take what prizes he pleases, and the giving a pretence to take away much more than he intended, and all will lie upon him ; and not giving to all the Commanders, as well as the Flags, he displeases all them, and offends even some of the Flags, thinking others to be better served than themselves ; and lastly, puts himself out of a power of begging anything again a great while of the King. Having danced my people as long as I saw fit to sit up, I to bed, and left them to do what they would.

12th. About the prize-goods, and do find that extreme ill use was made of my Lord Sandwich's order. Having learned as much as I could, which was, that the King and Duke were very severe in this point, whatever order they before had given my Lord in approbation of what he had done, and that all will come out, and the King see, by the entries at the Custom House, what all do amount to that had been taken, and so I took leave. Good news this week, that there are about 600 less dead of the plague than the last.

13th. Sir Jeremiah Smith to see me in his way to Court, and a good man he is, and one that I must keep



fair with. To the Duke of Albemarle, where I find him with Lord Craven and Lieutenant of the Tower about him—among other things, talking of ships to get of the King to fetch coals for the poor of the City, which is a good work. But, Lord, to hear the silly talk between these three great people! Yet I have no reason to find fault, the Duke and my Lord Craven being my very great friends.

14th. My heart and head to-night is full of the Victualling business, being overjoyed and proud of my success in my proposal about it, it being read before the King, Duke, and the Cabal with complete applause and satisfaction; this Sir G. Carteret and Sir W. Coventry both wrote me. My own proper accounts are in great disorder, having been neglected about a month. This, and the fear of the sickness, and providing for my family, do fill my head very full, besides the infinite business of the office, and nobody here to look after it but myself.

15th. (Lord's day.) Up, and while I stayed for the barber, tried to compose a duo of counter-point: and I think it will do very well, it being by Mr. Berkenshaw's rule. Comes Mr. Povy's coach, and more than I expected, him himself, to fetch me to Branford; so he and I immediately to set out, having drunk a draught of mulled sack; and so rode most nobly in his most pretty and best contrived chariot in the world, with many new conveniences, his never having

till now, within a day or two, been yet finished. Anon we come to his house, and so with fresh horses, his noble, fine horses, the best confessedly in England, the King having none such, he sent me to Sir Robert Viner's, whom I met coming just from church; and he and I into his garden to discourse of money, but none is to be had. The Parliament, it seems, have voted the King £1,250,000 at £50,000 per month tax for the war; and voted to assist the King against the Dutch, and all that shall adhere to them; and thanks to be given him for his care of the Duke of York, which last is a very popular vote on the Duke's behalf. The taxes of the last assessment, which should have been in good part gathered, are not yet laid, and that even in part of the City of London; and the Chimney-money comes almost to nothing, nor anything else looked after.

16th. Up about seven o'clock; and after drinking, and I observing Mr. Povy's being mightily mortified in his eating and drinking, and coaches and horses, he desiring to sell his best, and everything else, his furniture of his house, he walked with me to Sion, and there I took water, in our way he discoursing of the wantonness of the Court, and how it minds nothing else. Upon the Exchange, which is very empty, God knows! and but mean people there. The news for certain that the Dutch are come with their fleet before Margate, and some men were endeavouring to

come on shore when the post came away—perhaps to steal some sheep. I walked to the Tower; but, Lord! how empty the streets are, and melancholy, so many poor sick people in the streets full of sores; and so many sad stories overheard as I walk, everybody talking of this dead, and that man sick, and so many in this place, and so many in that. And they tell me that in Westminster there is never a physician and but one apothecary left, all being dead; but that there are great hopes of a great decrease this week: God send it! At the Tower found my Lord Duke [of Albemarle] and Duchess at dinner, so I sat down; and much good cheer, the Lieutenant and his lady and several officers with the Duke. But, Lord! to hear the silly talk was there would make one mad: the Duke having none almost but fools about him. Much talk about the Dutch, in reproach of them, in whose hands the fleet is; but Lord help him! there is something will hinder him and all the world in going to sea, which is want of victuals, for we have not wherewith to answer our service; and how much better it would have been if the Duke's advice had been taken, for the fleet to have gone presently out; but, God help the King! while no better counsels are given, and what is given no better taken. I have received letters from my Lord Sandwich to-day, speaking very high about the prize goods, that he would have us to fear nobody, but be very confident in what we have done,

and not to confess any fault or doubt of what he hath done; for the King hath allowed it, and do now confirm it, and do send orders, as he says, for nothing to be disturbed that his Lordship hath ordered therein as to the division of the goods to the fleet; which do comfort us. To the Still Yard, which place, however, is now shut up of the plague; but I was there, and we now make no bones of it. Much talk there is of the Chancellor's speech and the King's at the Parliament's meeting, which are very well liked; and that we shall certainly, by their speeches, fall out with France at this time, together with the Dutch, which will find us work.

19th. Came to an agreement yesterday with my landlady for £6 per month, for so many rooms for myself, them, and my wife and maid, when she shall come, and to pay besides for my diet. To the Duke of Albemarle this evening; and among other things, spoke to him for my wife's brother Balty to be of his guard, which he kindly answered that he should. My business of the Victualling goes on as I would have it; and now my head is full how to make some profit of it to myself or people. To that end, when I came home, I wrote a letter to Mr. Coventry, offering myself to be the Surveyor-General, and am apt to think he will assist me in it, but I do not set my heart much on it, though it would be a good help.

20th. Up, and had my last night's letters brought

back to me, which troubles me, because of my accounts, lest they should be asked for before they come, which I abhor, being more ready to give them than they can be to demand them: so I sent away an express to Oxford with them, and another to Portsmouth, with a copy of my letter to Mr. Coventry.

22nd. (Lord's day.) Met some letters which made me resolve to go after church to my Lord Duke of Albemarle's: so, after dinner, I took Cocke's chariot, and to Lambeth; but in going and getting over the water and through Whitehall, I spent so much time, the Duke had almost dined. However, fresh meat was brought for me to his table, and there I dined, and full of discourse and very kind. There they are again talking of the prizes, and my Lord Duke did speak very broad that my Lord Sandwich and Pen should do what they would, and answer for themselves. For his part he would lay all before the King.

23rd. On board the East India ship, where my Lord Brouncker had provided a great dinner. But I am troubled with the much talk and conceitedness of Mrs. Williams in case she be not married to my Lord. Captain Taylor with me to the office, and there he and I reckoned; and I perceive I shall get £100 profit by my services of late to him, which is a very good thing.

24th. My Lord Sandwich is come to town: so I presently to Boreman's, where he is, and there found him: he mighty kind to me, but no opportunity of discourse

private yet, which he tells me he must have with me; only his business is sudden to go to the fleet to get out a few ships to drive away the Dutch. To him again to Captain Cocke's, where he supped, and lies, and never saw him more merry; and here is Charles Harbord, who the King hath lately knighted. My Lord, to my great content, did tell me before them, that never anything was read to the King and Council, all the Chief Ministers of State being there, as my letter about the victualling was, and no more said upon it than a most thorough consent to every word was said.

25th. My Lord tells me that Mr. Coventry and he are not reconciled, but declared enemies—the only occasion of it being, he tells me, his ill usage from him about the first fight, wherein he had no right done him, which, methinks, is a poor occasion, for, in my conscience, that was no design of Coventry's. He tells me, as very private, that there are great factions at the Court between the King's party and the Duke of York's, and that the King, which is a strange difficulty, do favour my Lord in opposition to the Duke's party—that my Lord Chancellor, being now, to be sure, the patron of the Duke's, it is a mystery whence it should be that Mr. Coventry is looked upon by him [Clarendon] as an enemy to him [Clarendon]; that if he had a mind himself to be out of this employment, as Mr. Coventry, he believes, wishes, and himself and I do incline to wish it also, in

many respects, yet he believes he shall not be able because of the King, who will keep him in on purpose, in opposition to the other party; that Prince Rupert and he are all possible friends in the world; that Coventry had aggravated this business of the prizes, though never so great plundering in the world as while the Duke and he were at sea; and in Sir John Lawson's time he could take and pillage, and then sink a whole ship in the Straits, and Coventry say nothing to it; that my Lord Arlington is his fast friend; that the Chancellor is cold to him, and, though I told him that I and the world do take my Lord Chancellor, in his speech the other day to have said as much as could be wished, yet he thinks he did not. That my Lord Chancellor do from hence begin to be cold to him, because of his seeing him and Arlington so great: that nothing at Court is minded but faction and pleasure, and nothing intended of general good to the kingdom by anybody heartily; so that he believes with me, that in a little time confusion will certainly come over all the nation. He told me how a design was carried on a while ago, for the Duke of York to raise an army in the North, and to be the General of it, and all this without the knowledge or advice of the Duke of Albemarle, which, when he came to know, he was so vexed, they were fain to let it fall to content him: that his matching with the

family of Sir G. Carteret makes the difference greater between Coventry and him—they being enemies; that the Chancellor did, as everybody else, speak well of me the other day, but yet was, at the Committee for Tangier, angry that I should offer to suffer a bill of exchange to be protested.

.26th. I to the 'Change, where I hear how the French have taken two, and sunk one, of our merchantmen in the Straits, and carried the ships to Toulon; so that there is no expectation but we must fall out with them. The 'Change pretty full, and the town begins to be lively again, though the streets very empty and most shops shut.

27th. To the Duke of Albemarle's, and there much company, but I stayed and dined, and he makes mighty much of me; and here he tells us the Dutch are gone, and have lost above 150 cables and anchors through the late foul weather. He proposed to me from Mr. Coventry that I should be Surveyor-General of the Victualling business, which I accepted. But, indeed, the terms in which Mr. Coventry proposes it for me are the most obliging that ever I could expect from any man, and more; he saying that I am the fittest man in England; and that he is sure, if I will undertake. I will perform it; and that it will be also a very desirable thing that I might have this encouragement, my encouragement in the Navy alone



being in no wise proportionable to my pains or deserts. This, added to the letter I had three days since from Mr. Southerne, signifying that the Duke of York had, in his master's absence, opened my letters, and commanded him to tell me that he did approve of my being the Surveyor-General, do make me joyful beyond myself that I cannot express it, to see that as I do take pains so God blesses me, and hath sent me masters that do observe that I take pains.

28th. Sir W. Clerke tells me the Parliament hath given the Duke of York £120,000, to be paid him after £1,250,000 is gathered upon the tax which they have now given the King; also that the Dutch have lately launched sixteen new ships; all which is great news. The King and Court, they say, have now finally resolved to spend nothing upon clothes but what is of the growth of England; which, if observed, will be very pleasing to the people, and very good for them.

29th. (Lord's day.) In the street at Woolwich did overtake and almost run upon two women crying and carrying a man's coffin between them; I suppose the husband of one of them, which methinks is a sad thing.

31st. Meeting yesterday the Searchers with their rods in their hands, coming from Captain Cocks's house, I did overhear them say that his black did not die of the plague. About nine at night I came home, and there find Mrs. Pierce come, and little Frank

Tooker, and Mr. Hill, and other people, a great many dancing; and anon comes Mrs. Coleman and her husband, and she sung very finely; though her voice is decayed as to strength, but mighty sweet though soft, and a pleasant, jolly woman, and in mighty good humour. Among other good things Lancaire did, at the request of Mr. Hill, bring two or three the finest prints for my wife to see that ever I did see in all my life. But for singing, among other things, we got Mrs. Coleman to sing part of the Opera, though she would not own she did get any of it without book in order to the stage; but above all, her counterfeiting of Captain Cocke's part, in his reproaching his man with cowardice—"Base slave," &c.—she does it most excellently. Thus we end the month merrily; and the more that, after some fears that the plague would have increased again this week, I hear for certain that there is above 400 less; the whole number of deaths being 1,388, and of them of the plague 1,031. Want of money in the Navy puts everything out of order. Men grow mutinous; and nobody here to mind the business of the Navy but myself. I in great hopes of my place of Surveyor-General of the Victualling, which will bring me £300 per annum.

*November 1.* Lay very long in bed discoursing with Mr. Hill of most things of a man's life, and how little merit do prevail in the world, but only favour;

and that, for myself, chance without merit brought me in; and that diligence only keeps me so, and will, living as I do among so many lazy people that the diligent man becomes necessary, that they cannot do anything without him.

4th. I hear that one of the little boys at my lodging is not well; and they suspect, by their sending for plaister and fume, that it may be the plague; so I sent Mr. Hater and W. Hewer to speak with the mother; but they returned to me, satisfied that there is no hurt nor danger, but the boy is well and offers to be searched. After dinner to the office, and much troubled to have 100 seamen all the afternoon there, swearing below and cursing us, and breaking the glass windows, and swear they will pull the house down on Tuesday next. I sent word of this to Court, but nothing will help it but money and a rope.

5th. (Lord's day.) To the Cock-pit, where I heard the Duke of Albemarle's chaplain make a simple sermon: among other things, reproaching the imperfection of human learning, he cried—"All our physicians cannot tell what an ague is, and all our arithmetic is not able to number the days of a man"—which, God knows, is not the fault of arithmetic, but that our understandings reach not the thing. I hear that the plague increases much at Lambeth, St. Martin's, and Westminster, and fear it will be all over

the City. By water to Deptford, and there made a visit to Mr. Evelyn, who, among other things, showed me most excellent painting in little; in distemper, in Indian ink, water colours, graving, and above all, the whole secret of mezzo-tinto, and the manner of it, which is very pretty, and good things done with it. He read to me very much also of his discourse he hath been many years and now is about, about Gardenage; which will be a most noble and pleasant piece. He read me part of a play or two of his making, very good, but not as he conceits them, I think, to be. He showed me his "Hortus Hyemalis;" leaves laid up in a book of several plants kept dry, which preserve colour, however, and look very finely, better than an Herbal. In fine, a most excellent person he is, and must be allowed a little for a little conceitedness; but he may well be so, being a man so much above others. He read me, though with too much gusto, some little poems of his own, that were not transcendant, yet one or two very pretty epigrams; among others, of a lady looking in at a grate, and being pecked at by an eagle that was there.

6th. Sir G. Carteret and I did walk an hour in the garden before the house, talking of my Lord Sandwich's business: what enemies he hath, and how they have endeavoured to bespatter him: and particularly about his leaving of thirty ships of the enemy,

when Pen would have gone, and my Lord called him back again: which is most false. However, he says it was purposed by some hot-heads in the House of Commons, at the same time when they voted a present to the Duke of York, to have voted £10,000 to the Prince, and half-a-crown to my Lord of Sandwich; but nothing came of it. But, for all this, the King is most firm to my Lord, and so is my Lord Chancellor and my Lord Arlington; the Prince in appearance kind; the Duke of York silent, says no hurt, but admits others to say it in his hearing; Sir W. Pen, the falsest rascal that ever was in the world; and that this afternoon the Duke of Albemarle did tell him that Pen was a very cowardly rogue, and one that hath brought all these roguish fanatic captains into the fleet, and swears he should never go out with the fleet again: that Sir W. Coventry is most kind to Pen still; and says nothing, nor does anything openly, to the prejudice of my Lord. He agrees with me, that it is impossible for the King to set out a fleet again the next year; and that he fears all will come to ruin, there being no money in prospect but these prizes, which will bring, it may be, £20,000, but that will signify nothing in the world for it.

7th. To Sir G. Carteret, and I with him by water, and among other things, Lord! to see how he wondered to see the river so empty of boats, nobody working at

the Custom House quays; and how fearful he is, and vexed that his man, holding a wine-glass in his hand for him to drink out of, did cover his hands, it being a cold, windy, rainy morning, under the waterman's coat, though he brought the waterman from six or seven miles up the river too. Nay, he carried his glass with him for his man to let him drink out of at the Duke of Albemarle's, where he intended to dine, though this he did to prevent sluttery; for the same reason he carried a napkin with him to Captain Cocke's, making him believe that he should not eat with foul linen.

8th. It being a fast-day, all people were at church and the office quiet, so I did much business, and at noon adventured to my old lodging. By water to Deptford, and about eight o'clock at night did take water, being glad I was out of the town, for the plague, it seems, rages there more than ever.

9th. At noon, by water to the "King's Head" at Deptford, where Captain Taylor invites Sir W. Batten and Sir John Robinson, who came in with a great deal of company from hunting, and brought in a hare alive, and a great many silly stories they tell of their sport, which pleases them mightily, and me not at all, such is the different sense of pleasure in mankind, and strange to see how a good dinner and feasting reconciles everybody. The bill of mortality, to all our griefs, is

increased 399 this week, and the increase generally through the whole City and suburbs, which makes us all sad.

10th. In the evening news is brought me my wife is come, so I to her; and she told me, having herself been this day at my house at London, which was boldly done, that a neighbour of our's, Mr. Hollworthy, a very able man, is dead by a fall in the country from his horse, his foot hanging in the stirrup and his brains beat out.

12th. (Lord's day.) They hope here the plague will be less this week. Reading over part of Mr. Stillingfleet's "Origines Sacræ," wherein many things are very good and some frivolous.

14th. Captain Cocke and I in his coach through Kent Street, a sad place through the plague, people sitting sick and with plaisters about them in the street begging. To the Duke of Albemarle by water late, where I find he had remembered that I had appointed to come to him this day about money, which I excused not doing sooner, but I see, a dull fellow as he is, he does sometimes remember what another thinks he mindeth not. My business was about getting money of the East India Company; but Lord! to see how the Duke himself magnifies himself in that he had done with the Company, and my Lord Craven what the King could have done without my Lord Duke, and

a great deal of stir, but most mightily what a brave fellow I am. Back by water, it raining hard, and so to the office, and stopped my going as I intended, to the buoy of the Nore, and great reason I had to rejoice at it, for it proved the night of as great a storm as was almost ever remembered.

15th. To the "King's Head" tavern, where all the Trinity House dined to-day, to choose a new master in the room of Hurlestone that is dead, and Captain Crispe is chosen. After dinner, who comes in but my Lady Batten and a troop of a dozen women almost, and expected, as I found afterwards, to be made mighty much of, but nobody minded them; but the best jest was, that when they saw themselves not regarded, they would go away, and it was horrible foul weather; and my Lady Batten walking through the dirty lane with new spick and span white shoes, she dropped one of her galoshes in the dirt where it stuck, and she forced to go home without one, at which she was horribly vexed, and I led her; and vexing her a little more in mirth, I parted, and to Glanville's, where I knew Sir John Robinson, Sir G. Smith, and Captain Cocke were gone, and then with the company of Mrs. Pennington, whose father, I hear, was one of the Court of Justice, and died prisoner of the stone in the Tower. I made them, against their resolutions, to stay from hour to hour, till it was almost midnight,



and a furious dark, and rainy, and windy, stormy night, and, which was best, I, with drinking small beer, made them all drunk drinking wine, at which Sir John Robinson made great sport. The plague, blessed be God, is decreased 400, making the whole this week but 1,300 and odd, for which the Lord be praised!

16th. To Erith, where, after making a little visit to Madam Williams, she did give me information of W. Howe's having bought eight bags of precious stones taken from about the Dutch Vice-admiral's neck, of which there were eight diamonds, which cost him £4,000 sterling in India, and hoped to have made £12,000 here for them. And that is told by one that sold him one of the bags, which hath nothing but rubies in it, which he had for 35s., and that it will be proved he hath made £125 of one stone that he bought. This she desired, and I resolved I would give my Lord Sandwich notice of. So I on board to my Lord Brouncker, and there he and Sir Edmund Pooly carried me down into the hold of the India ship, and there did show me the greatest wealth lie in confusion that a man can see in the world. Pepper scattered through every chink—you trod upon it; and in cloves and nutmegs I walked above the knees: whole rooms full. And silk in bales, and boxes of copper-plate, one of which I saw opened. Having seen this, which was

as noble a sight as ever I saw in my life, I away on board the other ship in despair to get the pleasure-boat of the gentlemen there to carry me to the fleet. They were Mr. Ashburnham and Colonel Wyndham; but, pleading the King's business, they did presently agree I should have it. So I presently on board, and got under sail, and had a good bed by the shift of Wyndham's.

17th. Sailed all night, and got down to Queenborough water, where all the great ships are now come, and there on board to my Lord, and was soon received with great content. And after some little discourse, he and I on board to Sir W. Pen, and there held a council of war about many wants of the fleet, and so followed my Lord Sandwich, who was gone a little before me, on board the *Royal James*, and there spent an hour, my Lord playing upon the guitar, which he now commends above all music in the world. As an infinite secret; my Lord tells me the factions are high between the King and the Duke, and all the Court are in an uproar with their loose amours; the Duke of York being in love desperately with Mrs. Stewart. Nay, that the Duchess herself is fallen in love with her new Master of the Horse, one Harry Sidney, and another, Harry Savill, so that God knows what will be the end of it. And that the Duke is not so obsequious as he used to be, but very high of late, and

would be glad to be at the head of an army as General, and that it is said that he proposes to go and command under the King of Spain in Flanders; that his amours to Mrs. Stewart are told the King, so that all is like to be nought among them. Away to my *Bezan* again, and there to read in a pretty French book, "La Nouvelle Allegorique," upon the strife between rhetoric and its enemies—very pleasant. So after supper to sleep, and sailed all night, and came to Erith before break of day.

19th. (Lord's day.) Alone by water to Erith. Being come there, on board my Lord Brouneker, I find Captain Coeke and other company, the lady not well, and mighty merry we were—Sir Edmund Pooly being very merry, and a right English gentleman, and one of the discontented cavaliers, that think their loyalty is not considered. After dinner, all on shore to my Lady Williams, and there drank and talked; but, Lord! the most impertinent bold woman with my Lord that ever I did see.

20th. Up before day, and so took horse for Non-such, with two men with me, and the ways very bad, and the weather worse, for wind and rain. Thither, and I did get my tallies, and thence took horse, but it rained hard and blew, but got home very well. Here I find Mr. Deering come to trouble me about business, which I soon dispatched, he telling me that Luellin

hath been dead this fortnight of the plague in St. Martin's Lane, which much surprised me.

22nd. I was very glad to hear that the plague is come very low; that is, the whole under 1,000, and the plague 600 and odd: and great hopes of a further decrease, because of this day's being a very exceeding hard frost, and continues freezing. This day the first of the Oxford Gazettes came out, which is very pretty, full of news, and no folly in it, written by Williamson. It pleased me to have it demonstrated, that a Purser without professed cheating is a professed loser twice as much as he gets.

23rd. Up betimes, and so, being trimmed, I to get papers ready against Sir H. Cholmley come to me by appointment, he being newly come over from Tangier. He did by-and-by come, and we settled all matters about his money, and he is a most satisfied man in me, and declares his resolution to give me £200 per annum. It continuing to be a great frost, which gives us hopes for a perfect cure of the plague, he and I to walk in the park, and there discoursed with grief of the calamity of the times. I brought him home, and had a good dinner for him. Captain Cuttance tells me how W. Howe is laid by the heels, and confined to the Royal Katherine, and his things all seized; and how, also, for a quarrel, which indeed my Lord the other night told me, Captain Ferrers having cut all over the

back of another of my Lord's servants, is parted from my Lord. We in extraordinary lack of money and everything else to go to sea next year. My Lord Sandwich is gone from the fleet yesterday towards Oxford.

24th. To London, and there in my way at my old oyster shop in Gracious Street. bought two barrels of my fine woman of the shop, who is alive after all the plague, which now is the first observation or inquiry we make at London concerning everybody we know. To the 'Change, where very busy with several people, and mightily glad to see the 'Change so full, and hopes of another abatement still the next week. I went home with Sir G. Smith to diuner, sending for one of my barrels of oysters, which were good, though come from Colchester, where the plague hath been so much. Here a very brave dinner, though no invitation; and, Lord! to see how I am treated, that come from so mean a beginning, is matter of wonder to me. But it is God's mercy to me, and his blessing upon my taking pains, and being punctual in my dealings. Visited Mr. Evelyn, where most excellent discourse with him; among other things, he showed me a ledger of a Treasurer of the Navy, his great-grandfather, just 100 years old; which I seemed mightily fond of, and he did present me with it, which I take as a great rarity; and he hopes to find me more, older than it. He also

showed us several letters of the old Lord of Leicester's, in Queen Elizabeth's time, under the very handwriting of Queen Elizabeth, and Queen Mary, Queen of Scots; and others, very venerable names. But, Lord! how poorly, methinks, they wrote in those days, and in what plain uncut paper.

26th. (Lord's day.) Up before day to dress myself to go towards Erith, which I would do by land, it being a horrible cold frost to go by water: so borrowed two horses of Mr. Howell and his friend, and with much ado set out, after my horses being frosted, which I know not what it means to this day, and my boy having lost one of my spurs and stockings, carrying them to the smith's, and I borrowed a stocking, and so got up, and Mr. Tooker with me, and rode to Erith, and there on board my Lord Brouncker met with Sir W. Warren upon his business, among others, and did a great deal; Sir J. Minnes, as God would have it, not being there to hinder us with his impertinences. To my wife at Woolwich, where I found, as I had directed, a good dinner to be made against to-morrow, and invited guests in the yard, meaning to be merry, in order to her taking leave, for she intends to come in a day or two to me altogether. But here they tell me, one of the houses behind them is infected, and I was fain to stand there a great while, to have their back-doors opened, but they could not, having locked them fast

against any passing through, so was forced to pass by them again, close to their sick beds, which they were removing out of the house, which troubled me: so I made them uninvite their guests, and to resolve of coming all away to me to-morrow.

27th. To the Duke of Albemarle, who is visited by everybody against his going to Oxford, and mighty kind to me; and upon my desiring his grace to give me his kind word to the Duke of York, if any occasion there were of speaking of me, he told me he had reason to do so, for there had been nothing done in the Navy without me. He is agog to go to sea himself the next year. To dinner, he most exceedingly kind to me, to the observation of all that are there. With Sir G. Carteret, who tells me that my Lord hath received still worse and worse usage from some base people about the Court. But the King is very kind, and the Duke does not appear the contrary; and my Lord Chancellor swore to him, "By—— I will not forsake my Lord of Sandwich." I into London, it being dark night, by a hackney coach; the first I have durst to go in many a day, and with great pain now for fear. But it being unsafe to go by water in the dark, and frosty cold, and I unable, being weary with my morning walk, to go on foot, this was my only way. Few people yet in the streets, nor shops open, here and there twenty in a place almost; though not above five

or six o'clock at night. The goldsmiths do deery the new Act, for money to be all brought into the Exchequer and paid out thence, saying they will not advance one farthing upon it; and indeed it is their interest to say and do so. To Sir G. Smith's, it being now night, and there up to his chamber, and sat talking, and I barbing against to-morrow; and anon, at nine at night, comes to us Sir G. Smith and the Lieutenant of the Tower, and there they sat talking and drinking till past midnight, and mighty merry we were—the Lieutenant of the Tower being in a mighty vein of singing, and he hath a very good ear and strong voice, but no manner of skill. Sir G. Smith showed me his lady's closet, which is very fine; and after being very merry, here I lay in a noble chamber, and mighty highly treated, the first night I have lain in London a long time.

28th. Up before day, and Cocke and I took a hackney-coach appointed with four horses to take us up, and so carried us over London Bridge. But there, thinking of some business, I did 'light at the foot of the bridge, and by help of a candle at a stall where some pavers were at work, I wrote a letter to Mr. Hater, and never knew so great an instance of the usefulness of carrying pen and ink and wax about one: so we, the way being very bad, to Nonsuch, and thence to Sir Robert Long's house—a fine place, and dinner-time ere we got thither;



but we had breakfasted a little at Mr. Gauden's, he being out of town though, and there borrowed Dr. [Jeremy] Taylor's sermons, and is a most excellent book and worth my buying, where had a very good dinner, and curiously dressed, and here a couple of ladies, kinswomen of his, not handsome though, but rich, that knew me by report of The. Turner, and mighty merry we were. After dinner to talk of our business, and we parted. Captain Cocke and I through Wandsworth. Drank at Sir Allen Broderick's, a great friend and comrade of Cocke's, whom he values above the world for a witty companion, and I believe he is so. So to Fox-hall, and there took boat, and down to the Old Swan, and thence to Lombard Street—it being dark night, and thence to the Tower. Took boat, and down to Greenwich. Cocke home, and I to the office, and then to my lodgings, where my wife is come, and I am well pleased with it, only much trouble in those lodgings we have, the mistress of the house being so deadly dear in everything we have; so that we do resolve to remove home soon as we know how the plague goes this week, which we hope will be a good decrease. So to bed.

29th. Home to my house, calling my wife, where the poor wretch is putting things in a way to be ready for our coming home, and so by water together to Greenwich.

30th. At noon comes Sir Thomas Allen, and I made him dine with me, and very friendly he is, and a good man, I think, but one that professes he loves to get and to save. Great joy we have this week in the weekly bill, it being come to 544 in all, and but 333 of the plague; so that we are encouraged to get to London soon as we can. And my father writes as great news of joy to them, that he saw York's waggon go again this week to London, and full of passengers: and tells me that my aunt Bell hath been dead of the plague these seven weeks.

*December 1.* All the day long shut up in my little closet at my office. Then home by promise to my wife, to have mirth there. So we had our neighbours, little Miss Tooker and Mrs. Daniels, to dance, and after supper I to bed, and left them merry below, which they did not part from till two or three in the morning.

2nd. Dined with my wife at noon, and took leave of her, she being to go to London for altogether.

3rd. (Lord's day.) It being Lord's day, up and dressed and to church, thinking to have sat with Sir James Bunce to hear his daughter and her husband sing, that are so much commended, but was prevented by being invited into Colonel Cleggat's pew. However, there I sat, near Mr. Lancaire, with whom I spoke, and my fat brown beauty of our parish, the rich merchant's lady, a very noble woman, and Madame

Pierce. A good sermon of Mr. Plume's. To Captain Cocke's, and there dined with him and Colonel Wyndham, a worthy gentleman, whose wife was nurse to the present King, and one that while she lived, governed him and everything else, as Cocke says, as a minister of state; the old King putting mighty weight and trust upon her. They talked much of matters of State and persons, and particularly how my Lord Barkeley hath all along been a fortunate, though a passionate, and but weak man as to policy; but as a kinsman, brought in and promoted by my Lord of St. Albans, and one that is the greatest vapourer in the world, this Colonel Wyndham says; and to whom only, with Jack Ashburnham and Colonel Legg, the King's removal to the Isle of Wight from Hampton Court was communicated; and, though betrayed by their knavery, or at best by their ignorance, insomuch that they have all solemnly charged one another with their failures therein, and have been at daggers drawing, publicly, about it, yet now none greater friends in the world.

4th. Home to my house at the office, where my wife hath got a dinner for me; and it was a joyful thing for us to meet here, for which God be praised! Here was her brother come to see her, and speak with me about business. It seems that my recommendation of him hath not only obtained his presently being admitted into the Duke of Albemarle's guards and

present pay, but also by the Duke's and Sir Philip Howard's direction, to be put as a right-hand man, and other marks of special respect, at which I am very glad—partly for him, and partly to see that I am reckoned something in my recommendations. Upon the 'Change to-day, Colvill tells me, from Oxford, that the King in person hath justified my Lord Sandwich to the highest degree; and is right in his favour to the uttermost.

6th. Up betimes, it being fast-day; and by water to the Duke of Albemarle, who came down to town from Oxford last night. He is mighty brisk, and very kind to me, and asks my advice principally in everything. He surprises me with the news that my Lord Sandwich goes Ambassador to Spain speedily; though I know not whence this arises, yet I am heartily glad of it. I spent the afternoon upon a song of Solyman's words to Roxalana that I have set, and so with my wife and Mercer walked to Mrs. Pierce's, where Captain Rolt and Mrs. Knipp, Mr. Coleman and his wife, and Lancare, Mrs. Worshipp and her singing daughter, met; and by-and-by, unexpectedly comes Mr. Pierce from Oxford. Here the best company for music I ever was in, in my life, and wish I could live and die in it, both for music and the face of Mrs. Pierce, and my wife, and Knipp, who is pretty enough; but the most excellent, mad-humoured thing,

and sings the noblest that ever I heard in my life, and Rolt, with her, some things together, most excellently. I spent the night in an ecstasy almost; and, having invited them to my house a day or two hence, we broke up, Pierce having told me how the King hath done my Lord Sandwich all the right imaginable, by showing him his countenance before all the world on every occasion, to remove thoughts of discontent; and he is to go Ambassador, and the Duke of York is made General of all forces by land and sea, and the Duke of Albemarle Lieutenant-General.

8th. To give orders to my maid to buy things to send down to Greenwich for supper to-night; and I also to buy other things, as oysters, and lemons 6d. per piece, and oranges 3d. To Whitehall, where we found Sir G. Carteret with the Duke, and also Sir G. Downing, whom I had not seen in many years before. He greeted me very kindly, and I him; though methinks I am touched that it should be said that he was my master heretofore, as doubtless he will. Sir G. Carteret tells me that he is glad of my Lord's being made Ambassador, and that it is the greatest courtesy his enemies could do him; yet I find that he is not heartily merry upon it, and that it is no design of my Lord's friends, but the prevalence of his enemies, and that the Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert are like to go to sea together the next year. I pray God,

when my Lord is gone, they do not fall hard upon the Vice-Chamberlain, being alone, and in so envious a place. By water down to Greenwich, and there found all my company come—that is, Mrs. Knipp, and an ill, melancholy, jealous-looking fellow, her husband, that spoke not a word to us all the night, Pierce and his wife, and Rolt, Mrs. Worshipp and her daughter, Coleman and his wife, and Laneare, and, to make us perfectly happy, there comes by chance to town Mr. Hill to see us. Most excellent music we had in abundance, and a good supper, dancing, and a pleasant scene of Mrs. Knipp's rising sick from table, but whispered me it was for some hard word or other her husband gave her just now when she laughed, and was more merry than ordinary. But we got her in humour again, and mighty merry; spending the night till two in the morning, with most complete content as ever in my life. And we to bed—Mr. Hill and I, whom I love more and more, and he us.

9th. My Lord Brouncker and I dined with the Duke of Albemarle. At table, the Duchess, a very ill-looking woman, complaining of her Lord's going to sea the next year, said these cursed words: "If my Lord had been a coward, he had gone to sea no more; it may be then he might have been excused, and made an Ambassador;" meaning my Lord Sandwich. This made me mad, and I believe she perceived my countenance

change, and blushed herself very much. I was in hopes others had not minded it, but my Lord Brouncker, after we were come away, took notice of the words to me with displeasure. To Mr. Hill, and sang, among other things, my song of "Beauty, retire," which he likes, only excepts against two notes in the bass, but likes the whole very well.

11th. That I may remember it the more particularly, I thought fit to insert this memorandum of Temple's discourse this night with me, which I took in writing from his mouth. Before the Harp and Cross money was cried down, he and his fellow goldsmiths did make some particular trials what proportion that money bore to the old King's money, and they found that it generally come to, one with another, about £25 in every £100. Of this money there was, upon the calling of it in, £650,000 at least brought into the Tower; and from thence he computes that the whole money of England must be full £16,250,000, but, for all this believes that there is about £30,000,000; he supposing that about the King's coming in, when he began to observe the quantity of the new money, people began to be fearful of this money being cried down, and so picked it out and set it a-going as fast as they could to be rid of it; and he thinks £30,000,000 the rather, because, if there were but £16,250,000, the King having £2,000,000 every year, would have the whole monecy of the

kingdom in his hands in eight years. He tells me, about £350,000 sterling was coined out of the French money, the proceeds of Dunkirk: so that, with what was coined of the Cross money, there is new coined about £1,000,000 besides the gold, which is guessed at £500,000. He tells me that, though the King did deposit the French money in money in pawn all the while for £350,000 he was forced to borrow thereupon till the tools could be made for the new minting in the present form. Yet the interest he paid for that time came to £35,000: Viner having to his knowledge £10,000 for the use of £100,000 of it.

13th. Invited by Sheriff Hooker, who keeps the poorest, mean, dirty table in a dirty house that ever I did see any Sheriff of London; and a plain, ordinary, silly man I think he is, but rich—only his son, Mr. Lethulier, I like, for a pretty, civil, understanding merchant; and the more by much, because he happens to be husband to our noble, fat, brave lady in our parish, that I and my wife admire so. Thence away to the Pope's Head tavern, and called to see my wife, who is well; though my great trouble is that my poor little parish is the greatest number this week in all the City within the walls, having six, from one the last week, and so by water to Greenwich. To Mr. Pierce's, where he and his wife made me drink some tea. Away to the 'Change, and there hear the ill news, to my great



and all our great trouble, that the plague is increased again this week, notwithstanding there hath been a long day, or two great frosts; but we hope it is only the effects of the late, close, warm weather, and if the frost continue the next week, may fall again; but the town do thicken so much with people, that it is much if the plague do not grow again upon us.

15th. Met with Sir James Bunce. "This is the time for you," says he, "that were for Oliver heretofore: you are full of employment, and we, poor Cavaliers, sit still and can get nothing;" which was a pretty reproach, I thought; but answered nothing to it, for fear of making it worse.

16th. News is come to-day of our Sound fleet being come.

17th. (Lord's day.) Word brought me that Cutler's coach is, by appointment, come to the Isle of Dogs for me, and so I over the water: and in his coach to Hackney, a very fine, cold, clear, frosty day. At his house, I find him with a plain little dinner, good wine, and welcome. He is still a prating man; and the more I know him, the less I find in him. A pretty house he hath here indeed, of his own building. His old mother was an object at dinner that made me not like it; and after dinner to visit his sick wife I did not also take much joy in.

18th. To the 'Change, and walked as low as Duck

Lane, and inquired for some Spanish books. Home by water to Greenwich, the river beginning to be very full of ice, so as I was a little frightened, but got home well, it being dark.

20th. Took Sir Ellis Layton to Captain Cocke's, where my Lord Brouncker and Lady Williams dine, and we all mighty merry; but Sir Ellis Layton one of the best companions at a meal in the world.

21st. At noon, all of us dined at Captain Cocke's at a good chine of beef, and other good meat; but being all frost-bitten, was most of it unroast; but very merry, and a good dish of fowl we dressed ourselves. Mr. Evelyn there in very good humour.

22nd. I to my Lord Brouncker's, and there spent the evening by my desire in seeing his Lordship open to pieces and make up again his watch, thereby being taught what I never knew before: and it is a thing very well worth my having seen, and am mightily pleased and satisfied with it. Somewhat vexed at a snappish answer Madam Williams did give me to herself, upon my speaking a free word to her in mirth, calling her a mad jade. She answered, we were not so well acquainted yet. But I was more at a letter from my Lord Duke of Albemarle to-day, pressing us to continue our meetings for all Christmas, which, though everybody intended not to have done, yet I am concluded in it, though I intended nothing less. The

weather hath been frosty these eight or nine days, and so we hope for an abatement of the plague the next week, or else God have mercy upon us! for the plague will certainly continue the next year if it do not.

23rd. This day one come to me with four great turkeys, as a present from Mr. Deane, at Harwich, three of which my wife carried in the evening home with her to London in her coach.

24th. (Sunday). To dinner, my landlady and her daughters with me, and had mince-pies, and very merry at a mischance her young son had, in the tearing of his new coat quite down the outside of his sleeve in the whole cloth. Then to church, and placed myself in the parson's pew under the pulpit, to hear Mrs. Chamberlain in the next pew sing, who is daughter to Sir James Bunce, of whom I have heard much, and indeed, she sings very finely.

25th. (Christmas day.) To church in the morning, and there saw a wedding in the church, which I have not seen many a day; and the young people so merry one with another! and strange to see what delight we married people have to see these poor fools decoyed into our condition, every man and woman gazing and smiling at them. Here I saw again my beauty Lethulier. Home to look over and settle my papers, both of my accounts private, and those of Tangier, which I have let go so long that it were impossible for any soul,

had I died, to understand them, or ever come to good end in them. I hope God will never suffer me to come to that disorder again.

26th. To the office, where Sir John Minnes and my Lord Brouncker and I met, to give our directions to the commanders of all the ships in the river to bring in lists of their ships' companies, where young Seymour, among twenty that stood bare, stood with his hat on—a proud, saucy young man. To Mr. Cuttle's, being invited, and dined nobly and neatly; with a very pretty house, and a fine turret at top, with winding stairs, and the first prospect I know about all Greenwich, save the top of the hill. Saw some fine writing-work and flourishing of Mr. Hoare, with one that I knew long ago, an acquaintance of Mr. Tomson's at Westminster, that is this man's clerk. It is the story of the several Archbishops of Canterbury, engrossed in vellum, to hang up in Canterbury Cathedral in tables, in lieu of the old ones, which are almost worn out.

27th. Home to my wife, and angry about her desiring a maid yet, before the plague is quite over. It seems Mercer is troubled that she hath not one under her, but I will not venture my family by increasing it before it is safe.

30th. All the afternoon to my accounts; and there find myself, to my great joy, a great deal worth above £4,000,

for which the Lord be praised! and is principally occasioned by my getting £500 of Cocke, for my profit in his bargains of prize goods, and from Mr. Gauden's making me a present of £500 more, when I paid him £800 for Tangier.

31st. (Lord's day.) Thus ends this year, to my great joy, in this manner. I have raised my estate from £1,300 in this year to £4,400. I have got myself greater interest, I think, by my diligence, and my employments increased by that of Treasurer for Tangier and Surveyor of the Victuals. It is true we have gone through great melancholy because of the great plague, and I put to great charges by it, by keeping my family long at Woolwich; and myself and another part of my family, my clerks, at my charge, at Greenwich, and a maid at London; but I hope the King will give us some satisfaction for that. But now the plague is abated almost to nothing, and I intending to get to London as fast as I can. The Dutch war goes on very ill by reason of lack of money; having none to hope for, all being put into disorder by a new Act that is made as an experiment to bring credit to the Exchequer, for goods and money to be advanced upon the credit of that Act. The great evil of this year, and the only one indeed, is the fall of my Lord Sandwich, whose mistake about the prizes hath undone him, I believe, as to interest at

Court; though sent, for a little palliating it, Ambassador into Spain, which he is now fitting himself for. But the Duke of Albemarle goes with the Prince to sea this next year, and my Lord is very meanly spoken of; and, indeed, his miscarriage about the prize goods is not to be excused, to suffer a company of rogues to go away with ten times as much as himself, and the blame of all to be deservedly laid upon him. My whole family hath been well all this while, and all my friends I know of, saving my aunt Bell, who is dead, and some children of my cousin Sarah's, of the plague. But many of such, as I know very well, dead; yet, to our great joy, the town fills apace, and shops begin to be open again. Pray God continue the plague's decrease! for that keeps the Court away from the place of business, and so all goes to wreck as to public matters, they at this distance not thinking of it.









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