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From the Editor
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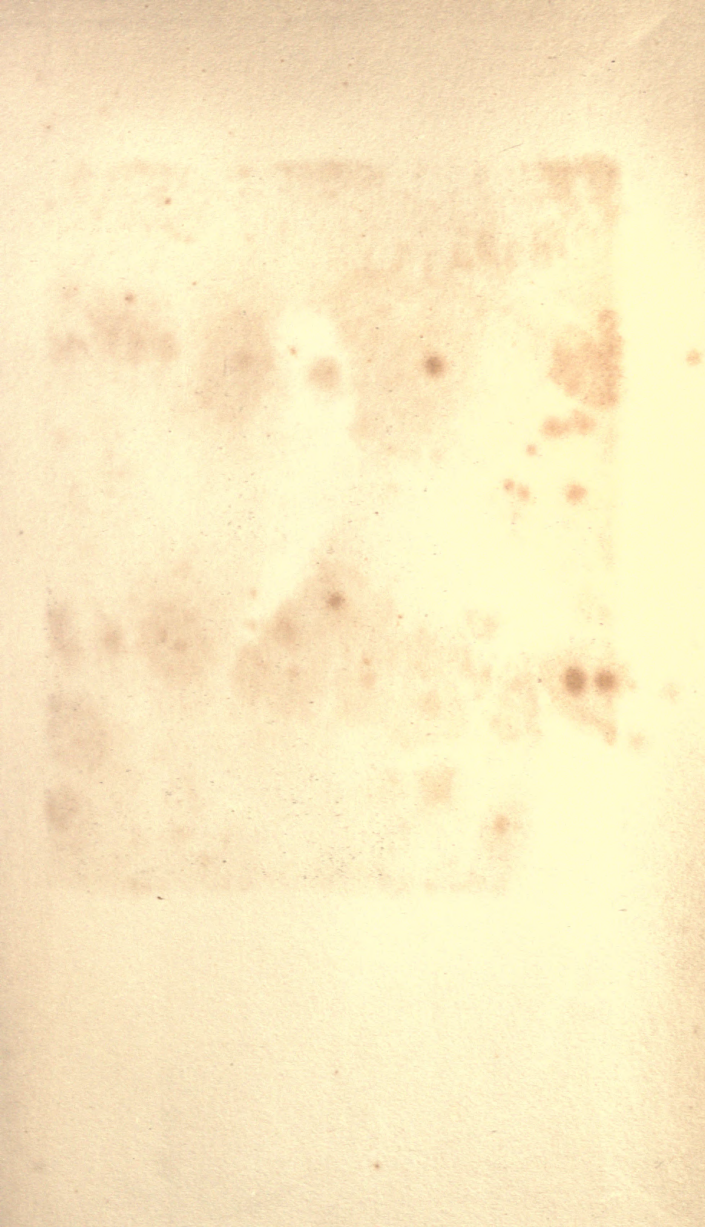
THE
LIFE, JOURNALS,
AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF
SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ. F.R.S.

VOL. I.

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SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ. F.R.S.

Secretary to the Admiralty.

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THE
LIFE, JOURNALS,
AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF
SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ. F.R.S.

SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY IN THE REIGNS OF
CHARLES II. AND JAMES II.

INCLUDING

A NARRATIVE OF
HIS VOYAGE TO TANGIER,

DECIPHERED FROM THE SHORT-HAND MSS. IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY,

BY THE REV. JOHN SMITH, A.M.

DECIPHERER OF "PEPYS'S MEMOIRS."

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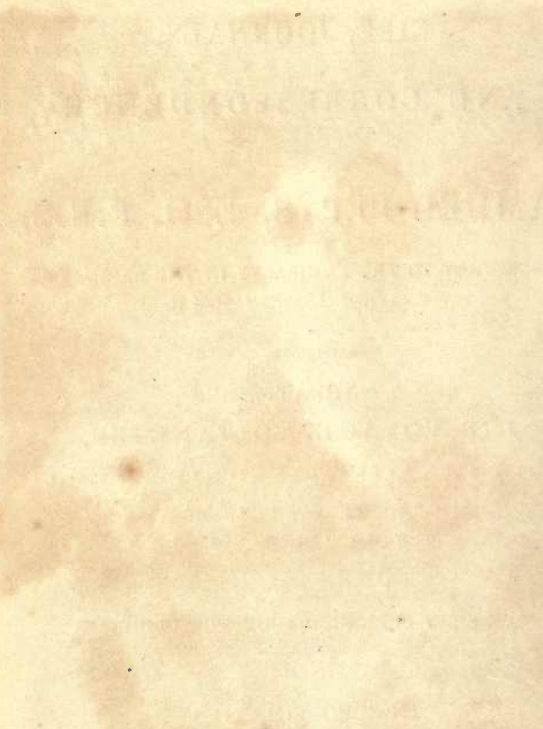
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the various industries and occupations of the
people. The author then discusses the political
and social condition of the country, and
offers his views on the best means of
improving it. The report concludes with a
summary of the principal facts and a
list of the names of the persons who
have been instrumental in its preparation.

THE LIFE,
JOURNALS, AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF
SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ.

INTRODUCTION.

THE family of Pepys had resided* at Diss, in the county of Norfolk, till, in the sixteenth century, a younger branch removed to Cottenham, in the county of Cambridge, a town distinguished in the British Peerage as giving title to a law-learned Pepys, the present Lord Chancellor. From this younger branch descended John Pepys, a tailor, who resided in London till about the year 1660, when, having inherited a small estate, he retired to Brampton, in the county of Huntingdon. There he died in 1680, having

* According to Lord Braybrooke.

for several years survived his wife Margaret, by whom he had six sons and five daughters. Of these, three sons and one daughter were all that were living in 1659.

Samuel, the eldest surviving son, and the principal subject of the following work, was born February 23, 1632, at Brampton, according to Dr. Knight,* though Lord Braybrooke has named London as his birth-place. Of his boyish days there are few memorials, except that they were generally passed in the metropolis. Dr. Knight has deservedly distinguished Samuel Pepys among the scholars at St. Paul's school, with whose *Benefactores Bibliothecæ* (1675) he is honourably enrolled. In this institution he appears, from a passage in his own Diary, to have remained a scholar on Dean Colet's foundation, at least till he had reached the age of seventeen; inasmuch as, in alluding to his having attended the execution of Harrison, the regicide, in October 1660, he refers to his having previously witnessed that of King Charles himself, and expresses an apprehension that his old schoolfellow, Mr. Christmas, might recollect the words he had made use of on

* In his *Life of Colet*.

the latter occasion, viz. that were he to preach the King's funeral sermon, his text should be, "The memory of the wicked shall rot." Luckily, however, for Pepys, Mr. Christmas's memory was not so tenacious, as he apprehended; or rather having left the school, and Pepys in it, before that period, that gentleman merely retained an indistinct recollection of his friend's having been "a great Roundhead when a boy."

At what time he quitted school for the University is not precisely ascertained, but his name, as a sizar, occurs early in the year 1660, on the boards of Trinity College, Cambridge; though, previously to the commencement of residence, March 5, 1651, he had removed to Magdalene. There he was successively elected into two scholarships.

How far the academical life of Pepys had extended, cannot now be ascertained. It must have concluded before October 1655, in which month he married Elizabeth St. Michell, a native of Somersetshire, whose father is described as being of a good family, and whose mother is said to have been descended from the antient one of the Cliffords of Cumberland. Their daughter, married at

the age of fifteen, however morally or intellectually endowed, was utterly unportioned. Thus Pepys, just entering into life, would in a great measure depend for occasions of profitable exertion, or even for the means of subsistence, on the generous aid of a relation in a higher condition. This was the celebrated Sir Edward Montague, who, having served with reputation in various departments under the Commonwealth and the Protectorates, had seasonably conciliated the exiled Stuart, whose speedy restoration he had foresight enough easily to anticipate. To his cousin's good offices at this critical period, and to his continued friendship in after life, Pepys owed, as he gratefully acknowledged, his future advancement.

What particular situation he occupied in Sir Edward Montague's service, he has not explained. It was during this period, however, (March 26, 1658) that he was cut for the stone, an operation happily attended, in his case, with remarkable success; the anniversary of which event he ever after devoutly observed. The next year (March 12), during the frail and evanescent authority of the second Protectorate, he embarked in the

Naseby, to accompany Sir Edward, then "one of his Highness the Lord Protector's council, Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, and General at sea," on his expedition to the Sound. Returning to England, he was employed in some office over which that eminent time-server, Sir George Downing, presided, a person described by Anthony Wood as "a sider with all times and changes." It was in the first day of the following year (Jan. 1, 1659-60), that Pepys commenced his well-known Diary, given to the world, together with a portion of his correspondence, by Lord Braybrooke, in 1826. Occasional reference to that work will not be without its use in illustrating the inedited Journals and Correspondence since discovered and decyphered, and now first submitted to the public in the present volumes.

At the time when he first began to record the transactions of his life, Pepys appears, from his own account, to have been acting like Bassanio, and "showing something a more swelling port than his weak means would justify." Although describing himself and his wife as living in Axe Yard, with a single female attendant, he seems

yet to have managed to induce a belief abroad that his circumstances were in a more flourishing condition than the truth would warrant, being, as he observes, "esteemed rich, but indeed very poor;" and it is questionable whether a clerkship to the council, which Sir George Downing's interest procured him in the same month, added in any material degree to the improvement of his finances. He himself does not, at all events, seem much impressed with gratitude to the patron abovementioned, whose motives for exerting his interest in his favour he more than insinuates were of a very selfish nature. At this period, too, Pepys was serving, either in person or by proxy, in a military character, though, probably, as a mere private in a city militia of some description, as he mentions, among other facts, upon one occasion, the receipt of twenty-five pounds for what he calls his "trooper's pay."

Appearances were, at this time, exciting very rapidly, among those hitherto discordant parties, the Episcopalian Royalists and the outwitted Presbyterians, the mutual desire and expectation of a speedy return to the ancient form of government. Sir Edward,

soon to become Earl of Sandwich, a practised courtier, was already preparing to throw away his well-worn mask, while his *protégé* was not a whit behind him in discarding, *sans ceremonie*, any of the republican propensities of his youth which may have yet lingered about him, as we find him on the anniversary of the Martyrdom engaged in singing Montrose's lines on the execution of Charles, which the noble poet is said to have written with the point of his sword, and which Pepys had probably set to music himself. On the fatal event which occasioned them, he might perhaps have indulged in reflections somewhat similar to those of a late philosophic historian.

“The notion,” says Godwin, “was everywhere prevalent, that a sovereign could not be called to account, — could not be arraigned at the bar of his subjects. And the violation of this prejudice, instead of breaking down the wall which separated him from others, gave to his person a sacredness which never before appertained to it. Among his own partisans, the death of Charles was treated and was spoken of as a sort of decide. And it may be admitted as an uni-

versal rule, that the abrupt violation of a deep-rooted maxim and persuasion of the human mind, produces a re-action, and urges men to hug the maxim closer than ever. I am afraid that the day that saw Charles perish on the scaffold, rendered the restoration of his family certain."

At this time Samuel Pepys was twenty-seven years old. His good-fortune was now advancing, *pari passu*, with the promotions of his noble patron, who was, in the February of this year chosen one of the Council of State. With the earliest information of this preferment, Pepys hastened down to Hinchingbroke, accompanied by Mr. Pierce. They found, however, that Sir Edward had already started for London on the very day of the appointment.

Pepys it seems, while engaged on this journey, indulged pretty freely his academic and convivial propensities; and in the account he has left behind him of the loyal potations of himself and friends as he passed through Cambridge, together with the altered character of the language and deportment of his old companions at the "Three Tuns" and Magdalene College, has admit-

ted, or rather invited, posterity behind the scenes, to view in their undress one description of politicians, who were extremely active in promoting the Restoration and preparing to welcome with every kind of excess their "most religious King," a title invented for Charles II. by Episcopalian churchmen, and of which Bishop Burnet, in language becoming the decorum and piety of his character, has detected and deplored the gross and shameless misapplication. It is right, however, to add, that some of the advocates for the original insertion, and the retaining of this epithet in our Liturgy, maintain that the word "religious" is simply meant to convey the primitive signification of the Latin adjective from which it is derived, "*religiosus*" sacred.

On the 2nd of March Sir Edward Montague was joined in commission with Monk as one of the "Generals at sea," and procured Pepys the appointment of secretary to himself and his colleague, a post of which he was not a little proud, especially when in his warrant he saw himself, for the first time in his life, designated as "Samuel Pepys, Esquire." We find him acting in his new capacity

early in the succeeding month, accompanying his patron on board the *Naseby*, and assisting him in preparing the fleet for the sudden transfer which was so soon to take place in their allegiance.

May opens with a still nearer prospect of the Restoration, and describes the writer's interest (now rapidly advancing) in the good opinion of his patron, who confides to him his knowledge of the King's declaration from Breda, and his letter to the two generals, to be communicated to the fleet; at which period many letters appear to have passed between the King and Montague without the privity of Monk.

When the commanders of the different vessels were eventually summoned to hear these documents, Pepys, in his official capacity of secretary, was made the organ of communication, and read the papers aloud upon the quarter-deck,—a communication which he describes as having been much more generally agreeable to the sailors than to their officers. His time now seems to have been pretty fully occupied under Sir Edward Montague, whose confidence he unquestionably enjoyed, and by whom he was

frequently consulted. Thus favourably situated for correct and minute observation, the worthy secretary did not fail to remark, and to record, all those curious and amusing particulars which he has detailed so much at length, including the loyal genuflexions of the good men and true at Deal, the newly-awakened piety of "our parson," the scarlet waistcoats, the trumpets, and the fiddlers, and the arrival of Captain Titus, to notice what room there will be for the King's entertainment.

This Captain, or rather Colonel Silas Titus, was gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles, thus rewarded as the reputed author of "Killing no Murder,"* a widely extended pamphlet, which ably and artfully recommended the assassination of Cromwell. Thus also Bate, the Protector's physician and the author of "Elenchus," was rewarded

* "Briefly discoursed in three questions, fit for public review; to deter and prevent single persons and councils from usurping supreme power. By William Allen. The real author was Captain, afterwards Colonel Silas Titus, celebrated for his speech in Parliament in favour of excluding the Duke of York from the throne. There is prefixed an address "To His Highness Oliver Cromwell," in which the writer ironically displays to him "the great honour he shall acquire in dying for the people."

soon after the Restoration, by the appointment of chief physician to Charles, on the credit, according to Wood,* of his friends' report, that he, by a dose given to Oliver, had hastened him to his end. Hence, as was written of Marvel,—

“ Whether Fate or Art untwined his thread,
Remains in doubt.”

Another part of his avocation seems to have been the pulling down the State's arms in the fleet, and sending to Dover for painters to set up the King's, while his patron gave order for weighing anchor ; which done, my Lord and his secretary set sail, encouraged by the expectation of a speedy return with a precious freight.

After passing a week at the Hague “ merrily enough,” Sir Edward and Pepys re-embarked in the *Naseby*, there to await the royal pleasure ; and on the 23rd of May, the King, with his two brothers, the Queen of Bohemia, the Princess Royal, and the Prince of Orange, came on board, upon which occasion Pepys kissed the hand of the King, Queen, and Princess.

* *Athenæ Oxonienses.*

Dryden, that "tuneful spendthrift," who lavished the "courtly dew" of his adulation "on titled rhymers and inglorious kings," and whose venal laurels

"Now grace a Cromwell's, now a Charles's brows,"

has celebrated in his *Astræa Redux*, this royal visit to the fleet, and the consequent metamorphosis which took place on this occasion, of the names of some of the ships, especially of that which the secretary was now on board, when

"The *Naseby*, now no longer England's shame,
But better to be lost in Charles's name,
Receives her lord."

Pepys may well be excused for some minuteness in describing, as he has done, that novelty in his experience, a *tête-à-tête* with a King, one, too, especially endowed with conversational talents beyond the usual results of a royal education.

During the voyage home, Charles, who was always fond of narrating his almost miraculous escape after the battle of Worcester, repeated the whole story more than once to Pepys, as given in the collection of the Boscobel Tracts, printed some few years

since by Mr. Hughes ; and, if we are to believe his auditor, he was himself as frequently affected even to tears by his sensitive appreciation of the difficulties and dangers which the royal fugitive had encountered. He had also the honour at this time of writing, in his Majesty's name, the first and only pass which Charles ever signed in the ship to which he had stood god-father.

On his landing at Dover, Pepys, Mr. Mansell, (probably Mr. Francis Mansell, the Brighton merchant of that name who had taken so prominent a part in procuring the vessel that carried the King over to Fescamp,) a footman, and one of Charles's favourite dogs, had a boat to themselves ; after which, he was present when the Mayor presented to the King, from the town, a very rich Bible,* which he loved above all things in the world.

In this passage, Pepys has added another to the many examples recorded by Defoe,

* John Reading, minister of Dover, according to Wood, "spake a short speech to his Majesty, at his landing, and presented to him a large Bible, with gold clasps, in the name of the corporation."—*Athen. Oxon.*

among whose writings is one entitled "Royal Religion: being some Inquiry after the Piety of Princes:" in which the author enumerates various contrivances of "court ceremony," as "handsome, general ways of treating God Almighty civilly."

On the 25th of May, Pepys returned to the Charles, and, after dinner, casting up his accounts, found himself to be worth near 100*l.* being not, clearly, worth 25*l.* when he first went to sea, exclusive of his house and goods.

After witnessing Montague's investment with the George and Garter, by the King at Arms, and accompanying his patron on a pleasant excursion by land, he finally quitted the Charles. Early the following morning he took horse from Deal, and, on the succeeding day, reached Whitehall.

On the 29th of June Pepys obtained his warrant appointing him to the office of Clerk of the Acts; and in the July of this year he took the degree of Master of Arts, by proxy, which cost him 9*l.* 16*s.* We find him, moreover, on the 24th of Sept. sworn in as Justice of the Peace for the counties of Middlesex, Essex, Kent, and Southampton; an appointment

which much gratified him, although he confesses that he was wholly ignorant of the duties of the office. In his Diary of this year, he notices the introduction of tea into England: "I did send for a cup of tea, a China drink, of which I never had drunk before." More than twenty years later, tea was deemed a rarity, and a very acceptable present. Thus, Dr. afterwards Bishop Burnet, writing to Madam Wharton, December 8, 1682, says:—"I never found anything so good for a headache as tea is, when taken in great quantities; and, having a parcel of extraordinary tea sent me, I presumed to present Mr. Wharton with a pound of it. If he brings it down, and you like it, I will furnish you with more when that is done. I believe the drinking a great deal of it, that is, five or six cups at a time, and that twice a day, will do your head as much good as anything whatsoever."

At the close of the year 1660-1, Pepys was living in one of the houses belonging to the Navy Office, in his capacity of one of the principal officers, of that establishment, and was, as he says, in a "most handsome and thriving condition."

Pepys appears to have shared the general alarm at the insurrection of the fanatics, known by the name of millenarians, in the City, in July of this year. Such a general consternation, indeed, was caused by them, that business was put a stop to, and the shops were closed. Even the Lord Mayor, with all the force of train-bands which he could muster, was resisted by these zealots, though supported by the King's life-guards. Twice they broke through the City gates, even in open day, and killed about twenty men. Few of them would receive quarter, and their cry was, — "King Jesus! and their heads upon the gates!" At this very time, the court of the Merry Monarch, as he is termed, exhibited so much emulation, poverty, and the vices of drinking, swearing, and loose amours, that Pepys observes it foreboded nothing but confusion.

In July 1662, Pepys was sworn in as younger Brother of the Trinity House. At the execution of Sir Harry Vane on Tower Hill, Pepys was present, and has left us an interesting account of it. Sir Harry, it seems, made a long speech, during which the Sheriff, with almost inconceivable brutality, repeatedly in-

errupted him, and he and his attendants even attempted to snatch the paper out of his hands. They moreover ordered the trumpets to sound under the scaffold, to drown his voice. Sir Harry Vane thereupon, with becoming resolution and fortitude, submitted to his fate. It has been justly remarked, that no single act of Charles II. has left so foul a stain upon his memory as his having sought the execution of Sir Henry Vane. Yet that he did this, there remains among the Lansdowne MSS. evidence in his own autograph, which cannot be controverted.

About this time, great apprehensions were entertained by all parties of a war with Holland. Orders were given to select twenty ships for immediate service, though, as Pepys observes, the Government was not able to prepare even five ships without considerable difficulty, having neither money, credit, nor stores.

“This I take to be as bad a juncture,” says Pepys, “as ever I observed: the King and his new Queen minding their pleasures at Hampton Court; all discontented; some, that the King do not gratify them enough;

others, fanatics of all sorts, that the King do take away their liberty of conscience; and the heighth of the Bishops, who, I fear, will ruin all again."

Pepys, at this period, appears to have applied himself assiduously to the discharge of the duties of the Navy Office. In his Diary, he notes, under the date July 2. — "To my office, to read over such instructions as concern the officers of the yard, for I am much upon seeing into the miscarriages there; not one-third of their duties performed. But I perceive, to my great content, Mr. Coventry will have things performed." He was also induced, at the suggestion of Mr. Lewis, to direct his attention to the then existing abuses in regard to the chest at Chatham.

In the month of August of the same year, the Act of Uniformity came into operation, and such of the Presbyterian ministers as did not conform were ejected from their livings. Pepys was desirous of hearing Dr. Bates's farewell sermon at St. Dunstan's. The doors were not yet open when he reached the church, so he walked an hour in the Temple garden close by. At

eight o'clock, he tells us, he crowded in at a back door, the church being almost half full before any doors were open publicly. The Doctor's text was the last of Hebrews, 20th verse, "Now the God of Peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen:" from which he made a very good sermon, "but very little reflections in it to anything of the times." After dinner, he went to St. Dunstan's again, and found the church quite crowded before he came there at one o'clock. Dr. Bates pursued his text again very well, and only, at the conclusion, made these observations:—"I do believe that many of you do expect that I should say something to you in reference to the time, the last time that possibly I may appear here. You know it is not my manner to speak in the pulpit anything extraneous to my text and business; yet this I shall say, that it is not my opi-

nion, fashion, or humour, that keeps me from complying with what is required of us, but something, after much prayer, discourse, and study, yet remains unsatisfied, and commands me herein." Most of the Presbyterians took their leave of their congregations on this day, which caused much dissatisfaction in the City.

By the interest of Lord Sandwich, Pepys was, about this time, put into the commission, with a great many persons of consideration, relating to the business of Tangier.

Pepys's condition was now one of much comfort, for he says he had no crosses, but only much business to trouble his mind with. In all other respects he was a happy man, for the whole world seemed to smile upon him; which he attributed almost wholly to his temperance, having made a vow against wine and plays, by which he was enabled to apply himself steadily and contentedly to his business.

By an entry in his Diary of July 26, 1664, we find that Pepys was "overjoyed in hopes that, upon that month's account, he should find himself worth 1000*l.* besides the rich present of two silver and gilt flaggons, which

Mr. Gauden had given him." Lord Sandwich, also, who had just gone to sea, had before his departure showed him many marks of respect and confidence.

In March 1665, the war with Holland was proclaimed, and we find Pepys with the Lord Treasurer, giving an account of the charge of the Navy, and want of money: and, in the succeeding month, he tells us that he was at Whitehall, where the King called to him by name, and discoursed with him on the state of the Navy.

I end this month, says Pepys, in great content as to my estate, in much trouble as to the pains I have taken, and the rubs I expect about the business of Tangier. At the same time we have a hint of the first indications of that awful calamity which soon after began to devastate the metropolis, and which, from the severity with which it raged, and the desolation it caused, has ever since been known in our annals by the terrible distinction of the "Great Plague." — "Great fears of the sickness in the City, it being said that two or three houses are already shut up. God preserve us all!"

CORRESPONDENCE.

MR. COVENTRY* TO THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

[Transcribed by Pepys.]

Giving the first account of our fight with the Dutch. Seven leagues from the Texel, bearing E.S.E. Wind at W.S.W.

MY LORD,

June 4, 1665; 8 o'clock P. M.

MY last to your Grace was from Solebay, giving you an account of our having sight of the Dutch fleet.† Since that, on the 3rd instant, we engaged

* Afterwards "Sir William Coventry, the Duke's secretary, a very industrious man in business, very capable, and much in his favour by reason of his great ability." See "Life of James II. collected out of memoirs, writ of his own hand, from the original Stuart MSS. in Carlton House. By Rev. J. S. Clarke," (1816,) ii. 398.

† "On the morning of the 30th of May, his Royal Highness ordered the signal for sailing again; but with all his endeavours he could not, till the 1st of June, reach Southwold Bay. He came to an anchor there, and about one o'clock in the afternoon the Dutch appeared to windward.

"Their fleet consisted of one hundred and thirteen ships of war, of all rates, divided into seven squadrons, eleven fire-ships

them at half-an-hour past three in the morning. And whereas they might have had the wind of us two days together, it pleased God yesterday to give it *us*,* and we kept it all day.

They made one board towards the English shore, (which was the first pass,) with intent to get

and seven yachts; the whole commanded by Opdam, who (though a man of quality and personal courage) was no great seaman. The two fleets did not yet make up to one another, for the English require some time to put themselves in order of battle; and, besides, they expected the return of some of their great ships, gone but that very morning to make up their complement of men out of a great fleet of colliers, then passing by, and bound for London.

“The next day, the Dutch were not to be seen till about ten in the morning; when the Duke, having a fresh gale, stood towards them with thirty of his best sailors, but thought fit to keep at about two leagues’ distance till all his fleet should be joined, and put in order; which being done, he advanced forwards, so that, a little before the close of the evening, both fleets were got within two little leagues of one another.

“About two of the clock next morning, the Dutch were discovered lighting their matches, and consequently preparing themselves for the fight. They had the same order of battle as the English, all upon a line. As the day broke, there arose with it a little fresh gale at S.W. which was a very proper one for the approaching engagement; towards the better success of which, the Duke, with great care and labour, made a shift to get the wind. The white squadron had the van, and Sir Christopher Mings, who fired the first shot, led it; whilst the Dutch were led on by three flag-ships. About three in the morning, the dispute began briskly on both sides.” — *Life of James II.* ii. 406—408.

* Pepys says, “the Dutch lost the benefit of their fire-ships by neglecting greatly the opportunity of the wind.”

the wind upon the next tack, which they endeavoured; but finding his Royal Highness's and the Earl of Sandwich's* squadrons to windward, beyond what they could weather, they bore up to leeward of Prince Rupert, who stood in closer to them in the pass. After that, they stood on their course towards their own shore, without tacking, but without any appearance of running, till, our fleet bearing up closer to them, they began to grow weary of it.

At last Opdam's ship blew up,† which con-

* Of whose services, on this occasion, I copied the following royal acknowledgment from the original in the British Museum (Ayscough, 1519, No. 97):—

“MY LORD SANDWICH, Whitehall, June 9, 1665.

“THOUGH you have already done me very eminent service, yet the great part you have had in this happy victory which it hath pleased God to send us, adds very much to the former obligations I have to you. I send this bearer, my Lord Hawley, on purpose to let you know more particularly my sense of it; and will say no more myself till I see you, that I may take you in my arms, and give you other testimonies how truly I am

“Your affectionate friend,

“CHARLES R.”

“For the Earl of Sandwich.”

† “The Duke, finding himself within musket-shot of Opdam, ordered his master-gunner to give him a salute, in the usual form, gun after gun, and to lay all the guns himself, but to begin with those of the lower tier. The gunner so well

tributed not a little to the expediting the victory which it pleased God to give us. We followed it, till it was dark, with continual firing upon them by some ships or other; and burned (with our fire-ships) seven of their great ships, they being fallen foul one of another. Two which we had taken we fired, also ten great ships; because they either clog us in the pursuit, or be in danger of being retaken by some of their straggling ships, of which we saw six or seven coming, as we thought. By this means we continued the pursuit with the main of the fleet, and kept so near all night as that we fell upon them again early in the morning; they continuing to run in several parts. Some plied away (as we judge) for the Maze, who I think are not followed by any, being few, and gotten in too far off to be fetched up. The rest were pursued, part by Prince Rupert and his squadron, and part by his Royal Highness's and Lord Sandwich's squadron, which both met at the Texel this morning, where the Dutch ships could not get in, the tide being contrary; but they stood in so near the shore, that we durst not adventure in with the great ships, and shattered in our masts, sails, and rigging as we are,

executed his office, that, at the third shot, Opdam and his ship blew up. At which terrible sight the enemy's fleet all gave way."—*Life of James II.* &c. ii. 413.

lest we should not be able to bear sail to get off upon a shift of wind.

If we had had a few fireships left,* we might have done very good service upon them, as I conceive; but they are all now gone in, that is, about forty-two or forty-three ships. Some others went away towards the Flie† as we judge, who (I think) were not pursued by any, or at least not by anything considerable, so that I believe they will escape. By some of the prisoners we learn that almost all their flag-officers are killed, Opdam, Tromp, and Cortenaer; and others tell us Stellingworth and Schram; so that, till De Ruyter come home, they have nobody to command a fleet but Everson, to which the Hollanders will not willingly submit.

The victory hath not been obtained without considerable loss on our part, though no ships lost unless the Charity, which we think was taken early in the morning; but most of our ships are shattered, and will require considerable repairs in their masts, sails, and rigging. We have lost several commanders that we know of already; as, the Earl of Marlborough, Rear-admiral Sansum, Captain Kirby of the Breda, and some say Captain Ableson of the Guinea. What more we

* "We had, in all, but four fire-ships belonging to the fleet."
Life of James II. &c. ii. 418.

† "Vieland, an island in the German sea."—*Crutwell.*

hear of, time must tell us, the fleet being not all come together as yet. But, above all, we lament the loss of the Earl of Falmouth, who, together with Lord Muskerry and Mr. Boyle, were killed with one shot. My Lord Portland, who was a volunteer with the Earl of Marlborough, is also killed.

Sir. J. Lawson is wounded on the knee with a piece of iron; some bones have been taken out, and we all hope (this day) there is no danger.* When he was hurt, he sent to his Royal Highness to send some commander to command the ship; which his Royal Highness supplied, commanding Captain Jordan to leave the *St. George*, and to go on board the *Royal Oak*, who immediately brought her into service again, and did very gallantly with her.

We cannot learn any good reason why the

* His wound, however, proved mortal. Pepys says, "June 25. — To Greenwich by water, thinking to have visited Sir J. Lawson; where when I come, I find that he died this morning, and indeed the nation hath a great loss."

"Sir John Lawson, the son of a poor man at Hull, rose," says Granger, "by regular gradations to an admiral. He was in all the actions under Blake, who saw and did justice to his merit. A man of excellent sense, he made the justest observations on naval affairs; though he retained much of the bluntness and roughness of the tarpaulin. The Algerines, who had erected piracy into a system of government, were compelled by him to submit to a more disadvantageous peace than they had ever made with any of the states of Christendom. Though in his heart a republican, he readily closed with the design of restoring the king."—*Biog. Hist.* (1775,) iii. 386.

Dutch did not engage us while they had the wind, which certainly was a very great folly. They had a great fleet, and very great and brave ships, better than were expected to have been found; but it pleased God to give us the wind, (by keeping which, their fire-ships, they so much relied on, became ineffectual,) and to blow up their admiral, which so disabled those that were near him, that I believe it contributed very much to the victory. I hope the consequences of it will be greater than we yet imagine, though, by former experiences, we must not expect that they will yield thus. Therefore, I beseech your Grace to give order for the preparing all manner of supplies for a shattered fleet; and because I believe Harwich and the river of Thames may not be sufficient for that, for the despatch of all we may need, it is offered to your Grace that some part of our recruits of stores may come from Portsmouth. Your Grace shall very suddenly have an account to what place the fleet will come.

In the mean time be pleased to order the preparing and loading of what is ready, that so no time be lost. Be pleased to order the officers of the Ordnance also to load with all possible diligence what stores they can of all sorts, for we have spent a vast quantity of ammunition; some ships all their stores. If they would also send good store of clerks from their office to survey

the stores remaining on board so soon as we come to the English coast, it would, doubtless, prevent a great deal of embezzlement. That which adds to this happy victory is the safety of his Royal Highness's person.*

I am, my lord,
Your Grace's most humble and obedient servant,
W. COVENTRY.†

By discourse his Royal Highness hath had this day with some of the commanders, I judge the Downs the most probable place for our first arrival on the English coast, or at least for our continuing any time; but of that your Grace shall have a farther account.

* "Which had been in no small peril; as he stood beside the Earls of Falmouth and Muskerrey, and Mr. Boyle, killed with one shot."—See *supra*, p. 90.

† To this letter is annexed the following notice, evidently by Pepys: "This copy of Mr. Coventry's letter I took myself, the Duke giving it me, before he himself had read it, to read and copy."

Pepys further describes the Duke of Albemarle "like a man out of himself at the great news. By and by comes a letter from Mr. Coventry, which he never opened; a strange piece of indifference, on such a time and occasion, hardly possible."

Evelyn, after noticing his visit "to the Royal Society to refresh among the philosophers," thus refers to the subject of this letter.

"1665, June 8.—Came news of his Highness's victory, which indeed might have been a complete one, and at once ended the war, had it been pursued; but the cowardice of some, or treachery, or both, frustrated that. We had, however, bonfires, bells, and rejoicing in the city."—*Memoirs*, (1827,) ii. 241.

The want of hospital-ships is now very inconvenient. Our fire-ships are burned, except one, which is disabled. If we had five or six prepared, they would be of great use. If we had had many this morning, I believe we might have put all the remainder of their fleet on shore. There is a prize (taken by Captain Smith), which would be very fit.

CAPTAIN JEREMY SMITH TO THE DUKE OF
ALBEMARLE.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

I KNOW you will have an account from better hands, and the particulars of his Royal Highness's engaging the Dutch fleet on the 3rd instant, in which I had the honour to be once more at the beating of them; particulars I have hereunder sent you.

His Royal Highness began to engage the Dutch fleet half an hour past three in the morning, and had the wind of them. They tacked twice, and so fought it upon a wind. About five at night, we tugged hard for it. The Duke lay on the weather-quarter of Opdam, firing hard on him. About six in the afternoon, he blew up, and not one man saved. They pressed very hard on the

* Annexed by Pepys to the preceding.

Duke; the Zealanders headed the van. I was the Duke's second, and fought upon his lee-bow.*

There was a great ship commanded by Captain Barten Seaton, called the *Urania* of Zealand, which had seventy-six guns and four hundred men, which I clapped on board, and killed him two hundred men. He had sworn to lay the Duke on board. It cost me dear; for I have, killed and wounded, ninety-nine men. Thirty-five died on the deck, and sixty-four wounded, sixteen of which I suppose will not live forty-eight hours. My master's leg is shot off; two masters' mates killed, and one wounded; six midshipmen slain, a boatswain's mate; so that I have no officer but my lieutenant and boatswain, and I am sore used with splinters.†

PEPYS TO LORD HINCHINBROKE.‡

MY LORD,

Navy Office, July 25, 1665.

YOUR lordship's of the 25th instant, (new style,) from Paris, came this day to my hand; and, as

* "Captain Smith of the *Mary*," says Pepys, "the Duke talks mightily of, and some great thing will be done for him." In 1669, "Sir Jeremy Smith" was made "a Commissioner of the Navy in the room of Pen." He is mentioned by Evelyn, "1673, 25 May," as "the new master: a stout seaman, who had interposed, and saved the Duke from perishing by a fire-ship in the late war."

† Here is annexed, apparently by Pepys, "an abstract of all the present news." These have been anticipated in the foregoing letters.

‡ Eldest son of the Earl of Sandwich.

you command, I have taken care for a ship of thirty-six guns to attend you at Calais, to be there by the 1st of the next month, English style: the captain, I am sure, will make it his care to express all manner of respect to your lordship in your passage.

Your landing I have thought best to assign to Dover in the captain's instructions, where some advice from my lady shall meet your lordship.

I shall forbear saying more in this; intending what I have of news, or anything else I have to inform your lordship of, to send you by the next post to Calais. Therefore take leave; being your lordship's

Ever affectionate and humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

For the Honourable Edward Lord Hinchinbroke,
at Calais. *

PEPYS TO LORD SANDWICH.

Aug. 7, 1665.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

YOUR lordship will see, by the different dates of the inclosed, that it hath been only want of opportunity of sending which hath kept your lordship so long from hearing how matters have gone relating to your family in general, as well as those,

* Which I have here copied from the original, among the Harleian MSS. (7001, No. 148.)

particularly, to my Lady Jemimah,* since your lordship's departure.

I will prevent, as little as I can, the informations your lordship will gather from the inclosed, and content myself to tell your lordship generally, that, after a fortnight's acquaintance between the young people, their marriage was completed on Monday, July 31; present, Sir G. Carteret, my lady, and my Lady Slaning,† on their side; with my Lord Crew, Lady Sandwich, Lady Wright, and all her family, on your lordship's; and is the only occurrence of all my life I ever met with, begun, proceeded on, and finished with the same uninterrupted excess of satisfaction to all parties.

Upon Thursday, the 3rd instant, my Lady Jemimah and her bridegroom set out from Dagenham towards Scott's Hall in Kent; and were met by Sir G. Carteret and his lady at Chatham, where I parted with them. The next day, they onwards to Scott's Hall, I back to London.

* His daughter, on her proposed marriage with Sir George Carteret's eldest son. Pepys, on dining "with my lord and lady" in 1660, had found "Lord Sandwich a perfect courtier." Thus, "my lady saying that she could get a good merchant for her daughter Jem, he answered, that he would rather see her with a pedlar's pack at her back, so she married a gentleman, than she should marry a citizen."

"Lady Jemimah" appeared "at St. James's" as "one of the four ladies that held up the mantle at the christening of the Duke's child, July 22, 1663."

† Their daughter.

About ten days since, I received a letter from Paris from my Lord Hinchinbroke, remitting his readiness to return; and thereupon sent a ship of thirty-six guns to fetch him over from Calais, which took him in, the 3rd instant. Having signified to him my lady his mother's direction to that purpose, at the earnest invitation of Sir G. Carteret and his lady he landed at Dover the same day, to meet his sister and all the rest of that good company the next day at Scott's Hall.

The King and Queen keep their court at Salisbury,* whither Sir G. Carteret is shortly to go, and intends to carry my Lord Hinchinbroke with

* "July 27.—To Hampton Court, where," says Pepys, "I saw the King and Queen set out towards Salisbury. It was pretty to see the young pretty ladies dressed like men, in velvet coats, caps with ribands, and with laced bands."

"June 11, 1666.—Walking in the galleries at Whitehall, I find the ladies of honour dressed in their riding garbs, with coats and doublets, with deep skirts, just for all the world like mine, and buttoned their doublets up the breast, with periwigs and with hats; so that, only for a long petticoat dragging under their men's coats, nobody could take them for women in any point whatever; which was an odd sight, and a sight did not please me."

There was a later censure of "the cap, the whip, the masculine attire," in which, as Thomson complains, "the winning softness of the sex is lost."

Thus, in 1712, Addison, in the Spectator, describes the "equestrian ladies, who dress themselves in a hat and feathers, a riding-coat and a periwig, or at least tie up their hair in a bag or riband, in imitation of the smart part of the opposite sex."

him, by my Lord Crew's and Lady Sandwich's approbation; and it's likely may (as matters show themselves from my Lord Harley when he comes thither) go with him further westward.

Dagenham hath been the scene of most of this work since the first interview, not without great charge to my Lady Wright, but most generously borne by her.

I have neglected nothing in my power that could contribute to the well-speeding of this business; and do assure your lordship, that from what I have observed from my first bringing the two lovers together* to my seeing the business ended,† as also from the behaviour of Sir G. Car-

* A service, it appears, of some difficulty; "Mr. Carteret, as to love-matters, being the most awkward man" Pepys had ever met with. "My Lord Crewe asking of him questions of travel, which he answered well enough; but nothing to the lady from him at all. After supper, to talk again; he yet taking no notice of the lady." In this emergency Pepys interferes the next day, and has left a record of long-exploded domestic manners.

"16th July, Lord's Day.—I up, having lain with Mr. Moore in the chaplain's chamber. Having trimmed myself, down to Mr. Carteret; and we walked in the gallery an hour or two. Here I taught him to take the lady always by the hand, to lead her; and that he should make these and these compliments. After I had instructed him, my Lord Crewe came down, and family, the young lady among the rest; and so, by coaches, to church. 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 he came home, and he will hereafter do it."

† Pepys congratulates himself on "having obliged both fa-

teret and his lady through the whole, I cannot but congratulate your lordship with the content and usefulness this alliance will certainly be of to your lordship and your family.

Yet, my lord, considering Sir George as a man, and so mortal,—as a treasurer, and so liable with his whole estate to answer accounts, wherein perhaps himself (through the muchness of his other affairs) is least conversant,—and, lastly, as one of great gifts, and so subject to envy,—I do humbly advise your lordship that you would think fit to quicken the settlement of the money-matters on both sides, soon as may be; which by his private discourse, wherein he hath been very open to me, I find he desires should not lie long undone; telling me in what, and in what manner, he stands prepared to do his part towards the purchase, when it shall be demanded of him.

The Duke of York, with his train, is gone towards York to spend the season; the Duke of Albemarle acting the admiral in his absence. The Sovereign is not yet out of the river, but will in a few days.

It was freshly and confidently reported yesterday, that De Ruyter is come home with his whole fleet, and I fear it may be true.

milies, as my lady, and Sir G. Carteret and his lady, do confess exceedingly; and the latter do now also call me cousin, which I am glad of."

As to the state of the city as to health, three thousand and odd died of all diseases the last week; and of them two thousand and ten of the plague, which is now, more or less, got into most corners of the kingdom.

The first vessel coming towards your lordship from the river shall bring your lordship some plague-water and perfume from my Lady Carteret.

With continued prayers for your lordship's health and good success, I remain,

May it please your lordship,

Your lordship's ever obedient servant,

S. PEPYS.

LORD SANDWICH TO THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

Aug. 30, 1665. Wind West.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

I HAVE caused all the despatch to be made that was possible, and am now under sail towards my station, which the council of war hath advised to be on the Dogger Bank, in the latitude of 55°, between N. by W. and N.N.W. from the Texel.

I hope we shall, thereabouts, meet the Dutch on their return.* We have about fifteen days' drink in the fleet. Here is a small vessel or two,

* From Bergen.

with provisions from London, and powder and shot; but having fitted the fleet for the present action, and the weather not suffering boats to take it out, I order them in to Harwich, to expect further orders. Several of the ships are ordered in to Harwich and other places, which your Grace will order the refitting or otherwise disposing of as you see best.

The Hector came out clean from Harwich. Having occasion to send to Dover, I made bold to order her thither, expecting her hourly return; and then shall send her to your Grace again,* begging your Grace's pardon herein.

It will be time at this season to consider many things that concern the fleet, which (as before I have written unto your Grace) I am sure your Grace's wisdom and experience will advise to have speedily and effectually provided for.

I remain, may it please your Grace,

Your Grace's most faithful

and most obedient servant,

SANDWICH.

In case of separation, if it be within ten days after this present, we appoint such ships to repair to Flamborough Head. If it be after we have been ten days hence, then to Solebay.

To my great trouble, Sir Jer. Smith is fallen so

* Earl of Sandwich to the Duke of Albemarle, Sept. 5. "The Hector is unfortunately sunk; the captain and most of her men drowned."

sick that he is forced to be put on shore at Lowestoff.

I place Captain Pen of the Montagu in the Sovereign.*

LORD SANDWICH TO THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

(Aboard the Prince.†)

Solebay, Sept. 12, 1665.

I HOPE my last of the 5th instant‡ is come to your hands, wherein I advertised you that the

* Then follow the names of the ships "present in Solebay," those "presently expected," a few "fitting at Deptford," and two "hired ships to observe further orders from the Duke of Albemarle."

† To which Pepys thus refers, Sept. 14, 1665.

"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.

"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 two hundred people; but not a man or merchant of any fashion, but plain men all. 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."

‡ Thus noticed by Evelyn.—"1665, July 1. To the fleet with Lord Sandwich. Went on board the Prince, of ninety brass ordnance, haply the best ship in the world, both for building and sailing; she had seven hundred men. Here we dined, with many noblemen, gentlemen, and volunteers; served in plate, and excellent meat of all sort."

Admiral and Vice-admiral of the East India fleet of the Dutch, four of their men-of-war, and three or four other merchantmen, are taken.

Since that, on Saturday the 9th instant, we met with some eighteen sail, and took most of them, whereof one is a man-of-war of seventy guns, three other men-of-war, forty guns and upwards, some of the other from the West Indies, and with ammunition and victuals for their fleet: but an exact account of their loss I cannot give your Grace, because, being night, the weather begun to be thick, and blew, and hath separated us ever since. Yet, I bless God, I came last night to anchor here with eighty sail, and have the Sovereign and two East India ships in my company, and many others of the Dutch men-of-war, and we see ships round about in the sea plying for this place; so that I do not question, by the favour of God, but all our ships will arrive well here; though I yet miss, among others, the flags of the White and Blue squadrons, except the Rear-admiral of the Blue.

I do intend to carry the great ships and prizes into Chatham river with the first opportunity, and [to place] most of the frigates about Hoseley Bay and Harwich, where they may be ordered into ports or on stations, as shall be thought fit; and the sooner that be ordered the better.

I will take all the care I can upon the water to prevent any Londoners coming aboard the fleet;

and if there be anything ashore to be done that might help thereto, prohibiting any to travel from London to us. For guards at Rochester or Chatham, your Grace, I know, will command therein what is fit.* The good news of your Grace's health, &c. We have above one thousand prisoners by this last parcel taken.

A Journal of my proceedings in the business of the Prizes. Sept. 17—Nov. 13.

1665, Sept. 17. Lord's Day. — Br. Cocke† and I went down the first time.

18.— Come to Lord Sandwich.‡ A council of

* To guard against the conveyance of infection.

† Thus introduced by Pepys, in good company:—

“Woolwich, Sept. 9.—I was forced to get a bed at Captain Cocke's, where I find Sir W. Doyly, and him, 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 almost no money provided for the doing of it.

“Doyly and Evelyn were at this time appointed commissioners for the care of the sick and wounded seamen and prisoners of war.”

‡ An interview which Pepys thus describes on his arrival in “the Bezan Yatch” at Gravesend.

“Sept. 18.—By break of day we come to within sight of the fleet, which was a very fine thing to behold, being about one hundred ships, great and small. Among others the Sovereign, Charles, and Prince, in the last of which was my Lord Sandwich; and so we come on board, and he received us kindly.”

war called. Bought some things of Cuttance* and Pierce, and borrowed 500*l.* of W. Hewer to pay for them. To Chatham that night.

22.—A letter from Lord Sandwich, tells me he will be with me this day at Greenwich. Did come, afterwards lodged at Boreman's.

23.—Lord Sandwich tells me of his taking into his hands 3000*l.* worth of prize goods. He, and many others of us, to the Duke of Albemarle, to consult about East India prizes. I offer to supply Soder with one or two thousand pounds, for goods which he yields to Cocke and me. To the yatch, where, all night.

24.—Lord's Day.—Come to Gravesend; there bought a few cloths. I was not yet privy to his last contract with Cuttance.

25.—Come to the fleet; there agreed with Cuttance for a bargain of my Lord Sandwich's goods, of 5000*l.* value.†

On board Sir W. P.‡ whom I find at dinner. W. P. makes a bargain with Cocke. Thence back to the Prince, where my Lord Sandwich

* Sir Roger Cuttance.

Evelyn, "1665, June 30—On board the Prince, saw the King knight Captain Cuttance for behaving so bravely in the late fight."

† "For silk, cinnamon, nutmegs, and indigo."—*Diary.*

‡ Sir William Pen; described by Lord Sandwich as "of very mean parts, &c. which," adds Pepys, "I know well enough to be true, and did, as I had formerly done, give my Lord my knowledge of him."

comes. After a little discourse of his trusting Cocke, we parted. Late at night to Chatham.

26.—Up mighty betimes, and post to Gravesend; whence Lord Brounker and J. M.* set out this day to Erith. Here, by discourse with Mr. Waith,† I first begin to feel trouble for fear of the goods we have bought.

27.—Cocke comes to Greenwich, brings a waggon-load of goods, and lodges them safe at Glanvill's. He offers me 500*l.* clear profit. I lodge first to-night at this house, Captain Cocke's servant being again sick.

30.—Cocke, Tenyers, and I took the yatch and down as low as Woolwich to my wife.

Oct. 1. Lord's Day.—Up by four o'clock, and again on board; come to my Lord in the afternoon. My Lord assures me, he wrote to the King and the Duke of York, and they did approve what he had done about the prizes.

My Lord did give Cocke and me his agreement with us, under his hand. At night to the Bezan.

2.—Come all of us to Gillingham. Walked to Chalk-Hill house, to W. P. about his silk. Thence to Rochester, dined with Fowler; and thence I post to Gravesend. By water, called on Brounker and J. M. at Erith; got to-night to Woolwich, and there lay.

* Sir John Minnes.

† Paymaster under the Commissioners of the Treasury.

7.—Two waggons came laden ; I unloaded them in ——'s lodgings, two custom-house officers by. There lock up ; the key given to the constable.

8.—Lord's Day.

9.—Visited by Sir John Shaw, to whom I showed the *transires*.* He, satisfied, ordered his servants to see them weighed.

The goods seized by Fisher, and the key taken by him from the constable, by warrant of the Duke of Albemarle. This night, I did remove faggots at Glanvill's to remove our goods, but did not use it.

10.—Jacob tells me, four waggons more are come, but are seized on by Fisher, and carried to another place of their hiring. I showed the *transires*, and the tale was right ; there left by men to watch them for them and us. At noon comes Cocke ; then to the Duke of Albemarle, and he orders their delivery to Cocke upon security.

11.—Cocke and I, down to Erith, to offer security, where Seymour stopped the goods on behalf of the Commissioners of Prizes.†

12.—Seymour says order is given for respect to be had to Lord Sandwich's order, and we in hopes of our goods delivered to us presently.

* To prove, " about prize goods, that all his dues, as one of the farmers of the customs, are paid."

† Of whom Seymour was one " and a Parliament-man." Pepys adds, " He was mighty high, 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

13.—Fisher promises the goods to be re-delivered, but must have 100%.

14.—Cocke is possessed of part of the goods.

16.—I hear how Fisher was set on by Warcup and others. Some new fears of trouble about the goods at Glanvill's, but all ends well.

Nov. 13.—Ended all with Captain Cocke.

DUKE OF ALBEMARLE TO SIR W. COVENTRY.

Royal Charles, Gun Fleet, June 6, 1666.

* Now, sir, I crave your pardon that I wrote not to you, when I wrote to the King and his Royal Highness. Truly I had not time to do it; the flag-officers being then with us, and I, giving out this enclosed order to them. But the loss we have received is the Black Eagle, sunk; which was so shattered, that all we could do was to save her men. The St. Paul, which was in the same condition, we burned, and saved her men likewise. At the Galloper, the Royal Charles, Royal Katharine, and several other ships were twice aground; † but all got off, except the

as we, and my Lord Broucker, and Sir John Minnes, should quote Hudibras, as being the book I doubt he hath read most."

* The former part of the letter contains various minute directions for victualling the fleet.

† "1666, July 4.—In the evening, Sir W. Pen came to me, and we walked together, and talked of the late fight. He says,

Royal Prince, which was left on the sand, making but little defence. We sent to save her men, but they had yielded. The lieutenant and some of the seamen are here with us, from whom I shall give you a fuller account. They burnt her presently, not having time to take anything out of her.* The captain of the Sovereign gave up

it was pure dismaying and fear that made them all run upon the Galloper, not having their wits about them; and that it was a miracle they were not all lost."

* "The Prince (see *supra*, p. 102,) was endeavoured to be fetched off by the Dutch, but could not. So they burned her, and Sir G. Ayscue is taken prisoner, and carried into Holland. This news," adds Pepys, "do much trouble me, and the thoughts of the ill consequences of it, and the pride and presumption that brought us to it. At noon, to the Change; and there find the discourse of the town, and their countenances much changed.

"Mr. Waith, (see *supra*, p. 106,) discoursing of our ill success, tells me plainly from Captain Page, (who lost his arm in the fight,) that the Dutch did pursue us two hours before they left us, and then they suffered us to go on homewards, and they retreated towards their coast: which is very sad news. The Duke much damped in his discourse, and all the court talk sadly of it."

On the day previous, (June 6,) there had been a very generally credited report of a decisive victory, when "the whole fleet of Dutch did betake themselves to a very plain flight." On the effect of this rumour Pepys thus expatiates.

"We were so overtaken with this good news, that the Duke ran with it to the King, who was gone to chapel; and there all the court was in a hubbub, rejoiced over head and ears. Away go I, by coach, to the new Exchange, and there did spread this good news a little. So home to our own church, just be-

his ship without a shot. The Essex fell foul on the Bull, who was foul on a prize which we had taken. I presume the Bull and prize both sunk ; but the Essex they carried away. If Sir W. Berkeley* be well, which I have not heard of since the first beginning, they have no more. Captains Bacon, Tearne, Wood, Mootham, and Whitty are slain. I assure you I never fought with worse officers than now in my life, for not

fore sermon. But, Lord ! how all the people stared upon me, to see me whisper to Sir John Minnes and my Lady Pen. Anon, I saw people stirring and whispering below, and by and by comes up the sexton from my Lady Ford, to tell me the news, (which I had brought,) being now sent into the church by Sir W. Batten in writing, and passed from pew to pew. Idled away the whole night till twelve at the bonfires in the streets ; some of the people going about with musquets did give me two or three volleys, I giving them a crown to drink ; and so home. The joy of the city was, this night, exceeding great."

Evelyn says, " 'Twas on the solemn fast-day when the news came. His Majesty, being in the chapel, made a sudden stop to hear the relation ; which being with much advantage on our side, his Majesty commanded that public thanks should immediately be given, as for a victory. But this was no sooner over, than news came which exceedingly abated our former joy. There was, however, order given for bonfires and bells ; but, God knows, it was rather a deliverance than a triumph."

* Captain of the Swiftsure, on whose fate " and the Essex's the court was divided, wagers and odds laid on both sides." It was, however, soon known that " Berkley was killed " before the capture of his ship. Pepys says, " he lies dead in a sugar-chest, for everybody to see, with his flag standing up by him. And Sir George Ayscue is carried up and down the Hague, for people to see."

above twenty of them behaved themselves like men.*

If you please to come down to the Gun Fleet, where we intend to anchor the fleet, and consult about the modelling thereof, I conceive it will be best. Such of our ships as must go into dock I shall send into the river and to Chatham, and the rest keep with me. Our rigging and sails are much torn; and because I think we may want carpenters to repair those ships that shall be kept by us, if you please to allow the carpenters of the fleet for their work, I conceive they will despatch more than any carpenters that can be sent down. I shall take care that the officers see them work, if good directors be sent down from the yards. I pray take care that more seamen be pressed and sent down to us, for we shall have want of them.†

* On which Pepys thus concludes the day (June 7) very naturally: "It was as great an alteration to find myself required to write a sad letter, instead of a triumphant one, to my Lady Sandwich, this night, as ever on any occasion I had in my life."

† During the harsh proceedings to supply this want, Pepys witnessed the following scenes:

"1666, July 1.—To the Tower, about the business of the pressed men. But, Lord! how some poor women did cry; and, in my life, I never did see such natural expression of passion as I did here in some women's bewailing themselves, and running to every parcel of men that were brought, one after another, to look for their husbands, and wept over every vessel that went off, thinking they might be there, and looking after

They have killed and wounded many of our men. Sir W. Clarke had his leg shot off, and

the ship as far as ever they could by moon-light, that it grieved me to the heart to hear them.

“2nd.—Out of curiosity to Bridewell, to see the pressed men, about three hundred; so unruly that I durst not go among them: and they have reason to be so, having been kept these three days prisoners, with little or no victuals, and pressed out and contrary to all course of law. I found one of the vessels loaden with the Bridewell-birds in a great mutiny, and they would not sail; but with good words, and cajoling the ringleader into the Tower, they were got very quiet; but I think it is much if they do not run the vessel on ground.

“6th.—I believe not less than one thousand people in the streets. But it is a pretty thing to observe, that, both there and everywhere else, a man shall see many women of mean sort in the streets, but no men; men being so afraid of the press.”

“1666, Aug. 22. — Two men leaped overboard into the Thames, out of the vessel into which they were pressed, and were shot by the soldiers placed there to keep them.”

“Among the hardships of which the British poor have too much reason to complain,” says Thomas Cooper, “is the practice of impressing. The labour of the poor man constitutes the whole of his wealth; and his domestic connections, almost the whole of his happiness. But, on a sudden, under the dubious authority of a press-warrant, he is dragged on board the floating prison of a tender. His family meanwhile, ignorant of his misfortune, are anxiously expecting his wonted return.

“Hence I cannot help regarding any scheme of *reform* as insignificant, which shall not include some effectual means of raising and meliorating the condition of what are called the lower classes of the people. ‘Patriots’ (as Johnson shrewdly remarked) ‘are fond of levelling down to themselves, but they seldom propose to level upwards.’ From the advocates of a good cause, this reproach should be done away.”—See Cooper’s “Reply to Mr. Burke’s Invective.”

A justly-admired and venerated philanthropist, with whom I

died within two days. The Loyal George, Seven Oaks, and Sir W. Berkeley, are still missing; which three never engaged with us. Captain Coppin is dead of his wounds. This is all at present; only that I am

Your friend and servant,

ALBEMARLE.

PRINCE RUPERT AND THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE
TO THE DUKE OF YORK.

Royal Charles, Aug. 31, 1666.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

WE have just now put ourselves under sail with the fleet, and are standing towards the back of the Goodwin, to the end that, if the enemy have not taken their course from the Weelings,* (of which we are not yet perfectly advertized,) we may weather their fleet; and then we intend to draw as near as we can conveniently, to endeavour to bring them out to an engagement, which if they shall decline, we shall then, with the best consideration we can, attempt what we shall

had the honour and advantage of some acquaintance, I find warmly contending against impressing seamen, as a violation of the laws of the realm, and in particular accusing Judge Foster of having prostituted his pen, by asserting that it is not inconsistent with any statute. See "Memoirs of Granville Sharp," 8vo. (1828), i. 240. *n.*; 251—255.

* "1666, July 29.—A letter from Sir W. Coventry tells me that we have the victory; beat them into the Weelings."—*Pepys's Diary*, i. 435.

judge most conducing to his Majesty's service. We desire your Highness to command away to us all the assistance you can; the ships of provisions to the Buoy of the Nore, there to expect our further orders, and the fire-ships to the Downs.

As to the business relating to Sir Jeremy Smith,* we were resolved, before we received your Highness's last command, not to enter into the examination of that matter, being so near an engagement, upon the same reason your Highness hath offered us in your letter; so that we, by the receipt of your Highness's instructions therein, are but confirmed in our first resolutions.

We have writ to Sir G. Carteret for 1000*l.* more for the contingent uses of the fleet; we pray your Highness to quicken him in sending it unto us, our last being very near spent. We remain,

May it please your Royal Highness,

Your most humble and obedient servants,

RUPERT.

ALBEMARLE.

* On this subject Pepys thus writes: "1666, October 24.—Holmes did last Sunday deliver in his articles to the King and Cabinet against Smith; and Smith hath given in his answer, and lays his not accompanying the fleet to his pilot, who would not undertake to carry the ship further; which the pilot acknowledges. The thing is not accommodated, but only taken up, and both sides commanded to be quiet; but no peace like to be. The Duke of Albemarle is Smith's friend, and hath publicly swore that he would never go to sea again unless Holmes's commission were taken from him."

PEPYS TO LADY SANDWICH.

MADAM,

Feb. 8, 1666-7.

YOUR Ladyship being now so supplied from the court itself, I have been doubtful of offering your Ladyship anything of news from this end of the town, which the late fire hath removed almost as far from court as Hinchingbroke is. However, madam, having directed my brother, at his return to my father,* to attend your Ladyship † with the tender of my wife's and my most humble services, I shall adventure to let them come, accompanied with the best account of matters under my view.

The Parliament rises this day, or to-morrow, having with much difficulty given the King a sum ‡ really too little, yet by them thought enough, if not too much, for his occasions. However, better thus much given, and they parted, § than to have had them sit longer to have increased the discontents which were already come to great height between the court and the country factions.

Our enemies are busy in their preparations, and bold, having begun the year with the unhappy taking of a very good frigate of ours, the St. Patrick, of about fifty guns, built but the last

* At Brampton.

† At Hinchingbroke.

‡ 1,800,000*l*.

§ Prorogued to 10th October.

year. The news of her loss came to us but yesterday morning.

We are in our preparations as backward as want of money and stores can render us, but do hope that what the Parliament hath given us will, in a little time, better our condition; yet not so, I assure your Ladyship, as to give me any cause to be sorry for my Lord's being abroad, but contrarily to wish his continuance there some time longer; although, should he return to-morrow, his Lordship would find the world give him another look than when he left us, the last year's work having sufficiently distinguished between man and man.

Who commands the fleet this year is not yet known, but, for aught I see, there is no great striving likely to be for it, the Prince * not being in condition of health, and the Duke of Albemarle, as I hear, declaring his not going. Whoever goes, I pray God give him more success than I can, without presumption, hope he will find.

This, madam, is what occurs to me in our sea affairs; and as for court matters, your Ladyship having them from other hands, I shall not meddle with them more than to say, that they seem to me just that they have always been,—that ladies lie longest in bed, and govern all when they are up.

* Rupert.

The Vice-chamberlain's concerns are all in very good condition; and his family (wherein I reckon my Lady Jemima) in good health, and still in love. So God preserve your Ladyship!

May it please your Ladyship,
Your Ladyship's most obedient servant,

S. PEPYS.

Our humble service to my Lady P. we beg, and to the rest of the ladies.

PEPYS TO LORD SANDWICH, IN SPAIN.

Navy Office, Oct. 7, 1667.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THOUGH your Lordship's silence (by Mr. Sheres*) touching the receipt of either of those letters I have been bold to address to your Lordship since your leaving England, denies me the satisfaction of knowing that they reached your Lordship's hands, yet I am unwilling, without more certainty, to take upon myself the shame, as well as

* Of whom Pepys had thus written: "Sept. 22.—Mr. Sheres I find a good ingenuous man, but do talk a little too much of his travels. He left my Lord Sandwich well, but in pain to be at home, for want of money, which comes very hardly."

Pepys further writes:

"27. — Creed and Sheres came and dined with me, and we had a great deal of pretty discourse of the ceremoniousness of the Spaniards. Several grandees, having been to marry a daughter, have wrote letters to my Lord, to give him notice, and, out of the greatness of his wisdom, to desire his advice, though people he never saw."

affliction, which it were fit I should, did I know that your Lordship had them not. And yet I must acknowledge, my Lord, that this is but the third, having no desire of disquieting your Lordship with bad news; and the times affording not one passage fit to be called good, from the hour I had the honour to see your Lordship last,* to that of publishing of your Lordship's articles of peace with Spain: † for, besides them, nothing that I know of, of public management, hath found so much as common excuse, much less the universal acceptance (which this hath done) in all this time.

The bearer, Mr. Sheres, will leave little untold your Lordship, either of what hath passed, or what is at present expected; so that I hold it not fit for me to offer at the troubling your Lordship with what you will have more particularly from him, but content myself with the giving your Lordship this general representation of matters as they now stand with us, namely:

That after a war chargeably and unsuccessfully managed, as well as unsatisfactorily concluded, the Parliament (who parted last ‡ upon jealous terms) is come together again this week, with as

* March 4, 1666.—The Earl of Sandwich was sent ambassador to Spain.—*Brit. Chron.* i. 263.

† It was not however till "Feb. 14, 1668," when "the peace with Spain, concluded the preceding summer, was proclaimed." See *Brit. Chron.* i. 266.

‡ July 25.

great an inclination on their side (as is believed) to inquire into faults, as the King is also said to be resolved on his to give way to their examining and correcting them.* But their work, as it is thought, will be the less, by the late removal of my Lord Chancellor;† an act wherein I cannot inform your Lordship more, touching the grounds of it, than that its doing is generally imputed to reasons delivered the King by Sir W. C.‡ (who I know do not spare to assert the requisiteness of it), with the concurrence at first of his Royal Highness, though afterward it proved not so pleasing to him, but that he is said to have endeavoured the preventing it when it was gone too far.

The matters that take up most men's observa-

* See Grey's "Debates in the House of Commons, from 1667 to 1694." (1663) i. 1.

† Clarendon, "Aug. 31."—*Brit. Chron.* i. 265. Evelyn writes: "Aug. 27.—Visited the Lord Chancellor, to whom his Majesty had sent for the seals. I found him in his bed-chamber very sad. The Parliament had accused him, and he had enemies at court, especially the buffoons and ladies of pleasure, because he thwarted some of them, and stood in their way: I could name some of the chiefs.

"28.—I dined with my late Lord Chancellor, where also dined Mr. Ashburnham and Mr. W. Legge of the Bed-chamber; his Lordship pretty well in heart, though now many of his friends and sycophants abandoned him."

‡ Sir William Coventry. It was "Edward Seymour" who "exhibited articles of accusation," followed by an impeachment "of high treason at the bar of the Lords."—*Brit. Chron.* i. 266.

tions at present are the proceedings of the Commissioners of the Treasury, whose tax, and a great one it is to provide it, is to provide for the paying of the fleet and the other navy debts. To which end they are reduced to the seeing all ways of raising and saving monies. Towards the latter of which they are likely to make a good step by the reductions of charge they seem to design through all the parts of the kingdom's expense, from which they are likely to contract from particular persons much envy; but I do not see but the generality are not only well contented with their proceedings, but look upon them as persons proper to redeem the nation by the right administration of its treasury. And that which increases their hopes is, the countenance given them by the King in cases where powerful solicitations have not been wanting to oppose them.

Among these commissioners Sir. W. C.* seems the principal, as he is at this time, I think, in almost everything else; though, since the Chancellor's fall, he hath parted with his relation to the Duke of York. And I must confess my observations on all his proceedings will not suffer me to think otherwise of him than (what I have always professed to your Lordship) as of a man of no less justice and severity in general, and of no inclinations of disservice to your Lordship in particular; as I see confirmed by some late instances,

* Sir William Coventry.

which I have communicated to my Lord Crew, and others of your Lordship's friends. Nor hath the Vice-chamberlain any reason to conclude longer that the opposition he hath formerly met with from him sprung from any singular ill-will of his to him; my Lord Anglesey, his successor, having already felt more effects of his unkindness (if it must be termed so), in the loss of his having the payment of the victualler, than ever the Vice-chamberlain did in all his time. This I thought requisite to say upon this matter, from my opinion of how great value it would be to your Lordship to have a better understanding with this gentleman, especially in the condition to which fortune, or rather his abilities, have raised him.

The same discourse I am bold to take opportunity of preaching to my Lord Crew and Mr. Vice-chamberlain, to whom I am not forgetful to communicate whatever I can judge of use to your Lordship, and receive the like from them; and particularly do at present contribute what I can towards forwarding your Lordship's return home, (which were certainly much to be wished on behalf of your Lordship and family), or the obtaining certainer supplies of money than ever your Lordship hath of late had, or the present state of the treasury will, without great solicitations I fear, prompt the commissioners to the settling of. Towards which, however, and everything else re-

lating to your Lordship's service, I beg the continuance of your Lordship's belief that I will ever be as industrious as faithful.

The enclosed I am desired by the writer to give cover to your Lordship; and shall add of my own concerning him, that I am so well informed of his civil and commendable manner of employing his time (as a student in Gray's Inn) that I believe your Lordship will be inclined, at your return, to receive him into your favour again.

My conclusion shall be (as it ought) my wishes of constant prosperity to your Lordship, and the tender of my utmost services in all that may conduce thereto, as being,

May it please your Lordship,
Your Lordship's most obedient and faithful
servant, S. PEPYS.

LORD HINCHINGBROKE TO PEPYS.

SIR,

December, 9, 1667.

THERE being a letter of exchange come, of about 250*l.* 8*s.* payable to the Spanish ambassador within four or five days, my father having writ* very earnestly that it may be punctually paid, and Mr. Moore † having not any way to procure it,

* From Spain.

† The intercourse of Pepys with this public functionary (who had some occupation in the office of the Lord Privy Seal) was very frequent from their first appearance together, "Jan. 2, 1659-60," where we read, "Mr. Moore, and I, and

makes me take the liberty of troubling you to desire your assistance in it.

If you can with any convenience do it, you will do a great kindness to my father and me, who am,

Dear cousin,

Your most affectionate cousin and humble servant,

HINCHINGBROKE.*

PEPYS TO LORD HINCHINGBROKE.

My LORD,

Dec. 9, 1667.

MY condition is such, and hath been ever since the credit of the King's assignments was broke by the failure of the bankers,† that I have not been able, these six months, to raise a farthing for answering my most urgent occasions.

I am heartily afflicted for this difficulty that is upon your Lordship, and if upon my endeavours with the bankers I can procure any money, I will

another gentleman, went out and drank a cup of ale together in the new market, and there I eat some bread and cheese for my dinner." Again, "Aug. 18, 1661.— At night, fell to read in Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," which Mr. Moore did give me last Wednesday, very handsomely bound, and which I shall read with great pains and love for his sake."

* Endorsed by Pepys, "Dec. 19, 1667.— 60*l.* this day lent my Lord of Sandwich."

† To this subject Pepys has alluded several times during this year, 1667. Thus, "June 23," he mentions "the King's declaration, in behalf of the bankers, to make good their assignments for money;" which, he adds, "is very good, and will, I hope, secure me."

not fail to give your Lordship it; being very desirous of the preservation of my Lord's credit, as well as for all his other concernments.

Your Lordship's obedient servant,

S. PEPYS.*

PEPYS TO THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL.†

Navy Office, Jan. 8, 1669-70,

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

I BEG leave of presenting your Highness with this transcript of what lately went from me to the commissioners of accounts in the general behalf of this office.

Concerning which, having not on other occasions spared the opening to your Royal Highness

* Rawlinson, A. 171.

† James, Duke of York. Prefixed to a memorial (of fifty pages) addressed by Pepys "to the Right Honourable the Lords and others, Commissioners appointed by Parliament for taking the account," &c. Dated "Navy Office, Nov. 27, 1669." Pepys had travelled abroad during the autumn preceding, as appears from the following commencement of the memorial:—

"The trouble your Lordships will receive from this paper, is grounded upon what (since my return into England) I find to have in my absence passed between your Lordships and the officers of the navy touching certain observations by you made upon some proceedings of theirs, in reference to the late management thereof." These eighteen observations, Pepys proceeds to recite, having "summarily digested" his "recollections" into suitable answers, "not neglecting the faithfulest helps, either from memory, papers, or books."

what, in its management, hath appeared needing your notice and correction, your Highness will not, (I assure myself,) be displeas'd with my present endeavours in its defence in matters challenging the same.

Which, with what I have since added, in particular right to myself,* is, in all humility, submitted to your Royal Highness's censure and

* In a memorial to the same commissioners dated Navy office, Jan. 6, 1669-70," Pepys had thus written:—

“To give your Lordships a summary account of the methods wherein I have, in my particular place, (as clerk of y^e Acts,) endeavoured to discharge my duty to his Majesty, in diligence of attendance, effects of my performance, and uprightness in both, give me leave to say :

“That, for what respects my diligence, as no concernments relating to my private fortune, pleasure, or health did, at any time (even under terror of the plague), divide me one day and night from attendance on the business of my place, so was I never absent at any public meeting of the board, but on the special commands of the Lord High Admiral, and that not thrice during the three years of the war. To which let me add, that in my endeavours after a full performance of my duty, I have neither made distinction of days between those of rest and others, nor of hours between day and night, being less acquainted during the whole war with the closing my day's work before midnight than after it.

“And that your Lordship may not conceive this to arise from any vain assumption of what may be grounded more upon the inability of others to disprove, than my own capacity to justify, such have ever been my apprehensions both of the duty and importance of my just attendance on his Majesty's service, that among the many thousands under whose observation my employment must have placed me, I challenge any man to assign, one day from my first admission to this service, in July

favour, by, sir, your Royal Highness's most obedient and most faithful servant,

S. PEPYS.

To his Royal Highness the Lord
High Admiral of England.*

† FORBES TO POVY. ‡

SIR,

Copenhagen, May 7, 1670.

I WRITE not so much out of justness to my word and promise, as to that friendship I have had with you, which I shall endeavour to preserve and nourish by all means. Therefore I earnestly beg I may be esteemed your friend, till you find I forfeit the title I so much covet to deserve.

I am sorry you were not in town when I came away, that I might have had your advice about

1660, to the determination of the war, August 1667, (being a complete apprenticeship,) of which I am not, at this day, able upon oath to give an account of the particular manner of my employing the same." *Harleian MSS.* 2751.

* *Ibid.*

† "A gentleman of very good quality, at present with my Lord of Essex, as a companion in his embassy." *Mem.* by Pepys.

‡ M. P. (1658), for Bossiney, with whom Pepys had exchanged very free communications. Thus, "June 23, 1667," he says:—

"In the evening comes Mr. Povy, about business; and he and I to walk in the garden an hour or two, and to talk of state matters. He tells me his opinion, that it is out of possibility for us to escape being undone; a lazy prince, no council, no money, no reputation at home or abroad."

something proposed to me that morning I parted. I am confident had you been at home I had not come this voyage ; but there is no remedy, and I am very well satisfied I am here.

After ten days tossing at sea, (sometimes cross winds, at others great calms) we arrived before Cronberg Castle,* the entry to the Sound. And because our entry has made already a great noise, and will yet make much more through all Europe, I will give you an exact account of all that has passed.

You must know that the late King of Denmark,† made an order that no ship should pass the Sound without striking. This was confirmed by the young King, and strict orders given to the governor of the castles, that all ships should pay this homage to him. My Lord Ambassador,‡

* “ Situated on a point of land on the west coast of the Sound. Queen Matilda” (sister of George III.) “ was imprisoned here” (in 1772) “ before she was removed to Zell. Adjoining to a royal palace, about half a mile from Cronberg, is a garden called Hamlet’s garden, supposed to be the spot where the murder of his father was committed.”—*Cruttwell*.

† Frederic III. to whom Pepys has thus referred:—“ 1665-6. March 5. News for certain of the King of Denmark’s declaring for the Dutch. Aug. 24, 1667.—This morning was proclaimed the peace between us and the States of the United Provinces, and also of the Kings of France and Denmark. In the afternoon the proclamations came out, and at night the bells rung ; but no bonfires that I hear of anywhere, partly from the dear-ness of firing, but principally from the little content most people have in the peace.”

‡ Earl of Essex. See *supra*, p. 126, n.

who was not ignorant of this order, was resolved not to obey, as you may well imagine, but within three or four miles of the castle he was forced to come to anchor by reason of a great calm.

He had not been there half-an-hour, when Sir Robert Hamilton (whom you have seen in England) came aboard the yacht to give my Lord notice that the governor of the castle intended to make him strike his flag, and if he refused, to fire forty-six guns at him, with an intention to sink him. To prevent this, he proposed to my Lord three things; to land before he came to the castle, to pass as near as he could on the other side without reach of their guns, or else to go in the night.

My Lord Ambassador replied, that he was not ashamed of the King of England's flag, and therefore would not go by in the night, nor one foot out of his way; and that he would rather choose to be sunk a hundred times, than do anything that might reflect upon the King his master's honour.

The next morning we set sail, and held as near the castle as we possibly could, being just before it with our flag and topsail up: we saluted, first, as usual, with seven guns. The castle returned with three; but, seeing we did not strike, they fired another gun a-head, a second astern, and a third over us, all being charged with ball. It was told us before that the shooting thus was

the signal (if we refused to strike) of the forty-six guns; but it seems they were better advised, and suffered us to come to anchor with our flag up. My Lord, with most of the gentlemen, went immediately ashore. Thence we came in wicker waggons to Copenhagen.

It fell out very happily for us, that the same night we arrived, the late King was buried at Roeschild,* twenty-four miles from Copenhagen. The first thing I did was to go to the palace, to see him lie in state, which was really very magnificent; but the pomp and solemnity of carrying him through the city was much more. I believe there were above two thousand citizens, all in long mourning, carrying lamps and torches; several troops of horse in mourning cassocks, and twenty-four mourning coaches and six horses. The King† himself did follow the hearse. I did not expect to see the half of the magnificence and pomp used on the occasion.

The Ambassador did refuse to make his entry, or have audience, until he had satisfaction for the affront done to him in firing guns at his *pavilion* or flag. This firm and courageous resolution hath startled the court mightily, but it is a bait they must swallow. Accordingly the governor of the castle of Cronberg has been here, just now, to ask pardon of my Lord, and to declare that it

* Now recollected for the peace in 1658.

† Christian V. who died 1699, aged 53.

was not of design to do any affront to the King of England ; nor did they pretend that he should strike his flag, and that he was sorry it was interpreted otherways.

Monsieur Guildenlow* was present when this declaration was made ; I have had the honour to transact the whole business alone, with Guildenlow and the other ministers of state here. I pray you let me know, as soon as possibly you can, what they think of it in England, for I am sure the King will gain more honour and reputation in the world by it, than by anything since he was restored, and my Lord Ambassador will gain no little credit I do believe.

Pray, sir, let me hear from you all news of my Lord Anglesey† and other acquaintances. Let me be informed particularly, and you will oblige me for ever. And if it be in my power to serve you here, I hope you will dispose of me, who am really, sir, your most humble and obliged servant,

J. FORBES.

SIR THOMAS CLUTTERBUCK‡ TO PEPYS.

WORTHY SIR,

Leghorn, May 1, 1671.

I AM NOW, with no small content, perusing your most affectionate and obliging letter of

* "Lately here, Ambassador from Denmark, base son, as I take it, of the King, and a fine gentleman."—*Pepys*.

† See *infra*, p. 135.

‡ Probably the person met by Pepys, "Feb. 4, 1664, at St. Paul's School."

March 21, in which I read so much of a continuance and augmentation of real goodness and kindness towards me, that I cannot in words express my obligations for the same. Let it suffice, for the present, that I resolve to live and die your true-hearted servant. I should esteem myself in no ordinary measure happy, could I be put on something effectually thereunto.

I recommended to the care of Captain Wyld a bundle of musical cards, which I hope will prove to your entire satisfaction, having sent to Venice on purpose for them. By Captain Bowen you may expect one of the best guitars this country affords, as likewise some of our best compositions, airs, and other trifles.

I now give your board the trouble of a long letter. Pray afford it your favourable interpretation and protection, for you cannot imagine how ill I am treated and severely handled here, on account of the hard usage I continually find from home.

I wish you all imaginable happiness, dedicating myself what I shall ever be found, in great truth,

Honoured sir,

Your most faithful, humble servant,

THOMAS CLUTTERBUCK.*

* Rawlinson, A. 174.

DUKE OF RICHMOND* TO PEPYS.

SIR,

Copenhagen, July 20, 1672.

I GAVE you the trouble of a letter since my being here, which I hope came safe to you.

This is to desire a favour from you, that my Lenox yacht may be lengthened about six feet, for she proves an ill sailor when there runs any great sea, which hath been some hundred of pounds out of my way.

I hope the order I procured before I left England, for having her on all occasions repaired on his Majesty's accompt, will be a sufficient authority for this; but if not, I have written to Lord Brounker, as I now do to you, to entreat him and you to procure such an order, which, were I in England, I question not but I should obtain. Your kindness will be great if you will give yourself this trouble.

I have wished myself a thousand times with you, and hope it will not be long before I shall be so fortunate as to return.† In the mean time

* Ambassador to Denmark. In 1667 the Duke had married Frances Stuart, the great beauty, one of the King's mistresses, according to Pepys's *Index*. Yet in his *Diary* are introduced some saving clauses, vainly, unless the warning maxim be exploded, that "he comes too near, who comes to be denied." The Duchess of Richmond died in 1702.

† The Duke died during his embassy, Dec. 12, this year, 1672.

if I can in anything be serviceable to you, either here or elsewhere, pray command me ; for I hope you do believe that I truly am

Your humble servant,

C. RICHMOND & LENNOX.

I have by this bearer sent you an aume* of Rhenish wine, of the year '60. I hope it will come safe to you.

I have sent a letter here inclosed to the commissioners. If you approve it, I pray seal and deliver it ; if not, burn it.

I pray order her men to be paid, and provision to be put on board her.

Mr. Pepys.†

EARL OF ANGLESEY ‡ TO PEPYS.

MR. PEPYS,

Drury Lane, Aug. 4, 1672.

I NEED not tell you how much I was surprised, by the estimative account tendered yesterday, to

* A measure containing about forty English gallons.

† Rawlinson, A. 174.

‡ Arthur, Earl of Anglesey, with whom Pepys, a few years before, had been on no very friendly terms. Thus, Sept. 16, 1668, he writes :—

“ Mr. Wren hunts me out, and gives me my Lord Anglesey's answer to the Duke of York's letter ; where I perceive he do do what he can to hurt me, by bidding the Duke of York call for my books : but this will do me all the right in the world, and yet I am troubled at it.” — *Diary*, ii. 263. The Earl of Anglesey, in 1667, was made Treasurer of the Navy. In 1673 he became Lord Privy Seal.—*Angliæ Notitia*, p. 155.

The

find him who was cash-keeper acknowledge a remain due, and not have ready the money when the occasion is so pressing. I could neither foresee nor prevent this; and though I have spent most of my time since to procure the twelve hundred pounds required, and have laboured to that end in city and court, I have no further assurance of speeding than what I send you inclosed, which I would not defer till to-morrow. When you have perused them, pray return them to me, sealed up by this bearer.

Though I am clear of fault, it being apparent I never sought more than my fees, and was not concerned in the chest,* yet without your friendly prudence in this strait of time, clamour

The temporising policy of this versatile statesman has attracted, as indeed it could scarcely fail to attract, the somewhat critical attention of those unceremonious biographers, *Wood* and *Walpole*.

* "The Chest at Chatham," a department of the Naval service to which Pepys has frequently referred. Thus, "July 2, 1662, Mr. Lewes did produce a paper, wherein he stated the government of the chest, how it hath ever been abused, and what a meritorious act it would be to look after it. Which I am resolved to do, if God bless me."

Again, "Aug. 23." Pepys is "getting an order from the Duke for inquiries into the chest;" and is found, "Nov. 13," in a commission for "inspecting the chest." Among the commissioners was "Mr. Prinn," with whom the Diarist records this interview:—

"April 25, 1666.—I to the office, where Mr. Prinn came to meet about the chest business; and, till company came, did discourse with me in the garden about the laws of England,

may arise, which would to me be very unseasonable.

Pray do what you can to procure what may suffice, in case I get it not to morrow morning in the way one of the inclosed bears. I and my estate shall be your pledge, and you shall for ever oblige

Your affectionate friend and servant,

ANGLESEY.

I am promised at court my warrant shall pass within these two days. Then I shall easily clear all, if Mr. Fenne* do not.

Brought to my hand at church in the afternoon. S. P.

telling me the main faults in them; and, among others, their obscurity through a multitude of long statutes which he is about to abstract out of, all of a sort; and as he lives, and parliaments come, get them put into laws, and the other statutes repealed, and then it will be a short work to know the law."

* Frequently named by Pepys. Thus, on the concerns of his present correspondent.

"Nov. 13, 1668. — This morning at the treasury chamber I did meet Jack Fenne, and there he did show me my Lord Anglesey's petition and the King's answer; the former good and stout, as I before did hear it, but the latter short and weak."

At an earlier period "Jack Fenne" had thus introduced Pepys behind the scenes:—

"July 27, 1667.—He tells me that the King and court were never so bad as they are now, for gaming, swearing, women, and drinking, and the most abominable vices."

Copy of the enclosed.

MY LORD,

I HAVE laboured in vain. About a month since my mother had 400*l.* by her. I will go to her to-night, and if it be undisposed, will bring it with me, and return to-morrow, which will be some help. I am

Your Lordship's faithfully,

Four o'clock, afternoon.

JO. FENNE.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

Aug. 3, 1672.

MR. PETER PICKERING, scrivener in Gray's Inn Lane, will wait on your honour Monday morning, and hath promised me that he will, for your honour's ease, procure 1200*l.* which is all I can do at present in that concern, but subscribe myself, as I am, my Lord,

Your honour's humble servant,

ROBERT THORNHILL.

PEPYS TO LORD ANGLESEY.

[My Answer.]

MY LORD,

Sunday, Aug. 4, 1672.

I PERCEIVE by your Lordship's, this afternoon, that that which the board found necessary to write to your Lordship since dinner, was not

come to your hand, wherein you will find that I have already been obliged to engage myself for 800*l.* for the chest, to the doing whereof I will assure your Lordship your particular concernment was none of the least inducements. More than this I am not in condition at this time to do; but do hope (and heartily pray) that one or other of the helps your Lordship hath before you will take place. If it do not, I know not what I can possibly add to what the Board hath said in theirs, but that I do most heartily condole, not only the chest's and the King's service, but your Lordship's particular misfortune in this matter; being, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble and faithful servant,
S. PEPYS.

Memorandum.— In the evening my Lord A. wrote to the Board in answer to theirs, wherein he undertakes the 1200*l.* shall be paid to-morrow morning, and accordingly it was so. S. P.

MR. HILL* TO PEPYS.

MY WORTHY FRIEND,

Lisbon, April 14, 1673.

NEXT to the letters from those excellent ladies we both admire, I never received any with so

* The same, probably, who appears, "June 22, 1660," as a confidant of Lord Sandwich, and, "April 15, 1666," as an intimate associate of Pepys.

much ravishing delight as yours of the 10th of October.

Little did I think that the curse I cast on you in drollery should take place in good earnest; for, certainly, nothing less than love is able to inspire such noble expressions as yours when you discourse of those persons who, if any, can deserve them all. But less you could not do in justice, for they are desperately in love with you, and sigh out their passions so charmingly, that I find strange altercations in myself, and it is hard to conclude whether to envy or pity you. Your enjoyments in their conversation can nowhere else be found, and theirs is so great when you entertain them, that they all acknowledge your humour the best in the whole world. Long may you enjoy these happinesses, which I should envy in my King, if he were so fortunate, but not in my friend.

Your expressions of kindness for me are such that I shall always admire, but can never answer. That task I have desired the ladies to undertake; which they may do, being as much assured of my respects for you as for themselves.

I do most unwillingly mention that misfortune happening lately to your house, being unable to say anything suitably upon so sad an occasion, and less able to declare my concerns for you; but I assure you my affliction was proportionable to that friendship you are pleased to bestow upon me.

Whilst this thought is in my mind, it may be unseasonable to mention one enjoyment I have here; but I beg licence to tell you that we have a little concert among us, which gives us entertainment. We have five hands for viols and violins. Three of us use both, and all of us, except one, the viol; but the want of music in this country obliges us to play some few things I brought from home accidentally over and over again, which wears off the relish; so that we are forced to go a begging to our friends, as I do to you, that if you have anything new you would bestow it on us. And because Mr. Monterge (accountant to the Houblons) intends to present me some things, it may be fit to compare compositions, that they be not duplicates.

Mentioning music puts me in mind to acquaint you that here is a young man, born in Flanders, but bred at Rome, who has a most admirable voice, and sings rarely to his Theorbo, and with great skill. This young man lives with a nobleman, upon a very mean salary; and having been formerly in England, most passionately desires to return thither again. If either yourself or any friend be desirous to favour an ingenious person, I know none more deserving than he. He speaks Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish; and it is ten thousand pities to let him live here among people who will see no virtue but their own. If I were going home I should entertain him myself; for,

besides his parts, he is a very ingenious, and, which is more, a very good and discreet young man.

I have received the whole library you bestow on me, for which I give you humble thanks. When the ships are despatched I shall have time to read a little.

Pray present my services to all your kindred; and if the King and my Aunt Maskelye afford you a minute, write me a letter.

I most affectionately embrace you, and remain, dear sir, your very faithful and most humble servant,

T. HILL.

The little note inclosed is a receipt for a few gammons and some of our hams, which I have ordered to be got aboard the Queen's frigate. Pray do me the favour to accept these trifles.*

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK † TO PEPYS.

SIR,

Norwich, Aug. 15, 1673.

I RECEIVED yours yesterday, after my return from Rising, where my chief business was to

* Rawlinson, A. 175.

† "Henry Howard, (grandson to the Earl of Arundel,) a man of great good nature," says *Granger*, "and a patron of learning; but there was nothing shining in his character. He was a considerable benefactor to the Royal Society, who assembled at his house after the fire in 1666. At the motion of Mr. Evelyn he gave to the University of Oxford the Arundel marbles, the

secure your service, as I had long since proposed and engaged to his Royal Highness;* for soon as I heard of Sir Robert Paston's promotion,† I needed no fresh commands to spur me to serve one I honour so much.

I believe, ere this, Mr. May‡ has told you from me I was about it; and you may depend upon it as done, though unluckily the mayor (a perfect creature I could depend upon) dying, will put us to a little trouble extraordinary; but I think 'tis so well provided for since I was there, as nothing can start to disturb it, with all which I beg of you to acquaint his Royal Highness. And as

most precious of the Grecian reliques which his grandfather possessed, and the most valuable of their kind in the world. He died in 1683."—*Biog. Hist.*

* The Duke of York.

† "Who for his eminent services in the civil war, and his activity at the restoration, was created Viscount Yarmouth, 25 Charles II." Mr. Povy had written to Pepys, Aug. 31, 1672: "It is not doubted but Sir Robert will have his promised title, though I cannot hear that anything is yet done in it."—*Cor.* p. 27.

‡ Probably Baptist May, Keeper of the Privy Purse. He first appears, "June 8, 1665," as bringing "from the Duke of York the great news" of a naval victory. Again, "Oct. 21, 1666," in "a less honourable connexion."

"Bab. May went down," says Pepys, "in great state to Winchelsea, with the Duke of York's letters, not doubting to be chosen; and there the people chose a private gentleman in spite of him, and cried out they would have no court pimp to be their burgess." This parliament sat from 1661 to 1678, seventeen years, eight months, and seventeen days.—Castle-Rising, in 1784, had about fifty voters.

soon as the house sits next, if your colleague, Sir J. Trevor,* (for whom it is most proper,) desire the writ to choose, † I ask no more charge or trouble from you but on all occasions to be freely commanded as, sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

NORFOLK, EARL MARSHAL.

* Who had been elected, since 1661, on the death or retirement of Paston's first colleague, Robert Stewart. Sir J. Trevor was a *protégé* of the Duchess of Cleveland.

† Pepys, as might have been expected, was a successful candidate; a result which the following testimonial, found among his MSS., was no doubt designed, as it was calculated, to secure.

“ These are to certify the Mayor and Burgesses of Castle Rising, and all other persons whom it may concern, that we whose names are here subscribed, are sufficiently assured, both by the full testimony of other persons of credit and worth, to whom Samuel Pepys, Esq., Secretary of the Admiralty, is personally known, and also by the particular testimony of Mr. Daniel Mills, minister of that parish in London in which he hath long inhabited, that the said Samuel Pepys, Esq. is both otherwise a worthy person, and particularly that he hath constantly manifested himself to be a firm protestant, according to the rites of the Church of England, and a true son thereof.

“ Willam Walkner, Preacher at St. Nicholas, in King's Lynn.

“ Mordaunt Webster, Vicar of Lyn-All-hallows.

“ Richard Salter, Preacher at St. Margaret's in Lyn Regis.

“ November 3, 1672.”

SIR JOHN CHICHLY* TO PEPYS.

SIR,

Aug. 23, 1673.

I CANNOT give you an account of a second engagement, and for the first† I doubt not but that's already done by a more exact hand. I forbear relations of that kind, till it may be more acceptable than this would have been had I wrote the truth. We have been at sea long enough to have had another encounter, and our revenge; but that something, I know not what, has hindered us. But now, sir, we are hastening to the Nore, where I hope suddenly to see you. But, before you come, give me leave to put you in mind of your promise, when we were last together, that you would take a hard bed and an

* Who thus appears among the friendly and official associates of Pepys. "Nov. 13, 1667." Mr. Chichly told me that the House have stopped his son Jack (Sir John) his going to France, that he may be a witness against Lord Sandwich, which do trouble me, though he can, I think, say little.—26. To my closet at the office, Sir John Chichly, of his own accord to tell me what he shall answer to the Committee about Lord Sandwich.

"Aug. 17, 1668. — To Hampstead. To Mr. Chichly's, by invitation," says Pepys, "and there dined with Sir John, his father not coming home. While at dinner, comes by the French ambassador Colbert's mules, (the first I ever saw,) with their sumpter cloths, mighty rich."

† "Aug. 11, when Prince Rupert gained a third victory over the Dutch."—*Brit. Chron.*

ill dinner on board the Charles, where you shall be heartily welcome to, sir,

Your real friend and servant,

J. CHICHLY.

MR. GLANVILLE* TO THE LADY MORDAUNT.†

MADAM,

Wotton, Aug. 25, 1673.

BELIEVING your Ladyship might still be at Woodcote, I could not let pass this opportunity of kissing your hand. I must honour your friendship as long as I live, and though Mr. Secretary † should forget me, or perhaps think me unworthy of any favour he hath power to do me, I shall ever acknowledge myself never the less obliged to your kind intentions. But, sure, it is impossible that

* "Perhaps William Glanville, Esq. of co. Devon," who thus appears on the "Pedigree of the Evelyn Family in the different branches," prefixed to the "Memoirs of John Evelyn, Esq." 1827.

† Wife, probably, of Viscount Mordaunt, who died 1675, aged 48.

‡ "Of the Admiralty." Fifty years before Lord Braybrooke's publication, Granger had thus described Pepys's valuable services in that department:

"It is well known that the naval history of Charles II. is the most shining part of the annals of his reign; and that the business of the navy was conducted with the utmost regularity and prudence, under Charles and James, by this worthy and judicious person. He first reduced the affairs of the Admiralty to order and method; and that method was so just as to have been a standing model to his successors in his important office."

Mr. Pepys should profess so much respect to your ladyship, and yet so little value a friend for whom you intercede. Therefore, I will still hope that his own generous nature, and your power, may at length prevail in my behalf.

Last week we were nobly treated by Mr. Delmahoy. In the middle of dinner he took a great glass, and drank your health, swearing it should go round, and that he thought you the best-humoured woman in the world. So that you see, wherever you come, you gain all men's good opinions, which still justifies my judgment of your ladyship. The young gentleman that presents this, comes, I dare swear, more to see your sister, Madame Steward, than to visit his aunt; and therefore let her bestow a kind look or two upon him, for that is but a favour due to his journey.

Pray present my humble service to your sister. May she have the desires of her heart! I wish you both perfect felicity, and I beseech you, Madam, to believe that I am

Your most faithful and humble servant,

WILLIAM GLANVILLE.

You know, Madam, why I do not come in person to pay my respects.

MR. BALTHASAR ST. MICHEL* TO PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR, Deal, Feb. 8, 1673-4.

I ANSWER to yours of last night (which I received this morning at eight of the clock), that I wonder indeed that you, whose life and conversation hath been ever known to be that of a sincere protestant, should now be called in question of being a papist. But, sir, malice and envy will still oppress the best of men.

* Giving an account of the fortune of his family, particularly done for the clearing the imputation laid on Mr. Pepys in parliament of his turning his sister (Mr. Pepys's wife) from a protestant to a catholic. — *Note by Pepys.*

"Feb. 4. 1673. — A person of quality (afterwards shown to be Lord Shaftesbury) professing that he saw an altar, with a crucifix upon it, in the house of Mr. Pepys," he, "standing up in his place, did heartily and flatly deny the charge." Then follows, Feb. 13 and 16, an examination of several *persons of quality*, ending with the declaration of Sir J. Banks, as to Pepys, that he "had often visited and conversed with him at the Navy Office, and at his house there, and that he never saw there any altar or crucifix, and that he does not believe him to be a papist, or that way inclined in the least." — *Journals* in "Life of Pepys."

Pepys, speaking of himself in the third person, says,— "Because he could not go much abroad, he has made his home as pleasant to himself as he could, embellishing it with painting. He has a small table in his closet, with a Bible and Common Prayer-book upon it, and *The whole Duty of Man*, a bason and an ewer, and his wife's picture over it, done by Lombard. This is the whole thing talked of for 'an altar.' If there be any one thing more than these except a cushion, he will lie under all the rest of the aspersion." — *Grey's "Debates."*

Wherefore, sir, to the hazard of my life, I will prove (if occasion be), with my sword in my hand (since it hath touched so near of the memory of my dear sister*), that your competitor† is a falte liar in his throat, as to your having either an altar in your house, or that my dear sister, ever since she had the honour to be your wife, or to her death, had the least thoughts of popery.‡ This I know, not only by my often conversation with her, but in my presence, one time I remember, she having some discourse with my father concerning your life and conversation, as well as fortunes; this was his speech with her, that

* Dr. Mills, minister of her parish, being raised against Pepys, several years after his wife's decease, testified to her receiving the holy sacrament, in company with her husband and others, according to the rites of the Church of England, upon her death-bed, a few hours before her decease, in 1669.—See "Certificate, May 26, 1681."

† "Mr. Offley, whom we find petitioning against the return, when the election was determined to be void by the Committee of Privileges. The parliament was prorogued the following month, and Mr. Pepys was permitted to retain his seat. The grounds upon which the Committee decided do not appear."

‡ Yet this Pepys had evidently apprehended. Thus:—"Nov. 29, 1668. My wife lately frightened me about her being a Catholique. I dare not, therefore, move her to go to church, for fear she should deny me. But this morning, of her own accord, she spoke of going to church the next Sunday." Again:—"Dec. 6. Lord's Day. With my wife to church; which pleases me mightily, I being full of fear that she would never go to church again, after she had declared to me that she was a Roman Catholique."

amongst the greatest of the happinesses he enjoyed in his mind was that she had, by matching with you, not only wedded wisdom, but also one who by it, he hoped in Christ, would quite blow out those foolish thoughts she might in her more tender years have had of popery. These, to the best of my memory, were his very words.

To which her reply was, (kissing his eyes, which she loved dearly,) "Dear father, though in my tender years I was by my low fortune in this world deluded to popery by the fond dictates thereof, I have now (joined with my riper years, which give me more understanding,) a man to my husband too wise, and one too religious in the protestant religion, to suffer my thoughts to bend that way any more." But, sir, I have given you too much trouble with one thing.

Now, to what you desire as to the knowledge how and when the popish fancies were first put in my poor dear sister's head, which (to the best of my memory) in every point I shall declare to you. First, my father was son to the high-shreeve of Bauge, (in Anjou, in France,) a papist, and all his family; in which religion also my father was bred, and continued till he was twenty-one years; at which time, being then in the German service, he turned protestant. Without troubling you with the rest of his life till he returned to France, I shall only say that he did so when he found his father dead; having, on hearing of my father's

being turned Huguenot, (as he termed it,) given all he had in marriage with his daughter, my father's only sister : so that my father, disinherited of all for his religion's sake, had nothing left but his sword and friends to prefer him in the world ; though an uncle of my father's, a *chanoine* of Paris, loved him so well, that he promised to make him his heir, and give him two hundred thousand *livres tournois* (about 20,000*l.* sterling), if he would but go to mass again. But as to this dear man, who lived and died a saintly life, not anything could shake his resolutions of continuance in the true protestant cause. At last, fortune, in this world, seemed to smile on him again.

Being (as you know, sir) a gentleman extremely well bred, his name and quality (of a very good house in France) got him the friends together to prefer him when the match was concluded between his Majesty Charles I. of blessed memory, and the daughter of France, and to be of her retinue in the place of one of her gentleman carvers. So he came over with her Majesty, but long had he not continued here in her service but the clouds of misfortune (as to the loss of his place) frowned on him again. Being taken notice of by some of the friars that he came not to mass, he was by it immediately known to be what he was, viz. a very strong and firm protestant.

The Queen dismissed him from his employment, he having, in discourse and controversy of

religion, struck a friar. Well, as I said before, (and as your honour knows,) he being a man not only extreme handsome, but also of mighty courtly parts, soon won the affections of my mother, daughter to Sir Francis Kingsmall, and then late widow to an Irish esquire; so my father, after he had married her, though much to the dislike of her friends, with what monies they could then raise, being 1500*l.*, intended for France again with his wife, my mother, to endeavour by law to recover, if possible, some parts of his father's estate.

In this procedure, having turned the monies he had into goods, merchandable for France, he and his goods were all taken at sea by the Dunkirkers, and he also some months a prisoner; so that he and my mother were again to begin the world. Being bred to nothing but the sword, that was his recourse; and by it he had in his time many very honourable commissions, both in France, Holland, and Germany, as well as in England.

He for some time, upon that little he had, settled himself in Devonshire, at a place called Biddeford; where, and thereabouts, my sister and we all were born.

Sir, my small age, at those times, hinders my giving you so exact an account as I could wish, how that at last my father, mother, and family went for France again; neither can I tell on what account; only I remember that at first he carried a company of foot under his command, by

order of England, to assist the French against the Spaniards in the taking of Dunkirk and Arras, which was about the year 1648 or 1649.*

Neither any further account can I say of what we went to Paris about, but that my father at last grew full of whimsies and propositions of perpetual motion, &c. to kings, princes, and others, which soaked his pocket, and brought all our family so low, by his not minding anything else; spending all he had got, and getting no other employment to bring in more. My mother, for fear of her children's want, brought into extreme trouble.

At last some deluding papist, namely Madame Trouson, a rich counsellor's wife, M. Duplessis, a rich advocate of the parliament, with many other pretended devouts, persuaded my mother that if with her children she would get from her husband, my father, that damned troublesome Huguenot (as they called him), they would provide for all of us, namely, my mother, sister, and self, by a considerable allowance, fitting a gentlewoman of her quality; give a round sum of monies, and make my sister a nun, and myself page to the pope's nuncio, then resident at Paris;

* "In 1646 Dunkirk was taken by the French, retaken by the Archduke Leopold in 1652. In 1658 it was again taken by the French, and ceded to England by a treaty made with Oliver Cromwell. Arras, in 1640, was taken by the French, and annexed to France. In 1654 it held out against the Spaniards."—

by which I might (since I have thought on it) have become either a cardinal or a *Bardache*.*

To these persuasions my mother agreed, and appointed the day and hour exactly, when two coaches came, one of Madame Trouson aforesaid, and the other of M. Duplessis; Madame Trouson in hers, carried my mother and sister away, swift as lightning, (for fear of my father's interest,) and hurries and puts them both into the *Nouvelle Catholique* of women, and I in M. Duplessis's carried to that of the *Garçons*. At last, my dear sister, being extreme handsome, was deluded into the nunnery of the *Ursulines*, all this about her twelfth or thirteenth year, where she was received with gladness, thinking to have her there sure enough, it being the strictest nunnery in all Paris. But she was not there long (I mean not twelve days) ere my father, by some stratagem or other, I know not well how, got her out and us all; he, poor dear man, having been almost distracted about it. In fine, he got us all for England again, where, after some time, we had the honour to be related to you by my dear sister's match, which was of extreme content to my father, that his dear child had another firm protestant protector and guide.

Truly, sir, I believe that could I remember, or my mother, from whom by her absence from my

* "Jeune garçon de débauche." — *Boyer*.

house at this present, for health's sake, I can have no account, it would appear that never man, for religion, in these later ages, hath suffered what my father hath.

And now, sir, I do declare from my very soul, and am extremely well satisfied that you kept my dear sister in the true protestant religion till her death. I am your honour's most obedient humble servant,

B. ST. MICHEL.

MR. ROSS* TO PEPYS. †

SIR,

St. James's, Sept. 22, 1674.

I HAVE this day obeyed my Lord Duke's‡ command in writing to Dr. Barrow,§ as his grace instructed me; and have already sent it to the

* Thus described by *Wood*, in his *Fasti Oxonienses*, among the Masters of Arts.

“Thomas Ross, Esq. adhered to King Charles II. in his exile, and was tutor to James Crofts, Duke of Monmouth. Upon his Majesty's return, he became keeper of his libraries, and groom of his privy chamber, and author of a translation from Latin in English poetry of the whole seventeen books of the second Punic war between Hannibal and the Romans, written by “Silius Italicus,” with a continuation from the triumph of Scipio to the death of Hannibal (*Lond.* 1661).”

This translation is noticed by Dr. Adam Clarke, referring to a later edition, with fine cuts, fol. *Lond.* 1672. — *Bibliographical Miscellany*.

† “On a fellowship at Trinity College, Cambridge, for Mr. Montague.”—MS. n.

‡ Of Monmouth.

§ Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, appointed in 1672.

post; but when you have this inclosed, sent to me by Dr. Barrow * by the last post, you will easily judge how little probability there is for the young gentleman to prevail in this election.

I doubt not but I shall have a return from Dr. Barrow this week; and soon as I receive it, I shall endeavour to find you out, and communicate it to you.

In the mean time

I am, sir,

Your very humble servant,

T. ROSS.†

* “ It having pleased his Majesty to grant his letters mandatory, directed to the Master and Senior Fellows of Trinity College in Cambridge, for electing divers persons into Fellowships, beyond the number of present vacancies; so that, in obedience to those commands, they must be obliged to pre-elect some of those persons. And whereas there are in the said College many Bachelors of Arts capable of Fellowships, some of them very deserving; there, also, not having in many years past been any ordinary election of Fellows in that college.

“ It is therefore, in behalf of the said Master and Senior Fellows, for the encouragement of merit and study, humbly requested that they may be allowed, with his Majesty’s leave, to pre-elect, together with those whom his Majesty hath recommended, some others of the said Bachelors, who shall, by trial in the statutable way, appear best deserving that preferment.”—MS. n.

† Rawlinson. A. 191.

PEPYS TO MR. ROSS.

SIR,

D. H. Tuesday night, Sept. 22, 1674.

I HAVE been endeavouring this afternoon to wait on you, with the acknowledgment of my obligation to you for the trouble you have been pleased to [take], at my instance, [for a letter] from my Lord Duke of Monmouth, in favour of the hopeful young gentleman,* son of my Lord of Sandwich.

Concerning which, lest I should fail of my hopes of finding you this evening at court, I take the liberty of using this way of delivering you my humble request, that (if it may be) his Grace's kindness, in his letter to the University, may be sent away this night, (the suddenness of the election of fellows at Trinity College urging us hereto,) and that you would be pleased, by one line, to let me know to whom the same is directed. Which favour shall be always most thankfully acknowledged by

Your most humble servant,

S. PEPYS.†

* Lord Montague.

† Rawlinson, A. 191.

MR. J. MONTAGUE* TO PEPYS.

SIR,

October 2, 1674.

THOUGH I really believe you are a man of that temper that the expression of my gratitude to you for your last obligation, if heartily represented but in one word, will be as significant as if it were in twenty; yet I would by no means omit a duty which is requisite in such cases, be the persons never so acquainted one with another. They may talk what they please, and say I would not have the gentleman so concerned, and think himself so highly obliged. Were it ten times better, if it lay in my power, I would very willingly do it; but, for all this, though these be so obliging that do a friend a kindness, and are very real in their expressions, I should count it but a very ill part of the friend so obliged not to regard such kindness; nay, he were not to be excused under a great deal of civility and acknowledgment of the favour: it must not serve his turn only to remember it, but withal, in remembering, to show his thankfulness for it.

Upon this consideration, I took an opportunity to reveal to you the bottom of my heart, to show

* *Wood*, at the conclusion of his biography of Dr. Durell, (who died 1683,) names as successor, "in his Prebendship of Durham, Dr. J. Montague, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, brother to the present Earl of Sandwich."

you plainly that I think myself as much obliged to you for this benefit, which is not of so small value but that the helping of me to it requires as much as the obtaining anything greater.

Sir, my business was so plausibly done that nothing could be expected more. Which, I believe, will satisfy you, as well as it does joy me.

Sir, your very affectionate friend and servant,

J. MONTAGUE.

MR. HILL TO PEPYS.

SIR,

Lisbon, Oct. 7, 1674.

THIS letter, I suppose, may come opportunely to welcome you from France, if our ladies prevailed with you to accompany them thither, as I hear they endeavoured. But I conclude the voyage was deferred for no other reason but that I perceived no motion unusual in my heart, which I should most certainly have done, when you and the good company put your feet ashore upon the continent where I am. Be it as it will, I wish you all much health and happiness, and so much to myself, (and that is enough in all conscience,) that I may live to see you once again.

I formerly acquainted you that here was a *virtuoso*, exceedingly desirous to wait upon you; and, by what I understood by your letter to Captain Tanifer, you were willing he should have embarked in the Saudades. What then hindered was, that the Marquis (whom he served)

was not only loath to part with him, but kept him filled with such hopes, by frequent promises of good preferment, that the young man was not unwilling to attend upon his fortune. But, as all things contribute not only to your honour and advantage, but to your *gusto* also, this Marquis is lately dead, and by that means has left this ingenious person free to enjoy a better fortune in your service. So, if you please, he is ready to wait upon you, if you yet continue in your former resolution, which I desire to know as speedily as may be with convenience.

I am certain you will like his voice: his manner of singing is *alla Italiana di tutta perfettione*.

I beg of you not to let my recommendation engage you to the least inconvenience, for that would exceedingly trouble me; but if you are willing, as I am sure you are, to favour ingenuity and virtue, I think you cannot find a fitter object.

Pray give my service to the ladies, for by this indirect conveyance I shall not write to them. I kiss your hand, and am, sir,

Your most faithful and most obliged servant,

T. HILL.

The person I have been speaking of is now with me, and presents you his service by the inclosed.*

* See Appendix. Pepys, when he "makes his defence" in parliament, "May 20, 1679," says of this person, with whom, as a Catholic, it had been attempted to involve him:—

PEPYS TO MR. HILL.

DEAR MR. HILL, Winchester Street, Nov. 22, 1674.

THE forwardness of your Saudades, in her fittings for Lisbon, had so prepossessed me, that overlooking all other ways of conveyance, it is but just now, I am here told, (if I will use it presently,) I may have an opportunity of writing to you from this house, which I dare not lose: though all the use which (for my eyes, that for this last week have been more than usually out of order,) I can now make of it is, to tell you that your last (whose date I have not about me) I have received; and it is most acceptable to me in what relates to the gentleman's service you so finely tempt me with.

Concerning which I have only one thing, by way of preface, to note to you; namely, that nothing which has yet, or may further happen,

“As for Morelli, my leisure will not permit me to go abroad for diversion, and I sent abroad for a man of learning and a good musician. A merchant, one Hill, sent me over Morelli. His qualifications are these: he is a thorough-bred scholar, and may be the greatest master of music of any we have. He came to Lisbon, a page to a great man, and my friend Thomas Hill found him out there for me. I have entertained myself harmlessly with him, singing with his lute till twelve o'clock, till it was time to rest. At Lisbon, he was thought so moderate a Catholic that he was under some suspicion. There is a member that knows him so well to be a harmless person, that I need say no more.”—Grey's *Debates*.

towards the rendering me more conspicuous in the world, has led or can ever lead to the admitting any alteration in the little methods of my private way of living; as having not in my nature any more aversion to sordidness than I have to pomp, and in particular that sort of it which consists in the length and trouble of such a train (I mean of servants for state only) as the different humour of some, and greater quality of others, do sometimes call for.

Which being premised, for the setting right the young man's expectations in reference to that part, I come now to tell you, that if you conceive my silent and unencumbered guise of life will sort with him; and that 30*l.* a-year certain, (to be increased as you shall direct, or at my courtesy upon proof of his service,) with his lodging and entertainment, will invite him to come to me, he shall not only on his part be welcome, and possibly find me not the most uneasy to be lived with; but myself, or mine also, shall (I am apt to believe) find in him a servant not of less real use by his languages, in reading, writing, translating, or other offices depending thereon, than satisfaction to myself in his excellent qualifications in music, in which my utmost luxury still lies, and is likely to remain so.

Give me leave, therefore, (without mixing one word either of the ladies, news, our travels, loves, or aught else, (which are to be left to Captain

Tanifer,) to refer to you the doing whatever you shall think advisable for us both in this matter, assuring you that, if I find him answering the sober part of the character you give him, I shall cherish him with a great deal of pleasure, and esteem your friendship in directing him to me, as the most obliging and satisfactory courtesy I could at this time have begged of you, it being what, for some time, I have been laying out for, without expectation of compassing it in any degree so fully to my wish as this you have found out for me.

For which I send you a large heartfelt of thanks, and, forced by my eyes, bid you good-b'ye, referring you for more to the Saudades.

Your most affectionate, and faithful humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

The Saudades shall give him passage. But if any earlier conveyance happen, it shall be the welcomer to me, if as convenient to him.

MR. HILL TO PEPYS.

SIR,

Lisbon, July 1, 1675.

ALTHOUGH my indisposition, when your admirable picture arrived here, prevented my returning you earlier thanks for so extraordinary a favour, yet this delay has not diminished that just sense I have of so great a kindness.

The picture is beyond praise; but causes ad-

miration in all that see it. Its posture so stately and magnificent, and it hits so naturally your proportion and the noble air of your face, that I remain immovable before it hours together. I know not how to thank you for so great a kindness, nor do I see any possibility of requital. But this, I assure you, if I die here I will bequeath it to you, or rather restore it; and, if I carry it off, it shall always be at your disposal.

I am in great expectation to hear how you approve of my choice in your servant, Cesare Morelli. It would be exceeding satisfactory to me to hear that you like his manner of singing. I think it is well; his ability of performing at sight the most difficult part is to be valued, and I have seldom met with any person that excels him. I recommended to him to study the theorbo, which will be of great use. But that depends upon the spare hours which you please to allow him.

I expect to hear a ravishing quire of your voice joined with our ladies. By what I foresee, I shall allow you time enough to study, for as yet I have no prospect of leaving this place: but whether I stay or go, I shall be for ever,

Sir,

Your most faithful and obliged humble servant,

T. HILL.

MR. HEWER* TO PEPYS.

SIR, M. Demast's House, Paris, Aug. 23, 1675.

SINCE our arrival in France, I have given you the trouble of two letters; one from Havre-de-grace, and the other from *Rouen*, hoping they would both find you in good health. Since which, praised be

* First named by Pepys "June 30, 1660," as "Will my boy," on which Lord Braybrooke says, "He was nephew to Mr. Blackburne, so often mentioned in these pages, where his father's death of the plague also occurs. He became a Commissioner of the navy, and Treasurer of Tangier, and was the constant companion of Mr. Pepys, who died (1703) in his house at Clapham, where Mr. Hewer was buried in the old Church. There is a large monument of marble in *alto relievo*, erected to his memory."

In 1685 Mr. Hewer was chosen M.P. for Yarmouth, Isle of Wight.—*Parl. Reg.* 1741.

The inscription which Lord Braybrooke has quoted from Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, shows that Mr. Hewer died, "Dec. 3, 1715," aged seventy-three. He is there described as "in Deo colendo, sine fuco assiduus; in pauperibus sublevandis, sine ostentatione beneficus." He had indeed distinguished the year of his decease, not only by adding to the church "the north aisle with a gallery," long since removed for public convenience; but by the following benefaction; *monumentum*, I trust, *ære perennius*.

"William Hewer, by will, dated Sept. 9, 1715, gave to the company of Clothworkers 100*l.* for the use of their poor. Five pounds as the interest of this legacy are annually given to the poor members on St. Thomas's eve." See Register of Trusts and Charities administered by the Clothworkers' Company: By Thomas Massa Alsager, a member of the Court of Assistants."

God, Sir Anthony Deane* and company are well arrived at Paris; and all continue in very good health, presenting their most humble service and respects to you.

We arrived here upon Monday the 16th instant, about noon, and in our way we met with one of the yachts, upon the road, which is safe in the canal, and this day, by the care and industry of Sir Anthony Deane, the other will be in; he having spent Friday and Saturday in giving direction touching her carriage, which has not only facilitated her despatch, by doing that in a day and half which the French were four days about, but has done that for five hundred crowns, which the other cost, for carrying to the canal, upwards of one thousand three hundred crowns.

Sir Anthony hath been so taken up about the yachts since our arrival here, that we have as yet seen only the King's house and garden at Versailles; the place called the Gobelins† where the King employs the year round several artificers to work for him; as painters, stone-cutters, makers of hangings, silversmiths, and a hundred

* First mentioned by Pepys in 1662, as "Mr. Deane of Woolwich," (from whom he learns to "measure timber and board"), and in 1666 as a very skilful ship-builder. He became "Commissioner of the Navy, 1672, and in 1678, with Pepys, M.P. for Harwich."

† A celebrated manufactory of painting and tapestry, at Paris, named after Giles Gobelin, who invented the scarlet dye, in the time of Francis the First.

more sorts of artificers. The gardens at the Louvre* and St. Germain, but not the houses, in regard we could not then get tickets. My Lord Colbert's house and garden, at a place called Shoone, two leagues from Paris, and several gentlemen's houses out of town, where Sir Anthony has been nobly and extraordinarily treated. Besides, there is one appointed on purpose to attend and defray all his charges during the stay here.

I shall not take up your time, in troubling you with the particulars of what we have seen, which is all so fine and magnificent, that, as I never in my life saw the like, so I do believe there cannot in the whole world be anything that is finer, but more particularly the King's house and garden at Versailles.

The King went to Fontainbleau the same day we got hither; but his return is expected upon Saturday. And now the yachts being in the canal, the treasurer-general for the navy affairs is directed to attend upon Sir Anthony to Fontain-

* In "France, painted to the Life," by Peter Heylin; he thus describes the result of his personal observations in 1625:—

"It had the name of *Louvre*, quasi l'Ouvré, or the work; the Building, by way of excellency; an *etymology* which draweth nigher to the ear than the understanding or the eye; and yet the French writers would make it a miracle. In my life I never saw anything more abused by a good report, or that more belyeth the rumours that go of it."

Yet the word is made to describe in France any superb and magnificent dwelling: *C'est un Louvre*.

bleau, where, it is said, we shall see a very stately house and garden. As to his journey to Toulon and Marseilles, he is not yet come to any resolution, in regard, he knows not when he shall have his despatch from hence. Besides, if the person directed to attend upon him should receive the like orders to defray his charges out of France, after his having taken his leave of the King, my Lord Colbert, and Mons. Seignelay,* it is fit to

* Colbert's eldest son, "Jean Baptiste Marquis de Seignelay," who survived his father only seven years, dying in 1690, age thirty-nine. He was no unworthy son of the great Colbert, if it has been truly said of him, that "son patriotisme, son goût pour les arts, ses manieres nobles et généreuses le firerent vivement regretter."—*Nouv. Dict. Hist.*

The familiar, and probably frequent intercourse of Sir Anthony Deane with M. Seignelay appears to have been converted by some anti-Gallican *ultra protestants* to an insidious purpose. The following paper I copied *verbatim* from a MS. in the British Museum.

"An abstract of the complaint against Mr. Samuel Pepys, and Sir Anthony Deane (1675).

"That the said Mr. Pepys and Sir A. Deane did, in conspiracy together, cause divers maps and sea-journals to be made, one of them mentioning Captain Munden's voyage to St. Helena; some draughts of his Majesty's best-built ships, and some models of ships, and fourteen sheets of paper, close written, containing an account in what manner the navy and admiralty were governed in England; as also the number of the King's ships, their several ages and conditions, as also divers other treasonable matters; making a discovery of the state and condition of his Majesty's navy; how and by what means many of the English seamen may be drawn into the French service, the weakness of those places, where his Majesty's said ships usually lie, the great want of stores, and description of

consider, then, whether it would be convenient for him to go.

I confess I am of opinion that they do defray his charges here, on purpose to prevent his going, which everybody is inquiring about. However, if my Lord Colbert, or Lord Marquis de Seignelay shall prompt him to it, and he finds he can compass it within the time limited, then he doth resolve to go. And since I am not likely ever to have such an opportunity, and finding myself very well, I do purpose, unless you shall command the contrary, to accompany him.

So with tenders of my most humble duty, wish-

our principal rivers, and of our several forts and garrisons, and of the Isle of Wight. Which said maps, journals, models, and descriptions aforesaid, the said Sir Anthony Deane is accused to have carried over into France in the year 1675, and to have delivered them to the Marquis of Seignelay, then secretary to the Admiralty of France, in order to their carrying on their detestable design and plot, contrived by the papists, for destruction of his Majesty's royal person, overthrowing the laws of this realm, and extirpating of the Protestant religion, in all probability, it appearing by some examination taken by the Committee, to whom this matter was referred, that the said Mr. Pepys is either a papist himself, or a great favourer of popery, as appears at large by many information."

In the Parliamentary discussion, "May 20, 1679." Sir Joseph Williamson says of Sir Anthony Deane:

"It is but due to this gentleman to give you an account of his care and great care. The French sent the Marquis de Seignelay, who took his way, effectually out of his way, by Portsmouth. I remember Deane laid a counterplot against the Marquis, to prevent any information he could get of the Navy." *Grey's Debates.*

ing for the continuance of your health and prosperity, I remain, Hon. Sir,

Your ever faithful and obedient servant,

W. HEWER.

MR. GIBBON * TO PEPYS.

GOOD SIR,

Aug. 27, 1675.

I PRAY pardon me; I am sorry I appeared so abruptly before you. I'll assure you, a paper of the same nature with the inclosed, was left for you at the public office, some ten days since, as, likewise, for every one of the commissioners. But, Sir, I am heartily glad of the miscarriage, for now I have an opportunity to request a favour, by writing, that I could hardly have had confidence by word of mouth to have done; and in that I have much want of my friend Mr. —.

Sir, a gentlewoman of my acquaintance told me she had it for a great certainty, from the family of the Montagus, that as you were one night playing late upon some musical instrument, together with your friends, there suddenly appeared a human feminine shape and vanished, and after that continued.

Walking in the garden you espied the appearing person, demanded of her if, at such a time,

* Perhaps the "Mr. Gibbon," mentioned "Dec. 21, 1662," among a party at "my Lord's lodgings," where they had "great store of excellent music."

she was not in such a place. She answered no; but she dreamed she was, and heard excellent music.

Sir, satisfaction is to you my humble request. And if it be so, it confirms the opinions of the ancient Romans concerning their genii, and confutes those of the Sadducees and Epicures [Epicureans].

Sir, your most humble servant,

JOHN GIBBON.

MR. DANIEL SKINNER* TO PEPYS.

Rotterdam, Nov. 19, 1676.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR WORSHIP,

AFTER an ill success in most of my designs towards my preferment in London, still frustrated

* On perusing this letter, I was agreeably surprized to observe how it would resolve, most satisfactorily, a question which had interested, during several past years, both scholars and divines.

In 1823, a Latin MS. entitled "Joannis Miltoni Angli, de Doctrina Christiana, ex sacris duntaxat libris petita," was discovered in the old State-Paper Office. "It was found," adds Dr. now Bishop Sumner, "in one of the presses, loosely wrapped in two or three sheets of printed paper, with a large number of original letters, informations, examinations, and other curious records, relative to the Popish plots in 1677 and 1678, and to the Rye-House plot in 1683.

"The same parcel likewise contained a complete and corrected copy of all the Latin letters to foreign princes and states written by Milton while he officiated as Latin Secretary; and the whole was enclosed in an envelope superscribed, "To Mr. Skinner, Merchant."

As

in all attempts, and crossed in all my undertakings, I at last, with what confidence I know not, made my humble addresses to you, esteeming no person so able, no person so ready, to advance me as yourself; whom I found, indeed, so favourable and countenancing, so full of candour or

As soon as George IV. had entrusted to Dr. Sumner the translation and publication of this Latin MS. the learned editor, with a promptitude worthy of the occasion, pursued his researches respecting this very unexpected discovery. There was then, however, no documentary evidence accessible to Dr. Sumner, beyond Aubrey's well-known report of Milton's "Idea Theologiæ, in MS., in the hands of Mr. Skinner, a merchant's son in Mark-lane."

Wood, referring to a "friend," (whom Mr. Bliss, his latest editor, has ascertained to be Aubrey,) assumes, without this friend's authority, that the "Mr. Skinner, Merchant," was unquestionably "Cyriac:" though Aubrey does not so describe him, but introduces another "Mr. Skinner, of the Jerker's Office, up two pair of stairs, at the Custom House." This, it is now highly probable, was Pepys's correspondent, the Skinner of whom Dr. Sumner thus wrote to Mr. Todd:

"Mr. Pulman, of the Heralds' Office, is inclined to believe that he was the eldest son of Daniel Skinner, Merchant, of the parish of St. Olave, Hart-street, which parish comprises a considerable part of Mark-lane."

It may be further conjectured, that the correspondent of Pepys had been for the last two years a Junior Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In the register of that College, Dr. Sumner found the following entries: "Oct. 2, 1674. Daniel Skinner, juratus et admissus in socium minorem. May 23, 1679. Daniell Skinner, juratus et admissus in socium majorem."—Mr. Todd ascertained that "Daniel Skinner had been educated in Westminster School, which he left for the University, in 1670."

rather pity, that your granting me that access, and your readiness to do me good, has wrought as deep an impression as if immediately you had conferred on me the greatest promotion imaginable.

Thus, methought, I hugged myself a long time with the hopes of so good and great a patron; till at last, directed by some unkind suggestion, whether (which must needs take place) egged on by many emergent urgencies, I ventured so far (oh, grand presumption!) as to beg your worship to supply me for the present with ten pounds; not being content to remain in expectation of some undoubted favour from you, but must anticipate it by an overhasty ambition of being indebted to you; a thing, sir, that, had you known what a storm it raised within me, after a due consideration of what I had done, you would have sent me pardon, and would have absolved me from the guilt of so great presumption.

My silence, Sir, and not waiting on you, afterwards, does, in some measure, demonstrate my sorrow, and indeed shame for such boldness; occasioned on no other account, but continual and daily hopes of receiving ten pounds of my father; whereby I might safely approach, and make a grateful return of your worship's kindness, not being able to appear, till I could procure that.

During this expectation, and in the very midst of my wishes of attaining something whereby I

might make a speedy acknowledgment of your worship's favour, Heaven was so propitious as to cause a letter to be sent from Nimeguen to know whether I would embrace the opportunity of being under Mr. Chudleigh, secretary to the embassy,* the same I had hopes of long ago, and for which I obtained your worship's good and gracious character of me to his Excellency my Lord Ambassador Jenkyns,† a favour I shall never forget.

No sooner acquainted with this happy news, but I leaped at it. And though I went out of England without waiting on you, (Fate not permitting me to make those acknowledgments I would,) yet I had so grateful a design in me, as soon as I was settled at Nimeguen, to have presented you with the first-fruits of my pen and labour, and to have begged your pardon in an

* Afterwards "British Resident at the Hague."—See "Correspondence of Hyde, Earl of Clarendon," (1828,) i. 163, 165.

† "Sir Leoline Jenkins, born at Llantrissant, Glamorgan-shire, was," says Aubrey, "the son of an honest, plain country-man." After various offices and embassies he "was appointed, in 1675, a plenipotentiary at Nimeguen." He died in 1685, aged 62.

"Sir Leoline Jenkins, who had been left ambassador at Nimeguen, though he desired to do well, was irresolute and timid, and often as much embarrassed and perplexed about little punctilios of visit and ceremony, left to busy that embassy, as if greater affairs had still attended it; besides, he lay under the lash of Secretary Williamson, who persecuted him on an old grudge."

ample and satisfactory letter. But incapacity of returning your worship's due forced me to go out of England with so much disadvantage when otherwise I might have procured those recommendations from you as alone would have made my coming to Nimeguen most acceptable.

But now, Sir, as I have of late expected the rise of my fortune from your great and good self, so still does it lie in your worship's power to retrieve the ruin that must necessarily fall on me, if not instantly, at the sight of this letter, prevented by you, and remedied. At so easy a rate may you recover my misfortunes, that is, at no greater expence than two or three words may you be the instrument of my perpetual happiness. When you have read what the matter is, you will wonder that so small a thing should obstruct my advancement.

The case is thus, Sir. After a hazardous passage cross the seas, though first a great expense in clothing myself for so great an appearance as this at Nimeguen, and a long, tedious, mighty chargeable journey through all the parts of Holland, (a country serving only to set a greater value on our own,) I at last arrived at Nimeguen, meeting with a very kind and (beyond expectation) fair reception from Mr. Chudleigh, though (which is the misfortune I am telling you of) I was surprised with an unkind letter which his

honour Sir Joseph Williamson* had conveyed before my arrival to my Lord Jenkyns concerning me. The whole business was thus :

Your worship may please to remember, I once acquainted you with my having the works of Milton, which he left behind him to me, which, out of pure indiscretion, not dreaming any prejudice might accrue to me, I had agreed with a printer at Amsterdam† to have them printed. As good fortune would have it, he has not printed one tittle of them. About a month ago there creeps out into the world a little imperfect book of Milton's State Letters,‡ procured to be printed

* " Keeper of the State-Paper Office ; in 1665, made Under Secretary of State, and soon after knighted. In 1674 he became Secretary of State for four years. He represented Thetford and Rochester in several parliaments. In 1678, he was President of the Royal Society. Ob. 1701." Pepys (1663, Aug. 10,) had described " Mr. Williamson, that belongs to Sir H. Bennet," as " a pretty understanding and accomplished man, but a little conceited."

† Elzevir. (See *infra* and *Appendix*.) Five learned printers bore that surname, Lewis, (of Leyden, in 1595,) Bonaventure, Abraham, Lewis, and Daniel. The last, who is here designed, died in 1680. Daniel Elzevir published at Amsterdam, in 1674, a catalogue of books printed by his family.

‡ " *Literæ Pseudo-Senatus Anglicani, Cromwellii, Reliquorumque Perduellium nomine ac jussu conscriptæ à Joanne Miltono. Impressæ anno 1676.*"

At the commencement of his short address, the anonymous editor, on the ground rather of policy than of principle, thus expresses the doubts he had long entertained, whether he should consign these papers to the flames, or to the press ;

by one Pitts, a bookseller in London, which he had bought of a poor fellow that had formerly surreptitiously got them from Milton. These coming out so sily, and quite unknown to me, and when I had the true and more perfect copy, with many other papers, I made my addresses to Sir Joseph Williamson, to acquaint him that there was a book come out against his authority : that, if his honour connived at that, he would please to grant me licence to print mine ; if not, that he would either suppress that little book, or give me leave to put (in the bottom of the Gazette) that they were printing in Holland, in a larger, more complete edition.*

Now, sir, (little thinking that Sir Joseph was such an enemy to the name of Milton,) he told me he could countenance nothing of that man's writings. In his answer I acquiesced. A little while after, his honour sends for me to know what papers I had of Milton's by me, and that I should oblige him if I would permit them to his perusal ; which very readily I did, thinking that it might prove advantageous to me. And find-

“ Cum primum ad manus nostras hæ chartæ pervenerunt, dubitavi diu utrum illas prælo potius, aut flammis, committerem.”

* Dr. Sumner “ found in the same parcel ” with the MSS. a “ printed advertisement,” from which I quote the following notice :

“ Vera Literarum exemplaria, locupletiora multùm, et auctiora, composita concinnius, et digesta, *typis elegantioribus excudenda sunt, in Hollandiâ prelo commissa.*”

ing upon this so great an access to his honour, I presented him with a Latin petitionary epistle for some preferment, either under him or by his means. His honour was pleased graciously to receive it, and in a most expressive manner to promise me any advancement that might be in his power.

During this, the opportunity of going to Nimeguen happened; and, the day before I went out of England, I went to his honour for some recommendations. He returned me my papers with many thanks, and was pleased to give me a great deal of advice not to proceed in the printing of my papers at Amsterdam; that it would be an undoubted rub in any preferments of mine: and this, he said, he spoke out of mere kindness and affection to me. I returned his honour many humble thanks, and did expressively ensure him that, as soon as I got to Amsterdam, (which I took in my way on purpose,) I would return my copies, and suppress them for ever. Which, sir, I have done, and have followed his honour's advice to every punctilio.

Yet, notwithstanding this, his honour was pleased (whether I shall term it unkindly or unnaturally) to despatch a letter after me to my Lord Jenkyns, to acquaint his Lordship that I was printing Milton's works, and wished them to have a care of me in the King's service; which has put a little stop to my being employed as yet,

till I can write to England, and procure so much interest as to clear Sir Joseph Williamson's jealousy of my being yet engaged in the printing of these papers: though my Lord Jenkyns and Mr. Chudleigh are so well satisfied, after my giving them a full account of the business, and bringing my copies with me to Nimeguen, ready to dispose of them where Sir Joseph shall think fit, that they seem as much concerned at Sir Joseph's letter as I do, and have sent me here to Rotterdam at their charge, (so kind they are,) to remain here till I can write to England, and they have an answer from Sir Joseph Williamson how that his honour is satisfied; which they don't at all question but he will be when he shall hear what I have said and done.

Now, may it please your worship, having given you a full and true account of the whole affair, seeing the fortune of a young man depends upon this small thing, either perpetual ruin, or a fair and happy way to future advancement; pray give me leave to beg of you, which I most humbly and submissively do, that you would please instantly to repair to his honour Sir Joseph, and acquaint him that I am so far from printing anything from Milton's now, that I have followed his honour's advice, and upon due pensitation with myself have nulled and made void my contract with Elsevir at Amsterdam, have returned my copies to myself, and am ready to

dispose of them where his honour pleases, either into the hands of my Lord Jenkyns, or into his own for better satisfaction; and am so far from ever procuring a line from Milton printed, that, if his honour pleases, he shall command my copies,* and all my other papers, to the fire. And though I happened to be acquainted with Milton in his life-time, (which out of mere love to learning I procured, and no other concerns ever passed betwixt us but a great desire and ambition of some of his learning,) I am, and ever was, so far from being in the least tainted with any of his principles, that I may boldly say, none has a greater honour and loyalty for his Majesty, more veneration for the Church of England, and love for his country, than I have. Once more, I beg your worship, and, with tears instead of ink that might supply my pen, I implore that you would prevail with Sir Joseph to write another letter to my Lord Jenkyns and to Mr. Chudleigh, and to recal his former, which I am sure his honour wrote merely out of jealousy that I would proceed, notwithstanding his advice, in the printing of my papers; which you see, sir, how far I am from.

Though my Lord Jenkyns, Mr. Chudleigh,

* These (there can be, now, no reasonable doubt,) would speedily pass into the hands of Sir Joseph Williamson, and thence, as speedily, into the obscure recesses of the State-Paper Office.—See *Appendix*.

and I do imagine Sir Joseph will be soon pacified when he hears this; yet, considering how great a ruin is likely to befall me if his honour is not graciously pleased to recal his former letter, I can't but with all the utmost repeated petitions imaginable, nay, with as much earnestness as ever condemned man begged a reprieve, intreat your worship to immediately intercede for me, and clear Sir Joseph his suspicion of me. Not that ever I could have imagined that, after so much access and favour his honour was pleased to afford me,—after my delivering up my papers to his perusal, his thanks, and multitude of kind expressions to me,—his honour would have been so contrary to his candid and favourable disposition to all lovers of learning and good literature as to prejudice me so much, nay, as utterly to ruin and undo me, if he is not pleased by your kind persuasions graciously to recal his former letter.

And, lest I should leave any stone unturned, I have penned out a letter to his honour myself, wherein I have humbly and with great submission cleared myself. Likewise Elsevir, the printer, has written to him by this post.* Here, at

* I have found, preserved in the State-Paper Office, the "Copy of a Letter from Daniel Elziver, Printer, at Amsterdam, to Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State, relative to Milton's Treatise on Theology, and his Letters of State." It is in French, dated "Nov. 20, 1676."

There is another "Copy of a Letter," also in French, from

Rotterdam, I shall stay till his honour is pleased to send to my Lord Jenkyns; which I pray your worship may be the next post after the receipt of this letter, which is next Friday, which will arrive at Nimeguen the Tuesday after, God willing, when I shall be sent for from hence, and be received under Mr. Chudleigh with all imaginable kindness, as soon as Sir Joseph's letter arrives; my Lord Jenkyns being mightily inclined towards me upon your worship's kind letter of me some time since, which character I will study day and night to make good; Mr. Chudleigh being also wonderfully kind to me upon the same account: who hope as much as I do, and they don't question it, but this little storm will blow over.

Thus, sir, wholly and entirely owing the rise of my fortune to your good self, I shall be here, at Nimeguen, in a fair prospect of making myself for ever. And, though the place is but small at present, yet, as an introduction into business, and a step to rise upon, I heartily embrace it, where I intend to have your worship's excessive kindness recorded for ever in my breast; and hope that time will give me an opportunity to make some great acknowledgment of your never-to-be-forgotten favours.

the same printer, "To Mr. Daniel Skinner, sen., Merchant, in London, relative to Milton's Manuscripts, dated D'Amsterdam, le 19 Feb. 1676-7."

For ever intending to pronounce and esteem you just no otherwise than the great author of my happiness, the good patron of my felicity, and, in this what I beg now, the only preserver of my life and fortune, I beg leave to subscribe myself, sir,

Your worship's entirely devoted and
most humble servant,

DANIEL SKINNER.

SIR,

THE first-fruits of diligence and industry, as soon as I can compass ten pounds, (which I hope won't be long,) shall be tendered to you with the gratefulest heart in the world; hoping that you will be so gracious as to seal my pardon for my presumption in daring to borrow it.

And, if your worship will be so pleased as but to second your first character of me, in another letter to my Lord Jenkyns, I shall ever impute my very life your own; and desire to live upon no other account than to serve you. Time would not permit me to use another style, for fear I should not have opened my breast to you so fully; though from Nimeguen I intend, now and then, if your worship will give me leave, to salute you in Latin, and be continually sending you a multitude of thanks.

I humbly beg your worship to send me but a word or two from your pen the very next post after this letter's reception, and some comfort in

having prevailed with his honour Sir Joseph Williamson; for I am here just a person without a soul, and shall continue so till you are pleased, by a word or two, to infuse one into me.

Your worship may please to direct it to me at one Mr. Shepherd's house, a merchant in Rotterdam; and, if you please, one line of recommendation to my Lord Jenkyns, that I may, at my return, deliver it with my own hands. And your humble petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

CAPTAIN PROUD * TO PEPYS.

RIGHT HONOURABLE, Stepney, December 4, 1676.

YOURS of the 2nd instant, this morning, by this bearer, I have received, and he hath seen the weight of the load-stone out of the cap to be almost five ounces. In the cap the stone will take up some things more than five pounds' weight.

I should have waited on your honour, to have presented to your knowledge, that I find by experience, that the stone being in the cap doth not communicate, nor give that strength to the needle respecting the poles, as when the stone is out of the cap; for then the needle is brought and touched at the poles of the stone, which cannot be done when the cap is upon the stone.

* This name occurs, 1667, July 23, as Clerk of the Cheque at Gravesend.

At present a swelling in my face hinders me from the payment of my respective duty, (which belongeth unto you from all,) who am obliged to be in all readiness to serve you, in what I am able, whilst I can subscribe my name to be

JOHN PROUD.

The just weight of the stone taking up, being in the cap, now seen by the bearer, to be five pounds, twelve ounces, and half.

MR. J. HOUBLON* TO PEPYS.

SIR,

May 3, 1677.

To be as good as my word, I have here sent you a heap of rubbish; a thing composed according to my usual way of writing, without method or order; however, it's at your commands

* One of a family thus described:—"May 15, 1666. The five brothers Houblon came, and Mr. Hill, (see *supra*, p. 161. 165,) to my house, and a very good supper we had; and good discourse, with great pleasure. My new plate sets off my cupboard very nobly. Here they were till about eleven at night; and a fine sight it is, to see these five brothers thus loving one to another, and all industrious merchants."

Lord Braybrooke has added an epitaph, "in memory of their father, written by Mr. Pepys," in Latin. James Houblon, whose father, Peter, had fled from Flanders for his religion, died in 1682, in his 90th year. He had become the father of the Exchange, had seen his five sons successful merchants, and was survived by seventy, out of one hundred grandchildren.

Evelyn says, "Jan. 16, 1679. I supped with Mr. Secretary, at one Mr. Houblon's, a French merchant, who had his house furnished *en Prince*, and gave us a splendid entertainment."

I did it, and I should be glad, out of such a confusion of matter, you may extract wherewith to build that goodly fabric intended by it,—the public good, and the honour of the King,—with a reasonable advantage to yourself, for the care and pains you are like to have, to pursue and finish this work here cut out for you, and which you (seeing farther than I can) will find over and above necessary, and more to the purpose. I prophesy it will be vastly great, especially in time of war, so that you are like mightily to increase the number of the papers, and never to be at rest.

The difficulties will be in procuring faithful and honest intelligencers, and such who will have the wit to prevent the danger of a rope.* But now, in a stark calm of peace, 'twill be a good time to begin with them, that they may learn how to behave themselves, when they will be more useful. Instructions will be very needful for them, according to the several places where they are, and to what particular points they ought, too, to apply their industry.

Holland and France are likeliest to be the chief stages where the greatest actions will be, as to us, and from whence we may fear the greatest mischiefs, as to the body of the state. Next, Spanish pirateers, who, of all Christians, are the most

* Probably by enforcing, in the Navy, a uniformly vigilant administration.

dangerous to the English trade, by reason of the extent of their dominions; Ostend, &c., all the Biscay and Galicia ports, and the coast of Spain within and without the Streights, the Islands of Majorca and Minorca, the coasts of Sicilia, Naples, and the Gulf of Venice. Next them, the Turks, within and without the Streights. The less dangerous are the northern Princes of Sweden and Denmark, who can only be auxiliaries to the French or Dutch.

I send it, sir, rough as I drew it, not thinking my foolish conceptions worth the writing fair; but my hopes are, you will lick it into a better form for the view of those for whom you intend it, who, I hope, will have the grace to see that there is great reason to make the Secretary of the Admiralty's Office valuable to the person that enjoys it, and that as his care and industry, and the means to enable him to be truly serviceable to the King and kingdom, will require a considerable yearly allowance, so they will be liberal in the settling it, that he may be really above those petty advantages and sneaking perquisites your predecessors did stoop to, and which you have, to your hurt, rejected, though the King and the kingdom hath had the benefit of it; for that ever since, the several officers and commanders have been under better discipline and more fear to offend, and I hope will be more kept to their duty by such a light, as this intelligence, when

once established, will give you; when you will be enabled to tell them, first in private, of their offences, and forewarn them of the like, and upon a second commission to get them.

I know very well, that therein will lie all the difficulty; for that most of the rascally officers of the fleet have powerful friends to intercede for them, so that, without drawing upon you the envy and malice of great persons, under whom these vermin shroud themselves, you cannot presently rid your hands and the fleet of them. But I know your great wisdom (backed by your great interest with the King and the Duke) is such that, what by counselling and threatening some, by making others exemplary, by letting the friends of those best supported know their errors by degrees, insinuating the faults of the incorrigible to the King and Duke, and other good methods, best known to you because you have practised them, you will at last do the great work which all honest men would rejoice in, that is, that the management of the King's fleet, in all particulars, may be executed by sober, discreet, and diligent persons and men of business; and that all drinking, swearing, gaming, and expensive and sumptuous eating, may be banished the fleets, and particularly that the captains of the King's ships may not publicly entertain their w——s on board, as some of them have formerly done, and that from port to port in the Mediter-

anean, to the great scandal of our religion and government, among Turks, Jews, and Christians.

But it's time to give you no further trouble. For God's sake impute this fit of zeal to the love I bear to the service of my country, and to the earnest desires I have to see the King's navy a protection to the nation, and a terror to our enemies, which, without a strict discipline and real sobriety in officers and seamen, it can never be.

If you think it worth while, I'll wait upon you and talk further about this foolish paper of mine, that is, of the ways to put it in practice, which is a thing that must ripen by degrees.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

J. HOUBLON.

[The connection of Pepys with the City of London commenced Aug. 7, this year (1677), by his having been elected Master of the Clothworkers' Company.]

SIR JONAS MOORE TO PEPYS.

HONOURABLE SIR,

Feb. 18, 1677-8.

I THOUGHT good to acquaint you, that Mr. Leake, having Sir Charles Scarbrough * and Dr.

* "Principal physician to Charles II. James, and William, a learned and incomparable anatomist." Wood adopts this character of Scarborough, and says, after Dr. Goodal, "he was the first that introduced geometrical and mechanical speculations into anatomy, and applied them as well in all his learned con-

Wallis,* now his friends, will stand for the election, and for which, as to his utilities, &c. I must say I think him a very good mathematician. But how this will be brought about, but with a high hand, I do not understand. Therefore, I send Sir Anthony Deane's letter for Mr. Perkins, which he was very unwilling to write; but that I promised his son should be taken care for, but Sir Thomas Allen† storms for his grandchild.

versation, as, more particularly, in his famous lectures upon the muscles of human bodies, for sixteen or seventeen years together, in the public theatre at Surgeons' Hall, which were read by him with infinite applause and admiration of all sorts of learned men in the great city."

"Surgeons' Hall" was then the Hall of the "Barber Surgeons," in Monkwell-street. In the theatre were delivered "two public and two private anatomy lectures, annually, upon the bodies of executed malefactors." Among the portraits are those of "Sir Charles Scarborough and Alderman Arris, who read and gave the muscle lecture." Sir Charles Scarborough died in 1693. Granger says of him, after Oughtred, "that his memory was so tenacious, that he could recite in order all the propositions of Euclid, Archimedes, and other ancient mathematicians, and apply them on every occasion."

* F. R. S. Savilian Professor of Geometry. He died in 1703, aged 87. In 1702, Pepys presented to the University of Oxford Dr. Wallis's portrait by Kneller, to whom he thus writes:—

"Clapham, March 26, 1702. I have long determined upon providing, as far as I could, by your hand, towards immortalizing the memory of the *person* (for his fame can never die) of that great man, and my most honoured friend, Dr. Wallis, to be lodged as an humble present of mine, (though a Cambridge man,) to my dear aunt, the University of Oxford."

† "Admiral of the English fleet, 1666. This brave and ex-

I sent your qualifications for the person to be chosen, and believe Mr. Perkins will square to them, or about. And indeed, now, to deal plainly with your honour, it was my Lord Brouncker moved him, and will justify him *dignissimus*. Mr. Kenny will be found too light for this trial.

All my ends really are, that all the pains you have taken, and shall take, may be answered by an able man, and to assure you, I have that real respect for your abilities, that I shall ever rest your Honourable's

Most obedient servant,

JONAS MOORE.*

pert officer," says Granger, "was the first that entered upon hostilities against the Dutch, in 1665. The squadron he commanded consisted but of eight ships; but what he wanted in force, he supplied by courage and conduct.—July 1666, at the head of the white squadron he fell upon the Dutch van, entirely defeated it, and killed the three Admirals, who commanded that division." Among Pepys's frequent notices of Sir T. Allen, he is thus introduced:—

"April 1, 1667. Mrs. Rebecca Allen, poor heart! come to desire favour for her husband, who is clapt up, being a Lieutenant, for sending a challenge to his Captain, in the most saucy, base language that could be writ. I perceive Sir W. Coventry is wholly resolved to bring him to punishment; for 'bear with this,' says he, 'and no discipline shall ever be expected.'"—*Pepys's Diary*, i. 35.

* "A most celebrated mathematician, knighted by Charles II. and made Surveyor of the Ordnance. Ob. 1679." Pepys says: "Sept. 28, 1663. The Commissioners for Tangier met; and there my Lord Teviot, with Captain Cuttance, Captain Evans, and Jonas Moore, sent to that purpose, did bring us a brave draught of the mole, to be built there; and report that it is

MR. JAMES HOUBLON TO PEPYS.

SIR,

Saturday, Nov. 2, 1678.

I HAVE discoursed M. Morelli, and according to your desire, have used all the arguments I could think of against the errors of the Romish Church, and, as an inducement to distrust the doctrines of that Church, have urged to him (though it is a wrong way of arguing) the wicked and intolerable policy and practice of its members for these thousand years; I mean of the Pope and Cardinals, and the several societies of the clergy in most countries, who have made no scruple to trample on the temporality (as well of corporations as of private persons), and have used all violent and bloody means to maintain their riches and dominions, to enable them to tyrannize over the souls and bodies of men.

But, Sir, I must tell you, I find Morelli so resolved in his religion, that it will be in vain to hope his conversion. He only saith, he really believes the governors of the Roman faith use unlawful ways to compass their designs, which he abhors, but dares not for that abandon that

likely to be the most considerable place the King of England hath in the world; and so I am apt to think it will." Sir Jonas Moore was "the first Englishman that composed a 'System of Mathematics.'" It was published in 1681. "He and Sir Christopher Wren," adds Granger, "are said to have persuaded Charles II. to build the Observatory at Greenwich."

church. I am sorry, Sir, you have not your desires in seeing him a good Protestant.

As to the other point, of his necessary removing out of your house, I have propounded to him going to Brentwood, where he would be well received, and upon moderate terms; but he rather inclines to go to Flanders, his native country, and humbly leaves himself upon your charity, protesting that of that allowance you have so honourably been pleased to make him, what with clothes, living, and other necessaries, he hath not been able to save one penny, and, I perceive, hath not anything left. He intends to embark for Antwerp by way of Ostend or Rotterdam. So, if no yacht is suddenly bound that way, I'll speak to some skipper upon departure, to take him in.

What you have further to command me, I intreat you freely to make use of,

Sir, your most humble servant,

JAMES HOUBLON.

M. MORELLI TO PEPYS.

(Translation.)

SIR,

Brentwood, Nov. 9, 1678.

AFTER my most humble respects, I inform you of my arrival at Brentwood, Tuesday evening, at the house of a most obliging family. The situation I find very pleasant, the air is more pure than at London, and consequently favourable to

my voice. This I hope to improve, without forgetting my lute.

For my own satisfaction I would trust that your mind is more at ease than when we parted, for I am, indeed, so well aware of your afflictions, that, were the loss of my life necessary to your happiness, I would, with all my heart, offer you the sacrifice; though I can never return all your kindness. I am, Sir,

Your very humble, very affectionate,
and very much obliged,

CESARE MORELLI.

M. MORELLI TO PEPYS.

(Translation.)

SIR, Brentwood, May 29, 1679.

I HAVE received your favour with the five guineas you were pleased to send by your Norwich coachman, for which I am infinitely obliged to you.

I have been much rejoiced to learn from your letter, that your innocence speaks for you, and hope the storm with which you have been menaced, will be dispersed to their confusion, who only seek your destruction. God will not permit the malice of the wicked always to triumph, as saith the Psalmist,—*Desiderium peccatorum peribit.*—Psal. cxii.

Be assured that, besides Mr. Hill, Mr. Bul-

teel, John Wight,* John Clerk, and his partner, Mr. Parry's English agent in Lisbon, the English Consul in Portugal, and those merchants who knew me in Portugal, and now reside in London, as Mr. John Bancks,† Mr. March, Mr. James de Leonqe, Mr. Paul Polixfern, and Mr. Delerout, all could agree in my not having been known at Lisbon as a priest, much less as a Jesuit. Had I been such, I should have been obliged, on pain of excommunication, to clothe myself as a priest in Portugal, instead of living at Lisbon four years in the same dress I wear here. If this be not enough, I request you to learn all the points on which satisfaction is desired; and be assured of being punctually obeyed.

I remain, Sir, your much obliged

and very faithful servant,

CESARE MORELLI.

* This name occurs twice, in "Pepys's Diary," as "my uncle Wight," and again in a somewhat barbarous connection.

† Jan. 21, 1664. After sending my wife to my aunt Wight's, to get a place to see Turnor hanged, 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."

† Pepys describes a "Sir John Bankes, 1664," as "an opulent merchant," and an acquaintance.

COLONEL NORWOOD * TO PEPYS.

SIR,

June 2, 1679.

ON Saturday I received your discharge of the little — (which shall ever be at your devotion), and that with no small trouble, to see you otherwise diverted from the use of it, at present, by the most unreasonable occasion in the world.

I hope, ere this comes to your hands, you will have weathered that storm, which *Satan* (Scott) †

* The same Major Norwood, perhaps, who, in 1655, with Overton, Armstrong, and Weston, had been imprisoned in the Castle at Jersey, by a warrant signed *Oliver P.* directed to the Governor of the island. It further appears, March 16, 1658-9, that to an inquiry from Mr. Speaker, by a command of the House, the Deputy-governor answered, that Major Norwood is at liberty, by virtue of an order of his Highness and his council, conditioned that he do not come into England without leave, and that he do not act anything, in future, against the Commonwealth abroad.

Pepys, "April 21—May 3, 1660," mentions "Mr. Norwood certainly going to the King, which had a ship to carry him over." He also describes a party at Mr. Coventry's, St. James's, "met to a venison-pasty;" and adds, "Major Norwood being with us, whom they did play upon for his surrendering of Dunkirk." Lord Braybrooke says: "A Major Norwood had been Governor of Dunkirk; and a person of the same name occurs as one of the Esquires to the body, at the coronation of Charles II."

† "In the House of Commons," (at the instance of Mr. Harbord, M. P. for Thetford,) Mr. Pepys and Sir Anthony Deane were accused, on the depositions of Colonel John Scott and others, of sending secret particulars respecting the English navy to the French government, in order to assist in the design

has so unskillfully conjured to alarm you. And I make no doubt, but your virtue will so improve this affliction, to your spiritual as well as secular advantage, that, in the same time you rejoice in your tribulation, you will open those eyes to behold your innocency, with shame and confusion on themselves who have been so vile promoters of this ill-natured piece of malice towards you.

I am at the point of leaving this place, and do expect, by the first, to hear you are disentangled of this vexation.*

of dethroning the King, and extirpating the Protestant religion; and Mr. Pepys was again charged with being himself a Roman Catholic, and a great favourer of that party.

"They were committed to the Tower, May 22, 1679. June 2nd, both were brought to the bar of the King's Bench, when the Attorney-General refused bail, on the ground that he expected more evidence of their treasonable correspondence with France. After being brought up a second and third time, they were allowed to find security in 30,000*l.*; and, though they subsequently appeared in court four times more, the trial was always postponed upon the same plea."—*Pepys's Life*.

* "Feb. 12, 1679-80. On the Attorney-General's stating that Scott now refused to acknowledge the truth of his original deposition, (upon which the whole charge rested,) the prisoners were relieved from their bail; and their motion to be discharged was acceded to on the first day of the next term."—*Life*.

Evelyn thus writes: "June 4, 1679. I dined with Mr. Pepys in the Tower, he having been committed by the House of Commons for misdemeanours in the Admiralty, when he was Secretary. I believe he was unjustly charged. Here I saluted my Lords Stafford and Petre, who were committed for the Popish plot."

Pepys, ("Tower, June 9, 1679,") acknowledging the receipt

I wish everything may succeed as you desire,
as being most truly,

Your most assured faithful servant,

H. NORWOOD.

My humble service to Sir Anthony Deane.

MR. D'OYLY* TO PEPYS.

SIR,

June 10th, 1679.

REQUESTS of this sort should not be made without a preamble, which I hope your friendship will excuse my want of ability to perform.

When I came from Flanders, I was in hopes to have received a legacy of a thousand pounds, which was left me by my good mother; but I find I must stay two terms longer for it.

My present occasions oblige me to beg the favour of you to lend me fifty pounds for six months, to secure which I will give you a bond to repay it within that time; and, for fear of ac-

of a letter from the Duke of York, adds: "which found me in the custody, under which I, with Sir Anthony Deane, do now remain, upon no less suggestion than those of Popery, felony, piracy, and treason; but so grounded as to render it hard for me to tell your Royal Highness which of the two enjoys the greater pleasure,—Mr. Harbord, in public, from the contemplation of the conquest his malice has obtained over me, or I, in private, from what my innocence tells me I shall, some time or other, (if any justice may be hoped for,) obtain against him."

* Perhaps one of the family of "Sir W. Doyly," with whom "and Evelyn" Pepys was associating in 1665.

cidents, a note to Sir B. Allen Apsly * to pay to your order, out of my Michaelmas quarterly payment, 25*l.*, and at Christmas the remainder, in case it should not be repaid before.

Your excusing this trouble will be a great obligation to, Sir,

Your faithful friend and humble servant,

EDW. D'OYLY.

PEPYS TO MR. D'OYLY.

SIR, Tower, June 10, 1679.

I PROTEST to you, my being sent hither was so sudden, that I have been forced to be beholden to my friends for 100*l.* to pay my fees and defray my expenses here, and must be constrained to do the like for more, before I shall (in the state my affairs are) be able to repay the former. So, as I will not lessen the credit of this real excuse for my [not] answering your desire, by adding any-

* Thus exposed by Pepys: "Dec. 19, 1666. Sir R. Ford did tell me, how Sir Allen Brodericke, and Sir Allen Apsly, did come drunk the other day into the house, and speak for half an hour together, and could not be either laughed, or pulled, or bid to sit down and hold their peace, to the great contempt of the King's servants and cause; which I am grieved at with all my heart.

"Aug. 22, 1667," (in a dinner party) he meets "Sir Allan Apsly, who did make good sport; he being already fallen under the retrenchments of the new committee, as he is Master Falconer, which makes him mad."

thing that is artificial, which, I assure you, I would in no kind do, were I in a capacity of serving you, as being with all sincerity,

Your most affectionate

and humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

PEPYS TO MONSIEUR MORELLI.

MONSIEUR MORELLI,

September 25, 1679.

THOUGH I was very well satisfied, at my return from Windsor, to find you gone back to Brentwood, according to your resolution before my departure, yet I found myself disappointed thereby in two or three particulars, in which I did design to discourse with you before your going; whereof one was, to advise you to make a recollection in your memory of the several places and conditions in which you had spent your time for some years past, so as to be able to contradict anything that may happen to be suggested by those who have maliciously invented the story of your being a priest; for I do expect that those who have the wickedness to begin that lie, will not forbear to assert it as often as they shall judge it apropos to do me and you mischief with, and that undoubtedly they will do when I shall come to my trial on the business which Scott has so falsely charged me with. Therefore, pray make it your business to recollect and consider

how to discover the truth in that particular, and give me a short account thereof, for my private satisfaction, as soon as you can.

Next, I would have seen you furnished with some wine (as you desired) before your going, and shall do it still, in case you have not already done it yourself; which if you have, let me know what it cost, that I may re-imburse you. I would have also informed myself touching the condition you are now in, as to your entertainment, and whether you want anything towards it which you have to expect from me, to the end I may supply you.

Also, I would have consulted with you about the use of the table which you have given me for the guitar; for the little knowledge in music which I have, never was of more use to me than it is now, under the molestations of mind which I have at this time, more than ordinary, to contend with. Therefore, I would be glad to improve that little knowledge as far as I could, to making myself capable, by the help of your table, of playing a *basse-continuë*;* which I would not despair of doing, in a tolerable degree, after you shall have made me master of that table. In confidence of which, since, upon some other considerations, it is not so convenient for me at this time to see you here, I do design to come and spend one day with you where you are, to receive

* Thorough bass.

your instructions therein, so soon as you shall have finished those other matters, which I now (in the last place) recommend to your care,* to see dispatched as soon as you can; I having nothing remaining in my hands to practise upon, but the Lamentations of Jeremiah.

One thing, indeed, there is more, which I would be glad to have set to the guitar, *videlicet*, your French song, where are these words, *Les plus lourds animaux*; which, with wishing good health to you, is all, at present, from

Your most affectionate friend,

S. PEPYS.

MR. PEARSE TO PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR, Bruxelles, Oct. 13, 1679 (Our Style).

FEARING my not sending you those papers which you was pleased to desire, may give you occasion to think me negligent of my duty to you, and then, by consequence, ungrateful to you, who have so often and highly obliged me, I rather choose to be troublesome, in taking you off from better things, and to give you a small account how I have spent my time since I left you.

On the 25th of September last, I left London, and sailed with the Duke towards Flanders, the

* Referring to numerous minute directions for the arrangement of Pepys's musical papers, which appear to have formed a very large collection.

wind SSW. The 26th, at seven that morning, we saw Dunkirk. At eleven, we were off Ostend, where the Duke, in the Mary, went in, and we bore away to Flushing. At three that afternoon, we got in, but I could not go ashore. The 27th, at four in the afternoon, we arrived at Antwerp; a pleasant and well-fortified town. Here we saw several fine churches, adorned with marble and fine paintings. The 28th, at four in the morning, went aboard a small vessel in which we sailed to Billebourg, a small village, and hence passed in five large flat-bottomed boats, drawn by horses, to Brussels, where we arrived at two o'clock, and went to a lodging. The 29th and 30th we lay still, expecting our baggage.

October the 1st. This morning I kissed the Duke's hand in his bed-chamber. There, hearing him discoursing of his voyage to the Hague, I resolved to wait on him thither, in one of the Prince of Orange's yachts. We left Brussels on the 3rd day. We passed by Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom. The 4th, being at an anchor for the tide, off a town called Ziricgee, I found it to be a very neat but small place, well walled, with a river running through it; the people all Presbyterians. The 6th, after having lain on ground in the yacht eighteen hours, we past by Dort and Rotterdam in the night; and, at seven in the morning, arrived at Delf-Haven.

The Duke went presently to the Hague, in

the Prince's barge, drawn with horses; but I went to Rotterdam, which is two miles off, to see our old friend, Erasmus, whose image stands in copper, in the market, very busy, reading his book. This is a fine town, but not so clean, by reason of the great trade here. I saw some of their ships lying in a river that passes the town in several branches. I also went to see the great church, which is much like our churches, and as ill kept. While I was in the church they came in to bury a corpse, with their hats on, and laid him only four inches deep, without any prayers; as we bury dogs, not ladies' lap-dogs, who are interred with more ceremony. At night I returned to Delf-Haven and lay there.

7th. At eight this morning, went to the Hague, and arrived at eleven; where I first visited the Princes' court, called the New House, which, in my mind, is a very ordinary palace. Afterwards I went to the Duke's quarters, which are at the old house. It belongs to the Princess Dowager, when any.

The Hague is a fine Dutch town; but the people very rude and dull. This evening, as the Duke, Duchess, Prince, Princess, Lady Ann, and Duchess of Modena were at supper, Mr. Calton came with his express, and so, overgone, retired.

The 8th. Upon the news of the Duke's return, I went immediately towards Bruxelles with

Colonel Warden, and arrived there on the 10th at eleven o'clock in the morning, where I found all my family well. We design to return by way of Calais, and so pass through Ghent, Bruges, and Dunkirk, and so for England; where you shall be attended with a larger account by,

Sir, your ever devoted servant,

S. PEARSE.

My mother, and cousin Corbett, give their services to you and Mrs. Hewer.

PEPYS TO MRS. SKINNER.

MADAM,

Friday Night, Oct. 24, 1679.

THE principal errand of this is, to inquire after your health, with Sir Francis Butler's, and my Lady's, to whom pray tender my most faithful and humble services.

But, with all, it comes to give you this short account of my own affairs, which seems now to be as much too good as it was before the contrary. For, at my appearance yesterday in court, (being the first day of the term,) instead of obtaining a day for my trial, (the only favour I had to beg,) I found nobody to be heard of to prosecute me, my accuser being withdrawn, (or at least absconding,) and Mr. Harbord, my old prosecutor, not appearing. So, as all I could have, was to be continued in the state I am in till the end of

the term, in expectation of what my adversaries may offer towards prosecution within that time.

My friends, indeed, please themselves with an opinion of my being then discharged; and, by the course of the court, I am told I ought to be, in case my adversaries continue silent. But then, (which is an evil equal to any I have sustained,) my being discharged in that manner, without a trial, leaves me liable to the same vexation whenever the same malignity of my enemies shall meet with the like juncture of state circumstances, to prompt them to my mischief.

However, my stock of sufferance is still good, (I thank God,) and it would do wrong to my innocence if it were not. Therefore, look not upon me as one to be condoled, but only wish me some more grateful occasion for being in good humour than the incapacity of my enemies to put me into bad.

I am, Madam,
Your most humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

PEPYS TO THE DUKE OF YORK.

Jan. 6, 1679-80.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

I COULD not omit by the hand of the bearer, Mr. Milburne, the payment of my most humble

duty and thankfulness to your Royal Highness for the extraordinary office of friendship and justice which (from your Royal Highness's encouragement, and the regard he has been desirous of paying thereby to your Royal Highness,) Sir Anthony Deane and I have received from him, in the discovery of many practices of Scott, (our infamous adversary,) which have happened to fall within the personal knowledge of this gentleman during their abode together in New England: the benefit whereof we cannot yet receive; the artifices of Scott and his patron, Mr. Harbord, and his master's own mediation with Mr. Attorney-General, preventing us in all our endeavours for the bringing our affair to a public and strict trial. I will not, nevertheless, despair but that God Almighty will (soon or late) put an end to these hard proceedings, and me into a condition, once more, of performing my duty to his Majesty, and your Royal Highness.

In the mean time, owing again the particular effects of your Royal Highness's goodness to me, in the justice done me, for your sake, by the bearer, at a time wherein the giving evidence to the truth even in any civil matter, (as well as others,) that is not agreeable to the multitude, is become hazardous, and consequently not easily obtained, especially from persons of that credit

which I find him to have among merchants of good esteem upon the Exchange of London.

I do, in all humility, remain,

May it please your Royal Highness,
Your Royal Highness's most dutiful
and ever most obedient servant,

S. PEPYS.

PEPYS TO MR. POVEY.

SIR, Ash-Wednesday Night, February 25, 1679-80.

AN occasion offers, wherein you may exercise that kindness you have sometimes exchanged with me; and it is this.

You may, I doubt not, have heard that one James, who had been some time my servant, had been made use of as my accuser. He is now upon his sick-bed, and, as I am told, near the point of death; and has declared himself inclined to ease his conscience of something wherein I may be nearly concerned, with a particular willingness to open himself to you, whom he says he has known and observed during his serving the Duke of Buckingham and me.

You may please, therefore, in charity to me as well as to the dying man, to give him a visit to-morrow morning, when I shall appoint one to conduct you to his lodging. It may be you may hesitate herein, because of the friendship which I no less know you to have with Mr.

Harbord than you know him to have ill will against me, and of the effects of it, under which I still remain of being held obnoxious to others, to whom you bear great reverence.

But that makes me the rather to importune you to the taking this trouble, because your candour is such, that, with a fair and equal indifferency, you will hear and represent what that dying man shall relate to you, who, it is likely, will reveal at this hour nothing but truth. And it is to truth only, and the God thereof, I appeal, and which will, I hope, vindicate my reputation, and free me from the misunderstandings which I find many ingenuous and worthy persons have had of me, from their being seduced by the false testimonies which have been gained and improved to my disadvantage, even to the hazard of my life and estate, and no less to the disturbing of the government, than to the raising injurious reflections upon those public trusts in which I have (much to your knowledge) carried myself diligently, and (I am sure) faithfully.

In this I, the rather, take the liberty of opening myself, thus freely and amply, to you upon this occasion; because I would move you the more strongly, to take upon you this just and charitable office, so much importing others, as well as

Your most humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

MR. PEPYS TO THE REV. DR. LITTLETON.

SIR,

7 at Night, March 4, 1679-80.

HAVING no answer to a message I sent an hour or two ago, I fear it will be too much to keep you under any longer expectation, this night, of being called to that good office I bespoke of you this afternoon for the poor sick man, for whose soul's health I am truly concerned, however he has been misled, to the occasioning me much evil.

I shall, therefore, attend you again, as the poor man's condition, and my knowledge of it, shall direct; and in the mean time give you my most pious thanks on his behalf, I presuming I may offer you a second trouble some time to-morrow, and remaining

Your most faithful humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

PEPYS TO MONSIEUR MORELLI.

MONSIEUR MORELLI, York Buildings, March 27, 1680.

I KNOW you have long expected to hear from me, and I have indeed as long proposed to write; but the truth is, I have had from day to day some fresh occasions come in my way that have interrupted all thoughts of pleasure, though the last business that has taken up my time has not been unwelcome, it having pleased God to lay

affliction by sickness on my man James, thereby to bring him to consideration and confession of the wrongs he has been tempted to do towards me and you, which he has largely, solemnly, and publicly done, on receiving the holy Sacrament; not without making discoveries of practices used against me, in seducing him to doing me those wrongs, as to my grief will, I believe, charge some eminent pretending Protestants with dealings as unbecoming Christians, as the worst of those with which we generally reproach Papists.

But of that, I shall leave to say more, where and when it shall be more proper. In the mean time, bless God, as I know you will, for so much of my vindication thus miraculously effected; and he will, in his own time, certainly do me right in the remainder.

And now, as to music, (for taking pleasure in which, I hope, in a little time to find myself better composed,) you may depend to receive on Tuesday next the things you wait for, I having had them long in readiness, but with a mind so much embarrassed otherwise, that I could not apply it to think of anything of pleasure. But I hope that you in the mean time have been so employing yourself, as that you have nothing left to do but transcribing your papers.

What I have at present to add is, telling you, that I intend to set forth towards Newmarket on Monday next, with a purpose to visit you for

one piece of a day in coming back, which I presume may be this day seven-night. But let not this occasion any trouble to Mrs. Slater, because my coming is very uncertain, and I do not expect to stay a night if I come. However, pray present my most humble services to Mr. Slater and her, and the young lady, and my very hearty thanks for their kind present of cyder, which proves extremely fine.

Remaining

Your truly affectionate friend,

S. PEPYS.

James died this day seven-night.

PEPYS TO HIS FATHER, MR. PEPYS OF
BRAMPTON.*

SIR,

York Buildings, March 27, 1680.

IT is long since I have expressed my duty to you, and truly one day has followed another with some new occasion of care, so that, though I have been in a great measure restored to the liberty of my person, my mind has continued in thralldom, till now that it has pleased God, in a miraculous manner, to begin the work of my vindication by laying his hand on James my butler, by a sickness, (whereof he is some days since dead,) which led him to consider and repent of the wrongs he

* "Who died in autumn, this year."—J. S.

had done me in accusing me in Parliament, which he has solemnly and publicly confessed on the holy Sacrament, justifying me and my family to all the world in that part of my accusation which relates to religion ; and I question not but God Almighty will be no less just in what concerns the rest of my charge, which he knows to be no less false than this. In the mean time, his holy name be praised for what he has done in this particular.

What I have to add is, the letting you know that I am commanded to attend the King the next week at Newmarket, and, by the grace of God, will go, and wait on you one day, in my going or return, which I presume will be either Tuesday or Saturday next. Designing to set forth hence on Monday, I shall rather choose to call upon you in my going, which will be on Tuesday, for fear lest I should be commanded to accompany the Court to London, where the King designs to be this day seven-night.

In the mean time, trusting in God to find you in good health, and with my most humble duty presented to yourself, and my kind love to my brother and sister, and their family, I remain,

Sir,

Your ever obedient Son,

S. PEPYS.

DR. JOHN TURNER TO PEPYS.

Einesbury, May 20, 1680.

I GIVE you many thanks for great kindness to me at London. I have been at Brampton. The old gentleman and the rest of the family have good health; and fewer complaints were made than I have been accustomed to hear from them. I heartily wish you also may have less trouble in that kind. Your father thanks you for the care of his watch.

Sir, you may now justly expect from me the promised account of Sixtus Quintus's Bible, in which I have travailed; but, instead of answering your expectation, I am necessitated to request a troublesome favour of you, which is, that you will please to let some of your servants pack up that Bible in a box or case, and send it to Mr. Joseph Carne, at the Rose in St. Laurence Lane, to be sent to me. He is my son-in-law, and will be very careful of my concerns.

Sir, I beseech you, deny not this earnest request, and I promise the book shall, in a little time, be sent back, and with it you shall have an account whether this be truly the Bible of Sixtus Quintus, or of Clemens Octavus; what makes that of Sixtus Quintus of so great value,

and what advantage we make by it against the Romanists.*

Sir, you may easily think that I make not this request for my own sake, or to show any skill that I have to make such judgment; but I am desired to do it by a person for whom I have great reverence, and, foreseeing no inconvenience can ensue, I have spoken confidently, and I once more humbly beseech you to grant this request.

Sir, I hope in God to wait on you at London

* "At the revival of letters," says the late Mr. Charles Butler, in his *Horæ Biblicæ*, "several persons of learning exerted themselves to procure a good edition of the Latin Vulgate. The chief editions are those of Robert Stephens, in 1540, 1545, and 1546; that of Hentenius, in 1547, [1574?] and that of the Louvain divines, in 1573, chiefly conducted by Lucas Brugensis.

"It was afterwards revised and promulgated by papal authority. The Council of Trent took the state of the versions into consideration. It declared that the Bible should be printed as correctly and as expeditiously as possible, principally according to the ancient and Vulgate edition. In consequence of this it was published by *Sixtus Quintus*, in 1590. He himself watched over the work with admirable attention and zeal. He perused every sheet, both before it was committed to the press, and after it was printed off.

"But his edition scarcely made its appearance before it was discovered to abound with errors. The copies, therefore, were called in, and a new edition was printed by *Clement VIII.* his immediate successor, in 1592; and afterwards, with some variations, in 1593. The difference between the two papal editions is considerable. Dr. James, in his celebrated "*Bellum Papale*," reckons 2000 instances. Father Henry de Bukentop, a Recollet, made a similar collection. Lucas Brugensis has

next October, and give you a particular account of all circumstances about this matter. I pray God grant you health and peace.

Sir,

Your most affectionate
and humble servant,

JOHN TURNER.

reckoned 4000 places in which, in his opinion, the Bible of Clement VIII. may be thought to want correction.

“ Not only Roman Catholics, but separatists from the Church of Rome, agree in its praise. Dr. Mill, whose whole life was spent in the study of the manuscripts and printed editions of the original, and the translations from it, professes the greatest esteem for it, and, in his choice of readings, defers considerably to it. Grotius speaks of it highly. Walton and Bengel praise it much.

“ Some Roman Catholic and even Protestant writers of eminence have contended, that, considering the present state of the Greek text, the Vulgate expresses more of the true reading of the originals, or autographs of the sacred penmen, than any Greek edition that has yet appeared, or can now be framed. There is no reason to suppose that any of the *autographs* existed in the third century.”

The following article in the Catalogue of De Boze (No. 25.) will explain a passage in the foregoing extract.

“ Thomæ James Bellum Papale, sive Concordia discors Sixti V. et Clementis VIII. circa Hieronymianam editionem; cum utriusque editionis Vulgatæ illorum Pontificum, et postremæ Lovaniensium comparatione.—*Lond. Barker*, 1600.

“ Histoire manuscrite de la Bible de Sixte V. avec des remarques de Prosper Marchand ancien Libraire de Paris réfugié en Hollande, pour connoître la véritable édition de 1590, in 4to.”

MR. TIM. TURNER TO PEPYS.

SIR,

Oxford, June 20, 1680.

YOUR last great and noble addition to those numberless favours that I have undeservedly received from your bountiful hand, has involved me in an immensity of obligations.

How narrowly, honoured Sir, have I very lately escaped from the confines of the grave. Some about me were ready to reckon me amongst the dead. Indeed, I thought myself that I should never have been capable of giving any friend and great benefactor that I have, (such as your good self,) my poor returns of gratitude, in naked thanks again. But (God be praised!) a very vehement fever is quite dispossessed.

Yesterday was the first of my leaving my chamber, and (such is the efficacy of your medicinal goodness) my going out was occasioned by your good self, though at so great distance; for I went to wait upon Dr. Clarke with that good letter you procured me.

Sir, you sufficiently know my inability to return *par pari*; but all your great favours, if it be possible for my grateful memory to contain such a great number, shall, in what condition so ever I be, while I breathe, be humbly and thankfully confessed, acknowledged, nay, proclaimed, by,

Sir, your most obedient servant,

TIM. TURNER.

PEPYS TO MRS. SKINNER.

MADAM,

July 1, 1680.

I WOULD not omit giving you the knowledge of my having at last obtained what with as much reason I might have expected a year ago, my full discharge from the bondage I have, from one villain's practice, so long lain under.

However, as the world goes, justice ought to be welcome at any time; and so I receive it, with thanks to God Almighty, who might have respited his goodness till (as from all appearances I feared) justice might have been yet less easy to come by.

In which contemplation I cannot but own God's express indulgence, in my deliverance, late as it is; ascribing it not to my own innocence alone, but also to the good wishes of my friends, and, in particular, to those of your family and your own; which shall be ever answered with the best of mine, who am,

Madam,

Your most faithful and humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

PEPYS TO MR. HOWE.*

SIR,

London, July 8, 1680.

'Tis long I have been in arrears to you for your kind remembrances from the place [Barbadoes] where you now are.

The truth is, I am but just got clear from an incumbrance whereto public envy had exposed me, and which has (for a great while past) almost suppressed the remembrance of my friends, through the daily clamours of my enemies, whose designs being levelled at the King my master, they thought no surer aim could be taken at him than through his servants, who stood nearest to him; among whom, their malice having done me the honour of reckoning me one, they deemed me worthy to be first removed, though at the price of perjury.

But God Almighty (after my being committed to the Tower, and lying more than a year under thirty thousand pounds' bail,) has been pleased to deliver me, and I am now restored to myself, with liberty of recollecting my obligations to my friends, and in particular to you, as well as my old friendship for you, which, because I would never have die, I take the opportunity of this

* W. Howe is frequently named by Pepys in his Diary. He appears to have been employed in the family of Lord Sandwich.

young gentleman the bearer, son of a very honest and good friend of mine, a merchant of this city, to give you and your lady (my daughter*) my humble services and blessings, to be divided, not between you two only, but also among the lower members of your family; ere this (I hope) an ample number. I shall be glad (as you have opportunity) to be made certain of it, and of the continuance of your healths and good fortune; to which, as none can be a better willer, so none shall be more ready to express, by anything within the power of,

Your truly affectionate

and humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

To Mr. W. Howe, at Barbadoes.

This young man, Mr. Skinner, comes to look after some occasions of his father's, in your island; in which, if by your advice you may be in anywise needful to him, you will very much oblige me.

PEPYS TO DR. LITTLETON.†

SIR,

July 21, 1680.

I HAVE discharged my duty towards you to the Duke [of Monmouth], and found him entirely pre-disposed in your favour. He promised to speak

* To whom, probably, Pepys had been godfather.

† About the living at St. Martin's.—*MS.*

without delay to the King, and has since done it, and got his Majesty's promise to do the like to my Lord Chancellor: which, whether he has done or no, I know not how presently to come to the knowledge of, his Majesty and the Court being returned this afternoon to Windsor.

But, because I think it might be of some use to you, that I confer once more with you on the matter, and doubting much my being able to wait on you to-morrow morning, (which otherwise I should most readily,) I should be glad it might stand with your ease to let me see you here, where I shall be to be found till ten in the morning, and longer if I can, in hopes of your showing me how I may yet further express the zeal I have of being, in some degree of usefulness,

Your most affectionate and
most faithful humble servant,
S. PEPYS.

MRS. URSULA PEPYS * TO PEPYS.

SIR,

July 23, 1680.

I THOUGHT myself happy to receive the favour of a letter from you by the hands of my nephew

* From whom there is another letter, dated "Sept. 13, 1683." She was "daughter of Bryan Stapylton, Esq.; and married Thomas Pepys, Esq. of Merton Abbey, Surrey, Master of the Jewel Office to Charles II."—*Pepys's Correspondence*.

Alcoke, and do return my humble thanks for your kindness. I should think myself much more so, if you would give me leave to wait on you at my own house, which is what I have long desired. Do not doubt, good Sir, but that I shall have recourse to you on all occasions; for I am apt to trouble my friends, as you well know by experience.

As I did heartily condole the misfortune you lay under, so I do as sincerely congratulate your being cleared from those false aspersions. Truth always prevails. It may be clouded and depressed for a time; but, in the end, is ever conqueror.

My nephew Alcoke hath a fancy to one of my sister Hatton's daughters. She hath bred them all prettily, very sober and housewifely. He hath but little to live on; neither has she much to add to it. Four hundred pounds paid

This relation of Pepys appears to great advantage. Thus: "1666, May 1. My cousin, Thomas Pepys, did come to me to consult about his being a justice of the peace, which he is much against; and tells me, as a confidant, that he is not free to exercise punishment against Quakers, and other people, for religion. Nor do he understand Latin; and so is not capable of the place, (as formerly,) now all warrants do run in Latin." Again, "1668. Met my cousin Thomas Pepys, and took some turns with him. He is mightily troubled for this Act now passed against Conventicles, and, in few words and sober, do lament the condition we are in, by a negligent Prince and a mad Parliament." This "Cousin Pepys was Marshal to my Lord Coke when he was Lord Chief Justice."—*Diary*.

down is all she will have, and that she will have presently. I have encouraged him in it; because, if he be a good husband, as I hope he is, with God's blessing they may live comfortably, though not finely. I hope, by his own industry and your favour, he may by degrees increase it.

Baron Weston* did me the favour to take Tom Pepys as his clerk. I hope he will do well in that way; for he is very observant of him. My mind was a little perplexed till I got him thither, for I did not love to see him live at home in a soft, idle life; for a young man, that is neither a credit nor profit. He is gone the circuit with his master.

Moll † and myself are well, at your service. Which to be, I have great reason to study, for many favours and obligations you have laid upon,

Sir,

Your most humble

and very obedient servant,

URSULA PEPYS.

* "1680, Nov. 24. The Commons voted an impeachment against the Lord Chief Justice North, Sir William Jones, a Judge of the King's Bench, and Sir Richard Weston, a Baron of the Exchequer, for drawing up the proclamation against petitioning for a Parliament."—*Chron. Hist.* i. 219.

† Her "only child, Olivia."

DR. GALE * TO PEPYS.

DEAR SIR,

Tuesday, August 5, 1680.

SINCE I last kissed your hand, I am told by one of the Bishop of London's chaplains that

* Thomas Gale was Head Master of St. Paul's School from 1672 to 1697, when he became Dean of York. According to Dr. Knight, he had been "admitted into Trinity College, Cambridge, became Fellow, and Regius Professor of Greek in the University." He died in 1702, aged 66.

Huet, Bishop of Auranches, (whose autobiography Dr. Aikin familiarised to the English reader,) having mentioned "Edward Bernard, an Englishman, whom few equalled in erudition, and in modesty scarcely any," adds,

"I, however, except Thomas Gale, another Englishman, whom, for the endowments both of learning and modesty, I prefer, not only to Bernard, but to all the men whom I have ever known. Though personally a stranger to him, he challenged my affection by every office of kindness and urbanity; and such were the benefits which he conferred upon me, that I should be basely ungrateful, were I to suffer any length of time to obliterate him from my memory." Again, in his *Huetiana*, the learned Bishop says: "M. Gale has an astonishing depth of erudition in all polite literature; but his modesty is so great, that he seems to conceal his learning. He scarcely allows the initial letters of his name to be prefixed to so many excellent works which continually proceed from his hands. I know no man more ready to do good offices, or less disposed to take merit from them.

"I have, sometimes, had occasion to procure copies or collations of English manuscripts. Soon as he was acquainted with my wants by means of a common friend, he laid aside all his occupations to gratify me; and I received what I wished without knowing from whom the favour came."

his Lord* is gone into Northamptonshire, and will not return till the end of next week. This occasions me to request your more early application to his Royal Highness [the Duke of York,] that he would address to the King before our competitor appears; and that, if you think fit so to hint to him, he would speak to my Lord's Grace of Canterbury† concerning me. Whether a note put into the Duke's hand may be needful, you will please to consider.

Sir, I am,

Your most affectionate and humble servant,

THO. GALE.

* Henry Compton, translated from Oxford in 1675. He died in 1713.

† William Sancroft, of whose promotion the following is probably the earliest record.

"1677, Dec. 29. *Congès d'elire* went to Canterbury to elect Dr. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, set up by the Duke of York against London [Compton], and York put on by the Papists. York doth not care for London, because he showed himself an enemy to the Papists at the Council Board."

Sancroft "was Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, when advanced, not expecting any such thing, to the archiepiscopal see. He made a very weighty exhortation to the King upon his death-bed, in which he is said to have used a good deal of freedom. He refused to sign a declaration of abhorrence of the Prince of Orange's invasion;" yet, "after William and Mary were settled on the throne, he refused to own the established government, from regard to the allegiance sworn to King James." He was consequently "suspended, 1689; and deprived, 1690." After a short interval of retirement, on a very scanty income, he died 1693, aged 77

DR. GALE TO PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

Aug. 5, 1680.

I HAVE endeavoured to gain the knowledge of the Archbishop's going to Windsor. I cannot learn any certainty. One of his gentlemen tells me that he hath not been there of a long time; nor doth he hear that he intendeth to go. I know not what to advise, only I wish that his Majesty be not prepossessed by our competitor. If your own occasions invite you to Windsor, and opportunity also favour, a word cast out, so that his Majesty may take notice, will secure the King from a surprise. Otherwise, I think we may contentedly wait his Majesty's coming to town.

Last night Dr. Layfeild* died. I suppose Dr. Holder † will succeed him in his prebend residentiary at St. Paul's. The next has been promised to,

Sir,

Your most obliged and humble servant,

THO. GALE.

* Who, besides his prebend, was Vicar of Allhallows and Archdeacon of Essex, preferments which he had recovered at the Restoration. According to Wood, he had been a great sufferer in the cause of royalty. "For his loyalty, and being favoured by Laud," he had been pursued, imprisoned in Ely House and in the ships, sequestered, plundered, and afterwards forced to fly."—*Athen. Oxon.*

† "William Holder, of Cambridge," thus described by Wood, in his *Fasti*, "March 12, 1660-61." Also as "a great

MR. JOSEPH MARYON TO PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

Aug. 14, 1680.

MODESTY yesterday restrained me from making my request to you to write a few lines to Dr.

virtuoso, and hath obtained a great name for making a young gentleman (son of Col. Popham), who was born deaf and dumb, to speak. This great cure (the first in England, or perhaps in the world,) was performed in his house at Blechindon, An. 1659. Many curious persons went from *Oxon* to see and to hear the person speak; but he being called home by his friends, began to lose what he had been taught.

“How soon, and by what methods he did it, he tells in an Appendix to his most rare and ingenious discourse of ‘The Elements of Speech, an Essay of Inquiry into the natural production of Letters. *Lond.* 1669.’” 8vo.

Dr. Wallis engaged in the same benevolent attempt to alleviate a great affliction. This appears from his two letters now before me, as published 1706. One letter is addressed to Mr. Thomas Beverley, concerning his method; the other to Robert Boyle, “together with the success made apparent to his Majesty, the Royal Society, and the University of Oxford.”

Locke, as might have been expected, took a lively interest in this subject. In one of his Latin letters to Limborch, he says, as I have, I trust, faithfully translated him:

“Oates, June 18, 1691.—Your history, respecting the instruction of the deaf to speak, is confirmed by two examples among us. Two youths, both deaf, have attained the use of speech; one under the care of Dr. Wallis, the other of Dr. Holder. One of these youths I knew, and heard him pronounce words sufficiently distinct and articulate; I know not what became of the other; but the one I knew is still living, and skilled in reading and writing. Indeed, since I first heard

Peachell * on my account, and to solicit him to move our Master in my concern.

There is a probationer's place void in our college, and I have but one competitor, who is three years my junior. In all elections, hitherto, a month's seniority has been a great qualification; but I was not so fortunate as to be admitted the Master's pupil, which, I think, is the greatest crime; though our Master is pleased to allege against me my hopes of an estate, which are mere hopes indeed, and such never yet deprived men of such preferments. Besides, I can prove men in better circumstances to have been elected since my admittance; and my competitor has one annuity of forty pounds per annum, and my

him speak, which is more than twenty years ago, he married and has children: he is of a noble family. I saw him not long ago."

Granger mentions an earlier writer, "Dr. Bulwer, author of 'Instructions to the Deaf and Dumb,' intended, as he expresses it, to bring those who are so born to hear the sound of words with their eyes, and thence to learn to speak with their tongues."

* A fellow-collegian of Pepys, who has thrice mentioned him. Thus, "1661, Aug. 3.—At Cambridge, Mr. Peachell, Sanchy, and others, tell me how high the old doctors are in the University over those they found there, though a great deal better scholars than themselves; for which I am very sorry."—*Diary*. "The old doctors" were probably those deprived during the Commonwealth and the Protectorates, and re-admitted at the Restoration. "Those they found there" were, no doubt, those who had been admitted during the interregnum.

Again, "1667, May 3.—Took a turn with my old acquaint-

allowance is but three-score, which depends on the pleasure of a changeable father. I beg, now, the favour of you to judge how frivolous this pretence is. I have sufficiently urged this to the Master already, but self-interest and design make him deaf and blind; though I hope he will come to his senses when a man of your reputation undertakes anything in my behalf.

Sir, I humbly beg of you to desire him (for they are such intimate friends) to be earnest in my behalf; else, they will only drink our healths, and contribute nothing to my assistance. Sir, I think it would be no ill policy to pretend that I have friends who could make a great interest in court, if I did importune them to make use of it; but this argument I leave to your prudence.

I would entreat him, too, to make the same interest with Dr. Jackson, who always sides with

ance Mr. Peachell, whose red nose makes me ashamed to be seen with him, though otherwise a good-natured man." Pepys, on a visit to Cambridge in 1668, says, "I find very few, only Hollins and Peachell, that were of my time." The following further notices of Pepys's correspondent have been supplied by Lord Braybrooke.

"John Peachell, *J. T. P.* Vicar of Stanwich, and Prebendary of Carlisle, made Master of Magdalen College, 1679; suspended 1687; restored 1688; and died 1690. Lord Dartmouth, in a MS. note to Burnet's History, mentions that Dr. Peachell starved himself to death. Archbishop Sancroft having rebuked him for setting an ill example in the University by drunkenness and other loose conduct, he did penance by four days' abstinence; after which he would have eaten, but could not." — *Pepys's Correspondence.*

our Master. By this great favour you will eternally engage,

Sir,

Your most obliged, thankful servant,

J. MARYON.

PEPYS TO DR. PEACHELL.

SIR,

York Buildings, Aug. 14, 1680.

You may very well censure my manners, for adventuring to solicit you for new favours before I have given you my acknowledgments for your last, when I had the honour to wait on you at Cambridge; a duty I had sooner done, had it not been for the expectation I have had of an opportunity of doing it yet sooner, upon the place, by an errand which (I thought) would have brought me again into your neighbourhood, and may yet, about Sturbridge-tide,* when I will not fail to kiss your hand.

Give me leave, therefore, in the mean time to tell you that I have a kinsman, Mr. Maryon, of Clare Hall, to whom I am bound to wish well, and to contribute all I can towards his being so. And, in pursuance of that, am to tell you that

* The time of the "great annual fair which continues a fortnight." The village is "two miles N.E. of Cambridge, on the road to Newmarket."

there is a probationer's place now void in that college, to which I am told he has a pretence equal to any man's, and in which there appears but one competitor with him, and he a person by some years his junior. The only impediment I understand him to have to contend with, is the disfavour of the Master of that college, grounded upon a mistaken opinion he has been led to, of the estate which this friend of mine stands in hopes of, so as to render this addition to his present support less necessary to him. In which particular, chiefly, it is, that I take myself qualified to interpose myself on this occasion in his favour, from the knowledge I have; and desire you from me to believe, and represent to the Master (and, if you please, to Dr. Jackson), the uncertainty of the terms he can flatter himself with of any future advantages, or continuance of the present, from his father, upon considerations not so needful to be here particularized.

Pray, therefore, let me have the favour from you (whose friendship and interest in these gentlemen are, I am well assured, very potent), to rectify this miscalculation of theirs in reference to my kinsman, whom I find wholly averse to the making use of any court applications, which his friends would otherwise readily make in his favour.

In which I shall most faithfully and respectfully

own your kindness, and pay it in all opportunities of service you shall give me, as becomes

Your most humble

and most affectionate servant,

S. PEPYS.

(Rawlinson, A. 194.)

DR. PEACHELL TO PEPYS.

Magdalen College, Cambridge, August 19, 1680.

HONOURED SIR,

I RECEIVED yours of the 15th instant on the 16th, and made all the haste I could to serve and satisfy you. It being neither very proper nor common for members of one college to solicit or meddle with the elections of another, I went as fairly and safely to work as I could. I first inquired at the college who was Mr. Maryon's best friend at the same, and was told of one Mr. Hollis,* whom I presently sent for, informed myself of all circumstances, and took the best measures I could with him.

Understanding by him that Sir Thomas Exton, Master of Trinity Hall,† and Dr. Coga, Master of Pembroke, (who are both much greater than I,) were written to upon the same account, I took their

* Probably one of the King's chaplains, who had dined with Pepys in his cabin, 1660, May 24.—*Pepys's Diary*.

† Dean of the Arches, and Judge of the Admiralty Court.—*Pepys's Diary*.

direction and assistance along with me too; but, for aught I can discern, all to no purpose, for they'll not be beat off the father's estate, better worth (they say) than all their college's; alleging, moreover, his promise at election to his fellowship, *viz.* that, if he might be credited with that, he would never desire the profit of another; which objections they alleged to me, and, I perceive, to others, I am persuaded, *in speciem*, and that some other thought or regret is uppermost, which they would not tell me of.

I have a fair, easy acquaintance with the gentlemen you spake of, but nothing at all of potent interest, as you called it. Sir Thomas Selater, Sir Thomas Exton, and Dr. Coga aforementioned, have that, if any, in the university; the Bishops of Ely and Salisbury out of it. I perceive there will be two more probationers' places void shortly, and for the same reasons they will always oppose.

Thus, sir, I have truly and respectively told you what I did do, what I can do, what others probably may do, and what the college probably, of themselves, from time to time will do; which, I pray, keep only to yourself, for your own satisfaction and for your friend's advantage.

Thus much by this post. I reserve some other matter for another; and am sorry, at the present, I am so much, Sir,

Your unprofitable yet faithful servant,

I. PEACHELL.

DR. GALE TO PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

August 20, 1680.

LAST night, late, I received a sad account concerning my poor wife, in that she, by the violent motion of the coach, fell ill and miscarried, ten miles short from Cambridge; that she had been in very great danger, but was yesterday somewhat better. I am now hastening to her, and must beg your excuse for my not waiting on you, which otherwise I had done this morning. The general account is now, that Dr. North* is not worse than of some time past he hath been. I hope that solicitations will cease. The Archbishop continueth still very obliging.

Sir, I kiss your hand as your most obliged servant,

THO. GALE.

* Dr. John North (younger son of Dudley Lord North), Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, D.D. Clerk of the Closet and Prebendary of Westminster. "He hath published," says Wood, "one sermon, and made a strict review of Plato's select dialogues *de rebus divinis* in Greek and Latin, purged many superfluous and cabalistical things thence,—about the fourth part of them. He died at Cambridge, 1683, being then esteemed a good Grecian."—*Athen. Oxon.*

DR. PEACHELL TO PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

August 24, 1680.

I AM a little troubled that a person to whom I and the college are so much obliged should desire a service of me which I was improper, or at least unable, to fulfil. Mr. Hollis, of Clare Hall, will bear me witness I took the best measures, used the best method and motives, and engaged the most proper friends too about this business, that he and I could contrive or devise. I am sorry for Mr. Maryon's cause. I perceive all his acquaintance are concerned for him.

I hope to wait on you, either at London or Cambridge, in a short time, and further prove myself,

Sir,

Your obliged and faithful servant,

J. PEACHELL.

I perceive they have resolved their election next Friday, if they anticipate not, out of suspicion.

(Rawlinson, A. 191.)

DR. JOHN TURNER TO PEPYS.

SIR,

Einesbury, August 26, 1680.

I HAVE returned the Bible with most humble thanks, and hope you will receive it safe. The person for whom I borrowed it saith that it is

not the Bible of Sixtus Quintus, but of Clemens Octavus, with the title of Sixtus. This he knoweth very well, having the originals of both by him.

When Clemens had printed his translation, a little more than two years after that of Sixtus, the Protestants, showing some contradictions, and above 2000 varieties, in these two impressions, proclaim to all the world that one of these two popes must needs be a fallible interpreter of the Scripture. The Church of Rome, sensible of this, endeavour whatever she can to call in all the impressions of Sixtus, and in several places cause that of Clemens to be printed under his name. This makes the true translation of Sixtus Quintus, which is very rare, to be of so great price. I will add much more that hath been said to me on this subject when I next wait on you, which I hope to do next November.

I have received the letter of August 14, and have been at Brampton.*

Sir,—I shall be most ready upon all occasions to afford them what assistance or advice I am able; being most thankfully sensible of your kindness and favours to me, Sir,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

JOHN TURNER.

* Here follow in the MS. several pages of no public interest, respecting the pecuniary concerns of Pepys's family.

PEPYS TO DR. PEACHELL.

SIR,

London, August 28, 1680.

I AM very sorry my absence from town has so long prevented my answering your first, and thereby (I fear) begat you the trouble of your second, which I found at my return.

I beg you to believe that you had obtained all I asked; and, had my asking been of ten times the moment that it was, I could not have esteemed myself more bound to you than I do for the instance you have given me of your favour on this occasion, however the event fails of answering your kind endeavours and my wishes.

I must confess I cannot presently comprehend the measures of the practice of Clare Hall, as being very different from that of other societies within my knowledge, where, in cases of competition between persons otherwise equally worthy, and of exhibitions insufficient alone to make up a full maintenance, preference is usually, for their own honour's sake, given to those who have something of their own to render their bounties sufficient withal, than to such as, for want thereof, must be still driven to look abroad for completing their support. But my part is not to argue this matter, but to pay you my faithfulest thanks (which I do) for the part you have been pleased so kindly to perform on behalf of my friend Mr. Maryon,

who I doubt not will, as he has opportunity, join with me in them, as becomes both him and,

Honoured sir,

Your most obliged and obedient servant,

S. PEPYS.

PEPYS TO DR. TURNER.

SIR,

London, September 3, 1680.

I AM newly returned from a small journey to Essex, and find both your letters, of the 26th and 30th ultimo; of which, though the latter puts some stop to my present consideration of the former, yet I cannot nor ought to forbear the returning you my most faithful thanks for your extraordinary friendship, expressed upon the occasion of its contents, which I must confess carry matters in it of very little satisfaction to me, unless it be that it would have been yet less satisfactory to have had my knowledge of it longer delayed.

Since it has pleased God to have put this sickness upon my brother Jackson, I shall respite the offering you any new trouble on that subject till the event of that sickness appears; and at present only add my further thanks to you for the safe return of my Bible, wishing only that it had better answered your trouble of perusing it. Not but that, though its title at the beginning deceive us, the table at the end does make good that greater fallibility of the popes, which we Protestants please

ourselves with, from those different translations of Scripture exposed by Sixtus and Clemens, with the additional cheat of putting the title-page of one pope to the text of the other.

So, respectfully kissing your hands, I remain
Your obliged and most humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

(Rawlinson, 194.)

PEPYS TO MR. SHERES,* AT TANGIER.

DEAR SIR,

London, September 20, 1680.

THE ladies in Lincoln's Inn Fields are well, and so must you be if their prayers can make you so, your late present furnishing them with a particular grace for you every meal.

For my picture, when I am sure you can keep it, you shall have it. Till then, I will secure it for you here; as being apprehensive of falling into the Moors' hand, even *in effigie*.

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful
and affectionate humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

PEPYS TO MR. JAMES HOUBLON.

SIR,

Newmarket, October 2, 1680.

MISRECKONING of time, in matters relating to my own interest, is no new error in me, and therefore the less wonderful that I am still here, attending upon an affair which I hoped to have gotten done in three days, namely, the getting something settled towards my satisfaction upon the arrear due to me for my almost twenty years' service; the sum being too considerable, and the present juncture for my soliciting it, of too much importance to be lost, considering what is approaching.* What will be my success in it, I do not yet certainly foresee; but hope two days more will tell it me, and send me homewards, with a halt of one day only in Huntingdonshire, where I have not yet been.

In the mean time I would not omit telling you where I am (as being everywhere yours), and giving you, your lady and family, my most humble services, who, I hope, are now drawing homewards too. I beg you also to kiss Monsieur Trenchepaine's hand on my behalf, giving him the account of my being not yet returned to wait on him, as I hoped I should, and shall shortly.

Our ministers are here; but not a word of business, nor (one would think) so much as a thought of any, there seeming nothing now in motion but

* Designing, probably, the disputes respecting the Duke of York's succession, which produced the Bill of Exclusion.

dogs, hawks, and horses ; so that all matters look as if they were left to God Almighty to look after, and much more happy it might have been for us all had they been long ago so. And to His protection leaving you and yours, I am your most affectionate and most obliged humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

MR. HEWER * TO PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

October 28, 1680.

ACCORDING to what I promised you by Tuesday's post, I did this day, by the carrier, send you Mr. L'Estrange's† case, put in print, which will, at your leisure, be very well worth the reading. With it, I likewise sent you the votes of the House‡ for yesterday ; and, enclosed, you will re-

* In 1685 Mr. Hewer became M.P. for Great Yarmouth.

† After the dissolution of Parliament, 1679, he set up " The Observator, to vindicate the measures of the court, and the character of the King from the charge of being popishly affected. In 1681 he exerted himself in ridiculing the popish plot with such vehemence, that it raised him many enemies. He died 1704, nearly eighty-eight, having survived his intellectuals."

The following passage will show how unfavourably this Jacobite politician had been regarded by one part of the public.

" 1679, Nov. 17.—This being Queen Elizabeth's birth-day, the effigies of the Pope, the devil, Sir George Jefferies, Mr. L'Estrange, &c. were carried in procession, and burnt at Temple Bar by the Whig mob."—*Chron. Hist.*

‡ " Oct. 27. Resolved (*nem. con.*), That it is and ever hath been the undoubted right of the subjects of England to petition the

ceive a copy of what past this day,* which is all the news discoursed of, besides the confirmation of the account given about the success we had against the Moors at Tangier, in regaining Pole Fort and other places which the enemy were fortifying.† There were very fine speeches made this

King for the calling and sitting of parliaments and redressing of grievances.

“That, to traduce such petitioning as a violation of duty, and to represent it to his majesty as tumultuous and seditious, is to betray the liberty of the subject, and contributes to the design of subverting the ancient legal constitution of this kingdom, and introducing arbitrary power.

“That an address be made to his majesty, declaring the resolution of this House to preserve and support the King’s person and government, and the Protestant religion at home and abroad.”—See “Grey’s Debates.”

* On “Bedlow’s Testimony” at Bristol respecting the supposed popish plot, and “Sir Robert Cann’s” expulsion and imprisonment for denying it, &c. see Grey’s Debates. William Bedlow died at Bristol, and in his dying words averred to the Lord Chief Justice North the truth of the popish plot, and that the Queen and the Duke of York were concerned in it, except as to the design against the King’s life.”—Chron. Hist.

† The occurrences at Tangier appears to have occasioned the following publications :

“The present danger of Tangier, or an account of its being attempted by a great army of the Moors by land, and under some apprehensions of the French at sea. In a letter from Cadiz, dated the 29th of July (O. S.) 1679, to a friend in England.”

The writer says of Tangier,—“Many thousand Moors lye against it; some say 150,000: others more.” He adds,—“The Moors have (as confidently related) been assisted from some English with 1500 barrels of powder, landed at Algiers.” Hence he not unreasonably concludes that “there are men in the world

day in the House by Sir H. Capel, Mr. Harbord, and Mr. Bennett;* the first setting forth how all public offices of trust, especially in the navy, were filled with Papists. The other gentlemen seconded

that would sell their king, their country, their religion, their souls and all, to pope or Turk, or any other chapman, for money."

"An exact Journal of the Siege of Tangier from March 25, 1680, to the late truce, May 19; in three letters, by three eye-witnesses of the whole transaction: 1680."

"A Particular Relation of the late successes of his Majesty's forces against the Moors. Published by authority: Tangier, Sept. 23, 1680. In the Savoy, printed 1680."

The "cessation" had now "expired." The governor was "Lord Mordaunt, and Mr. Sheres, Surveyor-general."

"A true Relation of a great and bloody fight between the English and the Moors before Tangiers, and of the bravery and heroic exploits done by the English." Fol. No date.

* Grey has not named Capel or Bennett. To Harbord, M.P. for Thetford, he has attributed the following:

"Ever since King James's time popery has been increased when the parliament has been dissolved, and suppressed whilst they have been sitting. Formerly, since the statutes against popery, due returns were made into the Exchequer of convictions of papists, and the Crown has been the better for it; but it is not so now. But it is fit that those who give terror to the government should bear the more charge towards it.

"But that you may proceed with more reputation, I would not go by this way of narrative at the bar. Therefore I move (though there be a sort of men who would cut people's throats, and ruin our religion,) that you will appoint a committee to receive informations. If you try the lords in the Tower, you cannot take evidence here. I move not for a secret committee—they are like machinations of statesmen. I would appoint twelve gentlemen, and command them to attend that service."—*Debates*, 1763.

him ; but after a little insisting upon that and the present danger of the plot, he did move that the House would presently fall upon the preparing themselves to bring the lords to a trial,* and setting a time within which all informations relating to the plot should be brought in, that so they may put an end to the plot, and get his Majesty's gracious and general pardon ; which being not well relished by the House, the debate ceased, and Mr. Bennett found them new work to discourse of, which was more pleasing and agreeable to them. This is what is discoursed of without doors.

Katherine is taken very ill, and has kept her bed these two or three days, the coachman being not yet recovered, though it is hoped he is somewhat better than he was.

Sir Anthony Deane's business detains him yet in the country, though he longs to be in town, as I know you do ; but business is not to be neglect-

* " 1678, Oct. 25.—Oates having charged Earl Powis, Viscount Stafford, Lords Arundel, Petre, Bellasis, and Sir Henry Titchburne, with high treason, they surrendered, and were committed to the Tower."

" Dec. 6.—The Commons impeach the five lords of high treason, but do not exhibit articles."

" 1679, April 4.—Articles of impeachment were carried up against the five popish lords."—*Chron. Hist.*

" May 8.—The Lords acquainted the Commons that the 14th instant was appointed for the trial of the five popish lords ; but the two Houses not agreeing as to the proceedings in the trials, they were not tried this sessions."—*Ibid.*

ed; and if anything should happen that should make the company of either necessary in town, I shall not fail to advise you of it. In the mean time, with presentation of my mother's, and my own humble service and respects to yourself and Madam Jackson, (whither I hope you have got safe, though we have not heard of you as yet,) I remain,

Your very faithful and most obedient Servant,

WM. HEWER.

MR. JAMES HOUBLON TO PEPYS.

SIR,

London, October 30, 1680.

I AM glad you had a safe journey out, and I hope, by the assistance of some good guide, you will so well extricate yourself out of your country mysteries, that you will not fall into the hands of lawyers, who have laboured in their calling for the general good of their successors, to perplex titles as much as some interested divines have our religion, so that our title to heaven is made out to be as difficult a matter as that we have to our lands.

I hope, as you say, we shall soon have you here again. In the mean time, sir, save yourself as much as you can from a fenny ague by eating a good breakfast, and not being out late, nor without a good fire in the evening.

As for news, I suppose you are not without the Votes, in the country. If you are, you will not

long want that satisfaction, the parliament having ordered the Speaker to cause them daily to be printed. The time of the Commons hath been most taken up in expelling of Sir Robert Payton, Sir Robert Cann, and Sir Francis Withins, and in two addresses to the King in order to the suppressing of popery and discovery of the plot,* for both which they have received a satisfactory answer: and, next, that the House have heard Dangerfield, Dugdale,† and one Francisco, a Jew,‡ concerning the plot, whose narratives are not yet made public.

From sea we have no news, except that we are, God help us! totally without guard in the Mediterranean. Not one man-of-war there. The Antelope was sent several months since, but not yet got beyond Cadiz, as we can hear of. That cursed money being so much coveted by our sea captains,§ robs us poor merchants of half the protection the King intends us, and his treasure pays for.

I wish I had some pleasanter matters to enter-

* "Oct. 26.—Ordered, that an humble address be presented to his Majesty for the pardon of such persons who shall, within a limited time, make satisfactory discovery to this House of the horrid popish plot."—Grey's Debates.

† "Onè Dugdale," says Burnet, "who had been Lord Aston's bailiff, and lived in a fair reputation in the country, was put in prison for refusing the oaths of allegiance and supremacy."

‡ Francisco de Faria, interpreter to the Portuguese ambassador.

§ Referring, I apprehend, to the delays occasioned by the employment of the Royal Navy as merchantmen.

tain you with ; but in these times we must not expect them.

All your friends give you their humble service, and particularly myself, as being,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

JAS. HOUBLON.

PEPYS TO MR. HEWER.

SIR,

Brompton, November 2, 1680.

AFTER my sending away mine of the 31st of the last month, I received yours of the 30th, which gives me occasion of praising God on your behalf, with relation to the evil you were so near sustaining from your neighbour's fire. Indeed, the very mention of it (though it pleased God to prevent its effects) put me into great pain ; and I hope it will conduce to the awakening in your neighbours and self a great caution in that particular.

Pray present my most humble service to Mrs. Hewer, whom in an especial manner I pity upon the account of the affright.

I now send you a letter to Sir Thomas Beckford,* together with a draught of a petition for him, and a paper of notes relating to it, whereto I

* The person, probably, or one of the family, thus introduced :—" 1668-9. Presented from Captain Beckford, with a noble silver warming-pan."—*Pepys's Diary*.

refer both you and him, with wishes from my heart for his good success.

Notwithstanding what I wrote in my last about your coachman, he has made such submissions and promises of amendment, that I shall not pursue my resolution of sending him presently up, but will see if he will keep his word with me.

I am extremely sorry for the trouble you have by my coachman's continuing still ill, and the addition made to it by my maid's sickness; but trust in God, for Mrs. Hewer's and your sake as well as their own, that they will not be long in their recovery.

Pray give my services to Crouched-Fryars, Winchester Street, East India House, and to all my friends at home and abroad.

I am mightily engaged to Mr. Gibson, as I am to you, for the newspapers; but I hope the late vote* will soon ease you both in that particular.

I am going this morning to [],† in hopes of getting a court there to-day, which makes this the shorter; but if I get back time enough for the post, I shall lengthen it; if not, the next shall supply it.

I thank you for the remembering my linen and papers, and pray you to send me the parcel of blank papers and books, which I forgot to bring along with me, though I had laid them apart to

* Probably Oct. 27.

† Illegible in MS.

that purpose in one of the drawers on the right hand of my scrutoire, with flute and music books ; but those you may let alone till I am more at leisure for them.

There is also in the same drawer a collection of my Lord of Rochester's poems, written, before his penitence, in a style I thought unfit to mix with my other books. However, pray let it remain there ; for, as he is past writing any more* so bad in one sense, so I despair of any man surviving him to write so good in another.

The weather is so very stormy with us here, that I cannot but wish to hear the Duke and Duchess were well landed.†

Which is all at present from

Your faithful, affectionate servant,

S. PEPYS.

PEPYS TO MR. JAMES HOUBLON.

SIR,

Brampton, Nov. 14, 1680.

My last said I should be in town the beginning of this week ; but (to tell you the truth) though there be no place (I thank God) where I dare

* He had deceased July 26, 1680. For an anecdote respecting " that worthy fellow, my Lord of Rochester, Tom Killigrew," and " the King," see " 1668-9, Feb. 17." — *Pepys's Diary*.

† In Scotland. The Duke and Duchess of York had left Whitehall, October 20.

not show my head, yet there is one where I am ashamed to show my face again till I have done something (that ought long since to have been done) for securing the remembrance of what I am owing there, though I can never hope to discharge it, and that is at a namesake's of yours in Winchester Street.

But don't mistake me, that his forgetfulness I am jealous of, and not my own; for it is no less possible for me, or just, to forget myself as him, without whom I am not sure I should, ere this, have been myself. But he, you must know, is one of so tender a memory, that there is no good deed of his own that will stick in it, for he shall do you twenty good offices before he will think them one; nay, and do them with more thanks than he will endure to take from him he does them to.

To supply which, I have bethought myself of fastening my picture (as a present) upon him, in hopes that, when he sees that, it will be out of his power not to recollect his errands on my score to Westminster Hall, his visit to the lions, his passings over the bridge to the Patten in Southwark, and a thousand other things which, by his good will, he would never come within the hearing of. Nay, in my conscience, if he knew this were the design of my present, he would turn his head a' one side every time he comes in sight on't.

And even, lest he should do so, I have been fain to think of an assistant device; and that is, to send

a small bribe to every one of his family, to get them, in such a case, to be putting in some word or other as he passes by, to make him look upon it; as thus:—"Was Mr. Pepys in these clothes, father, when you used to go to the Tower to him?" Or thus:—"Lord, cousin, how hath this business of Scott altered my poor cousin Pepys since this was done!" Or thus:—"What would I give for a plot, Jemmy, to get you laid by the heels, that I might see what this Mr. Pepys would do for you." With these helps, I don't doubt but it will do; at least so far as to stick an impression upon the young ones of what, in their father's right, (if he won't,) they may challenge from me as they shall grow big enough to make work for me, and find me become not too little to do them any.

I make it, therefore, my request, that by your hand these small mementos may be distributed to the end and use aforesaid. Upon notice whereof from Mr. Hewer I shall appear in town again, and not sooner. I am, dear Sir,

Your most obliged
and most affectionate humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

MR. HEWER TO PEPYS.

SIR,

Nov. 15, 1680.

By Saturday's post I wrote to you from Sir Anthony Deane's ; and being detained on business at that end of the town till it was too late to send to the post, after I came home I could not send you the inclosed bill of fifty pounds, which I paid here upon sight ; being tendered but upon Saturday last, and was paid by Thomas in my absence ; and, not knowing what occasion you may have for the money before your leaving Brampton, I thought fit (rather than stay for the next post) to send David on purpose with it, hoping that he will be with you to-morrow morning.

I dined yesterday at my Lord Brounker's, and supped at Mr. Houblon's, from all of whom I had command to present you with their services. From the lady belonging to the former family* I understand that the King has very lately received a

* Mrs. Williams, whom Pepys, fifteen years before, had thus introduced to his readers :—

“ 1665, Nov. 1.—My Lord Brounker with us to Mrs. Williams's lodgings, and Sir W. Batten, Sir Edmund Pooley, and others ; and there, it being my lord's birth-day, had every one a green riband tied in our hats very foolishly, and methinks mighty disgracefully, for my lord to have his folly with this woman so open to all the world.

“ 1666-7.—Mrs. Turner do tell me very odd stories how Mrs. Williams do receive the applications of people, and hath presents, and she is the hand that receives all, while my lord do the business.”—*Diary*.

letter from Scotland, wherein the whole council, nobility, and gentry of that place return the King their hearty thanks for the honour he has done them in sparing his brother,* and affording them his company; that they will, with their lives and fortunes, stand by him and his brother in maintaining the just right of the succession.

Upon Friday last my Lord Mayor called a Common Hall, which ended in an address the city made to his Majesty, carried up the said evening by the Mayor, wherein they humbly returned his Majesty their grateful thanks for the sitting of the parliament, and humbly prayed that they might sit till the plot was thoroughly found out, and the persons guilty brought to punishment. To which his Majesty, contrary to everybody's expectation, gave them this answer:—That he did believe what they offered was out of a great deal of good will to him; but it being a matter not proper, nor in their sphere to meddle or concern themselves in, he did advise them to mind and look after the city concerns, and not harbour or follow the advice of those that wished well neither to him nor them. If they did, they would find it would fall heavy on them.

On Saturday, the Speaker, with the House, attended his Majesty with an humble address,† as

* Whom he had sent into Scotland, to abate the active hostility of the exclusionists.

† “Drawn up,” says Ralph, “under the sanction of Sir W.

you will find by their votes; but his Majesty receiving without returning any answer thereto, makes us very melancholy, for fear the Parliament may be prorogued, which at this time would generally be thought of very ill consequence to the public. Pray God direct and guide his Majesty and parliament to the taking of such resolutions as may tend to the safety and preservation of our government and the Protestant religion, which has been, and is thought now to be, in so great danger.

I hope your letter of this day will ascertain the day of your coming to town, and which way, for Mr. Houblon's family are very earnest to know; and against that time I am taking care to provide a mourning chariot for a month's time, and shall meet you at Highgate with it, in regard it will be, on many considerations (beside that of the respect you design to pay the deceased*), fit for you to appear in here in town.

I shall not give you any further trouble now, referring you to the printed narratives, which you will herewith receive from David.

Tendering you the services and good wishes of all our family, I remain

Your ever faithful

and most obedient servant,

WM. HEWER.

Jones." According to Sir W. Temple, "having the fame of being the greatest lawyer in England, and a very wise man."—See Grey's Debates.

* Pepys's father.

MR. HEWER TO PEPYS.

SIR, York Building, Tuesday, Nov. 16, 1680.

SINCE mine, of yesterday morning, by David, whom I sent on purpose for the reasons therein expressed, I have received yours of the 14th, with the enclosed for Mr. Houblon, and have exactly complied with your commands in relation to the several presents designed to that family, and in the manner you directed; *videlicet*, by putting up the several things wrapped up in paper, and subscribed to each, in a box, leaving it, with your own picture (carefully done up in a coarse cloth), early this morning, at Mr. Houblon's, as from you; and two hours after I sent him your letter, and afterwards acquainted him myself, upon the 'Change, with your determination touching your return to town. And whereas in my said letter I acquainted you that I did purpose to meet you at Highgate with a mourning chariot,* I shall now endeavour to meet you at Barnet on Friday, about eleven of the clock in the morning, but not with the mourning chariot, in regard the ways are so bad.

I had not said anything before of the precise time of your return to Mr. Houblon, so as they were not at any trouble about it; and as to the regard you have, and which you so kindly men-

* Mr. Pepys was now about to return from Brampton, after his father's funeral.

tion, in relation to myself, as I know nothing can make my life more uneasy to me than your making any other place your home while I have one, so I am sure, if it shall not be thought inconvenient for you, (to which, for your sake, I shall always submit,) your being with me can't be any to me; assuring you, whatever times shall come, nothing shall withhold me from making your concerns my own while I live. And though the integrity and faithfulness wherewith his majesty and the public have for so many years been served by us, may not at present protect and support us from malicious reports and calumnies of evil men, yet I am satisfied that God Almighty, who is always just, will make it up to us some other way, to the shame of those who do now triumph over us. And I thank God, if I know my own heart, I am much more contented in my present condition than I ever was in any.

I am heartily sorry to understand that your sister's ague continues so bad, being but an ill companion at this time of the year. And pray (upon the account of her illness) consider whether it may not be fit for you to leave Loraine behind you for a little time, with work for him to do; and though it may be some present inconvenience to you, yet, in my opinion, there may be that good use made of it as may counterbalance it; but if not, you may have him up in two or three days in case

you shall not find it necessary to return, he knowing nothing but that you do intend to be down again. There are many reasons which I shall satisfy you in about it at our meeting; therefore you may so order it as to leave him, on your sister's illness and your intentions of returning, speedily.

Enclosed is a copy of the city's address to the King on Friday last, and of the parliament's on Saturday, of which I gave you a short account in mine by David, who, I hope, got well down to you with the bill of exchange of 50*l*. I paid here for my Lady Bernard's use.

Yesterday the bill against the Duke of York was carried up to the Lords by my Lord Russel, and after several debates (which held them till eleven of the clock at night) the bill was cast out, there being thirty-one for and sixty-three against it; which has made many heavy hearts about it, and none but Almighty God knows what effects it will produce. This only I am informed of by Sir J. B. this morning, that, upon a motion made in the House by Sir J. Hotham, the Commons in great disorder adjourned till to-morrow morning, without doing any business to-day. Pray God direct the King and them in their taking such resolutions as may tend as well to his honour and safety, as the preservation of our religion and properties.

Which is all the trouble I shall give you at pre-

sent, save the tenders of our most humble services
and respects to yourself and sister ; remaining

Your most faithful

and ever obedient servant,

WM. HEWER.

MR. SHERIDAN TO PEPYS.

SIR,

December 18, 1680.

THOUGH I have not the honour of your acquaintance, I have sense enough to value and desire it, and to wish for any opportunity of being better known to you. You will, perhaps, wonder at my confidence, that upon so slender a pretence as once dining with you, and meeting you elsewhere by such another accident, I should give you the trouble of a letter, and a recommendatory one too ; but when you know the person, you will, I am confident, pardon the presumption.

Dr. Wood, my very good friend of many years' standing, is a candidate for mathematical reader at Christ Church Hospital ; and being, he thinks himself, more a stranger to you than I am, desired from me a few lines, which, if they could do him no good, (as indeed, having no interest in you, I cannot hope,) they could not, he concluded, do any hurt. I will only say this of him, that if you knew him as well as I do, you would believe him not only a very honest gentleman, but a very learned person, and particularly in the mathema-

tics ; wherein Mr. Oughtred* has done him the justice to give his eulogy in the Preface to his

* “ William Oughtred, an English divine, celebrated for his uncommon skill in the mathematical sciences, the darling object of his life, and what he called the more than Elysian Fields. He became so eminent in them, that his house was continually filled with young gentlemen who came thither for his instructions. He died in 1660, aged eighty-six. Collier says, that, upon hearing of the vote at Westminster for the Restoration, he expired in a sudden ecstasy of joy.”

Whiston, in his Memoirs, says “ I have heard Sir Isaac Newton say, that no old men (excepting Dr. Wallis) love mathematics.” Yet Lloyd, in his Memoirs, describes Oughtred as not only facetious in Greek and Latin, but also “ solid in arithmetic, geometry, and the sphere of all measures, music, &c. ; exact in his style as in his judgment, handling his tube and other instruments at eighty as steadily as others did at thirty, owing this, as he said, to temperance and archery.”

“ Fallen on evil days,” this accomplished student found a resource probably little expected. It is thus described in Lilly’s interesting autobiography :—

“ About this time (1646) the most famous mathematician of all Europe, Mr. William Oughtred, parson of Aldbury in Surrey, was in danger of sequestration. Several inconsiderable articles were deposed and sworn against him, material enough to have sequestered him ; but that, upon his day of hearing, I applied myself to Sir Bulstrode Whitlock and all my own old friends, who in such numbers appeared in his behalf, that though the chairman and many other Presbyterian members were stiff against him, yet he was cleared by the major number. The truth is, he had a considerable parsonage, and that only was enough to sequester any moderate judgment. He was also well known to affect his majesty.”

See “ The Life of William Lilly, student in astrology. Wrote by himself in the sixty-sixth year of his age, at Hershams, in the parish of Walton upon Thames, in the county of Surrey, *propria manu.*”

Clavis,* inserting his name with the Bishop of Salisbury,† Dr. Wallis, and Sir Christopher Wren; nor does he deserve honour for his universal learning only, but for his general knowledge of men, of government, of the affairs of the world, and, very extraordinarily, of the revenue, wherein he has been already, and might be again, useful to his prince and country.

I have not said one word in compliment or flattery, but spoke my thoughts sincerely. I recommend him to you, not that I have the vanity [to suppose] he can receive advantage by my character, but that I believe you will be pleased with the

* “*Arithmeticae in numeris et speciebus institutio, quæ tum logisticæ, tum analyticæ, atque totius mathematicæ Clavis est.*”

† Seth Ward, who, in early life, had resided for some time with Oughtred.

“Bishop Ward had the misfortune to outlive his senses several years. He lived to the Revolution, but without knowing anything of the matter, and died in 1689, aged seventy-one. He was a man of great abilities and learning, a profound mathematician, and well skilled in polite literature. He was very zealous for the established hierarchy, and engaged in the persecution of the nonconformists with a rigour very inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity.”

Yet, according to Dr. Pope, his biographer, “Bishop Ward was very charitable and hospitable. The meanest curates were welcome to his table, and he never failed to treat them with affability and kindness. Besides what he gave away at the palace-gate, where he constantly relieved a great number of poor, he inquired after those the French call *pauvres honteaux*, who wanted, and were ashamed to beg, and sent them money to their houses.”

conversation of so very ingenious a person, for whom, because such, (not at my instance,) I promise myself you will not be wanting to show him all the favour in your power.

Your pardon for this trouble, and your belief that I will own myself obliged by your civilities to the doctor, is humbly entreated by, Sir,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

THO. SHERIDAN.

The doctor will tell you this name at bottom is not frightful — no traitor's, though oppressed for the sake of another. When the greater stars thus suffer an eclipse, there must be a general darkness.*

* The "name at bottom" of this letter occurs in "The Ellis Correspondence," though several years later. Thus, in a letter dated "London, June 26, 1686," and addressed to "John Ellis, Esq., secretary of his majesty's revenue in Ireland," the anonymous writer says:—"George Bennyon and young Binns are declared Papists, and Thomas Sheridan." Again:—"Nov. 30, 1686. Tyrconnel makes all the visible preparations for the chief government of your kingdom, as coaches, plate, beds, &c., and Tho. Sheridan his chief secretary." Also, "Jan. 11, 1687," among Lord Tyrconnel's "Privy Councillors," is "Mr. Thomas Sheridan, his lordship's secretary." Still later, in a *news-letter*, "June 21, 1688," is the following passage:—"Mr. Sheridan's case in Ireland is heard and reported; how favourable for him we cannot tell." See "Ellis' Correspondence;" and also, "Correspondence of Henry Earl of Clarendon."

MR. POVEY TO PEPYS.

SIR,

December 29, 1680.

YESTERDAY Dr. Wood dined with me, and very patiently heard me discourse over those several considerations you and I had concerning him. He left me convinced that the matter was not indeed worth those inclinations he hath showed to it, and that he would rather now make a decent retreat than advance into a further competition.

It remains now to advise whether he shall desert the pursuit altogether, or, by a respectful letter to Sir John Frederick,* leave it to the free choice of the electors, without any further applications in his own person. To which purpose I have, by his desire, drawn the inclosed letter, which you may please to peruse, alter, or correct, according to your better sense, and the knowledge of the persons to whom it is addressed, and to give me your opinion also, by a note to-morrow morning, what, upon the whole matter, may be advisable for this good man to do in this juncture.

I find him so generous, that he intends an assistant to himself, who should divide the little profit as well as the pains; and that the principal inclination which leads him toward this employment is, indeed, his want of health in Essex; and that he may hereby save house-rent, and ease his expense. To which I answer, that I do not at all

* Lord Mayor in 1663.

doubt but that, if he shall leave the country, and take some little dwelling here, and shall condescend to read in his own chamber to such as may be recommended to him, he may, with at least as much reputation and profit, employ and enjoy himself.

T. POVEY.

PEPYS TO M. MORELLI.

MONSIEUR MORELLI,

January 15, 1681.

SINCE mine to you, by Thursday's post, I received your letter and box, for which I give you very kind thanks, being exceedingly satisfied with every thing therein, — particularly with "*Our Father*" and the "*Hallelujah*," and your sending the music to the song you mention, without the words.

Now, if the occasion hold for coming to town for a day, as you proposed when I was with you, pray observe the caution in my last on Thursday for preventing inconveniences, especially at this time, both to me and you, should it be observed; and let your stay be no longer than is just necessary, — this being a difficulty which has lately befallen him who writes this for me; — a suggestion no less false and malicious, of his being a papist, than that cast on you, of being a priest; — and forces him, (for the same reason, of preventing inconveniences to me as well as to him,) to

forbear appearing abroad ever since his coming to town, until he shall have collected the evidences necessary for the proving, not only his profession of protestancy, (for, at this time, that alone is not enough to secure a man,) but that his whole family, both by father and mother, are known protestants in France, and sufferers for being so, — and himself by them bred up as such from his cradle: and I am sure he was recommended to my service by a protestant minister, a man very eminent both at home and abroad.

But I hope God Almighty will, in his due time, deliver us from the “lying tongues” mentioned in your last anthem,—for which, this gives me occasion of again thanking you, as being words very well chosen with respect to my present case, and those words well set.

Which, with my services to the whole family with you, is all at present from

Your truly affectionate friend,

S. PEPYS.*

* The next letter among the MSS. is dated “March 13, 1681,” from Sir Edward Villiers to Colonel Legg, the first Lord Dartmouth. “Mr. Pepys” is named as the person who can inform “his Highness” the Duke of York “how unjustly” the writer had been dealt with by the Trinity House; “but the Master, and many of them, being ashamed of their first report, have promised a second hearing.”

M. MORELLI TO PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR, Easter Monday, April 4, 1681.

WITH my most humble respects, I send the fair writings of Batest's Operas, and soon as you shall be pleased to send the ruled paper, for the Psalms' intonations. As for the songs you intend to sing with Mrs. Houblon, I shall fall to work at it. In the mean time, be assured of the faithfulness in executing your commands, — being, with all my soul,

Honoured Sir,
Your most obliged servant,

CESARE MORELLI.

Mr. and Mrs. Slater and all her family present their humble services to you.

MR. THOMAS TEDDIMAN* TO PEPYS.

HONOURABLE SIR, Dover, May 9, 1681.

LEST you should hear of an unfortunate accident on a relation of mine, whose name is Roberts, and might think it the person you recommended as a volunteer on board Captain Rooke,† — he is not the man, but his brother.

* Probably a relation of Admiral Sir Thomas Teddiman, who died 1668.

† Afterwards the celebrated Admiral Sir George Rooke. He died 1709, aged 57, leaving behind him, says Dr. Campbell, a moderate fortune, — so moderate, that when he came to make his will, it surprised those that were present: but Sir George assigned this reason; — I do not leave much, but what

So far as we can find or dive into it, it hath been a long design intended by this Joseph Drew on Mr. Roberts, who endeavoured to decline it as much as possibly might be. When he had wounded Mr. Roberts, at the same time he threw himself upon his sword, of which wound he immediately died. Mr. Roberts never intended Drew any injury, although it will be proved he often said that nothing would satisfy him but Roberts's heart's blood. This accident happened at Rosas in Spain.

I do humbly beg the favour of your judgment, herein believing you might know some precedent of this, or the like nature, during the time your honour was in this employ:* being your honour's most humble servant,

THO. TEDDIMAN.

I leave was honestly gotten: it never cost a sailor a tear, or the nation a farthing. Noble, in continuation of Granger, says,—“When he was Captain Rooke, and stationed upon the Essex coast, the ague proved fatal to many of his crew, whose bodies were sent ashore, and interred by the clergyman of a contiguous parish for some time, without the usual payment of burial fees. Those were, at length, peremptorily demanded, and accompanied with a declaration, that no more would be granted Christian burial unless the dues were discharged. Rooke, exasperated, ordered the body of the next man who died to be placed upon the table of the clergyman's kitchen. Alarmed and disgusted, the priest sent a messenger to inform the naval officer, that if he would convey away the lifeless inmate, he would readily bury him and the whole ship's crew for nothing.”

* Secretary to the Admiralty.

MR. MARYON TO PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

August 8, 1681.

SIR Thomas Page* is just now dead, and, hearing you say you could be content to live at Cambridge, I presume to send a man to acquaint you with it.

The preferment is seven hundred pounds per annum, and I am sure you would be as acceptable a man as the King could present. So that, if no time be lost, I should, with all the joy imaginable, salute you Provost, — for a mandate will certainly make you so. Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

S. MARYON.

Sir, I humbly crave an answer.

MR. MARYON TO PEPYS.

Cambridge, August 8, 1681.

HONOURED SIR,

Nine o'clock at night.

FOR fear my messenger to Brampton might not meet you there, I presume to acquaint you, that this night Sir Thomas Page died.

Hearing you say you would be content to live in a university, I thought it my duty to give you information of it — since your interest can command it. The preferment is seven hundred

* Provost of King's College.

pounds per annum. You would, I am sure, be a man as acceptable as the King could present, not only to that college, but to the whole university.

I humbly beg your pardon if I am too officious.

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

S. MARYON.

The statutes require the person to be in Deacon's orders, but the King can dispense with that.

To Samuel Pepys, Esq. at Mr. Hewer's house
in York Buildings.

Del. with all possible speed.

PEPYS TO MR. MARYON, FELLOW OF CLARE
HALL, CAMBRIDGE.

Sir,

August 10th, 1681.

I own, with infinite thanks, the kindness of yours of the 8th instant, and the trouble you gave yourself in your most obliging message to me at Brampton, from whence I have been a week returned.

Your letter came to hand yesterday, in the evening of which another from you, on the same subject, was also communicated by my cousin, Wynn Houblon,* giving more instances of your friendship at once, and in one occasion, than

* Son of Sir James Houblon. See *Pepys's Correspondence*, Oct. 13, 1700.

would have sufficed another (though much more engaged to it than you have been, or, I fear, ever can be by me) for a whole life.

As to the matter proposed, I acknowledge it to be not only a most honourable one, but, to me in particular, (under the present inclination I have to retirement,) most agreeable; and I am apt to think my Royal Master, the King, wants not goodness, more than enough, to bestow it on me, could I think myself as adequately fitted for that, as, in all its circumstances, it would suit with me. But, indeed, cousin Maryon, I cannot be so self-partial as to pretend to it, there requiring a much greater stock of academic knowledge to the capacitating a man to fill this province, to which your too good-will would advance me, than I am furnished with, or, at this time of day, can with any industry ever hope to acquire.

Besides, however I might be induced (from a possibility of supplying, by some other way of usefulness to the College, what I should fall short of in knowledge) to embrace the proposition, in case I saw any other of no better nor more rightful pretence than myself bidding for it, I cannot believe a foundation of that quality can be without a store of pretenders of its own breed, sufficient to put a just stop to the attempts of any foreigner. One of this kind, in particular, I have understood to be already proposed to the King by my worthy friend Mr. Legg, *videlicet*, his

tutor, whose name I don't at present remember; but he is said to be, both by education, standing, and learning, entitled beyond any competition, if merit have the determining, as God forbid but it should.

On which considerations I cannot persuade myself to interpose in this matter. Besides that, what I mentioned the other day, and you so kindly remember, concerning a disposition to retirement, I fear may not be so fully answered this way, as I intended in my mention of it; which was no less than a total seclusion from pomp and envy, as well as noise and care. This, I doubt, would give me no perfect exemption from either.

Take, therefore, in kind part, that I make no further use of your so extraordinary friendship, or rather fondness, on my behalf in this matter, than to wish myself worthy of it, and yet, that one more worthy may have it, and that one were you.

I will not doubt of living to see you possessed, though not of this, of something more worthy of you than what the University or Church have yet found for you. Nor, shall I enjoy my whole wish, if (in return for this your kindness to me) I find not myself some time or other in condition of being serviceable to you towards it.

I am, your obliged and most affectionate humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

I am your debtor for your messenger to Brampton.

MR. MARYON TO PEPYS.

Cambridge, Aug. 12, 1681, late at Night.

MOST HONOURED SIR,

I AM sorry one of my letters was lost, and that the other came so late to your hands. My most thankful acknowledgment for your good wishes I cannot express; but, my desires being on such reasonable grounds, I am concerned you seek to decline it.

The scruples you raise, your merits confute, for, were it convenient to communicate your letter, the whole society would answer those objections; they, every hour, wishing for such a man as you, or but your mean representative. Honoured sir, you resolved not to be self-partial, pray be not self-prejudicial. Your knowledge, sufficiency, and usefulness, are great arguments for you, and your diffidence makes me presume to tell you so.

All the pretenders the College is informed of, are Dr. Price and Mr. Upman; neither of which, as I can learn, were tutors to Mr. Legg, or, if they were, (by the conversation I have with many of that society,) I find they would not be dangerous competitors with such a man as you. Besides, I have good reason to conclude that you may live in the pomp, without either envy, noise, or care.

With the highest sense of gratitude, I subscribe, Sir, your most obliged servant,

S. MARYON.

M. MORELLI TO PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR, Brentwood, Monday, Aug. 15, 1681.

SATURDAY last I did receive seven pounds sterling, which you were pleased to send by the coach of this place, for which I give you my most hearty thanks; so that I did receive by your own hand, and by your orders, since the 4th of November 1678, till Saturday the 13th of August 1681, eighty-five pounds sterling, seventeen shillings and sixpence.

What I did receive in that sum afore-mentioned more than was amounting to pay my board, let it be taken off, if you please, from the thirty pounds sterling yearly allowed me from that time I had the honour of dedicating myself wholly to your service. My wants are mighty great, being quite unprovided of linen and clothes.

I am mighty glad of your motion of bringing down with you my Lady Mordaunt* and her sister. You need not lodge at an inn, Mr. Slater's house having accommodation enough both for you and for them. Besides, Mrs. Slater and he would

* Granger mentions a print inscribed Lady Henrietta Mordaunt, daughter of Charles Earl of Peterborough, who married the Duke of Gordon, and died in 1728.

take it mighty ill that you should lie at an inn. He does not judge your coming to his house, which kept once both you and Mr. Houblon, his lady and two or three of her children, a trouble, but rather an honour; and it will be more convenient for the ladies, and make less noise in the town, which noise would spread itself round about, the people here being mighty inquisitive.

Hoping to enjoy your company very shortly, with my humble services to my Lady Mordaunt and her sister, I remain

Your most obedient and faithful servant,

CESARE MORELLI.

Mr. and Mrs. Slater present their humble services to you.

PEPYS TO COLONEL LEGG.

SIR,

August 16, 1681.

SINCE we parted I have had another intimation from Cambridge touching the same matter; of which I mean not to make any other use than telling you I find several applications on foot about it. So you cannot be too soon in putting in execution what you proposed in favour of your tutor, whose pretensions must be judged superior to any that can be offered in competition.

If, nevertheless, it shall fall out that those his pretensions shall come under any danger of being

overborne by a foreigner, and in that case my Lord Hyde should concur with you in the considerations discoursed of by us this morning relating to myself, I would, in one word, show you that I am not led to the entertainment of this sudden proposal on any other score than the retirement I should (after twenty years' continued bustle) obtain in the neighbourhood of my other small concerns,* and the hopes of improving that retirement to the benefit of the King my master, and the satisfaction of his royal highness the Duke of York, in putting together (for the public use) my collections so many years in the navy and admiralty, which nothing but an entire leisure will ever enable me to do.

This I would satisfy you in by telling you, that (however else I may be useful to the college) the whole profit of the first year, and whatever portion (not less than a full half) you shall direct of every succeeding year during my relation to it, shall be dedicated to the general and public use of the college, in such manner as you in particular (with the well-liking of the King) shall advise. But still I mention this with a reserve of right to be first done to the worthy doctor your tutor. I am

Your most affectionate and humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

* His family and estate at Brampton.

MR. JOSEPH HILL (FROM HOLLAND) TO PEPYS.

SIR,

September 1, 1681.

HAVING so opportune a bearer as your own servant, I cannot pass the presenting you with my respects, and letting you know that, being tired with the fuss of both parties in London, I retired hither, where I shall always be ready to serve you.

I live to my own content in great peace and quietness, above the frowns of fortune, and below the envy of my enemies.

For public news, the bearer will tell you more than I can write. I would only beg of you, and of all I know, to use all your skill and interest to allay the heats among you, which, I am afraid, in the issue will ruin us all.

The French threatening Flanders, our statesmen project all ways possible to preserve our peace, which is not only our constant interest for trade and flourishing, but now necessary for our very being; for they begin to think you are no longer to be relied on in regard of your unsettledness; and we have none else to succour us, and are not able alone to withstand the power of France; so that some say we must take the French King for our protector; some, that we must serve him, and be at his devotion, or anything, as he will have

us, rather than contest. They look upon the parliament in Scotland as averse to the Duke's designs; and if they should not, yet of little moment, so long as the English comply not, which they see little hopes of.

Therefore, fearing next spring will become critical, they will be at work this winter in framing something to save themselves, awhile at least; and though the Prince* assures them of his Majesty's promise of calling a parliament if the French fall into Flanders, yet I perceive that satisfies not many amongst us on several accounts, which you may easily imagine. I suppose, by what I hear, you will have the Prince over again ere long. What success that will have time will show, and many longingly expect.

The sad sufferings of the poor Protestants in France we endeavour to alleviate all we can, and to allay those that hanker that way, not without good effect.

What the all-wise disposing Providence may bring forth for the support of the declining Protestant interest I know not; but in human appearance, so far as I can see, if you comply not more, and we all combine not, we shall at last be lost, and it may be sooner than most think.

The rest gives you, and my friends, Sir Robert

* Probably of Orange.

Southwell,* Sir Robert Sawyer,† and your neighbour Mr. Bridgman, my unfeigned respects, assuring you that, wherever I am, I shall always be

Your very friend and servant,

JOS. HILL.

* Of an ancient family in Ireland, distinguished by royal favour in the reigns of the Tudors. Sir Robert was sent to England for education. From Queen's College, Oxford, he removed to Lincoln's Inn, and thence went a tour on the continent. Charles II. sent him as envoy extraordinary to Portugal, 1665; Brussels, 1671; and Brandenburgh, 1679. On his arrival at the Hague, Sir Robert deferred his journey, in order to pay his court to William Prince of Orange, which was of great future advantage to him, as William, upon obtaining the English throne, made him a privy councillor and secretary for Ireland.

Sir Robert, adds Noble, was a senator as well as a secretary, and a liberal patron of the sciences. He was appointed, at five different elections, President of the Royal Society. He died 1702, aged sixty. Of his wife, who "died 1681, aged thirty-three," it is recorded, I trust correctly, that "she had all the perfections of beauty, behaviour, and understanding that could adorn this life, and all the inward blessings of virtue and piety which might entitle her to a better."

† Attorney-general from 1681 to 1687. He approved himself in some very delicate points, and upon many important occasions, a judicious and expert lawyer. Granger adds, — He has been justly censured for his harsh treatment of Lord Russell on his trial. Pemberton, on the contrary, treated him with a gentleness and candour that did him much honour. Sir Robert Sawyer died 1692.

MR. HILL TO PEPYS.

SIR,

Rotterdam, November 3, 1681.

THE bearer, M. Mechin, who, as sea-captain, formerly served the French King, is flying hither for his religion,* and desiring to try his fortune in England. Although a stranger to me; yet, being recommended by Major Laloway, formerly a major in his Majesty Charles I. his service, and desiring an address in England, I make bold to recommend him to you, as the only person I know that can help him with advice and recommendation. He hath been, formerly, in England, and speaks English tolerably, so that he may be capable enough, in that regard, of some employment amongst those of that nation, as well as his own, that are fled to *you*; as not a few are *hither*.

I tell him, there are so many able seamen who want employment, that I can give him little encouragement: but there is nothing to be had here, and he hath some acquaintance at Court; so that, speaking your language, and no Dutch, he thinks it best to seek to get some employ, of one kind or other, amongst you. Therefore, I

* Which was now oppressed, as a prelude to the revocation, in 1685, of the Edict of Nantes, passed in 1598.

Sep. 7, 1681, there was an order of the King in Council, to assist distressed Protestants, that fly from their country for conscience sake.

doubt not, for charity-sake, and compassion to such as suffer for religion, you will help him what you can.

And, herewithal, let me acquaint you with what is said here, (though perhaps you may know it from better hands,) how the Spanish Netherlands expect nothing but the French falling on them; and are resolved to oppose them. Therefore, that they may have more forces in the field, they have borrowed five or six regiments of the States, to keep their garrisons.

For us, we wholly wait, at present, for what assurance we can have from England, and, if no reliance on you, I suppose we shall see how we can make it with France; for Van Beverning is going to that Court, as Van Benningen is with you: so that, if you stand off, you are likely to stand alone at last. In the interim, I see nothing, if so, but that all Europe will be lost; if God Almighty do not, by some unexpected providence, prevent it.

The rest gives you the assurance, that, wherever I am, I shall always be,

Your faithful servant,

Jos. HILL.

MR. SCOTT* TO PEPYS.

SIR,

November 4, 1681.

BEING, last night, with Sir Charles Scarborough, and acquainting him how remiss the Hospital was in teaching the boys Sir Jonas his *Cursus*, he desired me to let you know, that, when he had half an hour's discourse with you, he was resolved to acquaint the King with it, for, being a witness of his Majesty's continual care to have the book perfected for the use aforesaid, he could not endure to see the book rejected, he himself knowing it to be so excellent, and averred that it would be a portion to each boy to have one when they went to sea.

After this resolution, he thought of another way, (which, I believe, may be effected with your assistance,) viz. Mr. Colwell being a good charitable person, and a great esteemer of the memory of Sir Jonas Moore,† may be persuaded to give, annually, such a number of the books as need requires, and he makes no question but to persuade Mr. Colwell to this generous action, especially if you will join with him in the attack. I

* "A bookseller, about Sir Jonas Moore's book, by him written for the use of Christ's Hospital."

† Who died 1679, aged 60. At his funeral, sixty pieces of artillery were discharged at the Tower.

have acquainted Sir Charles that I would leave the price to you both.

Sir, this I thought to acquaint you with, being,
Your servant to command,

ROBERT SCOTT.

MR. HOUBLON TO PEPYS.

SIR,

December 12, 1681

I HAVE had an interview with my Lady Littleton, who manages the proposition for my daughter. She hath given me a prospect of the estate, in present, and to come, and there's enough of it. I, unluckily, appointed Tuesday to meet again, to resolve of the portion, (thinking it decent not to do it, at first meeting, that I might not be thought too forward,) but I never thought of our journey. If, therefore, sir, you have so ordered it, that Wednesday will not be so convenient for you, I will go with you to-morrow, at nine o'clock, and, with ordinary diligence, we may return by two; but, if it will be better for you, I had rather defer it, while Wednesday nine o'clock. But be free with me in the case, and let me be favoured with your answer by penny post,* as soon as you can to-day.

* Of which "the first inventor," (in 1679,) was "Rob Moray, son of a Scotchman, a milliner, and of the company of Clothworkers."—*Athen. Oxon.*

Sir, I desire, if possible, that you would enquire, soon as you go abroad to-day, who is acquainted with this Lady Littleton. She was Baron Littleton's wife, and still a widow, something old, but mighty brisk. She lives in Queen Street, near Lincoln's Inn Fields. I fancy, being somewhat townly, as I perceive at first view, she may be acquainted with her neighbours, it may be, with those excellent women, my Lady Mordeu and Mrs. Steward. I would be glad you could search out some acquaintance of yours, intimate with her, that, now at first, my daughter may have that character given her, which I (fond father) think she may deserve.

I am unwilling to give you this trouble, though I know, after what you have done for us, you will not grudge this assistance.

Sir,

Your humble servant,

JAS. HOUBLON.

PEPYS TO SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

SIR,

January 21, 1682.

I RESTORE you, with a thousand thanks, the rarities brought me this morning by Mr. Parry; having (as well for your ease as the preventing all possibility of prevention) secured myself copies of them here, though not without some repining to

see so little room left (after such monuments as these) for my being of any stead in story to the name of my honoured friend Sir Robert Southwell. However, at your leisure, pray give me some knowledge of your relation to your sea namesake, and what (if anything) you have, either of written or traditional, as may best instruct me (beyond our prints) to the doing him right.

Other matters of like kind I have in reserve to traffic with you in, and particularly some that will employ your authority with our Irish Apollo, where, wishing you nothing less contentful than the conversation of our young secretary, I bid you most respectfully farewell, and am

Your most obliged

and affectionate humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL TO PEPYS.

DEAR SIR,

King's Weston, Feb. 24, 1682.

'Tis more than time that I rouse up, and return most thankful acknowledgments for your favours at my departure from London, when my heart was sufficiently troubled. You were pleased to send my son all the temptations in the world to be a good writer, and you are also ready to embellish whatever any of his name did remarkable in your element. Thus you take me at both ends, as for many years past you have done in the middle, and

I must continue your prisoner till you give opportunities of my enlargement.

I am here among my children, at least an innocent scene of life, and I endeavour to explain to them the difference between right and wrong. My next care is to contrive for the health which I lost by sitting many years at the sack-bottle, so that to keep myself in idleness and in motion is a great part of my discipline.

What between love, care, and much sorrow, I have not yet looked into some collections that may give me matter for a letter touching a seaman of my name; but 'tis upon my thoughts, and I will not be wanting to his shrine, since you are pleased to have it so. My son tells me he will speak a word for himself; so you see what is like to be entailed upon you. I am for ever, Sir,

Your most affectionate friend

and most humble servant,

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

PEPYS TO MR. JAMES HOUBLON.

SIR,

Newmarket, March 14, 1682.

THAT I am well got hither, and well here, will (I assure myself) give you no disquiet. But how your whig-ship* will bear my telling you that the

* The modern Houblons have, I believe, been generally, if not always, Tories.

Duke of York is so too, and not only so, but plumper, fatter, and all over in better liking than ever I knew him, is a thing that I cannot answer for. But so it is, and worse, by how much with his natural his political state of body seems to be much mended too, since his nearer partakings of his brother's sunshine.

Yet all this you will do well to bear with, if the King will have it so. Nor do I despair but you will when I have told you that the King (God be blessed) seems in no point less fortified against mortality than the Duke, but in one particular more; namely, that (as much as that signifies) he hath the prayers of the very Whigs for his health, while we tories are fain to pray, by ourselves, for his brother's.

Under which odds I leave you with great content, and am

Your most affectionate humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

I kiss all the fair hands with and about you, and hope to do it nearer in three days.

MRS. ST. MICHELL TO PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

Brampton, April 4, 1682.

I HAVE received yours of the 1st instant, wherein you are pleased to let me know of Madam Jackson's return to your own house at Brampton, which she is mistress of, were it mine.

It will be no trouble to me or straitness, if it proves not so to her, to find your lodgings crowded with people which have not ever had the honour of Madam Jackson's acquaintance, besides the meanness of our capacity in all respects, especially that of entertainment according to her merits, and as your sister. But to that I shall say no more, since your honour hath mentioned it already.

What I have to say to Madam Jackson I shall omit till her return to Brampton. In the mean time I wish her a good and speedy journey, and safe progress in her affairs.

With the dutiful services of my family and self, I remain

Your honour's obedient servant,
and ever obliged,

ESTHER ST. MICHELL.

PEPYS TO MR. PARRY.

MR. PARRY,

April 7, 1682.

THIS will be brought by the widow, Jane Edwards, mother of the boy, Samuel Edwards, for whom Sir John Frederick* has been pleased, by your hand, to send me a paper for his admission into the hospital.

His father was his Majesty's servant in the navy for near twenty years past, and lately died an officer therein, leaving this poor woman with two small

* President of Christ's Hospital, Lord Mayor 1663.

children, (whereof this, being between nine and ten years old, is the eldest,) and without aught more towards her and their support (through his and her long and chargeable sickness) than what she can earn in service.

The King has been pleased to recommend to my particular care to see this boy provided for in the hospital, and would do it by a particular warrant to that purpose to the governors, if that should be demanded. But as I have heretofore, so in this particular case do I think that method liable to great inconveniences to the hospital, and therefore have industriously avoided it, as rather thinking it more expedient (if Sir John Frederick concur) that the King's desires herein should be answered without it. As for what concerns the hospital's security for their being discharged of the boy when he comes to the usual age, or shall be otherwise disposed of by them, I will myself (if it be required) be answerable, on the King's behalf, to the house in that particular.

Wherefore, recommending it to you to see despatched what is necessary for the child's being received with the rest of the children to be admitted this Easter, I remain

Your very loving friend to serve you,

S. PEPYS.

PEPYS TO SIR JOHN FREDERICK.

SIR,

May 2, 1682.

THOUGH I persuade myself the just regard every gentleman will bring to the prosperity of his Majesty's foundation under your care, in the approaching choice of its mathematical master, does in no-wise need it, yet I cannot withstand the importunity wherewith several worthy members of the committee were pleased yesterday to desire my leaving behind me in your hands the substance of what I then took the liberty of giving you as my humble thoughts touching the qualifications to be principally sought after in that election, and which I must confess I am much more prepared to wish you may find, than able to direct you where.

For such is (or at least appears to me) the scarcity of men thoroughly fitted for this office, that the best inquiries I have been able to make have not yet furnished me with one, and consequently the whole service I can hope to do you in this matter does not so much amount to the advising whom to choose as (from the effects of our past failures) whom to avoid. This I shall do in the two following short particulars :

First. That caution be had against entertaining any one for this employment to whom it will not be (and by him be received as) a benefit or promotion, late experience having shown us, that he who

either needs it not, or is master of qualities superior to it, can never be expected to submit thoroughly and with alacrity to the lowness and drudgery of it, or be contented to hold the same longer than it may be done with a degree of ease inconsistent with the account expected from us by his Majesty.

The other is, that you will in nowise content yourselves, as has been hitherto done, with a person knowing only in the theory of mathematics, without practice; it seeming to me not only in itself most absurd that a foundation expressly instituted for the improvement of navigation should be under the conduct of one wholly unconvertant either with ship or sea, and therefore unable properly even to discourse of the trade he is to teach. But, from a chargeable experience of our own, what success have we further to hope for from our committing this charge any more to a bare land navigator, whom no degree of reading, unassisted by practice, can thoroughly qualify for the duty intended him herein by his Majesty?

There is, indeed, a third consideration I should not omit the inviting you to, could I think it might prove of any use, namely, that ignorance in Latin may also be reckoned an exception fit to have place in this your election; forasmuch as his Majesty having, on many considerations, been pleased to require his children's* being instructed in that

* The forty boys upon King Charles's foundation.

particular : also, it would render your work much more easy could it be performed by the same hand with that of the mathematics. Therefore, if such an one can be found, the preference ought undoubtedly to be his. But if (as I fear) that be not to be hoped for, I take your embracing a practical mathematician, without Latin, for a much less evil than that of a Latinist alone without the full proportion of art and experience before mentioned; forasmuch as the former is, with very little trouble and no charge to the hospital, suppliable by its grammar master, but the latter by no means I know of but that of a person duly qualified for it. Of such, I will not doubt but some choice, though no great one, may, upon inquiry, be found, there being, as I am informed, one already proposed by the gentlemen of the Trinity-House; and more, it is to be hoped, will, at the day of election, be offered from other hands.

With which, and the beseeching you not to let a day be unnecessarily lost in forwarding the condition of the School, under its present unsettlement and disorder,

I am,

Honoured sir,

Both yours and the hospital's most humble
and most affectionate servant,

S. PEPYS.

MR. HEWER TO PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

Saturday, May 6, 1682.

THIS comes under cover of my Lady Peterborough's, to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 4th inst. from Margate Roads, hoping that this will find you in health, and safely arrived at Edinburgh.

Sir William Jones* died on a sudden, upon Thursday last, and, I think, not much lamented or taken notice of but by those who are factiously inclined against the peace of the government, which, or some greater evil, will be the fate attending them that shall continue and remain under such principles.

Your letter to your sister I sent inclosed in one from myself; and, if you shall find a fitting opportunity, I believe your speaking to my Lady Peterborough about Mrs. St. Michell may be of use and advantage, if not at present, yet against a vacancy shall happen. I do not think fit to mention anything to her from myself about it, not knowing how it might meet with your approbation; but if you shall approve, after having mentioned it to her, I am of opinion we may, by her hands, make some good use for your sister's advantage.

Our family both at home and at Clapham

* See *infra*, p. 297.

continue in health, and send you their very humble service and prayers for keeping you in health, and sending the Duke, Duchess, and all their company, a safe and happy return.

My Lady Deane continues well, but she has a very sickly family, two of her maids and her coachman being at present down; one of the maids having the small-pox, and her son Jack, the astronomer, the like, at Mr. Kiddar's, but it is hoped past danger.

The peace concluded on with Algiers by Admiral Herbert is on such terms, I hear, as are not much liked, though a peace for saving charges at this time is not, I believe, displeasing to the Treasury; and I heartily wish that our *pretended* good husbandry in the Navy (for such only it is) does not more hurt than good, and the managers thereof do not make the old proverb good, by their leaping over a block and stumbling at a straw; for I understand there are some very earnest still with the King for going on with the contract for making the wet-dock at Chatham, and yet, having sent down instructions to Sir Phineas Pett about keeping a check on the stores for distinct services, do not think it reasonable to allow him more than a clerk at 50*l.* a year for doing the same, while they are, at the same time, contented to give 28,500*l.* for going on with a work, which, if it were for the King's service, could be done for 22,000*l.*

Sir Phineas Pett, adhering to his letter and reasons against the said wet-dock, had very sharp words with my Lord Finch at the Admiralty about this matter and some others then in debate, there being (which is to be lamented) several factions now among them, while they cannot agree among themselves. The like being also at the Navy Board, the King's service goes to rack, and is at this day in such a pickle as it never was since I can remember, every day plainly showing the different management in the Duke's time and now.

With my most humble service to Mr. Legg and yourself, I remain, with all due respect,

Your most faithful and ever obedient servant,

WM. HEWER.

MR. HOUBLON TO PEPYS.

SIR,

London, May 13, 1682.

MR. HEWER, bringing last night your letter of the 8th from Edinburgh,* was most welcome to all your friends in my family. Before, as you were numbered among the dead by all the City almost, except myself and some others, so no arguments could work on my women and girls to believe otherwise.

Though I assured them, from Sir S. Narborough, Sir R. Haddock, Mr. Pett, and others,

* To Mr. Hewer.

that you embarked in the Catherine yacht, they had no faith, and would have you with the Duke. They were sure you loved him so well that you could not be from him.* You see, and are likely to be told when you come home, what your *Iter Boreale*† hath cost us, and what it is to leave us on the sudden, as you did, without asking, or, for all I know, having our prayers; we were all so angry at your going.

You intend, I hope, to continue your resolution to come home by land, which is much desired; for, I think, by this time you are convinced that a Scotch voyage, especially with a ship of a great draught of water, is more dangerous than one to the Indies.

But, to come now to the unfortunate people that have perished: certainly, it makes a great cry, as it doth here, amongst the families in Scotland that have lost relations. The circumstances of their loss is more aggravating than can be imagined: to be lost in broad daylight, summer, and fair weather, and with so much help about them, is intolerable.

* "Though I had abundant invitation," says Pepys, "to have gone on board the Duke, I chose rather, for room's sake and accommodation, to keep my yacht, where I had nobody but Sir C. Musgrove and our servants."

† "Robert Wild, a Nonconformist Divine," says Lord Braybrooke, "published, in 1660, a poem called *Iter Boreale*, upon Monk's march from Scotland." Wood mentions three other poems of the same name, by Eades, Corbett, and Marten, it having been a favourite subject.

Some think the Duke's heat and courage to save the ship, made him stay too long aboard, and overlook saving the men, who knew their desperate condition, but would not, in good manners to him, provide for their safety while he stayed with them.* Some lament the misfortune of princes generally, in being prevented the use of their own judgment in the choice of officers, having them put upon them by importunity and solicitation. They think this pilot one of that sort, though others think the contrary. But, sure, he was ignorant that did not know where he was when he had sailed so few leagues: but he is accused of being obstinate, and impatient of advice,† than which qualities in a pilot there cannot be worse. God forgive him, I cannot, that he should not have had a-head, a yacht or a smaller ship, sounding, to know the certain depths, till they were past those wretched sands; for without the lead they could not well know they were so, as neither seeing the land nor any beach. And, again, I cannot forgive the captains of the yachts and other ships, that they should not be more at hand, being broad day and fair weather, and knowing that they were not sure of

* "It is said that the sinking mariners gave an huzza when they saw the Duke in safety."—*Chron. Hist.*

† Pepys imputes to him "an obstinate over-weening in opposition to the contrary opinions of Sir I. Berry, his master, mates, Col. Legg, the Duke himself, and several others, concurring unanimously in not being yet clear of the sands."

the sands. But God would have it so, and I'll leave off censuring and judging. Excuse it upon the score of my pity for so many brave men perishing in a moment. I pray God fit us all, and give us grace to fit ourselves for our last hour.

I am sorry your land journey will not be pleasant; for, with all this wet, the roads must be bad, and after your journeys you cannot have evening walks, for, in these parts, we have not a dry place to set our feet on. So you have need of our prayers, which you shall be sure of, for your homeward journey.

Favour me with a line, how you proceed, what are your stages, and with the last night's lodging, that, if I can get leave of my cold and perpetual coughing, I may meet you there, or at your last dinner.

I am, Sir,

Your humble and obedient servant,

JAMES HOUBLON.

PEPYS TO MR. HEWER.

MR. HEWER,

Berwick, Friday, May 19, 1682.

I MIGHTILY thank you for your's of the 6th under my Lady Peterborough's cover. By which, it appearing you had received mine of the 4th, your care would be over, as to my particular

safety, (and the misfortune of the Gloucester,*) I having herein told you of my purpose to reside on board the Catherine yacht. Nevertheless, I failed not, by the very first express the Duke sent upon his arrival at Edinburgh, to tell you more largely. This also I sent under Mr. Froud's cover, hoping its coming to your hand for fuller satisfaction, as to myself and other matters.

The Duke being almost wholly taken up in settling public affairs, before his leaving the kingdom, Mr. Legg † and I made the most of our time in visiting what was most considerable within reach, particularly Stirling, Linlithgow, ‡ Hamilton; and Glasgow, a very extraordinary town indeed for beauty and trade, much superior to any in Scotland. The truth is, there is so universal a rooted nastiness hangs about the person of every Scot, (man and woman,) that renders the finest show they can make, nauseous, even among those of the first quality.

Nevertheless, the authority the Duke maintains with so much absoluteness, yet gentleness here, is a thing very considerable, rendering it morally impossible for any disquiet to arise in his Majesty's affairs in this kingdom. Truly, as their

* "On the 5th May, the Gloucester frigate struck upon the sand called 'The Lemon and Oar,' about sixteen leagues from the mouth of the Humber."—*Chron. Hist.*

† Colonel George Legg, created (Dec. 2, 1682.) Baron of Dartmouth.

‡ The birth-place of Queen Mary, in 1542.

government seems founded on principles much more steady than those of ours, so their method of managing it in council, (his Royal Highness having been pleased to give me opportunity of being present with him two Council-days,) appears no less to exceed ours in the order, gravity, and unanimity of their debates.

I mentioned the business of the Rocker to my Lady Peterborough, who was very ready to give her advice and assistance, when there shall be opportunity, of which she cannot make any judgment till she comes to London, and sees how the old ones are disposed of. But she tells me, what is to be done must be by the hand of my Lady Hyde, and that it will cost some money, not much; but, at her coming to town, she will be able to inform me more particularly, promising her assistance in all she could, if she found room for any; I not telling her for whom I designed the inquiry.

Pray give Sir Anthony Deane my most humble service, and my poor lady, whose pain under the disorders of her family through sickness I much condole, praying God to shorten it by a return of health. Let Sir Anthony Deane know that I lately took an opportunity to acquaint the Duke fully (Mr. Legg being present) with his controversy with the Commissioners of the Admiralty, who was infinitely pleased with the shameful and ridiculous proceedings of those

Commissioners, and the advantage Sir A. Deane has taken of it, and will necessarily receive from it. Mr. Legg also is no less gratified, not only from the mean esteem he has of them, but the real value and consideration he expresses for him.

He gives you also his kind service, and, though in the main, I find him a favourer of a wet-dock, yet is he convinced abundantly of the ignorance of those gentlemen, both in relation to that and everything else, and particularly the points you mention in your letter, which I communicated to him.

I thank you for the news about the death of that insolent and mutinous lawyer, J——.* The Duke showed me a copy of Herbert's articles with Algiers. I cannot imagine what the King will do about leaving our captives unredeemable.

Pray give my service and wishes of health to your mother, and all with her. The like for the ladies in Portugal Row, Mr. Houblon and his family.

I long to be at Newcastle, in hopes of meeting from you there some notice of all your healths, having desired it in my last, as I shall, afterwards, I hope at Scarborough and Hull, at which, business will successively oblige Mr. Legg to call, and spend two days, as he has done here; whence

* Jones, a warm advocate for the Exclusion Bill. See *suprà*, p. 289.

we shall sail this night or to-morrow morning ; so as, (touching in our way at Holy Island* to visit the castle,) to be at Newcastle on Sunday or Monday.

According to which, the best calculation I can make of absence from you is fourteen days ; when, I trust, I shall see you in health, which God grant, and so Adieu.

Your's most affectionately,

S. PEPYS.

MR. HEWER TO PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

Thursday, May 25, 1682.

SINCE mine of 13th Instant, directed to Newcastle, under cover to Mr. Legg, I have received your's of 19th from Berwick, which gives all your friends much satisfaction to understand the continuance of your health and safety, they all being under the same circumstances here, unless my Lady Mordaunt, who has had a very shrewd fit of the stone, rendering her incapable of coming out of her chamber for three or four days. Last night, she was much better, and, with the other lady there, gives you their very humble service, as they do from Winchester Street, where I communicated your letter ; but they are under some apprehension of your displeasure, in regard they have not particularly heard from yourself,

* Otherwise called Lindisfarne, eight miles from Berwick.

which, I presume, you will do from Newcastle, where you will find a letter from him signifying the great trouble that family lie under.

They are all very well pleased, and make themselves merry with the description you give of the Scotch people, believing you have much more to tell them on that point at your return.

Though you tell us their Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of York passed Berwick with a fair wind on Wednesday the 17th instant, we hear no news of them as yet, though in hourly expectation.

I hope your mentioning to my Lady Peterborough the business of the Rocker, may prove of some advantage when opportunity shall present, which I shall endeavour to learn and improve to the advantage of the person concerned.

Sir A. Deane and my lady give their very humble service. The Commissioners, since his answer to the bill in Chancery, having given out as if they would prosecute him for alleging that which is not true; but it is like the rest of their proceedings, and will render them the more ridiculous should they attempt it.

During the Commissioners of the Navy's being at Chatham, informing themselves concerning the business of the wet-dock, an unfortunate accident fell out. His Majesty's guard-ship, the Henry, was burned down to the water, by the carelessness of an old infirm man getting a candle

and leaving it burning in his cabin when he went to sleep. There are various constructions: some would have it an effect of the Popish plot for destroying the navy; others, that have no regard to the Admiralty, lay the blame on them for discharging, out of good husbandry, the commanders of the guard-ships, who ought to keep good discipline on board, and directing the entry of a man so infirm on board the guard-ships, contrary to the standing rules of the Navy; the decrepit old man by whom this misfortune happened appearing to be one, as I am informed, entered by their order. Notwithstanding which accident, Sir V. S. makes it a great argument for going on with the wet-dock, which remains still under consideration with the Navy Board.

My mother and the rest of our family remain in good health, and wish you a safe return, which God grant!

Our friend Scott is not yet heard of, though I find, as you will by the enclosed, some persons concerning themselves about him in the printed news books. I am informed that, on information given Sir Lionel Jenkyns, all his maps, sea-charts, and plans, are seized by one of his messengers, and are in Sir Lionel's custody, being found at the place where he last lodged, from whence he had absented, ever since having killed the man.*

* See *Appendix*.

A duplicate of this I have sent to meet you at Hull, where, I hope, it will find you in health, with the rest of your company, to whom pray give my very humble service.

Which, with the tenders of all due respects, not giving you any further trouble at present but heartily praying for your safe return, I remain,

Sir,

Your ever faithful and most obedient
servant,

WM. HEWER.

DR. WOOD TO PEPYS.

(Accompanying some papers containing Sir William Petty's scheme of Naval Philosophy.*)

HONOURED SIR, Christ's Hospital, June 17, 1682.

THIS morning I received your favour of yesterday, with the enclosed sheet, and am sorry I was not within to receive the honour you designed me; but you express so great a value for those papers, that, I believe, had you known with whom I then was, you would have excused my not

* Among the writings of Sir William Petty, "published after his death," in 1687, No. III. contained a treatise of naval philosophy, in three parts, viz.

"A Physico-Mathematical Discourse of Ships and Sailing. Of Naval Policy. Of Naval Economy or Husbandry."

waiting on you. However, according to your desire, I send you all the rest I have, or believe is yet in the world, of that (I think) excellent Discourse, which, nevertheless, I still hope I may be some way instrumental in soliciting at least, if not procuring, to be further enlarged, as I may hereafter acquaint you, for no indisposition can render me incapable of being a lover of navigation; I had almost said a naval philosopher, if you will pardon the pride of the expression.

I reckon that naval excels land architecture, in the same proportion as a living moving animal a dull plant. Palaces, themselves, are only like better sorts of trees, which, how beautiful or stately soever, remain but as prisoners, chained during life to the spot they stand on; whereas the very spirits that inform and move ships are of the highest degree of animals, viz. rational creatures; I mean seamen. I shall not farther discuss, and hope you will pardon these extravagant thoughts. Now, being more free, from this place in an hospital, (for which I give you my very hearty, though perhaps unexpected, thanks,) methinks I find myself also discharged of all low distrustful thoughts of the return of these papers. I am more at a loss how I shall excuse not waiting on you personally with them, unless you will take for an excuse that they, here, are not fully ready to receive the delivery up of my charge,

which, therefore, I must attend, being yet in a double capacity; but shall always singly be,

Sir,

Your very humble servant,

ROBT. WOOD.

PEPYS TO COLONEL LEGG.

SIR,

July 13, 1682. (Noon.)

I BEG you to believe the regard I have to your service and satisfaction has a much greater share in what this comes about, than any partiality for the person concerned, though he has all the title that merit or friendship can give to expect it from me.

It is upon the accident that just now came to my knowledge of Sir Jonas Moore's sudden death; and he whom (without his privity) I come to put you in mind of, is Mr. Sheres. Nor do I purpose more than the bare putting you in mind of him (among the many that to be sure are, ere this, thronging to you) as one of whose loyalty and duty to the King and his Royal Highness, and acceptance with them, I assure myself; of whose personal esteem and devotion towards you, of whose uprightness of mind, universality of knowledge in all useful learning particularly mathematics, and of them those parts especially which relate to gunnery and fortifica-

tion ; and lastly, of whose vigorous assiduity and sobriety I dare bind myself in asserting much farther than, on the like occasion, I durst pretend to of any other's undertaking, or behalf of mine.

You being not now to be come at, (your council sitting,) I take this way of kissing your hands and placing this with you. From

Your most obedient servant,

S. PEPYS.

To Colonel Legg.

DR. NATHANIEL VINCENT* TO PEPYS.

SIR,

Great Queen Street, July 27, 1682.

I SHOULD have written another copy of my "*Conjectura Nautica*," but, though it has been all that I studied since I came to town, I was unwilling to deceive with longer expectation of it.

* Wood, having mentioned "Nathaniel Vincent, younger brother to Thomas Vincent," one of the ejected ministers in 1662, adds, evidently referring to this correspondent of Pepys :—

"Besides this Nath. Vincent is, or was lately, another of both his names, D. of D. and Fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge, and Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty; author of '*The Right Notion of Honour*,'—sermon preached before the King at Newmarket, 7th October, 1674, at which time, appearing in a long periwig and holland sleeves, according to the then fashion for gentlemen, his Majesty took notice of, and being scandalized at it, commanded James Duke of Monmouth, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, that he cause the statutes concerning decency in apparel to be put in execution in that university, which accordingly was done."—*Athen. Oxon.* by *Bliss*.

Soon as I have time, I intend to review it, or make a better use of its best materials. For this, I entreat you either to get somebody to transcribe it, or at least the Latin, leaving room for citations, which I have by me, or to spare me the copy for some days, that I may get it done. I suppose I shall be called into the country suddenly. You deserve to know my concerns, and I shall therefore give some account of them.

I have resolved to leave Cambridge, where I am less healthy, cheerful, and vigorous, than in this seemingly worse air, or than in any other place where I have spent any considerable time. That happy place has been my abode from seven years of age. Whether my spirits are overcharged, or insufficiently nourished by the *Archæus* and the *occultus vitæ cibus* of the place, I know not; but this I find, that I must transplant, if I will grow any longer; and that if I do not get new earth about my roots, I shall wither presently.

Now, Sir, I have an extraordinary worthy friend, who, without my knowledge, has made an interest for me to be lecturer at Bury. He writes me word, that he believes he shall succeed: if he does not, I am thinking to remove my books to London, and set myself to work upon those two questions which are now of so great consequence to the Church and to monarchy, viz. that of

resisting a lawful prince on pretence of religion; and that other, of passive obedience.*

When I made my last visit to our most worthy friends in Winchester Street, I was commanded to wait upon them again before leaving the town. If you have thoughts of seeing them within a few days, and please to take me with you, on notice the evening before, you shall be attended with the most hearty respects of,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

NATH. VINCENT.

PEPYS TO MR. HENRY FREDERICK THYNNE.†

SIR,

Friday, December 1, 1682.

DR. GALE yesterday put into my hand a letter he received three days since from the Bishop of Oxford,‡ out of which I have, at his request,

* For which, all that could be said had been adduced in 1680 by the learned Sir Robert Filmer, Bart. in "Patriarcha, or the Natural Power of Kings;" sufficiently answered by Algernon Sidney and John Locke. Yet from his treatises on "Usury" and "Witchcraft," it appears that the author of that absurdity, "*Patriarcha*," had, on other subjects, anticipated the good sense and just reasoning of modern times.

† In Wood's *Fasti*, he is described as "brother to Viscount Weymouth, Keeper of his Majesty's Library, St. James's, and afterwards Treasurer and Receiver-general to Catherine the Queen Dowager."

‡ John Fell, from 1675. He died in 1686, and has drawn

transcribed so much as relates to a point wherein your favour is desired, for enabling him to serve the Bishop in his asking.

“ I am told,” says the Bishop, “ that there is in the library at St. James’s a manuscript copy of his “ Pædagogus,”* which, besides the hymn ordinarily printed, has a second. I know not any so likely to give further satisfaction herein as yourself, which occasions this trouble. I have here a short hymn, which is addressed *Εἰς Παιδαγωγόν*, and begins *Σοὶ τόν δε καὶ γὰ παιδαγωγόν*, &c. Now whether this be the same with that in the King’s library, I should be glad to know.”

In order to which, I am to entreat you to enable me by a word or two (for I have not yet been abroad) to tell Dr. Gale whether he may have your favour in an opportunity for making this search.

I hope in a very little time to wait on you, with thanks for your last kind visit, and am

Your most humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

from Wood, no general panegyrist, the following eulogy:—“ His charity was so great, that he was a husband to the afflicted widow, a father to the orphan, and a tender parent to poor children. He constantly allowed an yearly pension to a poor man of St. Thomas, in the suburb of Oxon. purposely that he should teach, *gratis*, twenty or twenty-four poor children of that parish to read. Some of which he afterwards bound apprentices, or made scholars.”—*Athen. Oxon.* ii. 604.

* Probably the Pædagogus by Clement of Alexandria.—J. S.

I should have told you that the Bishop, in his letter, takes notice that this is in order to his little New-Year's-gift book,* which he is, according to custom, now preparing, and wherein, it seems, this Hymn of Clemens Alexandrinus is to be inserted, which makes me think that the sooner he has his answer about it the better.

DR. NATHANIEL VINCENT TO PEPYS.

Clare Hall, December 11, 1682.

MOST WORTHY SIR,

HAVING the ill fortune to be out of the way when you came to Cambridge, being uncertain when I shall again see London, and unwilling to detain any longer your copy of my "Conjectura Nautica," I have directed it to your hand by our Monday carrier. I have inserted the citations, and corrected the mistakes I observed in reading it over. I can enlarge it; and if hereafter I make additions to my own copy, the same hand shall transfer them to yours.

I have attained, long since, the experiment I

* "Dr. Fell published, or reprinted, every year, while Dean of Christ-Church, from 1661 to his death, a book, commonly a classical author, against New-Year's-tide, to distribute among the *students* of his house, to which he put an epistle or running-notes or corrections These," adds Wood, "I have endeavoured to recover, but in vain." — *Athen. Oxon.*

told you I hoped for, have given it many improvements, and brought it to that degree of perfection that it is, or it may be, the best treasure I am master of. I give it the name of *Cryptocovianicon*, because it may be serviceable to princes in secret correspondences, to that degree of privacy and security that no invention of the like nature can justly pretend to. It directs a way of writing which can never be deciphered.

It bears reading but a very few minutes, and then its characters vanish. Directions may be given to read it, which shall not discover its way of writing; so that no letter written by it can ever be a witness against its author: nor shall the writer be engaged to the faithfulness of his messenger, whilst another may carry the instructions for reading; by which means the writer is secured as well against falseness and interception, as against curiosity, sauciness, or accidental discoveries. Neither is it more useful than surprising, pleasant, and diverting.

These are some of the properties of my invention, of which I have too much reason to make the best advantage I can. Therefore, if you apprehend it a respect, or a satisfaction, or a convenience, (because, if I can help it, I will never be troublesome to so good a friend,) I would gladly have it your part to inquire and resolve me at what rate such an invention will be valued in the English court; whether his Majesty, or

his Royal Highness, can think it worth a thousand pounds. I reckon it to be much more worth to a foreign prince engaged in wars. It is my duty and devotion to his Majesty and the royal family, and my affection to my country, that lead me, against my interest, to offer it first at home, though by way of sale, since my circumstances will not allow me, after my former unprofitable labours and fruitless promises, to make such a present.

I am desirous, though to my disadvantage, that it should be lodged in the hands of a prince whose virtues I know, and who, I believe, will easily be satisfied in my promise, upon the sacrament, to conceal the secret from all the world besides; for where I am known, I will beg to have my brains knocked out if my fidelity in the case can with any reason be suspected.

I will stay for your answer hereunto a week or ten days, before I prepare any despatches to a foreign court on the same inquiry, but upon higher demands. I wish that another New World may not be lost from England, for want of faith to believe the discoverer. This I wish the more, because I have as fair a prospect (as at first I had upon this) of another invention, whereby a prince may as much infest his enemies, as serve his own affairs by my present discovery.

This page has room for nothing but my most humble services, which I desire you likewise to

give to Sir Anthony Deane, Mr. Evelyn, and our friends in Winchester Street.

I remain, Sir,

Your most sincerely devoted servant,

NATH. VINCENT.

PEPYS TO DR. VINCENT.

SIR,

December 23, 1682.

My giving no earlier answer to yours of the 11th, more especially where you found it expedient to limit the time within which you should expect it, has arisen from being out of the way for some days after its arrival, and partly from willingness to give my thoughts on it with deliberation, after getting what light I could towards your satisfaction, by a remote discourse on that subject, with one or two whom I thought best able to inform of the value that would be put on such a secret, should it be proposed.

I find it very rare that our own or other princes give themselves the care of correspondences with their own hands, about the affairs of their states, (the only exception in our age being the last King of Sweedland,) that work being lodged in the hands of their secretaries of state. I find them, too, so satisfied in the security of their ordinary methods of ciphering, which they vary severally with every prince or minister; that they do

not seem under any solicitude, or search for better, either on the score of secrecy or security, unless by such improvement as might ease them of the trouble (no little one, I understand) of varying their cipher for every man they have occasion to converse with at a distance; next, such as the party you correspond with shall not know the method of compounding the materials wherewith he is to be enabled to answer you. Forasmuch as though this invention, which, by your description, outdoes all I ever heard of, and deserves to its inventor suitable reward, does so far approach perfection as to be capable of being read without discovering the method of its being written; yet if he who so reads be the person to answer it, he must either understand how to write it, or you must want the answer. If that be so, the secret cannot be used, as such, above once; for if every man that uses it must be master of it, then is it in every of their powers to impart it to more; and by the daily changes made by princes in the choice of ministers at home and abroad, that would soon extinguish all its virtue of secrecy.

What, therefore, I can yet offer towards your satisfaction is, laying before you this last consideration, viz. whether your invention has this advantage of all others, of being not only legible without betraying the mystery of its writing, but of being writ also with the same ignorance in

the writer, of the art of preparing the materials he is to be furnished with from you for writing. This transcendent virtue I hope it has, from having the other, of not being to be read but by the help of something you are to aid the reader with for use, as he shall have occasion. This I the rather mention; for that wherever you shall place your offer, abroad or at home, this consideration will very much affect its value: that however justly you may expect the character you bear will be reckoned a sufficient security against any foul play that could be apprehended, yet will it much lessen the satisfaction of the buyer, if no service be expected without communicating it to more. Wherefore pray think of this, in which I have rather chosen to be thus prolix, than to hazard your not thoroughly comprehending me; and let me receive your advice, by putting it, if you think fit, into such words as you would have your proposition made in, by such a description of the several circumstances of advantage, which your invention has over all others yet proposed, as will best express the same.

As I am bound, and, of choice, desirous to be employed in this, and everything wherein I may do you service, so would I be glad to have the best preparation I can, by being furnished with a proposition drawn by your own hand.

Another note I have, indeed, to mention, not unworthy reflection, though of much lower im-

portance; that as letters which ordinarily make work for secrecy of writing in state-correspondences are of great length, and, being on subjects of high importance, commonly require to be kept for some time, either in the originals, an entire copy, or a sufficient abstract for the receiver's surer and fuller remembering and complying with their contents, I desire you to consider the practicableness of your invention in letters of such length, where the originals remain legible but a very few minutes, and then vanish.*

This, Sir, is what, in faithfulness to you and your most surprising secret, I thought becoming me to communicate, that you may know (as far, at least, as I can help towards it) how near you are to what would render it the most consummate device that ever, I believe, fell within human thoughts or could be wished for, on this great subject, wherein I wish you the utmost fruits so noble an enterprise and attainment deserve.

What remains is, the owning the obligation you have laid on me in your "*Conjectura Nautica*," wherein, as you have, in your researches, outdone all that I thought could have been said on

* I recollect to have seen a sure method of invisible, yet permanent writing, thus described:—Let a writer prepare all the materials of ink, except galls; thus what he writes will remain invisible till his correspondent applies to the paper a solution of galls; then the communication will be immediately discovered, and remain perpetually legible, as if originally written in the common method.

so barren a question as that which I so accidentally proposed to you out of Monsieur Grotius,* so shall not your name and it want their just places at the head of what I have been able to collect (from my learned friends) of most curious on that subject, besides the acknowledgment due to you by the utmost expressions of them, from your most obliged and affectionate humble servant,

S. PEPYS.†

* To whom Pepys had been attracted in much earlier life. Thus, December 15, 1661, he says —

“ I am now full of study about writing something about our making of strangers strike to us at sea, and so am altogether reading Selden and Grotius, and such other authors to that purpose.”—*Diary*, (1825) i. 125.

† This letter has the following *endorsement*:—

“ A method of secret correspondence by writing, securing the proprietor thereof against all possible hazards arising from the indiscretion, curiosity, misfortune, or treachery of his messenger or correspondent, as having these peculiar advantages never yet met with in any former attainment on this subject.

“ 1. Of remaining (after writing) for ever invisible, till made visible by the help of some instructions or material from the inventor.

“ 2. Of being made useful on the part of the correspondent by a supply of materials and directions from the author, which shall not only serve for a reply, but not discover the mystery.

“ 3. Of remaining visible but very few minutes, then irrecoverably vanishing.

“ 4. Of being, nevertheless, to be made visible, at the pleasure of the reader, by parts, so slowly as to give opportunity of taking either an entire copy, or such notes therefrom as he shall think necessary for future use.

“ S. P.”

DR. NATHANIEL VINCENT TO PEPYS.

SIR,

December 26, 1682.

I WAS unwilling, on the first report of my invention, to tell all its advantages; keeping part in reserve, that it might in conclusion answer all expectations which the account I gave must needs raise. By the enclosed,* you will find it pretends to those two properties which your obliging letter with so much reason and ingenuity describes.

The carrier stays, and will allow no more time than to subscribe myself,

Sir,

Your most humble and most affectionately
devoted servant,

NATH. VINCENT.

* " An advertisement of a newly invented *Monocrypticon*, or secure method for secret and great correspondencies.

" This invention directs a safer way of writing than any ciphers can be improved to, which could never yet puzzle an artist.

" The characters of the *Monocryptique* writing are invisible, till the way be shown how they may be seen and read.

" The discovery will secure a Minister of State and the secrets of his master from the teazings of an angry parliament, the spite of rival counsellors, the testimony of a statesman's letters against himself, in any treaty, court, or council; the danger of interception; and the curiosity, or falseness of agents; for it can be read but once, when, the characters made visible, by the instructions of the writer, continue but a very few minutes, and then vanish.

" As

DR. NATHANIEL VINCENT TO PEPYS.

SIR,

January 10, 1682, 3.

I HUMBLY thank you for the honour and benefit of your last night's visit; you having given me occasion to consider on what side my discovery may be thought weakest, and be first attacked by ingenious curiosity; to the end that I may sufficiently fortify my invention on that part.

You were pleased to tell me, yesterday morning, that it would be difficult to meet with a purchaser of my invention in England: that it would be more advantageous to serve a Prince, or Minister of State, as should be occasion, than

“As the messenger who carries the letter need not be entrusted with the applications for reading it, so the correspondent may be taught how to return an answer in the same kind, and yet remain ignorant of the mystery, and unable to use it with any other person than the possessor.

“Though the characters herein used can be seen but two or three minutes; yet in correspondencies of great length, and such abstruse matters as require an abstract, or entire copy, the *Monocryptiques* may be produced to sight in such moderate proportions, that all the paper in the world may be filled with copies from those originals, which cannot be seen longer than a partridge after springing, or a started hare.

“*Quære.* May not this invention be reckoned worth a thousand guineas to a sole proprietor; especially, if the buyer would have greater security against its further discovery, than the inventor's character or friends can give; who, in this case, would not refuse to insure an honourable purchaser, upon an undated pardon for killing him, upon any just suspicion of his integrity.”—MS.

to make a full sale at once. If you had any person to name, that would use my discovery, and could add the particulars of any encouragement that would be given me, on such a score, I humbly beg an account thereof; because I shall scarce have the liberty to wait on you this week. This I mention, because I would willingly put myself into the best accommodations I can, for health and good humour, in order to the greatest performance of which I think myself capable.

I find myself mightily inclined to try what I could say against our new sect of Exclusionists;* especially, because I find that dangerous state-heresy hitherto maintained only by weak deductions from fragments and shreds of history, which have been well answered and will be still more exposed. I find the best gifts of our adversaries to be misreporting, railing, and illogical arguing; that their greatest perfection is index and scrap-learning; that there is not a man appears among them, so regularly studied as to adventure against the fundamental part of the question, so that, I cannot but conclude, they may be effectually baffled by a skilful assertion of the natural and Divine right of Regal succession.

* Referring to the bill, in 1680, "for securing the Protestant Religion, by disabling James Duke of York to inherit the imperial crown of England and Ireland," &c. It passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. See Harris's "Lives," 1814.—"The Curse of Popery and Popish Princes." 1807.

I pray, Sir, consider, and give me your opinion, whether it would be advisable for me to present a specimen of my *Monocryptique* to the Duke.

I entreat you to conceal, at least till I go out of town, my two experiments of relieving and interrupting the *noctilucal* flame;* and (if you have not yet discovered it) my third, (and the first I made of it,) to find, right, the hour of the night on a watch. I may be pardoned in desiring the first communication of such little discoveries, who am not loaded with great contentments, nor enjoy any greater satisfaction than your friendship, and the privilege of remaining,

Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

NATH. VINCENT.

DR. VINCENT TO PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR,

Clare Hall, April 26, 1683.

HAVING put off my next visit of London friends till winter, I found myself obliged to return, in particular, to your worthy self my thanks for your civilities, when I was last in town; especially, for your patience under too

* "Noctiluca, a substance chymically prepared, such as will shine of itself in the dark, without being exposed to the light or air."—*World of Words* (1706.) See *Phosphorus*.

many impertinencies of my *monocryptique*. If it prove not, at last, a crude and imperfect pretence, the ripeness and perfection must be ascribed to your judicious and acute inquiries.

In a library, whence I lately bought some books, I met with a folio, *de magnete*, which you have not in your catalogue. I laid hold of it, because I believed it desirable to you; it seeming to have something extraordinary on the subject, and to make good its title, which I transcribe,* that, if you wish for the book, you may know where it is, in a fair cover, at your service.

Sir, I remember, when I gave you our orator's letter to the Lord Keeper, you expressed yourself much pleased; I, therefore, send you another of his letters. He does not, usually, communicate his preparations; but this coming, accidentally, to my hand, I could not make a better use of it than to copy it for you; who, without a compliment, knows and relishes a good style, and commands it, too, as much as the public orator of our University.

I add my humble services to our friends in

* "Philosophia Magnetica. In qua, magnetis natura penitus explicatur, et omnium quæ hoc capite cernuntur causæ propriæ afferuntur; nova etiam construitur, quæ propriam poli elevationem, cum suo meridiano, ubicunque demonstrat. Multa quoque dicuntur de electricis et aliis attractionibus et eorum causis. Auctore Nicolao Cabeo Ferrariensi, Soc. Jesu. Coloniae, 1629."

Winchester Street, Sir Anthony Deane, Mr. Evelyn, and Mr. Hewer, remaining,

Sir,

Your ever devoted servant,

NATH. VINCENT.*

* While this was passing through the press, I discovered, quite accidentally, the following passage among the biographical notices of a learned academician:—“John de Montreul, a Parisian.” He had been “Secretary to the embassy in England, and at last left resident in Scotland.” There, “thinking to do some good office to the King of England, he negotiated that he might be put into the hands of the Scots.” The biographer adds: “He returned into France to take the charge of Secretary to the Prince of Conti. His master being clapt up with the Prince of Condé and the Duke de Longueville, I learned from a friend to whom he told it, that to write to them he made use of a secret, which the King of England had taught him in the long conferences they sometimes had together.

“A certain powder, very rare, being cast on the paper, made that before written there with a white liquor, to appear, which, without that, was wholly imperceptible. There were many drugs sent to the Prince of Conti, who feigned himself very sick. They were wrapt up in white papers: every paper was a letter; yet nothing could be seen, though never so narrowly looked upon, unless they made use of that powder the princes had. It lay commonly over the chimneys of their chambers, and, to the eyes of the guard, passed for powder to dry their hair.

“By this artifice, and several others, there was scarce a day wherein he sent not news, and heard not from them; and he showed no less than three hundred letters of the Prince of Condé’s writing.”—*The History of the French Academy*. Written in French by M. Paul Pellison. 1657.

PEPYS TO DR. TRUMBULL.

HONOURED SIR, York-Buildings, May 9, 1683.

I MOST thankfully return your *Historia Navalis*. As the properest interest, I could think of, for the loan, I have increased it by the *Pars Media*, as I would have done by the *Infima*, could I have found it. But, after all my inquiry, I cannot arrive at any certainty that that part was ever printed. Of which, if (when I have the honour of waiting on you, which I am now almost ashamed to attempt) you shall give me any advice, I will endeavour to complete yours and my own; there not being anything I know in history, so much to the honour of our country, as this piece of Sir Thomas Reeves's; I am sure not so edifying to me on the subject, in which, above all others, I am covetous of information.

From which consideration, also, I am well contented you should (as I do) measure the acknowledgments due to you for the same, from your most humble and most affectionate servant,

S. PEPYS.

SIR WILLIAM PETTY TO PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR, Dublin, July 3, 1683.

NOTWITHSTANDING many troubles, I every day do something on the design of shipping and sailing; and, I thank God, succeed pretty well.

Among other things, I have, in honour to Sir Anthony Deane, contrived a single-body, which, in many particulars, answers the double-body; but, I must tell you, when this single-body is well considered, it is but a double-body disguised.*

Pray let me hear from you in what manner

* An anonymous editor of Sir W. Petty's "Will," has thus referred to this subject :

"In 1663, he raised his reputation by the invention of the double-bottomed ship, against the judgment of almost all mankind; for, in July, when the ship first ventured from Dublin to Holyhead, she stayed there many days, which made her adversaries insult, and discourse the several necessities why she must be cast away; but her return in triumph, with those visible advantages above other vessels, checked the derision of some, and encalmed the violence of others, the first point being clearly gained, that she could bear the sea. She turned into that narrow harbour, against wind and tide, among the rocks and ships, with such dexterity as many ancient seamen confessed they had never seen the like.

"It appeared much to excel all other forms of ships in sailing, carriage, and security; but, at length, in its return from a voyage, was destroyed by a common fate, and such a dreadful tempest as overwhelmed a great fleet the same night; so that the ancient fabric of ships had no reason to triumph over the new model, when of seventy sail in the same storm, not one escaped. A model of this ship, made with his own hands, he presented to the repository of Gresham College." See "Tracts, &c. by the late Sir William Petty; to which is prefixed his last Will." *Dublin*, 1769.

Among "the most remarkable Rarities in the Repository at Gresham College," No. 265, is "the model of the hull of a double-bottomed ship, contrived by Sir William Petty, with two heads, two rudders, two holds, two keels," &c. See *View of London*. 1708.

To

and measure I am ridiculed at court concerning this matter ; and be not sparing to speak plainly, for I am proof against what any man can say against this principle. I aim at nothing but the satisfaction to have meant well towards mankind.*

Pray, present my service to Sir Anthony, Mr. Houblon, and Mr. Hewer. Desire Captain Sheres (whose very humble servant I am) not to forget the objections he promised against what was offered at our last meeting.

Pray pardon this trouble from

Your affectionate humble servant,

WM. PETTY.

To Richard Owen, Cambridge, a justly admired miscellaneous writer, who died in 1802, aged 88, the following invention has been attributed.

“ He contrived a double boat, consisting of two distinct boats, fifty feet in length, and only eighteen inches wide, placed parallel to each other at the distance of twelve feet, and united by a deck. This double boat is described as a swift and steady sailer, and capable of carrying heavy weights.”

* To promote this laudable self-satisfaction, the Letter-writer had published, “ The Advice of W. P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib, for the Advancement of some particular parts of learning, A. D. 1648.” His design was, “ That the business of education be not committed to the worst and unworthiest men, but seriously studied and practised by the best and ablest persons.” Thus it would no longer “ come to pass that many are holding the plough, which might have been made fit to steer the state.” See *Appendix*.

MEMORANDA and general Minutes, on setting out from London, July 30, 1683, to my departure from Tangier towards Cadiz, in December following.

1683. July 30. *Monday*.—From Lambeth. Lay at Godliman.

31. *Tuesday*.—Dined at Petersfield. Lay at Winchester.

August 1. *Wednesday*.—Dined at the College. Lay at Portsmouth. Lord Dartmouth came on Friday. Monday. Sent for to Windsor.

Mem.—To examine Townsend's * Parliamentary Collections of Queen Elizabeth (p. 280) about Dunkirk and Newport doing us mischief. Faults of the maps put out by the Trinity House, on the King's proclamation, 1604.

Atkins, my Lord Dartmouth's cook, being robbed on the road, the thieves did (as I remember) say, Colonel Legg, his master, was a Papist; so, they would take away his papers. Get a better knowledge of the story from Atkins, to show that this distinction against Papists was got even amongst highwaymen.

Strange to see, how surprised and troubled Dr.

* "Historical Collections, or an exact Account of the Proceedings of the Four Last Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth," 1588-1601.

Trumbull shows himself at this new work, put on him, of a Judge Advocate; how he cons over the Law-martial, and what weak questions he asks me about it.*

8. *Wednesday*. — Lord Dartmouth returned to

* From Portsmouth, Aug. 7, 1683, Pepys had thus written to his friend Evelyn.

“Your kind summons of the 2d. Inst. has overtaken me here, where it cannot be more surprising for you to find me, than it is to me to find myself; the King's command, (without any account of the reason of it,) requiring my repair hither, at less than eight-and-forty hours' warning: not but that I, now not only know, but am well pleased with the errand; it being to accompany my Lord of Dartmouth (and therewith to have some service assigned me for his majesty) in his present expedition, with a very fair squadron of ships to Tangier.

“What our work, nevertheless, is, I am not solicitous to learn, nor forward to make griefs at, it being handled by our masters as a secret. This only I am sure of, that over and above the satisfaction of being thought fit for some use or other ('t is no matter what), I shall go in a good ship, with a good fleet, under a very worthy leader, in a conversation as delightful, as companions in the first form in divinity, law, physic, and the usefulest parts of mathematics can render it, namely, Dr. Ken, Dr. Trumbull, Dr. Lawrence, and Mr. Sheres; with the additional pleasure of concerts (much above the ordinary) of voices, flutes, and violins; and to fill up all (if anything can do it, where Mr. Evelyn is wanting), good humour, good cheer, some good books, the company of my nearest friend, Mr. Hewer, and a reasonable prospect of being home again in less than two months.”—*Memoirs*.

In a very interesting letter from Sayes Court, 10. August, 1683, Evelyn thus refers to the communication of his friend;—

“Methinks, when you recount all the circumstances of your voyage, your noble and choice company, such useful as delightful conversation, you leave us so naked at home, that, till you return from Barbary, we are in danger of becoming barbarians.

Portsmouth, and entertained, on board, Lord and Lady Gaynsborough; I and my company dining at our lodgings, Dr. Goundy's. So we all went on board, for good and all.

The heroes are all embarked with my Lord Dartmouth, and Mr. Pepys; nay, they seem to carry along with them, not a colony only, but a college, nay, an whole university; all the sciences, all the arts, and all the professors of them too.

“ I am sure, you cannot but be curious (among other things) to enquire of medals and inscriptions, especially what may be found about old Tangier, &c. Mr. Sheres will remember, also, *the poor gardener*, if he happen on any kernels or seeds of such trees and plants (especially ever-greens) as grow about those precincts. Were it not possible, to discover whether any of those Citrine-trees are yet to be found, that, of old, grew about the foot of Mount Atlas, not far from *Tingis*; and were heretofore *in deliciis*, for their politure and natural maculations, to that degree, as to be sold for their weight in gold? Cicero had a table that cost him ten thousand sesterces, and another, which I have read of, that was valued at one hundred and forty thousand *H. S.* [*sestertii*]; which, at 3d. *H. S.*, amounted to a pretty sum: and one of the Ptolemies had yet another of far greater price, insomuch as, when they used to reproach their wives for their luxury and excess in pearl and paint, they would retort and *turn the tables* on their husbands.”—*Memoirs*.

Middleton, quoting the great Natural Historian, says “ there was a *cedar table* of Cicero's remaining in Pliny's time, said to be the first that was ever seen in Rome, and to have cost him eighty pounds.”—*History of Cicero*. 1741.

Of a residence which the occupation of “ the poor gardener,” Evelyn, had rendered illustrious, “ it is related, that on the site of the workhouse of St. Nicholas' parish stood *Sayes Court*, occupied by Peter the Great while he pursued the scheme of working as a shipwright in the Dock-yard.”— See Fussell's *Journey round the Coast of Kent*. 1818.

9. *Thursday*.—Lay (the first night) on board the Grafton, at Spithead; my Lord lying on shore. Captain Gunmon came into port this evening, and saluted us, but never came to see my Lord.

10. *Friday*.—My Lord came on board. Sailed to St. Helen's, with all the ships in company.

What a chaplain the Admiralty did send to my Lord Dartmouth, in the Grafton! a little deaf, crooked fellow, full of his design of going a hunting with my Lord.

In the Grafton, I found a Frenchman, that came into her to serve as a volunteer, under my Lord Duke of Grafton.* He hath been, he says, a lieutenant in the French service.

MR. HOUBLON TO PEPYS.

SIR,

London, August 11, 1683.

I FEAR this will find you at Portsmouth. The winds, though calm to-day, are contrary; but men-of-war, with stopping tides, will get to windward. I say, I *fear* you are still there; for, being this voyage is to be made, the sooner you go, the sooner and safer will be your return.

I hope the excellent company you have, all masters of arts and sciences, with music of all

* Son of Charles II. by Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland. He died, 1690, of a wound received at the siege of Cork.—See *Diary of Teonge*. 1825.

sorts, will divert your melancholy thoughts of leaving Old England and some of your friends. Those of this family are not a little proud that, out of your great kindness, you form to yourself superstitious omens from being forced to omit bidding them adieu in those forms your great civility would have obliged you to have used. I beseech you draw no uneasy thoughtfulness from hence; for we will help you to drive away this thinking faculty about the success of the voyage, by our most ardent prayers and wishes for your safe return. And, to confirm your faith in this point, I am sure you will believe these devotions of the major part of my tribe to be innocent and zealous, and all of them sincere. I am now with them all at the Forest, where we wished for your company, and drank to your good voyage. Communicating the kind expressions of your letter, for which and your great affection I remain infinitely obliged, they quickly showed by their grave looks how sensible they were of the truth and sincerity of your affection, which you have so often made good to them by real obligations.

The letter I sent you for Mr. Gough will not, I believe, deserve the tenth part of the thanks you bestow upon me for it. If you chance to call at Larache (and it may, for all that I know, do the King service that you do so), here is a letter for my friend Mr. Bulteel, who will count himself a very happy man to possess such a dear friend

of mine at his house. You will find that he knows you very well, when he will tell you what he hath heard Mr. Thomas Hill, his partner, say of you. You will also be extremely pleased to hear him give you an account of his friendship for him, which certainly was most sincere. I doubt not but he will serve you to his utmost power during your stay there, as will any of our masters if then in that port.

I am so straitened for time that I cannot entertain you, as I would, with news this evening, by our French and Dutch posts, that Vienna defends itself very well, and mighty succours from Poland and other princes are drawing towards its relief. We hear the Queen of Portugal is dangerously sick; that a great number of Jews are clapped up in the Inquisition: so, possibly, you may see how these Holy Inquisitions propagate the Gospel by carbonading Jews.

You have, Sir, the continuance of my prayers. I embrace you, and pray the great God to direct you and to be conservator of your health and happiness; and am,

Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

J. A. HOUBLON.

Sir, let me have one line more from you per Monday's post.

To the Honourable Samuel Pepys, Esq.
on board the Grafton, Portsmouth.

1683. *August 12. Sunday.*—Morning, prayers and sermon by Dr. Ken;* prayers in the afternoon. Evening, came the Cleveland yacht, with the money for Tangier. Sir J. Berry sailed, and we came to anchor again. Mr. Bankes went to Windsor.

13. *Monday.*—The wind, hitherto, all at west and over-blowing; so we could not stir. My Lord in discourse, in his cabin, broke to me the truth of our voyage, for disarming and destroying Tangier; the first moment he ever spoke, or I ever thought of that, as the intent of our going, having writ the contrary to Mr. Houblon. He will, shortly, show me the King's commission, and instructions. The King hath appointed me his sole counsellor; and Colonel Kirke, when we come to Tangier.

14. *Tuesday.*—Up, betimes, to send letters to Portsmouth for the post. My Lord took me

* Appointed chaplain to Lord Dartmouth, for this expedition. On his return from Tangier, April, 1684, he became one of the King's chaplains, "by an order from his majesty himself," who nominated him soon after to the bishoprick of Bath and Wells. Thus Charles would appear to have excused, and even rewarded, an uncourtly sincerity; for Ken, as one of the dignitaries of Winchester, had just before refused the accommodations "of his prebendal-house to the royal mistress, Mrs. Eleanor Gwyn."

Bishop Ken was one of the seven prelates imprisoned and prosecuted, for disallowing "the dispensing power" claimed by James in his declaration of indulgence. Yet he forfeited all his ecclesiastical preferments, by refusing the oaths to William and Mary, dying, with exemplary Christian resignation, after the endurance of great bodily suffering, March 19, 1711, aged 73.

into his closet, and gave me, to look over, his commission under the great seal, and his instructions, both in Mr. Secretary Jenkins's own hand. Noon, to dinner; then, to his cabin, where I slept. After sleep, he asked whether I had read those papers. Answering, I had not, I took a time to leave him, and on the poop, not overlooked by any, I read them over and over. The contents are very particular and well digested.

Walked on the quarter-deck with my Lord; the weather troublesome. Evening; observed, at a distance, guns fired from the Oxford, Captain Wilde, who, by want of looking out, was tailed aground, on the edge of the Deane sands. Great trouble it gave us, and several boats were sent on board her. Late at night, word brought that she was got off safe.

15. *Wednesday*.—Captain Wilde came on board. My Lord was dissatisfied with the account he gave of last night's misfortune, plainly seeing it arose from ignorance or neglect.

16. *Thursday*.—Writing last letters to all my friends, thinking, by the weather, we should have sailed to-day; but we did not. Only, in the afternoon, my Lord was weighed, and removed from his berth, and came to another, a little more sea-ward, over against Dunnose. Evening, Colonel Wyndham and some friends, from his yacht, lay on board. Colonel Wyndham is the only gentleman of state, ever known

to addict himself to the sea for pleasure, and from his own natural addiction. Monson,* indeed, observed, after 1588, the greediness of our English men of quality, running into the sea-service. But, query, how long did the passion last, and how many of those gentlemen continued the trade. The profit from so rich an enemy most plainly encouraged it.

Lord Dartmouth notes to me, that the seamen themselves, particularly Sir J. Lawson (in that respect the greatest courtier of the tarpaulins) did, after the King's coming in, begin, betimes, to break into the discipline of the Navy, by soon recommending young men to commands (as he did Sir W. Berkeley, and others, and Penn for others), only to compliment, and make court to great men. Being begun, it grew upon us, hath continued, and will hardly ever be broken.

* Sir William Monson, an English admiral, died in 1643, aged 72. Pepys must have referred to the third of Monson's "Naval Tracts." It treats of all things relating to the Royal Navy, from the Lord High Admiral to the meanest person employed ashore, and to the cabin-boy at sea.

In 1589, when Vice-Admiral to the Earl of Cumberland, Monson bore his part in a scene of misery, thus described in his Tracts. "The extremity we endured was more terrible than befel any ship in the eighteen years' war. For sixteen days together we never tasted a drop of drink, either beer, wine, or water! Many drank salt-water, and died suddenly. The last words they usually spake were, 'drink, drink, drink!' I dare boldly say, that of five hundred men in that ship seven years before, at this day there is not a man alive but myself and one more."

PEPYS TO MR. HOUBLON.

SIR,

St. Helen's, August 16, 1683.

I WRITE with expectation that it will be my last from this or any other port of my own coast : the weather, after a season of very bad, being this morning become fair and favourable, so we hope to put to sea the next tide. I expect, therefore, my next will salute you from a greater distance, in order sooner to do it at a nearer ; which, from this loss of time, I cannot think will be sooner than October or November, the time you so kindly wished for me, in regard of the Michaelmas flaws,* which will then, I hope, be over.

I owned, by the last post, my receipt of yours of the 11th, but so imperfectly, for want of time, that I cannot but mention it again, as bringing such a cargo of kindnesses of all sorts, sizes, and prices, and this to a market so overstocked already with commodities of the very self-same kind and make, that, I vow, I should think it would turn you most to account that I sent them back in specie, were it not that being of a quality never subject to perishing, I will adventure to keep them, in hopes that one day or other I may be able to find you some return for them that may at least make you a saver, for I despair of ever being to you a profitable servant.

Tell your little congregation in the Forest I

* "Flaw, a blast of wind." — *World of Words*.

value their prayers more than I would those of a whole convocation of mercenary priests, or that wretched choir of repining nuns their mother and I visited at Gravelines. Therefore, pray encourage them to pray on, that, from the effects of their good wishes for me, they may know what rate to put upon them hereafter, when they bestow them on others whose names are yet unknown.

Let the gentlewoman of the house know I would not for the world divert one thought of her from her painters and joiners, because I would not stand chargeable with the want of one nail driving at my coming back; only if (while she is too busy to do it for me) God Almighty shall give ear to my praying for her, she may depend on all the blessings a friendship so obliged as mine can prompt me to ask on her behalf, or her good-nature, if at leisure, would lead her to for me.

As for yourself, because I can say nothing that can in any degree answer your own general goodness, and the infinite instances you have given of particular applications of it to me, or my just and inexpressible estimations of both, I must leave it to Him who is only privy to all, to show you, by the continued assurance of his blessing upon you and yours, that good deeds, how unable soever they were that had the benefit of them, never wanted retribution.

Should it be my good fortune (which nothing yet appears to promise) to see Lisbon, I know not which will have the ascendant,—the present good favours of Mr. Houblon, or the memory of my past interest in Tom Hill, or those good stars which I am indebted to for both; but this I am sure of, namely, that you have given me a recommendation to Mr. Bulteel that will secure me in the credit and benefit of all three.

And now for my present business and the work I am going about. Though I must not deny to you that, since my last, I am let into the knowledge of the service his Majesty is pleased to reserve for my execution, and shall, by the grace of God, give the same, and possibly more, obedience, both passive and active, to it, than I might have done had my mean advice been preconsulted in it; yet do I remain under no more liberty than before of communicating it, and therefore rest confident of your excuse in my not opening it to you. This only I think myself obliged for your ease to repeat, that I neither know nor think anything designed in it that may disquiet the Spaniards, or interrupt the peace and security of our merchants with them.

Which having said, I must leave you to time for the knowledge of more; and, with my most zealous prayers to Heaven that all the good ejaculations of you and yours towards me may, in their effects, centre upon themselves and you,

whatsoever my fate in this uncertain enterprise may be. I remain,

Dear Mr. Houblon,
Your most obliged affectionate and
faithful servant,

S. PEPYS.

1683. *August 17. Friday.*—My Lord and several of us to the Bay of St. Helen's. On the downs, and back; a long dirty walk. So, on board Colonel Wyndham's yacht. Supper, with a syllabub of the milk brought on board this evening.

Berry sailed again, and got quite out to sea.

18. *Saturday.*—The Mayor and several Aldermen of Portsmouth visit my Lord, with the compliment of a promise to choose William Legg, my Lord's brother, to the next parliament (1685). With Mr. Sheres, Mr. Hewer, and Dr. Laurence, to dinner, in the *Royal Mary*, Captain Ashby, on a pole of ling. Many songs, among the gentlemen and commanders.

19. *Sunday.*—Fair, but wind very bare. Weighed, and stood out to sea with the fleet; all day blowing fresh. No sermon, but prayers twice by Dr. Ken. A fly-boat, wherein were our miners. Not being able to come up with us, we lay by all night. Morning, they were taken on board, and distributed to other ships.

20. *Monday*.—Weather very fair, wind better for us. All day under sail; walking, talking, reading, and music. Fine moonshine evening; about 10 o'clock to bed, the ship continuing very little under sail, for the sake of other ships astern.

21. *Tuesday*.—Wind east of south, very fair. Morning, over against Portland. Evening, off the Start; making way in the night, as the wind would permit.

22. *Wednesday*.—Morning, fair. Land off the Start. Afternoon, anchor in Plymouth Sound. My Lord staying on board, Dr. Trumbull, Dr. Ken, Mr. Hewer, &c.; in a boat, on shore.

After seeing the citadel, which, as Lord Dartmouth, Sheres, and Beckman declare, De Gumm hath built very sillily, leaving W. Hewer to visit his relations, Dr. Trumbull and I slipped aside, and went, by our barge, to Mount Edgecomb. Sir Richard Edgecomb being come on board to see my Lord, I visited my Lady Edgecomb and her children. She received me extreme kindly. We viewed her house, garden, and park; a most beautiful place. Evening, we took leave, and visited Sir Nicholas Holland, and my Lord Lambert. Hence, to Plymouth, to take in what we could find of our company. Night, on board; my Lord, having played the good fellow with some visitants, was gone to bed.

23. *Thursday*.—Sir R. Edgecomb, and several strangers, dined on board.

Afternoon, our company taking leave, (all our boats and men on board,) we weighed anchor, and sailed. Night, early to bed, having rose early, to write, and send away my last letters, particularly that to Sir Anthony Deane, with a copy of Gelson's letter about Scott, and my last advice upon it, my Lord Dartmouth and others having first attested the copy.

24. *Friday*.—Stayed for my doublet ; the sleeves altered according to sea fashion.

After dinner and discourse in the great cabin, I to mine. Copied in short hand, to keep by me, my Lord Dartmouth's instructions. Sup in my Lord's cabin.

From the shameful want of discipline, the rest of the ships not ready to come out of Plymouth, with their flags, after my Lord's signals, one hour after another, and himself plying three or four hours under sail, going out. Morning, at sea, only the Woolwich in sight. So, (with a fair wind from Plymouth,) we were fain to lie by for them, losing our way all the while. Hamilton, in the Dragon, and Wheeler, in the Tiger, (though shot at from my Lord,) not being under sail to come out, to the last.

Yet, my Lord, though infinitely vexed at this, and blaming it to me, plainly declared the misfortune of a man in his condition, carrying a flag, in a government where he cannot exercise the necessary discipline, for fear of making more

enemies than he hath already; the Admiralty, themselves, being more likely to take part with the friends of those he should punish, than join him in it. Therefore, he was under a necessity to let them alone; it being now, (as we have often said to one another,) a work for any man to set things right in the navy, but the Duke of York.

He added, (as mighty adventurous,) that if the Duke would take up the Admiralty, and had no mind to appear in the exercise of severity on captains, he would go to sea, and take all the odium on himself, rather than the Duke should not take it up, and thereby save the navy, which will otherwise be undone.

Yet I must add, that I doubt whether even the Duke be now strong enough to mend things; that is to say, without exposing himself to more envy and complaints, among friends of the rogues he should punish, than is fit to advise the Duke to draw upon himself; especially in his present circumstances. On this consideration, I think, he should not take it on him, till the King hath, of his own accord, first taken away, by good rules, the occasions of these people's disorders, by taking away the money business and others. Then, seeing those rules executed, would become his duty to the King, and no act of his own.

My Lord Dartmouth, again, takes notice of the necessity of doing something to settle better

the authority of masters, in the business of navigation; that neither they be under discouragement and danger, nor the King liable to the evil that may attend their commands being taken out of their hands by ignorant commanders, and, in *their* absence by worse lieutenants; yet, themselves accountable for any ill accident.

These differences, especially between persons so unequal, where the greater are apt to be violent, and the lesser to give way against their judgments, make it very necessary that where the charge of the navigating part should lie, were better settled. My Lord remembered the case of Mr. Ayres, pilot in the Gloucester, not as being imposed on by the commanders, but as imposing on them, to the loss of the ship. Which, I say, ought to be settled; the like, under an Admiral, of a commander's duty, charge, and known sufficiency. Mr. Kirk, the carpenter, to be spoken with about the new ships.

25. *Saturday*.—Morning, Captain Elmer came by us, in his yacht, from Tangier, for England. He was confounded to meet this fleet, as knowing nothing of it. My Lord gave him orders to go back with us. Afternoon, alone in my cabin, copying my Lord's patent. I abstracted his instructions, as to commissioning me and Dr. Trumbull, about the proprieties of houses, &c. in Tangier. Now, about the Land's End; weather very bad; one of our merchant vessels, the *Welcome*,

in distress, and the St. David likely to have fallen foul of us.

26. *Sunday*.—Much out of order, with last night's weather, and the noise at my head from the steersman; kept my bed till afternoon. Then, on notes for Lord Dartmouth. He visited me, and discoursed about his commission.

In May last, he did foresee, and mention in a letter to Mr. Secretary Jenkins, the difficulties he now finds in this business of Tangier. He, therefore, pressed for supplies, and to be presently despatched. The original is in the hands of the Duke of York, he stopping it in displeasure, saying, that it was one of Will. Coventry's letters. My Lord Rochester, too, was angry, and asked whether he had a mind to go on the business, as if he doubted he had not. Here a man's courage must be questioned, if he lets his prudence say anything. This my Lord told Dr. Ken, too, in my hearing.

Prayers. Walk the quarter-deck till supper, in my Lord's cabin. Sat till eleven (a fine moonshine evening) with the French lieutenant; he telling me the method of the French navy: my Lord sending Elmer to Plymouth to refit, (his yacht being ready to sink with her leaks,) and so to follow us to Tangier.

27. *Monday*.—Wind fresh, but against us, so we made little way. To my Lord, by agreement, to take from me in his own hand my notes; but,

from the motion of the ship, I could do nothing. So, on the quarter-deck all the morning, the sea running high. Afternoon, in my cabin talking with Dr. Trumbull. Till midnight, on the quarter-deck, seeing the seamen dance to the harp and song. With my Lord late, talking.

28. *Tuesday*.—On deck. After dinner, being well, and the sea a little smoother, my Lord and I were locked up together in his cabin. There he finished what we began yesterday, taking from me the heads of the commission, to me and others, about examining the proprieties of the houses, &c. at Tangier. Evening. Long upon the deck.

29. *Wednesday*.—My Lord, with my advice, put into Dr. Trumbull's hand the heads taken from me yesterday, to do into form; now, principally to entertain him, he being troubled that he is not yet privy to the design; and, as we suppose, taking it ill that he found us locked up together. But this, my Lord tells me, pleases him. I had rather, indeed, he should have the drawing of the commission.

This morning, my Lord put into my hands Beckman's project for the destruction of Tangier, which I read all day; but the wind against us. I read, also, the two first books of *Hudibras*. Dr. Trumbull being out of humour, we had no merry chat these two nights.

30. *Thursday*.—Up, taking it for Sunday. I

visited my Lord a'bed. The wind all night and this morning, high, and still against us. My Lord had a meeting of Captains and Masters, to advise how to proceed: perceiving, by their draughts, that we are running towards the coast of Ireland, over the mouth of St. George's channel.

The weather continuing rainy and thick, I was forced to sit all the afternoon in little Mr. Sellers's side-cabin, on the deck, to keep me dry. At night, (not able to go in with the company,) to sit with my Lord.

31. *Friday*.—Wind fair, so continued; weather very fine. After dinner, in the cabin, music and good humour. All the afternoon on deck, walking with my Lord and company. Evening, Dr. Trumbull and I alone in our cabin reading, and discoursing on Dr. Zouch's* book of the Admiralty † with great pleasure.

September 1. Saturday.—Copied Major Beckman's project to my Lord for demolishing Tangier. The wind, again, in a great measure against us till night. Then, wind and weather fair, my

* "Or Zouchæus, as he sometimes writes himself, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty. "He was," says Wood, "an exact artist, a subtle logician, expert historian, and for knowledge and practice in the Civil Law, the chief person of his time." He died 1661, aged 71. *Athen. Oxon.* 1692.

† "The jurisdiction of the Admiralty of England asserted, against Sir Edward Coke's, *Articuli Admiralitatis*, in the twenty-second chapter of his jurisdiction of Courts." *Lond.* 1663.

Lord and I walk till midnight on the quarter-deck.

2. *Sunday*.—Mr. Hewer and I, by appointment, last night, met on the quarter-deck. I communicated, by implication, not in clear words, our business at Tangier, destroying it. He expressing some doubt of its weal for his Majesty, in the construction that would be made of it, I told him there were several reasons for doing it, but told him not, then, the particulars.

Noon. Prayers. The King's declaration* about the late plot publicly read. At supper with my Lord. Discourse about spirits, Dr. Ken asserting there were such, and I, with the rest, denying it: referred to another night's discourse.

3. *Monday*.—With Dr. Trumbull, (in bed,) reading further in Dr. Zouch's book of the Admiralty: very good talk between us on the business. All this morning, till prayers, on deck. After dinner, music and talk in the great cabin, every ship coming, by command, under our stern, to receive orders.

Evening. My Lord and I alone in our cabin. He took in writing, with his own hand, my notes towards reasons for justifying the present demolishing Tangier, which he gave back, with a paper

* "Published July 28, 1683, containing a narrative of the Rye-house Plot; and Sunday, the 9th of September, was appointed to be observed as a thanksgiving for his Majesty's deliverance."—*Chron. Hist.*

of others he had brought, agreed on at the King's Cabinet, desiring me to put them together in order. This evening much mirth among the seamen, dancing, the sea running high.

4. *Tuesday*.—Wind for us part of the night, but all day against us. Dr. Trumbull's great pleasure reading in Zouch, and discourse thereon. Sitting with my Lord after dinner, he and I to it again.

This day my Lord gave me Du Pas's paper about preventing, and having an account of, false intelligence in Holland. At supper in the great cabin, good discourse, and so to bed. Pretty well, but my Lord troubled with cold and head-ach.

5. *Wednesday*.—Up betimes, to copy M. Du Pas's paper my Lord gave me touching an Office of Intelligence for Holland: then to my Lord, who is well again. To Sir W. Booth's cabin to breakfast. Alone with Mr. Sheres and W. Hewer, did hear many good things of the roguery of Herbert. Afternoon. In my cabin with Dr. Trumbull, reading Godolphin on the business of the Admiralty,* so sillily written that we left him off. Till night on the quarter-deck; wind most favourable to us; due south all day and all night.

6. *Thursday*.—All the morning on the quarter-deck; weather fine, and a good wind. We have

* "A View of the Admiral's Jurisdiction, 8vo. 1661." The author, John Godolphin, who died 1678, aged 61, is described as an "eminent civilian." *Athen. Oxon.*

sailed one hundred and twenty-six miles from yesterday noon. To dinner in the great cabin.

This morning my Lord tells me he hath, at a distance, broke to Trumbull the business of our voyage, destroying Tangier. With the reason whereof he seems to be well satisfied, but unsatisfied with putting the Recorder of Tangier into the commission about settling the proprieties; upon the score, my Lord and I think, of his being a common lawyer, and the competition between the common and the civil. But, I think, it will not be fit to leave him out, to be of counsel against the King, wherein my Lord agrees with me.

To-day several thousand young porpoises swimming by our ship-side.

7. *Friday.* — This morning and last night I began to feel the alteration in the heat of the climate, being now come to the latitude of North Cape. All last night it was very warm, and this morning we put up our awning, it being calm all day.

Noon, the sea smooth and pleasant; Sir W. Booth, Mr. Sheres, W. Hewer, and myself to dinner with Sir J. Berry in the *Henrietta*. After dinner he and a reformado captain* played on the violin. A good deal of talk about the bad discipline of the fleet. Evening. Again on board

* "A gentleman who serves as a volunteer in a man-of-war, to learn experience."—*World of Words*.

our ship looking till late on the stars to learn them, it being very calm, to our great trouble.

Observing, soon after going out, (on special discourse with my Lord, and sometimes with Mr. Phillips,) the imperfection of our artists in navigation, I prayed my Lord to demand a strict account of all in the ship that kept a reckoning before they saw land, or expected to see it. Accordingly, my Lord called for a written account of one hundred and twelve that kept accounts, and it appeared they were very different.

8. *Saturday*. — All night, calm, and very hot: up, to set down notes in my *memoranda*. Then first dined under the awning. After dinner, the whole ship fell to exercise the small and great guns, particularly the latter, as if really in fight, drawing the great guns in and out, and showing the manner of loading them, &c. — very pretty, but very confused.

Evening. My Lord first told me he had acquainted Dr. Trumbull with my being privy, as from this day, to our business. Accordingly, he would have me discourse of it to him, that he may not know, for fear of discouraging him, that I am a greater confidant than he.

This evening, experiments in the sea with a bottle let down one hundred and twenty fathoms. Dancing and music on the quarter-deck; then to supper, late to talk, and so to bed.

9. *Sunday*. — Up to read by myself some chap-

ters in the Bible; by and by to prayers. This being the day of thanksgiving for the King's late deliverance, Dr. Ken gave us a very good sermon on the duty of subjects to their prince.

Sir W. Booth treated my Lord and me, and the rest of our knot, with wine, &c. till late, to drink the King's health. The ship's company had a great vessel of punch; but one man drunk, who, quarrelling with the Lieutenant, was set in the bilboes* all night. On deck my Lord and I had a great talk of our business. A fair wind all day.

10. *Monday*.—To my Lord's cabin, where he showed me the first draught, of Dr. Trumbull's providing, (from notes I had given my Lord, unknown to the Doctor,) of the commission about the houses and lands at Tangier.

This morning, first made land, the Burlings, and had great information in what I observed, on the comparison I occasioned, of the making of the several accounts kept of the ship's way. When, at noon, we came within three leagues, or a very little more, it appeared by my Lord's land-draught, (which was admitted for a good one,) that not one was, by reckoning, within so little as twenty-five leagues; my Lord's account kept by Phillips, and which did take the advantage of Mr. Brod's rule of the variation, being the nearest. So that, had it not been for the calm, or we had

* Ship-stocks.

come upon them in the night, the whole fleet would probably have been upon the Burlings.

Other differences amounted to from thirty to seventy leagues from the Burlings, as laid down in my Lord's land-draught. Which should be the best, and was relied on till now, and received as such by my master Phillips, and his account, from day to day, set down on it, till now that this mistake makes him inquire into the truth, by comparing it with some printed charts. But, as I was the only occasion of this comparison, now, so necessary, our ships, when in company, were commanded to do the like, it appearing most clearly that the want thereof does to this day, and will for ever, keep the maps imperfect.

I proposed to my Lord (but it was omitted) having the accounts called for from all the masters of the other ships, the better to discern the imperfection of this art, which my Lord do own to be very great, and the greatest of all sciences, and that the people concerned in the same are of all others the most lazy and negligent.

Passing the Portugal shore all day, about evening we came by the rock of Lisbon. Then my Lord Dartmouth took Dr. Trumbull and me down to his cabin, and first mentioned the business to us together, discoursing on the whole of his commission and instructions, and the commission we are to have; putting into our hands several things to be digested, he, the commission,

and I the abstract of my Lord's commission and instructions ; so to supper, talk, and bed. A very fresh and fair wind all day, and still such.

Captain Macdonnell, in the Greyhound, in answer to the message to inquire after a ship seen yesterday in the offing, and thought to be a Sallee-man, informs my Lord Dartmouth of Captain Lloyd's being gone for England. Notwithstanding his pressing him to come to my Lord, he would not, but proceeded in his voyage : hence sufficiently appear —

I. The consequence of the King's commanders taking in money, which Macdonnell brought us word he (Lloyd) had on board from Cales, that, let the business of the King's be what it will, all shall give way to private benefit ; for otherwise he would, of course and curiosity, without any orders or entreaty, have come to a flag he met in the way, both to tell and to ask news.

II. These gentlemen-captains, depending on the interest of their friends at court, will venture to do what a plain tarpaulin, if he had no other reason, would never dare. This use my Lord made of it, and said he would write it to the King.

III. That, where it is not a commander's interest, he will plead want of written orders, as here Lloyd does, for his not coming to my Lord, for so Macdonnell reports : but, when the contrary, he then thinks his discretion will justify his doing a thing, as he would have done his going out of

the way to speak with a flag, notwithstanding his orders to go for England, if it had suited his other occasions.

IV. That a commander can easily get certificates of his ship's being foul and out of order, unfit and unable to keep the sea, as Lloyd now pretends, and so is sent home by Shovell.

The master tells me Lloyd told him my Lord did crowd sail, so that it was impossible to overtake his lordship; whereas Macdonnell says he told him no such thing, but that he went leisurely, for the sake of merchantmen he had with him.

Macdonnell was sent back again to overtake Lloyd and bring him back, his being with my Lord being of great importance to the service we are going on. It will be worth minding what the event of the whole is, and to inquire at Tangier what orders he had for going home.

Captain Lloyd, though unfortunate in this accident towards my Lord Dartmouth, is said to be a very good artist, and curious in it above any gentleman-captain, therefore fit to be discoursed with about the matter of gentlemen's being artists.

11. *Tuesday*.—Up on my Lord's business and papers, and so on the quarter-deck. Finding my Lord going to send a ship before us to call at Cadiz, we being now, every hour, expecting to make the south Cape, I went down and wrote a letter to Mr. Gough there, with Mr. Houblon's

letter of credit for me to him, also to others of my friends in England. Dined in the cabin; busy about letters, which I gave to Captain Ashby, and so on the deck all the evening.

After supper, in my Lord's cabin, Dr. Ken and I were very hot in dispute about spirits; then on the quarter; and so into Sir W. Booth's cabin with my Lord, to drink a glass of wine and water. Night, mighty pretty music on the flute.

This evening, my Lord first talked with Dr. Trumbull and me together about the great business, reading and debating the draught prepared by him for our commission about the proprieties.

12. *Wednesday*.—Most of this day in my cabin with Dr. Trumbull, to digest the commission about the proprieties, and I to digest, in order, the arguments for the King's destroying Tangier. The former, my Lord and we did read together, and agree upon, in his cabin; then to supper and talk, Dr. Ken producing his argument for spirits from the ancient actings of the oracles, which I took upon me, against the next time, to answer.

On deck till midnight, we supposing ourselves to be the length of the Barbary shore, the wind having been fair for us: the night hot, so I rested ill.

13. *Thursday*.—Captain Villers waked us early with news of making the land off Spatel. Up

to see it ; then to my cabin, to finish my argument for destroying Tangier. By and by, Lord Dartmouth came to Dr. Trumbull and me, and run over several things of our business. I propounded his present communicating it to Mr. Sheres, to which the Doctor and he submitted. After dinner, with my Lord and Dr. Trumbull in his cabin : there spoke of divers things ; among others, that my Lord presently open all to Mr. Sheres. We were now come far in sight of the entrance to the straits, between the shores. The customary money was collected of everybody that had not been in the Straits.

Afternoon, my Lord communicated the matter to Sheres, and tells me he is greatly satisfied with having done it, Sheres taking the news with great discretion. Then with my Lord in his cabin, for him to write, in long-hand, from my short-hand notes, which I read, my arguments for destroying Tangier, with which he is greatly pleased.

Evening. A Levanter coming up, just as we came off Cape Spartel, my Lord caused the fleet to anchor under it. Late at night my Lord finished writing from my notes.

14. *Friday*.—The ship weighing anchor, up by break of day (entering the mouth of the straits) to see the shore on both sides, to my great pleasure ; the Levanter still very strong. About ten, within the bay of Tangier.

Kirke, the Governor, having had some days' notice of our coming, by a ship left behind, (that came before us,) saluted us with all the guns of the town, near which we found the Alcade encamped. But, Lord! how could anybody ever think a place fit to be kept at this charge, that, overlooked by so many hills, can never be secured against an enemy.

My Lord having, this morning, invited the Governor, by and by, he came on board. My Lord first opened (by themselves) the whole matter, and afterwards told me he, seemingly, bears it very cheerfully: then to dinner with abundance of the officers. All say my and Mr. Hewer's coming makes more talk than my Lord's, for they have had for a good while discourses of the place's being to be deserted. Kirke told us how the talk arose.

After dinner my Lord took Kirke, Dr. Trumbull, and myself, into his bedchamber; and there opened the matter to us all together, discoursing generally several things relating to it. I find Kirke, in all appearance, very forward in the matter. He expressed great readiness in doing his part, and offered several reasonable things towards expedition: on which we agreed, and resolved on putting them in practice, to render it easy and private in reference to the great points of propriety and debts.

Then on the quarter-deck, full of officers walk-

ing and talking: among others, my brother St. Michell, mightily altered in his looks with hard usage, as he tells me. Night, on deck, my Lord told me it was well we were come, for the Governor and the Alcade would, within these ten days, have broken out into a rupture, Kirke did carry himself so hot in all his business. The scuttle being open, it blew very hard on my bed all night; but being at anchor, we lay much more still than ever hitherto, so I slept well.

15. *Saturday*.—Up betimes to look with a glass on the Moor's camp; then my Lord and I in his cabin, to dictate to him an abstract of his instructions, which he took in long-hand, for better memory and execution.

We had our first council of four, (my Lord, Dr. Trumbull, Mr. Sheres, and myself,) to debate of matters, on the occasions of which I did and shall take particular *memoranda*.

My Lord read over the abstract I drew of his instructions. The first thing was, about the person to be added to us in the Commission of Inquiry, wherein it was discoursed between H., the Recorder, and Frederic Beacher, Mr. Sheres noting his having been recommended by, and a-kin to, the late Lord Chancellor, but left undetermined, because of our discourse yesterday with the Governor.

My Lord proposed, and we agreed, on his demanding from the Governor a statement, in wri-

ting, of matters as they now stand, as to peace or war with the Moors, (my Lord finding them, contrary to his expectations, lying before the town:) to be sent by Du Pas, who, nevertheless, is not to be let into the whole business.

Several persons proposed, of proper qualities, to oversee the several surveys of stores of the Navy, Ordnance, Mole, and victuals of the town and Navy. Du Pas sent for, and the draught of a letter put into his hands; also, that of our commission of proprieties. A message brought from the Governor on a letter from the Alcade.

At dinner, much company. Afternoon, my Lord called a council of officers to consider the disposition and orderly keeping of the fleet when he shall be on shore, which he thinks to be on Monday. Mr. Hewer went ashore this afternoon, I not intending to go till my Lord goes. Evening, as usual, in the cabin and on deck; most pleasant weather, and the Pole-star evidently appears lowered.

16. *Sunday*.—Breakfasted with Sir W. Booth. This morning Sir J. Wyburne came in from cruising. Full of company from shore all day. Late at night we all four met, and M. Du Pas. Overlooked Mr. Sheres's new Commissioners for the Surveys.

17. *Monday*.—All the morning, writing letters for England. Ten. On shore with my Lord the first time, all the ships and the town firing guns.

Met, and conducted in great state to the Castle. After dinner, see the ladies, mightily changed. The place an ordinary place, overseen by the Moors. Amazed to think how the King hath lain out all this money upon it. Good grapes and pomegranates from Spain. To-night, infinitely bit with chinchees.

18. *Tuesday*.—Mightily out of order with being bit last night in face, &c. This morning, first visited by Mr. G. and Mr. W. Would have had them dine with my Lord, but they were engaged. After dinner, rode with my Lord and Kirke to see the town without, and did it with no pleasure, but great danger, I thought, and so did W. Hewer, and wondered all the way at the folly of the King's being at all this charge upon this town. No water in our command. To-night I used several ways to preserve myself against the chinchees by lime-candles, &c. removing my bed, but still bitten. Coming back into the town, we see the Moors exercising on our shore.

19. *Wednesday*.—Morning. The Mayor, &c. presented their petition to my Lord. Having been at the bath, I found at my return Moors from the Alcade to visit my Lord. The man with five fingers, and as many toes on one foot only. Afternoon. The commissions signed by my Lord, and a proclamation, of my drawing, for meeting to-morrow. Evening. Rode with Mr.

Sheres to the Mole, and on the shore : harp, guitar, and dance, with Mr. Sheres, in his garden, with mighty pleasure. Night. On chairs, hands and face covered, yet neck, eyes, and other places bitten.

This day I began to have milk, at eight-pence a quart. Some Tunizeens came, and were well used by my Lord. I this day put on my first stuff suit, and left off socks, after many years.

20. *Thursday*.—With Dr. Trumbull and B. to the Town-house (the Mayor present) on business entered in our Journal, and, for a little while, seeing the confusion of the business we are going about. To the popish church and library, so home and dine by ourselves, from my Lord.

Mr. Sheres, going this day to the Alcade, came home at night with great reports of his civility. A wild boar hunted and sent in by the Moors. This afternoon I first opened my long glass. Lay to-night again in my bed, my hands and face covered.

Most admirable grapes and pomegranates, among other things, brought by Mr. Sheres from the Alcade, and sweetmeats full roasted.

21. *Friday*.—To the court. The Portugueses brought their titles in Spanish, which we ordered to be translated. Nothing ready to go on with, so home ; there I found a letter enclosing my Lord's to Secretary Jenkins, to show Dr. Jenkins, and have advice thereon, which we

gave him : and he agreed with us. After dinner, again to the Court, to little satisfaction. Evening. With Dr. Trumbull and Dr. Ken to see the parade, and so home.

Sheres came, and opened great things of the work, and the time it would take. My Lord came and discoursed on the same, and particularly surprised us with a motion of presently communicating our secret to the Alcade, which we opposed, and he yielded. Merry at supper with wine in saltpetre. Spanish onions mighty good. Sheres shows me that the mines cannot be done in less than three months. Our drills better than those brought from England.

A popish friar, this afternoon, went over the city with us. A Moor ran away from the army into this city, and desired to become a Christian ; but, on examination, do confess his coming away to be by reason of his having killed a man.

22. *Saturday*.—Little bitten to-night : keep to my milk, evening and morning. To my Lord, with Dr. Trumbull, for directions for clerks about our business ; so to our Court, where little done. My Lord and Mr. Mayor came to us, and some order taken against Monday for summonses and papers.

Dr. Trumbull and I spoke of the little pleasure or use of our having a table by ourselves, and resolved to put an end to that foolery. Six clerks at work till night. Noon. To dinner at our

particular tables again, and victuals sent to the clerks at the Court: there, till after candle-light.

Going home from our office, sup with my Lord. We had the Moorish young man that ran away to us, and my Lord entertained him, he having recommended himself, as he thought, by saying that he had killed a Moor and ran away, it being an act of merit in them to kill a Christian. He was servant to the Alcade, to wait on him on horseback. But his secretary, and other Moors, being here this afternoon, told my Lord there was no such thing as the boy killing a Moor, or any other hurt concerning him that, on inquiry since his running away, they can find; the law between us giving each liberty of receiving run-aways from either party, as they do our men.

At supper, by my desire, my Lord called for the boy, and we examined him, by an interpreter, concerning the killing a Moor, which my Lord did take as an objection against entertaining him, or making him a Christian, which the boy seems to desire, and to make the only reason of his coming to us. On examination, the boy did, at last, confess that what he had on the other account pretended, of having killed anybody, or done any evil, was wholly untrue; saying, if any such thing could be proved, my Lord should hang him, or do anything with him.

He seems a very sober, good, well-looking youth, and, to my asking him, says, God only put it into

his heart to be a Christian ; that he hath laboured several days to get to us, and could not, till last night. I bade him show us the manner of his saying his prayers, and he did it with so much reverence in his speech, the motion of his hand and eye, and, most of all, in his prostrations, that I never in my life was more taken with any appearance of devotion in any person, of any religion.

The manner of putting on his alhaque is strange to see, being so large a piece of cloth, how dextrously he does it ; also, his manner of sitting on the ground and eating without a knife, or serving his mouth at all with his left hand. On the whole, my Lord is reconciled mightily to the youth, and will take him into his own service ; and his servant, Gargrave, will have him in my Lord's livery to-morrow.

Mighty talk of spirits in York Castle, mighty noises being heard by the minister and most intelligent men, and particularly by Dr. Lawrence. He told me he now began to be convinced of spirits, this having continued for some time, and appearing every three or four nights, but nothing since we came to this 22nd, being Saturday ; a good argument against Dr. Ken's argument, from the silence of oracles.

23. *Sunday*.—Shaved myself, the first time since coming from England. When ready, I sat down with great pleasure to read in my *Micnography* :

thence with my Lord, attended by all the officers of the garrison, with the mayor and aldermen of the city, to church. Dr. Ken made an excellent sermon, full of the skill of a preacher; but nothing of a natural philosopher, it being all forced meat. I see few women of any quality or beauty in the place; only the mayoress, and two sisters of his and hers, appear gentlewomen.

Dr. Trumbull and I have dined at a table by ourselves, to so little content, that we are resolved to break it off from this day. After dinner with my Lord, again read in my chamber; thence to church, where the parson of the parish preached. Here I first observed, outside the church, lizards sticking in the windows, to bask in the sun. At noon, we had a great locust left on the table. This morning, in my chamber, was the most extraordinary spider I ever saw, at least ten times as big as an ordinary spider. With such things this country mightily abounds. But, above all that was most remarkable here, I met the Governor's lady in the pew; a lady I have long remarked for her beauty: but she is mightily altered, and they tell stories on her part, while her husband minds pleasure of the same kind on his. After sermon, I led her down to her chair. Asking her how Tangier agreed with her ladyship, she told me well enough for the little time she had to stay in it. By which I see she knows the mystery.

From the church to the garden of the parson

of the parish. So, with Dr. Trumbull and others, on board the brigantine, within the mole, to see the nature of a galley. We rowed by boat with Sir J. Berry to Whitby, in some danger, as Dr. Ken, who was with us, seemed by his fear to think. Home to my chamber to read, and then to supper, where of late, I have so far eat with the rest, as related to grapes and pomegranates. Here, we had wine cooled with saltpetre, in a hollow vessel of cork, used they say in Italy on purpose; which made it very refreshing.

Dr. Trumbull and I, under some disdain, to hear my Lord speak a little too pressingly touching despatch in the matters of our commission, where we take so much pains, and the delay is only from people not bringing in their pretences.

24. *Monday*.—Up betimes, as every morning since our commission. With Mr. Hunter, to prepare for our meeting, and so to the court all the morning; my Lord, at our desire, and according to order, on Saturday, coming to declare a day in which all should bring in their papers. We had above six score copies of papers of inquiry to disperse to everybody that pretended to propriety. Thursday next is the day appointed and published by proclamation.

All the morning, preparing books. Home to dinner, to our table once more; we having taken no care to unbespeak it; though last night Dr. Trumbull and I did tell my Lord of the unuse-

fulness of any such table, to the increasing his charge. To-morrow, we shall begin and eat again with my Lord; we having this day had foolish company come to us. After dinner, immediately to the office. Sat till eight without stirring. Little work yet brought, but preparing books.

My Lord sent for us to supper. To my chamber; having a musquitto net of my Lord, who, before I was abed, came to sit with me, and very melancholy I made him with my discourse. Talking of Dr. Trumbull and Mr. Sheres, and remarking, that I had observed him to be himself sometimes melancholy, he answered, how could he be without thoughts, to find himself sent with such promises of every sort of supplies, and particularly of victuals, by my Lord Rochester, (as he has heretofore told me,) and be in this condition. Which I magnified by telling him Sir W. Booth's discourse of the matter, (to-day, after dinner, in my way to the office,) telling me his dreadful prospect of the condition of the fleet in a few days, when the seamen shall know what provision they have, and no more, and what they are to do before they go where they may have more.

Sir W. Booth told me, too, he had now stated to my Lord clearly the victuals of the fleet, which are, three months from this time at six hundred and twenty-four men's allowance, and nothing in the garrison, or very little, as he hears, to spare

for the fleet, nor anything for the inhabitants and their families, wherein, he tells me, are full four hundred children. Therefore he advises, that three ships, as the surest and speediest way, should presently be sent to Plymouth. But sure I am, there is no sureness in it, and for speed, my Lord told me it could not be depended on in less than ten weeks. I told my Lord also of Sheres's saying the blowing up the Mole could not be done in less than three months. To which he excepts, saying, that Sheres knows not the way of doing these works in great, though he does in little.

My Lord, however, expresses great apprehensions of the success of what he comes about, and is sometimes speaking of his present opening all to the Alcade. Against which I offered, and he yielded, that it ought to be well thought on, and that he would not do it, but on good and joint advice of those he should think fit to consult, I putting him in mind of the express clause in his instructions, to tell the Moors of it, as late as may be; and offering it to him to consider the distress he would be in if he should have the Moors to oppose without the walls, while he had work to do within, and, at the same time, be under the further distress of danger from starving.

All which put together made him very melancholy; though I laboured in the end to submit himself to God Almighty, while he does all that a faithful and diligent officer can in his station,

according to his best prudence, and the best advice he can get. So he left me, and I to bed, where I was worse troubled with biting, than any night since my coming, but the first, notwithstanding the net.

25. *Tuesday*.—Up betimes, being uneasy with the chincees, or musquittoes. Walked with Dr. Laurence to see the devil's tower, and some little foolish work near, our men are doing, by direction of Major Beckman, (then present,) to secure the wooden work in the sea. There he told me how ill we were provided for the great work we came about, having neither necessary materials, nor tools, nor hands, saying how weary he was, therefore, of his employment. Of himself, he took notice of this to be one occasion of the greatness of the King of France, that, for all his works, both by land and sea, his magazines are double or treble what are necessary, so that they never want success or despatch, for want of materials, whereas, in England, we think as much of having a dozen links beforehand, as he does of a hundred thousand.

Walked to the office, and despatched all the business that came, having divided the work into three parts, and begun thereon this morning; Dr. Trumbull and myself for the leases, and Mr. Beecher for the freeholds. But our business comes in very slowly, so as, at this rate, it will never be done.

This day we returned to dine at my Lord's table, much more pleasant to us, and in every respect better. Presently, to the office, where we sat close till eight, and were then sent for by my Lord to supper. So home, and to bed, my head disturbed to see so much trouble and so little business, through the slowness of people, and ignorance of those that come.

26. *Wednesday to Thursday.*—Busy till eight or nine at night, without any interval, (only to dinner,) to receive claims to propriety; but, in one word, so silly and supine, all, even people of most understanding among them, that it is plain, there was a habit of disorder, and forgetfulness of method and discipline in all they did, even in their own private concernments; taking such evidences for their security as would not be worth sixpence in Westminster Hall; nor here, if any of the right heirs of the parties they had their titles from, would give them any trouble. So that it is, I think, impossible for us to give any tolerable report; to do right either to them or to the King. In which Dr. Trumbull and I greatly agree and discourse upon it.

Dr. Trumbull hath of late been mighty open to me of things he takes hardly of my Lord, especially his bringing him on this errand, thus far from home, contrary to all his professions touching the place and business. He did, on Wednesday, complain mightily of going in to

my Lord, in hopes to have his letters brought from Cadiz, with my Lord's refusing to give them presently, with some kind of rebuke for his impatience,. Which was indeed a little hard, though I know (by Sam. Atkins, who brought them from on board the vessel) that my Lord did it to avoid the world's knowing that any are come; because he would delay their having news from England, of our errand. But by and by he had his letters sent him, and I, a packet from Mr. Gough at Cadiz, enclosing divers letters to give me credit in every place where I am likely to come; which I take mighty kind.

This *Thursday*, according to a special proclamation yesterday, we did expect that all claims should be brought in to us, at least this night. We did sit, therefore, very late, to finish all, and I and the rest did, as we think, receive near the whole: not but that there are many defects to be made good by several proprietors. So home to supper and to bed: the whole talk to-night about our going to an interview of my Lord and the Alcade to-morrow morning, the same being adjusted between them.

28. *Friday*. — Did not go to the office, but walked forth in the morning to stretch my legs at the parade. There see our seamen come on shore, and putting on their new clothes in order to mustering in the field to-day as soldiers. They (about one thousand) and their officers did make as good

an appearance, and gave, with the small shot, as good a volley, or better, than the soldiers. About eleven, my Lord and we, and his family, went out on horseback without the town. We had a sight of our army, finely disposed above the hills, and wholly down to the sea, just without the town-walls: we had also several small ships and boats, armed, lying close along the coast of the bay. By and by, the Alcade made his appearance, and we down to the strand to meet him. My Lord and he shook hands, and talked together by interpreters.

The Alcade and his company appeared like very grave and sober men. His discourse and manner were very good, and, I thought, with more presence of mind than our master's, though he also did extremely well. Their appearance and habits I liked very well. The Alcade's son, a pretty youth, in particular, exercised by and by, very neatly. Sometimes he attacked his very father himself; and now and then the father (not fifty, though his habit makes him appear otherwise) would hit him with his lance. The son was bareheaded, not so much as a cap, which they all wear.

My Lord moved the Alcade, and he readily and very civilly shook hands with Kirke. Their style is extremely fine, and most for compliment. They agreed on a treaty, to begin to-morrow, by persons chosen on both sides. His army was

drawn up not so thick as ours, but very artificially, two deep, and that in but few places, to make a greater show, though, we believe, they had not above 2500 in the field, but we few horse, and they a great many. Their halloo is an odd sort of noise, nothing so mellow nor cheerful, nor strong and full as ours. Great shooting with small shot on both sides; and on our parting, both the fleet and the city saluted them with all their great guns in mighty triumph. After discourse ended with great civility, they exercised for half an hour, showing great dexterity in horsemanship and handling their lances, but very confused in their order, and yet they fight just so.

We parted and made home to dinner, by the way breaking the carriage of one of our field-pieces. Kirke and I did go aside to see some hand-grenadoes shot off and flung about three hundred yards, with an instrument lately invented.

Afternoon. My Lord sent for me and Dr. Trumbull, and, with the Governor, discoursed of the treaty he is entering into, declaring he intended the Doctor and me for two of the persons. I said nothing, but did submit to his determination; only, I wished that he might have the designed effect of the treaty getting time enough for the work to do. I was doubtful, because of the different judgments I met with in our people that are to execute the business of blowing up,

which some did declare could not be done in four, others in six months.

My Lord presently replied very short, that they understood not the business, for he had in reserve a way of his own that should do it, without fail, within a fortnight. Kirke immediately added he would do it all in a fortnight, or he would be condemned to be hanged; saying that he had nothing to fear but want of water, and coming of the rains; with which my mouth was stopped, and so I said no more. Afterwards, I took notice to Dr. Trumbull, and he did also tell me that he did take notice of my Lord's and Kirke's speaking so peremptorily of the time wherein they could do this work.

Evening. Walk out a little for air. To supper with my Lord, though I never ate anything, but continue to my milk.

29. *Saturday*. — Betimes to the Office. Busy receiving answers (by the people concerned) to our difficulties. Never, surely, was any town governed in matters, public and private, as this place hath been, as appears by the strange imperfections in the titles to all they have.

The Alcade's son is received on board my Lord's ship to-day, and was to be here in the afternoon to visit my Lord. A banquet was prepared for him, but, on second thoughts, his wiser officers, that his father sent on ship-board with him, would not permit him to come on shore.

Afternoon. My Lord sent for me and Dr. Trumbull, and showed us the full draught of a letter to the Alcade ready drawn, without any knowledge or advice of ours. My Lord sent, it seems, a message this day, that he would proceed with him by first sending him the proposals he had to make for this treaty in writing, giving, after compliments for his favour yesterday in coming, at my Lord's entreaty, to a peace with Kirke, three points wherein he hath to resist on behalf of our King; namely, ratifying the present treaty on foot, giving us ground to fortify, and the treaty marine.

I told my Lord I had never read or seen any transactions between our King and this, and so could give no advice in it; but if his Lordship did know, and had considered all, I could make no objection: only, I proposed my Lord's making use of the Alcade's voluntary promise yesterday to negotiate for ratifying the treaty, and that all other things should be granted that my Lord should propose for the satisfaction of our King; which my Lord and the whole company liked mightily, and would have me order it for Du Pas to sign the draught accordingly. This I did, and offered to transpose my Lord's first compliment about Kirke from the beginning to the conclusion, as, indeed, thinking it a very little thing for him to speak of so greatly. But my Lord told me he had reason to put more weight upon it,

and place it as an introduction to all he had to do with the Alcade. So it rested, and the letter was left with Du Pas, to translate the whole into Spanish, as I suppose it was, and sent away. I never saw nor heard more of it; going presently to my office, to work in taking more answers from people about their proprieties. Continued on this business till nine: slept mighty well, the better that the business of my being employed in a foolish treaty is over.

30. *Sunday*. — Till church-time at the office, drawing up a report from us to my Lord about a commission for surveying the houses and preparing the forms. To church. A very fine and seasonable, but most unsuccessful argument, from Dr. Ken, particularly in reproof of the vices of this town. I was in pain for the Governor, and the officers about us in the church; but I perceived that they regarded it not. To the office till dinner, and immediately from dinner again to church. A foolish sermon of Hughes's; but had the pleasure of again seeing fine Mrs. Kirke, better dressed than before, but yet short of what I have known her. Back to the office, there finishing my letter.

Evening. With Captain Giles to the Governor's high garden that overlooks the town. He largely told me the whole unfortunate history of this town from neglect and self-interestedness of the several Governors, showing what this place

would, without deceit, have really been by this time for trade, if it had not been for taking away its free port by duties set on goods, so as the place is much worse than ever.

When it grew dark, I walked home and supped with my Lord, who declared that the Alcade has this day returned answer to yesterday's letter. He would have us propose some persons to be sent to the Emperor on the businesses demanded, to which my Lord will not agree, for that were but to put people into his hands to be slaves, when we shall be found doing what we design. Of this design my Lord will no longer hinder the public knowledge, but will openly prepare his mines, doing all things towards the great work. Troubled with the headach, (as he said, with going into one of the mines that is begun,) my Lord left the company at table and went to bed. I and W. Hewer to my chamber.

Received here to-day, by the Pearl, Mr. Thomas's letter of the 2nd of August, with one enclosed "To Mrs. Westwood, to be sent to her by the post, and not any hand of mine." Answer Mr. Gough and partners at Cadiz.

October 1. *Monday*.—Within doors, (the Townhouse taken up by the town for civil causes,) bringing up the journal of our public commission with Mr. Hunter, our clerk, and doing other things at the call of my Lord: particularly, prepare and get signed by my Lord the commission

we, his other Commissioners, advise him to, about surveying in general throughout the whole town all the houses pretended to impropriety.

Noon. To dinner. My Lord did not dine: having been ill ever since last night, he keeps his chamber. Some of the Moors dined with us, and now begin to be troublesome by coming every day, and cannot come but they spy and learn what they can of our proceedings. Now they bring a letter from the Alcade, wherein he principally desires Lord Dartmouth's appointing some persons to accompany him to the Emperor, to settle things of the peace; but my Lord will not trust him therein, nor send anybody, but gives him a put-off. To that purpose, some things were discoursed on by my Lord to Kirke, the Doctor, and me. I told my Lord, that having never read the treaty we could not judge, (nor, indeed, do I desire to be informed,) but only we agreed to his refusing to send anybody to the Emperor: his letter he gave in answer we did not then debate, nor afterwards see, but let it be as he pleased.

Evening, Dr. Trumbull and I to prayers in the town-church; also, to see a burial in the Romish church. We then walked to the mole, see the Punton launched, but most bunglingly. To the head of the mole, and see the beginnings of mines, digging in one chest by my Lord, by Captain Leake, and the next by Mr. Sheres. It

is very hard, and slow work. Thence home to read, and after supper to my Lord.

2. *Tuesday*.—Much business of different kinds at my Lord's call. Noon. To the office; there, despatched business of our commission, also two orders about demanding from the storekeepers an account of what materials they have laid out in repairing, or new building any private houses in the town. Home to dinner. My Lord told me he had been writing something he must show me, what he was to speak in the public town-house, about destroying the town.

After dinner some Moors came in, and went up, where my Lord was alone with them in his chamber. Looking in by chance, I was a witness of their high talk to my lord, and his as high to them. They always ended with expressions of desiring peace, yet, now and then, mixing that they should have another army come to them; my Lord answering that he cared not what all Barbary could do to him. Their great difference was, about my Lord's not telling them what his errand was with this force and fleet. Yet they would be thought to know by intelligence from Spain.

My Lord would tell them no more than that the Alcade had an army near us, which could have no business but against us; whereas we had a fleet that would have nothing to do with them, they having nothing to do at sea, but a little war

with us, as to Sallee, which needed no such fleet ; but that the King had other affairs with other neighbour princes that required this fleet, and whenever the Spanish fleet shall return home this way, they should then know what business he had. They, however, persisted to know, and my Lord to deny ; they to say they knew it from Spain, though they could not tell it, and my Lord to tell them the Spaniards knew as little what he came for as they did. After long bandying about, in no order, this matter and other general matters, they broke up, both professing purposes of peace, and my Lord appealing to them, whether he had done anything contrary to the peace.

With Dr. Trumbull to the mole. There saw the little advance in either of the mines since last night. Weather presently very foul. No sooner home, but it began to rain very hard. In my chamber to read. By and by my Lord sent for me to supper with Kirke and several others. It was discoursed by my Lord and them, that, from the nature of our discourse with the Moors this day, and their parting with us, they bringing a letter from the Alcade, charging my Lord with not performing his word, (in not opening commerce, because the Moors he sends are conducted directly to my Lord, and not suffered to walk up and down the town,) they could certainly break with us, and would this very night or very soon.

My Lord and Kirke made nothing of it, seeming to think they, or the whole army of Barbary, could not do us any hurt. Besides, we had the satisfaction of my Lord's assurances, as he tells us, out of England, from Duncomb, that two vessels with victuals from Ireland are upon the way to us. Then Captain Gifford, from Sancta Cruz, on an errand to Muly Hamet, tells us for certain that the Emperor is thereabouts still, and makes it demonstrable to my Lord, (as my Lord and Kirke say,) that if the Emperor would come here with his army, he cannot be here these two months. They therefore believe that the Alcade is in trouble of mind concerning us, and puts on only a face of bravery; whereas they have reason to think (by our refusing to send to their Emperor, and being able, as yesterday, on the coming of Gifford, to send him fresher news of his Emperor, and where he was, than he himself knows, on which he sent to us to have what accounts we had from his master) that he will be driven at last to secure himself by flying to us.

Afternoon. The company broke up, and my Lord took me and Dr. Trumbull into his closet. He there read to us the speech he intends to make to the town in a day or two, on opening to them his design about destroying the place, which I observed to be wholly taken out of notes I gave him, but with many improvements, really very good and wise, and which show him to be a

man of understanding and consideration. After reading, he put it into our hands to give him our observations to-morrow morning.

Dr. Trumbull told me last night he really understood it was discoursed in England that the King did make known the thing, by saying he was urged to it against his inclination. Before we parted, I asked my Lord whether the King was, indeed, satisfied in this business; for we should be able to give our advice accordingly in reference to what he might expect from it, whether the success was good or bad. He answered in plain words, the Doctor being by, that at the time it began to be last taken up, about ten months ago, the King was the first mover; but that it was first proposed about three years since by my Lord Sunderland. Dr. Trumbull answered he liked it the worse for being of his proposing, and that it was taken up again upon my Lord Sunderland's coming in again; that the King was the fondest man in the world of it, and had declared to Lord Dartmouth at his coming away, that it was the greatest service any subject could do him. On my Lord's adding that he had understood some persons at Court did, nevertheless, labour to render this ill to the King, thereby to do him hurt, though in all his life he had never deserved it of them or anybody, I took occasion to say something of my being sorry for it, but he was not the first that had been so

used in obeying the King's commands, and labouring to serve him. He answered, it did not trouble him, (though by his looks and manner of speech I saw sufficiently it did,) for he was sure they durst not use him thus before the King, for the King would do him right in it, and did at this time discourse publicly of the folly of keeping Tangier any longer, adding, that he must and would do the thing though it cost him his life and the laying of his bones here, so that the work might be well done.

I thereupon said, well-doing the thing did not lie in flinging himself away, but preserving himself to see it done, for I did not know what would become of it if he should fall. He answered, he did not intend to fling himself away. He too well remembered the cases of my Lord Sandwich, Sir William Berkeley, and others, and what they got by it when dead and out of the way; but would labour so to do the work, that his life should not be spared, if that were necessary, for accomplishing it. This said, we took leave, the Doctor and I to bed, after a turn or two in my chamber, discoursing on what had now passed between us.

3. *Wednesday*.—In my chamber on public business, particularly, getting signed and sent away our orders to the storekeeper's, about an account of the King's materials, spent on private houses. Also, Dr. Trumbull and I reading and making

reflections on my Lord's draught of his speech, read to us last night, and designed for the Town-house, on opening his business of destroying the town. On reading them, with him, in his closet, he approved all, as altered in Dr. Trumbull's hand.

Dr. Trumbull and I did also prepare, for the Commissioners of the Survey, a letter for the Portuguese priests, on their difficulty of valuing lands and houses of their church, being not their own property, but their King's. We also had committed to us a letter my Lord designed to send this day,) in answer to the Alcade's yesterday,) with reasons for not thinking it necessary, presently, (as the Alcade desires,) to send persons to the Emperor, before he had an answer from the King our master, to letters he had written to him since our arrival; also, to justify our not permitting his Moors to go up and down the town, but to be brought with their messages directly to my Lord. On our advice, my Lord did think to make some alterations in the draught drawn by Du Pas, to Du P.'s great trouble. With the concurrence of the Doctor and Kirke, who came in just in season, I proposed other alterations, as my Lord directed. So it went to be put into Spanish, and sent to the Alcade.

My Lord, not yet very well, was let blood this morning; yet did go on board Sir John Berry to dinner, and give orders about Killigrew's com-

manding in the other's absence, who was going to Cadiz to stop some leaks. I was sorry for it, the weather being very bad for my Lord to go out in, it having rained very much last night (the first since we came, and the time of year that rains should be here); but having public business he did go, and we of the family dined without him, and the same company with us.

Mr. Sheres came to tell me he had delivered to my Lord his paper (whereof he showed me the foul draught) of the ordinary objections made against the mole, improved the most he could, to justify the King's destroying it; though he did tell me privately, he is able to answer them all. Therefore, by my advice, he hath not given them in his own hand, lest his "Discourse, in Defence of Tangier and the Mole," published to the world upon my instance, should one day rise up against him. He added, his being ready to show, that what he wrote on the subject was at my request; that I also, when time of trouble shall come, might be able to prove my foundation, for the King, and therefore my frequent desires to have him publish something in defence of the usefulness of the place, and the King's cost bestowed, and to be bestowed upon it.

After dinner, to my chamber, to carry on this my private journal, ever since Sunday last to this time and place; and so to read it, being still very foul weather. The very hard rains now

begin, and it is feared will continue, to the great interruption of our works on the Mole, though we cannot but hope it will be so for the enemy in the field.

4. *Thursday*.—At the office hard at work. Home to dinner, my Lord coming in the afternoon, and opening the great secret in the Town-house with general content. He gone, we continued at work. Night. Home, and there took care, by Joseph, to copy out by stealth my Lord's speech.

5. *Friday*.—Morning. Busy at the office. Afternoon. Writing letters to go by post to Cadiz: to Mr. Houblon a very grave letter, owning the secret, and saying some things therein.

6. *Saturday*.—Up to Pole Fort, now beginning to be pulled down; then to work till noon; so to dinner, and to work again till nine.

7. *Sunday*.—Morning. With my Lord riding round the town to see the mines on the Mole and about the walls. Kirke led me without the walls, to see some little old Roman aqueducts, of which there are many ruins, and some pans, worked out of the rock, like tanners' vats.

Church: Dr. Ken made a weak sermon on the great business of our being called home. Thence with my Lord, and from him carried by Mr. Sheres to his lodgings, Mr. Cuthbert's. He gave me a Spanish dinner, very neat and good. The finest Spanish woman that ever I saw is Mr.

Cuthbert's wife. Thence again to church, and heard a silly sermon.

Town-house: a meeting till night. Home, to sit in my chamber with my Lord Dartmouth and Mr. Hewer, talking about our businesses here. My Lord told me he doubted not to have all done within three weeks, though I cannot yet imagine it. He speaks how much he is troubled with Dr. Trumbull's being so weak and sheepish; and reproached him with his saying that he should have gotten ten guineas the first day of term.

MR. CHARLES RUSSELL TO PEPYS.

HONOURED SIR, Cadiz, October 7, 1683.

I HEARTILY congratulate your safe arrival at Tangier; but, if you come about what we are here persuaded you do, I had rather you and all that come about the design had tarried at home. I am sure in no age, nor by any people, was ever Tangier thought so useless and contemptible as not worth keeping, till this we live in, and that by our own countrymen. If we will go as high as history affords us records, we shall find Tangier always esteemed. You are sensible how the Romans prized it, and what advantages they made in their progresses in Barbary by a station so advantageous; no less useful to the Moors in their conquest of Spain, and to the Alcades, divided

among themselves after the death of the first conqueror, Miramalolin. The Portuguese looked on it as the best garrison, and most necessary to be preserved of any on the coast of Barbary, as witness the Spaniards getting from them all the rest: but Tangier, in the height of the Spanish war, was so much prized, that no charge nor pains were wanting to secure it from the attempts of the Moors, and preserve it from falling into the hands of the Spaniards. When the English had got Tangier, they, as well as all the world, believed they had a considerable and important place, as well for their convenience in all respects, as for its capacity of prejudicing their enemies; in some measure verified with all nations with which we have been at difference since we had the place, though with some more than others. The French covet, the Spaniard and the Hollander dread it, one as to trade, the other from neighbourhood, and the prejudice they may receive from it. Then, of the safeguard and convenience as to trade, in case of a war with Spain, none that knows anything is ignorant.

After all, must a place, qualified with so many advantageous and unequalled benefits, be parted with on the score of its being chargeable, and we the only people that ever thought so? Where is the honour and reputation of the nation? That alone, a man should think, were sufficient argument for its preservation. The parting with it

in any manner will render us very inconsiderable and necessitous to all the world; for, what will they think of us, esteem or dread us, if we cannot maintain a place so much our convenience to preserve. It may be the parting with the place may draw a war on us, costing as much to the public treasury, and private men's purses, as would maintain Tangier twenty years, if not more. And must nothing in future be minded, but all in a heat a present charge be removed, which were better maintained than altered?

There is a Spanish ceremony used by the Spanish ministers with their king's orders when they receive them: *Besa, obederez y Pondre sobre mi Cabeza*. And when they either have not a mind to obey, finding it not their king's interest that they should, they answer with *No ay lugar*. I wish my Lord Dartmouth would thus answer our King's orders for destroying Tangier, if he hath any such, which I have only from report. You are, as much as any man, sensible of what advantage Tangier is to us here, and to the nation in general. If anything is designed against it, pray use your endeavours to prevent it. Having thus given my opinion, I assure you I am,

Honoured Sir,

Your most humble servant,

CHARLES RUSSELL.

What I have said about Tangier is purely out of a zeal and esteem for the preservation of a place which nothing but experience will teach us it is our interest to maintain.

I humbly beg your opinion what may be designed against the Spaniard by this fleet. We are apt to believe something on account of what passed with Captain Shovell and Captain Elmer.

1683. October 8. *Monday*.—Busy at the office. My Lord's fall: put to bed, and let blood. Dinner (some few) by ourselves. Great preparation for a dinner for the Mayor and town, to deliver their advice. About four, to my Lord, to see the delivery of the advice. It was not read; but there was a foolish speech of the Recorder's about our values set upon their proprieties, to which I answered. Then into the garden to a collation: Dr. Trumbull with them, in good humour: thence again to the office. At night, to my Lord, who was in great pain.

By my Lord's bedside. Nicholas told us many stories of the Moors. We also read the town's advice, wherein a great deal of repetition of imprisonment and captivity, which I do not like. So, sleepy, to bed.

9. *Tuesday*.—In my chamber with Mr. Hunter, very busy in fetching up our journal. To the

office. Home to dinner, and to see my Lord. To the office again, very busy till night. Supped all by my Lord's bedside, he being much better able to move his fingers, and rest at night. Slept ill, by reason of the chinchees.

Pleased after dinner with the discourse of Mr. W. Hewer, and the Controller.

10. *Wednesday*. — To the fields over Fountain Fort the first time, seeing the Moors' sentries and people rating at the stockades. The folly of this place, being overlooked everywhere! I seeing the very soldiers going in and out of the castle gate. The strange diligence and patience of the Moor!

To my office, busy all the morning, now in a fair view to have done. After dinner, to see my Lord, who grows better and better almost every hour, and sits up. To the office, close till evening, when we all three waited on my Lord, with our reasons for the rates proposed for the proprieties, which my Lord was pleased with. Thence to my chamber, and by and by to supper by my Lord's bed, and sat late talking with him. At last, being alone, he took notice of Dr. Trumbull's ridiculous melancholy continuing. I proposed his going home, which my Lord was fond of, and said he should if he would, by the Swallow, I telling him, and my Lord observing it to me himself, that he saw I did all the work, and he signified little.

Memorandum.—Having heard Mr. Phillips say he feared we should lack powder; and to my question, what powder (not gone yet) my Lord sends to Muley Hamet? he answered, fifty barrels. I this day asked my Lord whether he was sure he should have powder enough. He told me, yes, or, if he wanted, he would borrow of the fleet; to which end, he had ordered forbearing salutes.

11. *Thursday.*—Up betimes, to walk, particularly on the stages at the stockade. I ventured within, a little way, to see a boat making by the Moors, and some of our carpenters, lent them. I would not venture too near, for I had been a good prize, and I see their sentries mighty close intent upon me.

Office. Busy till noon. The Moor, secretary to the ambassador that was in England, is, I hear, just come to my Lord: I did not see him, as I was all the time within, alone with Du Pas. After dinner (the Portuguese fathers* dined with us)

* In the debate Nov. 17, 1680, on his Majesty's message about Tangier, Sir William Jones says:—

“Tangier may be of great importance to trade, but I am afraid hath not been so managed as to be any security to the Protestant religion. The Portuguese, when they delivered it up, did covenant to have one popish church remain there for the convenience of some priests and friars and others of that nation that were permitted to stay there; but it was then agreed that their mortality should not be supplied, that so, after the decease of those persons, the said popish church

and a little nap in my chamber, Mr. Budgeon carpenter of the Turk's Tiger, came and told me several pretty passages of the vallanies of his captain, young Elmer. Office till evening. Home to my Lord to supper, having a mighty cold that made me dumb.

This day a foolish answer from the Mayor, in the name of all the proprietors, about the valuation of their houses.

12. *Friday*.—My cold being greater, was not able to speak: did not go out of my chamber till evening, when I walked on the hills, almost round our bounds, near the Moors' sentries, having only my man with me. They might have snapped

might be demolished, or converted to a Protestant use. But I am well informed that it hath been otherwise managed, and that the Papists there are now more than ever."

Hyde, M. P. for Wootton Bassett, after describing the importance of Tangier, as "situated to command the greatest thoroughfare of commerce in the world, by the advantage of the Mole," says, "I cannot believe that it is any nursery for popish soldiers, as hath been argued; for it is well known under what a regulation our soldiers are of taking such oaths and tests as secure them to be Protestants: therefore," he adds, "this House must speedily give some assistance for Tangier, or it will be lost."

Harbord, M. P. for Theford, thus rejoins: "Sir, I am of opinion that Tangier is a nursery for popish soldiers. Among the rest, I think Captain *Tom* is there, who was to have headed the Apprentices' mutiny in London. When we are assured we shall have a good Protestant governor and garrison in Tangier, I shall heartily give my vote for money for it."

me up, and nobody have seen that they took me within our bounds. Supped with my Lord, and sat talking with him after all were gone.

This day Dr. Trumbull owns to me that my Lord hath offered him to go in the Swallow with his expresses for England, and is mighty brisk upon it. I told my Lord, and he laughs at it, this being on my advice. First lay in drawers; and with that, and pinning my sleeves close, I was not to-night troubled with chinchees.

13. *Saturday*.—To the office: busy against the public meeting with the proprietors. We have proposed to my Lord to justify our proposals against their objections. Night. Supper and discourse with my Lord and his company, and so to bed.

14. *Sunday*.—Up betimes, to walk to the stock-ado, where, landed from Smyrna, some Turks or Armenians, with their wares laid on the sands to be carried into Fez for sale. I talked with them in a kind of Frank, and liked their habits and countenances very well. Home to dress, and to church. Mr. Hughes preached to the town his farewell sermon; very good and pious. Among other things, he found it necessary to purge himself against some ill reports he had, it seems, lain under; declaring, in the presence of God! he had never, in his time with them, done injury to man or woman.

From church, and dined, by invitation, with Sir W. Booth on board the Grafton. After dinner, Dr. Ken gave us a sermon. Sir W. Booth gave me an account of the ado he had had with some of Herbert's young fellows to get signed the paper my Lord desires, about the Mole and harbour of Tangier.

Evening. On the shore till late, walking by moonshine on the Mole with Mr. Sheres. Here I had the pleasure to see in the night the volleys of great and small shot towards the sea, being the Duke of York's birth-day, and it was very pretty. All the military officers presented an address for the King on his deliverance from the plot, and what is now doing here, and his calling them home; they also dining with my Lord. Wet with dew, that falls every evening. I went with others, by appointment, to the Controller Erlesman's, to discourse once more of our proposals of rating the proprieties, to fit myself against the public meeting to-morrow.

Home (several bonfires,) and to my Lord's to supper, talk, and bed. Dr. Trumbull being very ill of the flux, but more in his mind, my Lord resolves with me to send him home presently, being but a trouble to him, and a man of the meanest mind, as to courage, that ever was born.

PEPYS TO MR. HOUBLON.

DEAR SIR, Tangier, October 14, 1683.

I LITTLE thought to have spoken to you at this distance, but so it is, and must be submitted to, however unpleasant.

My last was of the 17th of September, from before this place. The same day we landed, though without a formal publication of our errand till yesterday; when, in a full assembly, my Lord Dartmouth first communicated the contents of his commission from the King, for withdrawing all his forces and subjects from this place, rendering it desolate. Which proving, (as it hath long been apprehended,) the real purpose of all this secret, and fleet, you will not wonder that, even by the King, it was made a secret to me, when he required my service in accompanying Lord Dartmouth; for nobody can imagine I should at this time of day knowingly re-embark in an affair so public, of so hazardous success, so remote from all the little, to a knowledge of which I dare pretend, and so subject to common censure as this will necessarily be. Not but that, as far as I may say it, without taking on me the advocateship of a matter I was not called upon for adviser, much less in a business resolved on by my Prince, I shall take upon me to say that the reasons my Lord Dartmouth hath offered as

the grounds of these his majesty's resolutions, are such, as make it much less easy to justify those councils that led the King to the first acceptance of, and subsequent expenses on this place, than those by which he is now determined to put an end to them.

The particulars I shall take another time to open, and some considerations of my own, (in addition to all my Lord hath used,) which are much fitter for discourse than paper. This only I shall at present add, (for I yet take no pleasure in this subject,) that greater prudence, justice, and diligence I never yet observed in any management, than is daily shown by my Lord Dartmouth on this occasion; nor greater danger at the same time run, of being misunderstood by the multitude, than he is subjected to therein. The difficulties he hath to contend with, from the vigilance of a Moorish army at our gates, straitness of provisions, and other wants within, sufficient to disorder any man of less presence of mind. But, as I hope he will surmount them, so I foresee I shall be able to give you in a few days (by an express we shall be sending for England) a tolerable view of my expectations of the event of this service, and the time wherein it will show itself. In the mean while, I have the present satisfaction of being able to tell you that the part which (besides the general service which by the King's command my Lord of Dartmouth do

sometimes call for from me in my advice) is particularly reserved for me herein, in conjunction with a worthy sober gentleman, Dr. Trumbull, is the inquiring into, and stating the business of the several proprietries of the inhabitants of this place in the lands and houses here; for which his majesty proposes, most graciously, just reparation. In which commission though I am, at this time, and poor Mr. Hewer in another, relating to the accounts between the military men and citizens, under a pressure of business equal, at least, to all that ever you knew us in at Derby-House; yet, it is to me, a satisfaction, that it is an office wherein I have it, equally in hand, to serve the King against impostures from them whose demands are so apt to fly too high, as the poor proprietors against others, whose want of tenderness might betray them to making offers of satisfaction too low. Both my duty and charity meet with a good degree of content.

It will look, I know, a little gravely, that I did not mix something of ordinary occurrences in this paper, nor, less necessary, sprinklings of questions and answers, foreign and domestic. But, to tell you the truth, I am at this very moment upon winding up a great many poor people's pretences, who have very little time to turn themselves in. Therefore, in general, only be pleased to know that (God be praised!) I am in most perfect health; full of just remembrances of all my

friends and their friendships in England, and yours in the front of all; greedy to make an end here, in hopes of making a step over to Spain, while our sulphurmongers are preparing a Doomsday for this unfortunate place. Particularly sensible of the kindness of Mr. Gough, which pray own to him, and to the rest of your friends at Cadiz, in their most ample instances of readiness to assist me, if I can get to them; and no less troubled for my mishap in not being in condition (by the task I have thus upon my hands here) to show the civility I ought to have done at Mr. Gough's accidentally coming to Tangier upon our first entrance here, and his sudden departure.

And, now, I end with prayers for you and your dear tribe, to every of whom ten thousand blessings. And so God send us a good meeting!

Adieu. Your most affectionate, and ever most faithful humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

1683. *October 15. Monday.* — In my chamber on public business. After dinner, in the garden with my Lord, talking of Dr. Trumbull's silliness with reference to his poorness of spirit. He will send a ship on purpose with him. Dr. Ken tells me he is not to be supported, but by sending him home.

Town-house with my Lord. The proprieties and their valuations were debated by me, against the Mayor, &c. It ended in standing by my rates, with room for more if the King be prevailed with. My Lord called for the draught of a letter he is writing to the Alcade, provoking him to break; but the Governor, and Dr. Trumbull, (come out of his chamber on the news of going home,) joined with me in altering it, showing the inconvenience that may attend it, and none from keeping our peace longer. My Lord is content to delay it a week; then, he declared, he would not care for all the strength of Barbary.

Walk by moonshine in the fields under the wall, thinking of our affairs: a glow-worm shining; very small compared with what we have in England. Stayed till the gates were to be locked, and first observed the manner of placing turnpikes without the gates, for fear of horse surprising in the night.

To supper with my Lord. He owned if he had known of Matt. Elmer's carriage in the seaman's report about the harbour in the morning, he should never have gone to Cadiz the same day. Having, in kindness to Dr. Trumbull, resolved of sending Tyrrell with him, he altered it, and sent Carter, who is sick, that he may keep Tyrrell, his kinsman, to do some kindness for him before the voyage be done.

But the instances of captains giving up their

whole care to profit themselves, and not the King's service, are infinite; there not being a man of them, even the best commanders, that does not, one way or other, solicit me, by friend or himself, to get sent to Cadiz or elsewhere before they go home, making pretence of want of water, or some such foolish thing.

Then, again, governors at this place are all the King's vice-admirals, and should, by office and general duty, be a watch on commanders, to check them for lying in port, and advise the King, or his admiral: instead, they not only help by their vices to debauch, but, by finding for them some errand of benefit, conspire with commanders to neglect the King's service.

16. *Tuesday*. — The rates of proprieties being settled, we applied to adjust with the Portugueses very fully, and presented it to my Lord, their money coming to near six hundred pounds, with which he was well pleased. Supper and discourse with my Lord, Dr. Trumbull being to go home, now quite well again.

17. *Wednesday*. — To the castle, to look on the progress of the mines, which appears not great. To the office: very busy till noon, providing for casting up, by way of abstract, the value of all proprieties in the town, amounting to about eleven thousand pounds.

Afternoon. To the Mole. The demolition advances very slowly. At supper, all the en-

gineers discoursing merrily every man of his work; my Lord discoursing as if a week or ten days more would put all things in good forwardness about the walls, so as they will be subject to no interruption from the Moors, if they should come. Then they will spare to the Mole all the miners that went off, that Captain Leake and Mr. Sheres much complain of.

Evening. Mr. Sheres brought my Lord the Report of the commission appointed to survey the fortifications. They make the works necessary to secure the place by land, to come to a great deal above two millions. Nothing else extraordinary all this day. After supper to read, and to bed.

Captain Wren's carrying the Portuguese to Portugal, intended by my Lord (unknown to him, he hath acknowledged to me) out of pure kindness to keep him here when my Lord is gone, that he might continue longer in service. The Captain comes to-day to tell me that his masts are out of order, having been spliced and welded a great while to keep them together, but they are not fit to stay abroad. Therefore he prays me to advise my Lord to let him go home from Lisbon: the true reason, (I pressing him to tell me,) that he may get a job of two or three hundred pounds, as others get thousands. Thus the account goes.

Mr. Sheres tells me that Wheeler, in one voyage,

went out a volunteer, got to be a lieutenant, then a captain, and, above all, got ten thousand pounds in money. He says, that Matt. Elmer hectored Herbert to giving him a voyage after he had put money on board another ship, he making him, by menaces, take the money out of that ship, and send him with it. He hath not known, nor believes our captains carry any goods; but money now and then, and it may be, a little cochineal.

W. Hewer tells me of captains submitting to the meanest servility to Herbert when at Tangier, waiting his rising and going to bed, combing his periwig, putting on his coat, as the King is served, he living and keeping a house on shore, and his mistresses visited and attended one after another, as the King's are. For commanders, that value themselves above *tarpaulins*, to attend to these mean things, as Wheeler particularly is said to do!

Captain Gifford's story is very good, to show the roguery of Kirke, about the pass he gave Gifford in lieu of so much money, (three hundred crowns,) as the amount of a fourth part in the ship Percy, which Kirke would force from him. When Gifford had obtained it, he would not give him the money, but make him and his partners give him the fourth, in consideration of his pass. Kirke owned it to me, and, on advising with Herbert, whether such a ship could be worth twelve hundred dollars, Herbert told him, that if

it was. His pass was worth a quarter part ; so he need not give any money for it. This fourth part, therefore, they were forced to give, and did it by an instrument to Major Hope, it being acknowledged, as he owned to me, for his use. This Kirke did, though he knew half the vessel was owned by two Moors of Sallee, and room left in the pass, to last a year, for the number to be set, of the Moors Gifford should employ in her.

We have also an instance of a butt of brandy, taken from this Gifford, as brought into the town against a proclamation, while brandy, from the same vessel, by particular licence in writing from Kirke, was brought in many pieces, and publicly sold. They pay for these licences to Kirke ; and Du Pas says he will prove it on oath. I am told by W. Hewer of another particular roguery of Kirke's since we came, in making Forgeon pay him one hundred pounds to be eased of a bond for two hundred pounds, given for not selling a parcel of brandies here, even after my Lord had given him leave to sell.

In another case, my Lord had given Kirke, for his own use, coals and chopped straw, left after his Majesty's service. Kirke sent a sentry to the house where they lay, and would not suffer the horses of the Mole to have straw, or the smith's forges for the King's use to be served with coals, till Mr. Sheres spoke to my Lord, and had his command for being supplied.

The tyranny and vice of Kirke is stupendous, as by infinite stories appears; and his exactions on poor merchants, letting nothing be sold till he had the refusal. This shows why the King was never yet told of the foolishness of the place he hath thus long spent money on, because it would have put an end to benefits governors made, one after another: then, from their interest at Court to justify anything, though contrary to express instructions, (as in Kirke's monopolizing trade,) they were under no restraint. They lived also under all vicious liberties: nobody controlled them here, or durst complain at home. This did not escape even Mr. Sheres himself, who had his mistress too; and, but for his own profit, could and would have made known, ten years ago, what he says we now see, and therefore owns to us as much as anybody.

It makes me mad almost to find even my very friends coming to me with weak pretences, to show me one occasion or another for their going to Cadiz before their going for England; one on the pretence of the impossibility of getting water enough here for them and their company; that is Fowler: and the other, Wyburne, plainly to be able to get some things, as others do, or else the voyage will be only loss to him, and he had better have stayed at home. Perhaps, after their rate of living here, it is too true.

It is impossible for this thing to be in the order

in which it should be, till *good voyages* be at an end, and commanders' lives made comfortable to them by their plain salary; and severe discipline to make them perform their duties, for their preservation sake, which, now, they do no more than as it enables them to get and keep voyages that bring them private profit. They then, indeed, mind the King's service, but no further than it stand with opportunity of doing their own business.

Let carrying money be taken away, and it will of itself take away the difference of gentleman and *tarpaulin*, for which only it is kept up. Then they will alike labour to serve the King, and no occasion of grudging one another. Not but the King may, out of his purse or otherwise, at any time, have it in his hand, to much better effect, to give this or that man an extraordinary mark of favour. But let it be at the King's pleasure, and not out of the present service: nothing being more manifest, by all discourse, from the highest to the lowest, together or asunder, than that the whole business of the navy now abroad is, how to get advantage one of another for private benefit, and how to bring this about by tricks and lies, sacrificing the whole service of the King. Then, how unnatural it is, that rewarding men for, and thereby encouraging them to doing their duties, should be placed in something that necessarily occasions neglect of duty!

This distinction, of gentleman and seaman, makes the latter fall into the method of the former, in clothes, manners, and vices, that they may be taken for them. Hence, as I have known the navy when, from Penn downward, no man could be seen drunk and disorderly, I have since seen the same men, and other *tarpaulins*, take on them the licentiousness the others do, to the great debauching the King's service, and neglecting, by the very same seamen, those lookings after good husbandry for the King in their ships and stores, which they know how to do; which the gentlemen not only won't, but if they would, know not how to descend to. Of which last, nobody thinks how the King's purse is concerned through every under office in a ship, to be looked after by the commander; which cannot be, while he understands it not, or scorns to do it. This gives a proper occasion to explain this through all the parts.

By discourse with Sir W. Booth, I find great disputes and heats among captains and their parties, touching which is the eldest captain. It is decided, right or wrong, as they have most bold friends to assert one or the other; which makes it necessary to have our lists printed in seniority of command, and quality of charge, as the King would have them. Let me look over the present list of signals for commanders, as they are now settled, and show their present precedences. Let me also taste their beverages.

Captain Digby, as Dr. Lawrence says, answered, in defence of gentlemen-captains, though they could not do the things a seaman could, they could get those that could. I say, they cannot tell whether the other do, or can do them, or no, as they ought to do. To this end, let me look into the several works of the boatswain's, gunner's, and others' trades, to instance what a man can judge of another man's doings, unless he know how to do them himself.

Towards the King's being secured of the diligence of his sea-commanders, nothing more seems wanting, besides the sight of their and their officers' journals, than some officer to overlook their several orders from the admiral, at going out; and from superior officers, afterwards, during their voyage, to the end. For want whereof, and of being obliged to deliver in the same at coming home, and of the commander abroad sending home, at due times, copies of all orders, a commander cannot be convicted of neglect, nor praised for diligence; a great encouragement to good men, and a caution to the bad. Commanders-in-chief and admirals stay abroad oftentimes three or four years, and no account formally given of their several orders to under-commanders; so the private commanders must either be presently allowed to have done their duties, or kept till their commanders-in-chief come home to inform us.

That were an oppression to a good commander, to stay so long for his pay.

Our want of a prayer for a good wind, does enough show how little our churchmen make it their business to go to sea; which may serve also to improve the description of the dangers and illness of a sea life: whereas they ought, the first, to look after the wonders of God in the deep. Here comes in the story of Harman's chaplain, asking what he should do to be saved; and Solomon's magnifying the mystery of the way of a ship on the sea.

We not only lack prayers at sea for a good wind, and what is yet as reasonable, thanks when we get it, (witness our own case,) but for some wind. In calms, we not only suffer the evils that may attend not going forward to our port, but by ships being liable to be jogged together by the swell of the sea, without any power to resist it, they being ordinarily in a calm carried one upon another, the heads and tails lying divers ways, like things distracted.

What can show more the difficulties of a seaman's life, than that no man will stay in it longer than till he hath got a competent estate. No man that hath so much learning of any kind as he thinks he can get a living with, will stay at sea, or go thither, but keep on shore: so the generality of those that go and stay there are either

poor or illiterate, or desperate people; at least, such as being by force or chance brought thither betimes, are, by custom, hardened in it, and continue, knowing no better way.

As an instance what time, without an overseer, will do upon the best men, I may have occasion to instance in the present officers of the navy, and therein have an opportunity to show that they were all of my own raising. Yet Sir W. Booth did tell me that, in his own hearing, publicly at Tangier, before a great many captains, Preestman did say, it was S. Atkins did all my business in my office for me. Sir W. Booth did at the same time take notice of it to the rest of the captains, but none of them would say anything, but went on eating their neat's tongue. But he do observe to me, how mean in understanding the most part of our best commanders are; and that a man that can speak but fluently, let it be sense or nonsense, they make no difference, but are governed by him. So they do, at this day, even Berry himself, in reference to this Preestman.

18. *Thursday*.—The *Dover* come in, with Turk's colours under his own; but not the prize, having made her run on shore, where they rifled her after she was deserted and broken to pieces. This is Captain Deering.

With Dr. Trumbull (now on his going) to show my Lord our commission, finished these twelve days in everything but what is to be done by the

officers of the King's revenue, and for the settling the rates concluded on. Now, to see how weakly, yet impudently, this Doctor pretends to interpose his discourse with my Lord, when he knows, and owns to me, and so does my Lord, he hath done nothing in the thing.

Reading till evening, and speaking with commanders that come, much against my will, to desire my favour. Not one hath virtue enough to deserve it. Out again round the fields, up to Peterborough Tower. There, by Captain Sylver, was led on my knees into a mine finished, the powder laid in, the fusee, and the trunk now bringing out to the outside of the wall, he explaining the whole method. Home to read, and discourse with Mr. Hewer. So to supper, full of discourse of Dr. Trumbull's going away, poor man! to-morrow; with so impudent a degree of professed fear of his quality and his public commission as never man did.

My Lord read to us his long letter (two large sheets, by Dr. Trumbull) to Sir L. Jenkins, giving a general and very good statement of matters here, with all advices, public surveys, and other things, that can inform him in everything. But that which did trouble me to-night, and when I waked in the morning, was, some words my Lord let fall at supper, that he should not be able to spare Mr. Hewer to go with me to Spain.

I had much good discourse this evening with

Mr. Sheres about the evil arising to the navy from *good voyages*.

I have an instance in Sir W. Booth, of what I noted a little before from Sir John Wyburne, that this business of trading from port to port, to make *good voyages*, runs through the fleet, and spoils all discipline and service. He asked whether he might not desire and expect my Lord Dartmouth, when this work is done, to give him a voyage. He never had done him, to this day, one kindness of the kind; all he hath got being that he hath fought for; and I believe it true.

More than this, talking with my Lord Dartmouth lately, I find from himself that he do study, at this very day, to give opportunity to such as he thinks deserve his kindness, to go to one place or other for their getting something by it. While this is, the service can never be well looked after; for, as the King pays tenfold for all they get, so, one courtesy to this or that man disoblige ten.

Tangier hath been only a place to find pretence for employment of our ships on their own business and the Governor's, to Cadiz and up and down, to the debauching of our commanders and others, particularly Atkins; hearing by themselves and others every day fresh instances of their debauchery. Scott, the chirurgeon on board Hamilton, told me how he was aboard some ships of the King's, in company with others, a month

together, on the coast of Portugal I think he said, drunk and merry. Among other things, Herbert caused him, while he was drunk, to be stripped, &c. This is but an instance of a whole life they spend here in roguery.

It is pretty also to see that no kindness obliges these rogues. I have shown my Lord, to his surprise, instances in Shovel, Wheeler, and Matt. Elmer, (to all of whom, especially the last, as being Herbert's creatures, he hath thought fit to be very kind since his being here,) their making a difficulty to sign the paper prepared by my Lord's orders for the sea-captains to sign, about the condition of the harbour of Tangier, and the impracticableness of making it a good one. Though they have been prevailed with by Booth to sign this, yet they did declare to Booth their satisfaction in the harbour when they signed it, and will be ready to do the like when they come into England. This is your men of honour and gentlemen! at least the two latter.

Another instance from Mr. Sheres. His coming to me from Captain Killebrew lets me see to how little purpose it is for the King, or an admiral under him, to oblige captains, while this business of *good voyages* remains in the fleet. He tells me that Captain Killebrew would have me, as from myself and not from him, (for he is a person, as he would have me think, of too great a mind to stoop to the mean solicitations other

captains use,) to speak to my Lord, that in the daily disposal of his favour he would think of him for some *good voyage*.

I told Sheres, I believed my Lord did think he had obliged Killegrew to his full satisfaction in giving him, during Berry's absence at Cadiz, the honour of commanding the fleet, as having therein overlooked others of greater seniority. Sheres answered, (and I believe him,) my Lord do overvalue that favour; for Killegrew says, he hath already had a greater command, of seven or eight frigates by himself in the Channel. Therefore he esteemed nothing of that kind of compliment to him, but what was accompanied with other advantages in a *good voyage*. After this rate, an admiral must know the history of every man's past life, if he think to please those he is to command, and even gratify them by what others, without any reason, it may be, have had done for them, as Jack Holmes having a flag. It must be done, which is worst, without any regard to the King's service. He, and all the commanders, must now know what is the great business at this place that they come for, and ought to attend; whereas the ships are for gratifying the captains, and yet not contenting them neither, though at this very time sent up and down by my Lord to do jobs of kindness to them.

19. *Friday*. — After entering some notes, I walked abroad; then home to my letters, by Dr.

Trumbull, who is impatient with my Lord to be gone. About five, went to see the first trial by Captain Leake of two bombs blown up under the arches in the Mole. By the looseness of the earth above, they did little or no execution; which makes us fear more mistakes in the greater works, as the master-gunner of England could be so mistaken.

To my Lord to supper, every one laughing at Dr. Trumbull's foolish impatience to be gone.

My Lord told us publicly how he told the King, in his Cabal, he did foresee, certainly, that in this his expedition there would be a want of victuals, for he knew the business of credits between pursers and victuallers, and therefore desired that might be looked into. It was answered peremptorily by a great minister, (my Lord of Rochester,) that there were victuals in the garrison to last to Christmas Day; and this so positively, that though he (Lord Dartmouth) knew the contrary, yet he could no longer contend, but must submit, for fear it should be sent to the King that he was afraid to go on the business, and so came away, and found things as he foresaw. My Lord gave this as an instance of something then in discourse among us, that a man, in disputing, may sometimes think fit not to insist on his argument, even when he knows himself to be in the right.

The consideration may here be added, of the

great necessity that those who are to be ministers of state (not to be contradicted by others that serve a prince under them) be men of experience and great knowledge. For want of that, in my Lord Rochester, in this case, neither was my Lord Dartmouth at liberty to give his advice and argue the thing (which he understood much better), for then he would have been thought not willing to undertake the business, nor capable of judging what was necessary to be sent or done. Hence, no extraordinary provision of water-casks was sent, to bring home this people; no extraordinary provision for their food, and fresh will not keep if they could have provided it.

It is by a miracle that the Moors have not broke with us, as, by the King's instructions to my Lord, his ministers had an expectation. Then, the town's-people could have had nothing to eat while we were preparing to destroy the place, nor any care of proper victuals for the garrison, that being short when we came, though undertaken by Rochester to last to Christmas; nor of the ships we brought with us, but what, by accident, they had for the Channel, and less for those we met here, several not having a week's provision.

Several other defects we shall, I believe, meet with before we have done; this in a case, too, where the proper officers of the navy and army were to know nothing of the business. Hence, I say, how necessary that ministers of state be men

of general knowledge, and among us especially, in sea-matters.

Their mistake in the business of time is as considerable as any, not judging better what time it would take to do our business, both civil and military, at Tangier. They should have sent us, two months sooner, that we might have had a season to work in before the storms and seas come in that we cannot work on the Mole, and long days and fair weather above head to work in; and that out of a hot country poor people might not come at once into a cold at the coldest time. Here, consider their sending no hammocks for so many people to be brought home in cold weather, so we are forced to cut sails. The like of water-casks and purser's necessaries.

PEPYS TO MESSRS. REVESBY AND HODGES, MERCHANTS AT CADIZ.

GENTLEMEN,

Tangier, October 19, 1683.

THIS comes on no other errand than to give you the most earnest assurances of my service in whatever you shall please to command it. Nor do I doubt but my honoured friend, Mr. Houlblon, will help me in the acknowledgments for the favours which, on his score, I received from you since my arrival here.

Let me therefore beg, that if there be any-

thing wherein my interest here, or in the fleet that accompanies us, may be of use to you, or any friend of yours, you will not forbear to require it from me; for, as I am yet doubtful of the honour of waiting on you in Spain, and, consequently, of an opportunity of owning your kindnesses personally, I would be glad of having it in my power to do it at this distance by some occasion offered me of serving you.

I did, at the last passage of Captain Aylmer hence, direct a letter to Mr. Gough, dated the $\frac{5}{15}$ instant, offering him the opportunity of the *Swallow* for his conveyance to England; but I presume, by not hearing from him at the return of the yacht, that my letter came too late to reach him at Cadiz. If it should be by any other accident (my letter being addressed with most humble services to you in his absence), pray salute him with all respect from me, and tell him, that though the *Swallow* be just on her departure (I think to-morrow), I shall, if he still desires it, make some other provision very speedily for his passage.

With which, and the kissing your hands, I rest, gentlemen,

Your most humble and obliged servant,

S. PEPYS.

PEPYS TO MR. HOUBLON.

SIR, Tangier, October 19, 1683.

MY last was of the 14th, to Cadiz, under Mr. Gough's cover. I am almost impatient to hear of your and your family's health, without which I have not above half the pleasure of my own. But our work advances so fast, that now I doubt a little of having anything from England before our coming away, being in full hopes of finishing all in a month, if the Moors in the fields just without our gates, and, by the help of their hills, in full view of all we are doing, will give us leave; which we do not expect, nor are in much pain about it, our military men thinking themselves secured, with the help of our fleet, against all the force of Barbary. What they do, it is supposed, they will reserve to the moment of retreat out of the town, when, on springing our mines, and thereby overthrowing our walls, it will be flung open.

The inhabitants are daily shipping themselves off; many families already on board, and one ship gone with the sick and cripples.

To-day embark the Portugueses, having full satisfaction in ready money, for all their proprieties. In eight days we pretend to have removed the whole of the town's-people. Then begins the destruction of the town; that is to say, the dis-

walling houses, whose materials (the wooden part at least) will be applied to the mines. The number is great, and the work heavy, especially that of Mr. Sheres on the Mole, proving, by the difficulty to destroy it, such a piece of masonry as, our engineers say, was never yet put together in the world. I have been myself an eye-witness with how much less trouble they cut through the pieces of rock than the plaster with which he hath bound them together.

Mr. Hewer (who gives you and your lady, as Mr. Sheres also does, his most humble services) is at this time paying the garrison. My own part (as, I think, I have already told you) is, adjudging the civil proprieties between the King and the burghers. In that, I trust in God, I shall leave as little dissatisfaction on the proprietors' part (governing myself by doing as I would be done by) as it is expected I should prevent any impostures on his Majesty.

For the main of the errand on which I accompany Lord Dartmouth, I first say to you, that I am not at all solicitous concerning the thanks I am likely to meet with from the world, the King my master's command being all the warrant and payment I look after. It being a service I neither chose, nor was privy in the least degree to the King's purposes in, at the time of my leaving England, I shall leave it (as I ought) to be answered for by those who advised it. But so much

I shall never disown of my opinion at this day concerning it, namely, that at no time there needed any more than the walking once round it by daylight to convince any man (no better-sighted than I) of the impossibility of our ever making it, under our circumstances of government, either tenable by, or useful to, the crown of England. Therefore it seems to me a matter much more unaccountable how the King was led to the reception, and, afterwards, to so long and chargeable a maintaining, than, at this day, to the deserting and extinguishing it. Towards your fuller satisfaction in which, I here send you the substance of my Lord Dartmouth's discourse to this city at the opening of his commission. You will find not a few (yet far from all, or the most weighty) of the arguments in justification of his Majesty's procedure herein to be given, when you and I meet. In the mean time, (unless you find these otherwise published, as possibly you may, by order of the court,) pray let them not go abroad, but keep them till my coming, I having no other copy.

I thank God I am well, and would be at any cost to be sure that you and all my little friends are so. I have sent them my service by a line to their mother, and beg you will let the young gentlemen have the like from me by word.

I would not wish my sweet W. or little Jemmy here; for, with sorrow and indignation I speak, it is a place of the world I would last send a

young man to, but to hell. Therefore, on God's account as well as the King's, I think it high time it were dissolved. But if I get time to visit Spain, it would compensate all the fatigue of my journey thus far, to have either or both of them with me. So God keep us all, and send us a contentful meeting.

Yours most affectionately,

S. PEPYS.

PEPYS TO DR. GALE.

DEAR SIR,

Tangier, October 19, 1683.

I THOUGHT it unanswerable to have let my friend and your most near neighbour, Dr. Trumbull, leave me without a promise of visiting you at his arrival in England, as well to inquire, on my behalf, after your health, as to give you some account of mine: this the rather that you might know, at the first hand, the state of matters here. He will tell you, too, how he and I have, in partnership, spent our time here on an errand that shall meet, I know, with much censure at home, and am well contented they that advised it should be its advocates; the King having been pleased to do me the favour (so I account it) of serving himself with my obedience, without charging me in any degree with the secret, till I was quite clear of England.

Yet, whatever I should have done had I been

earlier told of that, I shall not scruple to give you my opinion, now I have been upon the place; which is, that the least part of our ministers' mistakes, in reference to Tangier, hath been, leading the King to squandering near two millions upon what as much more would never make useful to him. If you ask me what is there greater, if this be the least, I answer, the doing this upon a place that, were it possible to be rendered useful, would never yet be made tenable against a Moorish, or, worse, a Christian enemy.

I have not yet been able to go over to Spain; but I hope I may in a few days, if not prevented by an attack from the Moors, which we have reason to expect, their army being posted within a quarter of a mile of our gates, in sight, from their hills, of all that stirs in the town. But we are in no pain concerning it, thinking ourselves, with the help of our fleet, secure against the strength of Barbary.

Referring you, as I intended, to what will with more advantage be observed to you, on the whole, by my honoured friend, the bearer, I give my cousin and you my most humble services, in hopes, after all this, of eating brawn with you at Christmas; and rest,

Dear cousin, your ever most affectionate
and humble servant,

S. PEPYS.

My most humble services to Impington.

CAPTAIN WYLDE TO PEPYS.

SIR,

October 1683.

IN order to your desire, I present your honour with this small narrative concerning staining calicoes in India.

They take the pieces and put them into milk, mixed with conge, which is size boiled in water and strained, which is like our water-starch; and allum a good quantity, wetting and drying it two or three times, laying it smooth. When dry, they sleek it with smooth shells, and roll it up, being fitted for use. Then, their patterns being drawn on paper, they prick them, and pounce them with charcoal.

They have a root called chay, (the best comes from Persia, and is like our small licorice,) which they beat, and steep in water with allum. They have a small iron pen with a slit at the end, much like a butcher's skewer, with cotton yarn rolled within an inch of the drawing end, the bigness of a walnut, which they dip in the liquor, squeezing it so gently between their three fingers and thumb, so running along the pounced work, where it turns black in a trice, no ink blacker, though looking like fair water.

So, in like sort, they colour birds, beasts, flowers, fruit. When they have done one colour with

these pens, they run it about the edges with hot wax, that it may not mix with other colours. Then they boil the cloth, to fetch out the wax. And every colour they lay on, they wax, and boil till finished. They make great quantities of a sort which is not completed in eight or ten months' time; so that the cloth is half worn when finished.

Sir, I am,

Your faithful humble servant,

CHARLES WYLDE.

1683. October 20. *Saturday*. —Ending letters; Dr. Trumbull still ridiculously impatient to be gone. But it was afternoon before my Lord had done. Then, all of us took our leaves, with all the respect in the world, that he might be useful in England. My Lord came with him to my chamber, and the governor, Kirke, being with us, we drank a parting bottle to his good voyage. We all walked down, saw him in the boat, and gave him several guns from the town. So the fool went away, every creature of the house laughing at him.

Then, on the Mole, my Lord and we see a small mine of Mr. Sheres's blown up, which did good execution, and had liked to have hurt my Lord and me, had we not stood within a little

house hard by : but it hurt Colonel Boynton's eye.

21. *Sunday*.—With my Lord to the Mole ; see the little advance. To Church, Dr. Ken reading prayers. Mr. Hughes preached an ordinary sermon, instead of an expected farewell to the garrison. With my Lord alone in the garden till dinner. To my chamber to read and sleep a little. Most excellent weather.

Evening. My Lord rode the first time since the hurt in his arm. I and Du Pas ride to the fields. An officer carried us round the very brink of our bounds, by the Moors' sentries, to whom we talked ; and several times out of our bounds, as told when we came home, and might have been shot or taken prisoners. This I am glad I have done *once*, to know the most of the place, and some of the history, against the Moors. Home, after seeing the present condition of Pole Fort, stripped of everything within, only as it was in appearance to the Moors.

Town-gate. My Lord sitting with the Governor on a bank ; walked home with him, and to read. At supper, my Lord's resolution pleased everybody ; to have all hands off the works about the town, which are almost all finished, and take them this very fair weather, and these moonshine nights, to the Mole. This the engineers, now all at supper, offered, and it was taken by my Lord, saying, he had several times wished it, but

durst not propose it to Phillips and Beckman, for fear of offending them.

22. *Monday.*—To my Lord at the Mole. Saw a second experiment, with a gun, in blowing up; but it did nothing. To the office, and thence to the Mole. Mr. Sheres showed me the whole process of a mine made, blown up with a drill, and the manner of plugging up the hole, so as to do mighty execution. Then he and I, by appointment, off to the Montague. We dined with Killigrew * most delicately, his being the finest ship, and kept the neatest, and his manner of living the most like a gentleman of any I ever saw, and his civilities extraordinary. After dinner and a glass or two, Mr. Sheres, Dr. Lawrence, and I away, he giving us guns, contrary to a late order against salutes.

Having set them on shore at the Mole, I went in the boat round the bay. Saw very plainly the ruins of old Tangier, and the river of Tangier; Moors gathering drift-wood. Saw the manner of their huts near the water-side. To Malabar Point: turned to go to my Lord, who dined on board the Grafton; but he going off before we got to him, I to the Mole, and saw several more of Sheres's mines blown up with good execution, even to wonder, with so little quantity of powder. Coming back on the water, I first see how blue the remote hills will look about the sun's

* See Diary of Teonge.

going down, as I have seen them painted, but never believed them natural.

My Lord to my chamber, troubled, so extraordinary a moonshine night to have no work done on the Mole. At supper, he settled for tomorrow and onwards to have all hands there night and day.

23. *Tuesday.* — Up betimes, to set down my journal for two days; then to the office, hastening my clerks in the things towards my Report. Then to the Mole, to see all hands taken thither from the walls. Great riddance they make, in appearance, on the slight part of the Mole, and not on Mr. Sheres's chests, which yet go on but slowly. There, meeting my Lord, home with him to dinner, and after, to my chamber, to read. Then a little to the office; and so to the Mole. Great execution done with two drills. I also went down into a mine, the first made to try the iron cylinders. So to supper with my Lord, well pleased with the appearance of despatch, particularly with his cook, Atkins, taking all his and our servants this afternoon, and pulling down a house and wall on the Mole.

After supper, a fine moonshine, I proposed walking to the Mole, which my Lord did. I saw the manner of giving the word to my Lord as general, by all the officers of the guards. My Lord told me of the strange mistake in the discipline of this place in giving to every guard

both within and without the town, both words, the *in* and *out* word, of which he showed me the extreme ignorance.

While walking this morning up and down the Mole and town with my Lord and the Governor, Roberts, the town apothecary, came to Kirke, and told him of bad wine now selling to the soldiers at three-pence or three-halfpence a quart, so sour that it would kill the men. Kirke, moved my Lord, and he yielded, that it should be staved. Of his own accord, Kirke went to see it done; presently came to us again, and brought in his hand a bottle of white wine, calling it vinegar, and gave it my Lord to taste, as also I and others did.

I was troubled to see the owner, Mr. Cranborow, a modest man that keeps a house of entertainment, come silently, with tears in his eyes, begging my Lord to excuse it, for the wine was good wine, and sold so cheap only to get something for it, he not knowing how to send it away, and therefore desired he might not be undone. Kirke, in sight of my Lord, all the while ranted, and called him dog; and that all the merchants in the town were rogues like him, that would poison the men. My Lord calmly bade the man dispose otherwise of what he had, and not sell it to the soldiers. "Nay," says Kirke, "he must then gather it up from the ground, for I have staved it!" The man (whether he

had any not staved, I know not) withdrew weeping, and without any complaint, to the making my heart ache.

Captain Pursell told me, he knew very well the wine Kirke staved, and stood on the man's chest in the cellar, when the wine about the room was too high for him to stand on the ground. The wine was better than my Lord hath at his own table, or did give him and the rest of the officers, the other day when he entertained them. He says, in short, the man bought it of Alderman Roth; that it is as good wine as is usually drunk in this town, and the master was providing for sending it out: but that the man is undone, there being as much as cost him five hundred dollars; and that all the good the Governor did in it was, to make all his soldiers that could come thither drunk.

When the man was gone, I whispered my Lord that I did not find the wine so sour as Kirke represented it, and my Lord concurred with me; and, the man being gone, said openly to Kirke, in the hearing of the company, "Now we are by ourselves, I must needs say, the wine is not so bad as you make it; and, I believe, it is better than you give your soldiers at other times." To which he answered, it was not. I said, (and I said truly,) that I had drunk worse a hundred times in some of the best inland market-towns in England. Mr. Session, my Lord's

servant, being by, and saying, among other things, to the same purpose, Kirke swore he wished he might never drink better wine as long as he lived; and other words very sharp. On which Mr. Session answered, he had often drunk worse; and so have I.

The thing went off without any more, my Lord having, in his good-nature, told the owner that there should be no more of his wine staved; but bade him sell no more to the soldiers. My Lord also yielded to a motion of Kirke's, for a proclamation by beat of drum, (telling my Lord it was not usual here to have such things done in writing,) to forbid the selling any more white wine; saying, the rogue, Warren, the merchant, was selling the like wine on the other side the way where this man was, or some such words. My opinion is, that if the man (Cranborow) did sue him in England, he might have remedy against Kirke. He is not governor, and he had no written order from my Lord, and it will be hard to prove he had any virtual one. Nor had he, but only my Lord's yielding to a motion of his own, that he should go and stave it, being such sour stuff as he described.

This is not all. While at dinner, Alderman Roth came in a great fright and confusion for my Lord's protection against the soldiers, just now got into his house and cellar, and had staved all his wine, not only good white-wine, the same

that he himself drank in his own family, but canary and muscatella, to the value of above fifty pounds.

Pretty strange is the thought of outrages in breaking open cellars and staving wine, particularly this of Alderman Roth's, at noon-day. At a court-martial, called next day to try some of them, nobody durst come to prove it, and so the court-martial acquitted them.

A pretty instance also of the justice of the place is, my Lord Dartmouth's giving Colonel Kirke what could be saved of a small wine vessel, run aboard by our hulk, drove on shore, and wrecked: whereas there was more justice and need to have given it to the poor owners. About this Kirke wrote a letter to the Alcade for what of it the Moors saved, and had a very proper answer about observing the treaty, which Kirke, in his, urged to him; to which Kirke wrote him a sullen answer. I fear some evil may come of it, while my Lord, without my knowledge, suffers this to be done: whereas keeping or not keeping the articles of treaty is not Kirke's, or any private man's work, but my Lord's himself, to dispute with the Alcade.

Then came from others stories of soldiers breaking into houses last night, robbing them, beating people, and snatching off their hats in the streets, particularly Constable Earlsman's, and Mr. Fist's, I think, our clerk. I advised my

Lord to inquire and punish it, otherwise the reproach will, in England, be laid on him. He presently gave Du Pas an order to have a proclamation prepared and published, to make it death for a soldier to do any such thing; which was accordingly done, and within half an hour I met Du Pas coming by the church with an Italian merchant, going to my Lord to complain of his being, since this proclamation, abused in his goods in the same manner, and that he had secured two of the men. On which I heard my Lord, on the Mole, speak very high to the Governor and other officers, declaring he would have a court-martial to try these men, and punish either them or their officers, Kirke seeming not at all concerned for the riots, but rather excusing them. Captain Pursell tells me that Cranborow, before-mentioned, is undone.

This morning, Dr. Lawrence told me his own case with the Governor, which shows Kirke a very brute. Sheres, also, to-day called me aside on the Mole, to tell me that Kirke owes 1,500*l.* among the inhabitants of the town, who can get no *money* from him, but curses, and, "Why do you trust me?" Nor dare they complain, for fear of his employing some or other to do them mischief, as, Sheres says, he hath done to two men that have been killed, as generally believed, by his order. He caused a sergeant to be tied to a post, then beaten by himself as long as he could

do it; then by another; and all for bidding a servant of his go to his mistress, Mrs. Collier.

To show how little he makes of drunkenness, (though he will beat a fellow for having a dirty face or band,) I have seen, as he has been walking with me in the street, a soldier reel on him as drunk as a dog, at this busy time too, when everybody not on guard is at work. He hath only laughed at him, and cried, "The fellow hath got a good morning's draught already!" and so let him go without one word of reprehension. My Lord does also tell me of nine hundred false musters, (that, I think, was the number,) in two thousand seven hundred men. This I will inquire after more certainly.

At supper, Dr. Ken told my Lord and the company (Mr. Hughes, minister of the parish, being by) how Kirke hath put one Roberts on the parish, to be reader, who will swear, drink, &c. as freely as any man in the town; and now would put him on Shovel* to be his chaplain, in the James galley. But Dr. Ken proposes, and desires my Lord to put in one Mercer, schoolmaster of the town, for several reasons; among the rest, keeping out Roberts. The reason of Kirke's thus appearing for him is, because he is brother to Mrs. Collier, his mistress.

To show, after all, how good a soldier he is, and how good discipline he keeps here, my Lord

* See Diary of Teonge:

Dartmouth going the round, and I with him, to the Mole, this October 23rd at night, my Lord found one officer of the guard drunk, below the church, and another, asleep on his bed, below that, at the head of the Mole; and all of them, to give both words, the *in* and the *outward*, contrary to all order, and the reason of the thing, as my Lord made me understand, the words being, Edinburgh and Dublin.

Du Pas tells me of Kirke's having banished the Jews, without, or rather contrary to, express orders from England, only because of their denying him, or standing in the way of, his private profits. He made a poor Jew and his wife, that came out of Spain to avoid the Inquisition, be carried back, swearing they should be burned; and they were carried into the Inquisition and burned. He says, he hath certainly been told that Kirke used to receive money on both sides, in cases of difference in law, and he that gave most should carry the cause. When the Recorder hath sometimes told him such or such a thing was not according to the law of England, he hath said openly in court, "But it was then according to the law of Tangier."

24. *Wednesday*.—A great cold in my throat, that I could hardly speak or swallow. Walk, however, a little in the fields. Then to the office, and so home to read; and set down several things

I had heard of Kirke, that vex me to see so great a villain in his place.

Notice brought us, at dinner, of Mr. Sheres's mine to be blown up; so, some to the top of the house to see it; but I down to the water-gate, and see it blow up. The stones flew to a wonderful distance, endangering all the small vessels in the harbour. Going down to the Mole, I see the effects of the blow, which were very great, some parcels of the iron cylinder making their way quite through the side of the Mole, and, in one place, a crack from side to side across the Mole; yet of powder there was not full a barrel and a half.

Thence, I took my man, Anthony, with my long glass, and therewith entertained myself in the fields, the first time, it being a fine evening. See the whole camp of the Moors, their huts, and manner of walking up and down in their alhagues. They look almost like ghosts, all in white. As it grew dark, I went home, and there, by the gate, met with letters just come from Cadiz. Mine are of the 24th September. Blessed be God! all friends well, and writing mighty kindly, moved me with joy, yet trouble; to be so far and long from them.

As a further instance of the good government of the town; my Lord going out this night, as he did the last, to see the Mole, and pass guard, when he came out of doors, his own, that was to

guard himself in his quarters, instead of being in the street, were housed and drinking, their officer with them. The foremost that came to wait on my Lord did not know how to hold his tongue, nor well to go. My Lord caused him to be laid by the heels, gave severe threats to the captain, (Wingfield, I think,) and so we went on.

25. *Thursday*.—My cold still upon me. First, took a walk on the walls, about the Irish battery; led thither to see the mortar-pieces drawn up, and placed to annoy the Moors, should they come, which my Lord does now and then think, and the more for that none of them have lately been with us, as they used to be daily. But I see nothing like extraordinary that they are doing in the fields near us.

Here I walked a good while. Thence to the office till noon, and again, after dinner, till eleven, making a report for my Lord on every one of several petitions he hath referred to us, and I was willing to rid my hands of them. This sitting up so late did mightily increase my cold. I had an ill night of it, my throat being so sore.

26. *Friday*.—To my Lord, showing my last night's work. He was mightily pleased, saying, it was surely the first time such a general report, upon petitions, was ever done; and I believe it. Thence to the office, where he would come after me presently, to give people their answers, according to my report; but he met with business

on the Mole, and, at noon, dined on board the Montague. Being a little ill, and troubled at so much loose company at table, (my Lord not being there,) I dined in my chamber; and Dr. Ken, for the same reason, came and dined with me. We had a great deal of good discourse on the viciousness of this place, and its being time for Almighty God to destroy it.

My Lord gives me, to-day, an extraordinary case to examine, a petition of one Muig's, complaining of his being laid in prison, &c. This I have noted in my remarks on Tangier. After dinner, to the office. Towards night, my Lord came, and ran through all the petitions, and gave answers according to our report.

27. *Saturday*.—Very ill, yet obliged to go to the office. There, all the morning, preparing another general report on petitions to clear the coast, the Mayor being to go on board to-day. While busy here, we have news of hurt this morning at the Mole, by ground falling in. Two or three men are killed, and several spoiled in their limbs, and carried to the hospital.

Afternoon. Work again to finish this report against evening. My Lord came, and we ran it through, and answered everybody. I prepared, by my Lord's desire, a letter to Mr. Secretary Jenkins, for him to sign in behalf of the Mayor. Night. Went home, and my Lord reading and signing it, I away to bed by nine, because of my

cold. About ten, I heard the Mayor take leave of my Lord and the company; and so, in the St. David, he and the best families of the citizens sailed at break of day for England.

After a week's absence of the Moors, who used daily to come to us, my Lord had, from the Alcade, a letter of mighty compliment, offering the civility of the country, to ride or hunt. Very surprising, though none of our blades, I see, dare trust him.

My Lord of Dartmouth, when we first came out of England, was so full of a resolution to try Shovel and Matt. Elmer, for taking affronts from the Spaniards, that I have several times be-thought myself, now he is here, that I hear nothing from him, and have once spoken to him. He answered that the Lords of the Admiralty have already determined something, which I have not yet seen but will inquire after.

Memorandum.—Mr. Elmer, when he struck to the Spanish flag, had the same money on board that Shovel had when forced to strike to the same flag. So that the merchants at Cadiz concerned therein said, they believed their money was bewitched.

To-day (October 27), I find, by Sir W. Booth, that George Elmer, the other Elmer's brother, gives out, that my Lord declared to him he hath forborne to try his brother out of kindness to him. Likely enough, it being like all the rest, a

pure instance of the force of favour, above zeal for the King's service. It shows also how wary a man should be to tell his partialities, even to those that have the benefit of them, for fear of their imprudent publishing.

Nor is that all to be learned from this fellow's folly. My lord telling him (what I told from Sir William Booth) about his brother Matt.'s opposing the late report of the sea-commanders, he hath told it not only to his brother, but to all the commanders, much to the disadvantage of my Lord, and to the raising a mighty feud among commanders, particularly in charging my Lord's hearing of this upon Booth. I bid Booth say, that I told it to my Lord : but both he and I do now know how to trust my Lord with a secret wherein his own honour is concerned.

One thing more, also, I learn from Sir W. Booth, about this G. Elmer's folly and ingratitude. He hath publicly said, if my Lord (to whom he owes all he is, and he hath owned it to me) did not now give him "The Foresight," that is void, his lordship should never see his face more. Whence I see I am not the only man that finds to how little purpose it is to do favours to anybody in employment, if you do not whatever they desire.

28. *Sunday*.—My cold continuing, I did not go to church, but stayed in my chamber, very busy with my clerk, Lawson, setting to rights some papers.

Noon. Very high discourse between Dr. Ken and me on one side, and the Governor on the other, about the excessive liberty of swearing and blaspheming we observe here. The Doctor, it seems, had preached on it to-day; but of this, more in my remarks on Tangier.

After dinner, to read; then to walk a little in the Grange, under the walls to avoid the wind, because of my cold, and there read an hour. So, home to my chamber, and to fetch up my journal.

29. *Monday*.—Still very ill of my cold; not able to do anything, only in my chamber, to state the business of several petitions, and entertain myself in Hakluyt,* which I do, now-a-days, to mighty pleasure. Night. To supper with my Lord. Much talk among the engineers about the despatch of their mines; Mr. Sheres now, I fear, beginning to be the most in arrears, by reason of the good weather lasting beyond all imagination.

30. *Tuesday*.—Ill as ever, or worse, of my cold. So, keep my chamber, and work, as yesterday, all day upon petitions.

31. *Wednesday*.—The like all the morning. Noon. With my Lord at Mr. Sheres's lodging, to a Spanish dinner; Mrs. Cutberd, however, gone away for Spain; but a good dinner. Then, with my Lord, to look at the great chest at the

* "English Voyages, Navigations, Traffics, and Discoveries."
—Lond. 1598-99, 1600. 3 vols. fol. Richard Hakluyt died 1616.

head of the Mole, to be blown up to-night: the care taken to bind the mouth close to the timbers was worth seeing.

Evening. With my Lord to Captain St. John's; a good supper, and a harp well played on. Home, and stayed up till eleven, when my Lord and I, looking out at the dining-room window, observed the going off of the great chest, which, though four chambers, yet made but one blow, and that no great one. The stones blew up and down very plain, upon the top of our house, but no hurt done. By the people that came to us afterwards, we find it hath had all the success imaginable. We were all glad; and so to bed, very ill with my cold.

November 1. *Thursday*.—Till noon, at home. A great cry of Captain St. John's house being on fire gave me much care for W. Hewer, also his books and papers. They were presently brought to my chamber, with several chests of money. I went thither to look for him; but he was within, disposing of Mr. St. John's goods and papers, so as I could not come to him; which, because they talked of blowing up the house, did give me great pain for Mr. Hewer. So home to dinner. By and by W. Hewer came in very well, and hath saved all his own and Captain St. John's books and papers, and the house which we supped so well in but last night, is now burned down, a few days before its time; not without

some fear (I see by W. Hewer) that it is by some ill design of Colonel Kirke's, for his not knowing (but by my Lord himself, who sent for him thither) of his entertainment last night.

After dinner, with my Lord, to the Mole, surprised to see the mighty effect of last night's blowing up the great chest, tearing it up from the very bottom. So home, Mr. Sheres taking us from the Mole to old Tangier, and round the bay: very pleasant.

2. *Friday*.—With my Lord to Captain Preestman, on board the *Bonaventure*. We dined very handsomely; the ship very neat, though not quite so well as Killigrew's.

3. *Saturday*.—In my chamber about office business, particularly with Hunter, fetching up the journal to this day. Afternoon. To the Mole, to walk with my Lord. So cold, that I came back again, and went to visit Dr. Ken, who keeps his chamber, very ill of a headach. To bed, much out of humour with my cold.

4. *Sunday*.—Kept my chamber, reading all the morning: a little better of my cold since I made use of my own powder. To dinner with my Lord, now fully satisfied, and my Lord declaring himself upon both messages, by Cutberd and by letter from the Alcade, that we shall meet with no disturbance from the Moors, which gives me more quietness of mind, though I speak not of it.

Afternoon. On horseback with Mr. Hewer,

S. Atkins, and Captain St. John, round our bounds. With great pleasure I received an account from St. John of every considerable action in any place about the town since the beginning. Back to my chamber. There read till late, not being willing to go to supper to my Lord's, for fear of cold.

5. *Monday*.—Not out of my chamber all the morning; yet read in Hakluyt, to my mighty pleasure. To dinner with my Lord, he having first shown me his letters and papers, going by the Dartmouth for England, giving a particular account of the state of our works at this day, and his assurance of meeting with no disturbance from the Moors.

Afternoon. Writing to friends in England. My letters given to Lieutenant Usher, I went into the fields to my usual walk before the Marine-Battery. So home, to fetch up my journal to this day, Mr. Hewer sitting with me.

From this day to *Monday*, November 19th, I have been so much out of humour, with my cold, and therewith kept my chamber for the most part, that there hath happened very little worth setting down in my journal. Only now and then I have dined aboard some ship with my Lord, and gone by water with him in the bay, and a-fishing with him afterwards: particularly on

14th, *Wednesday*.—Dining on board Captain Wheeler, in the English Tiger, my Lord, and

Governor Kirke, and I, went in his barge, at my single instance, as far as Alcassar Bay, without our bounds, and, in return, it was a thousand to one we had not been shot by the Moors. We must, if they had not begun with us too soon, and thereby prevented our going further into the bay, as we intended, to have heard our trumpets. My Lord, the next day, writ a complaint to the Alcade, and had an answer.

19. *Tuesday.* — Mr. Sheres desires my speaking to my Lord, without naming my author, that a Tuniseen hath brought a prize into this port, the profit of buying which (contrary, however, to the express order of the King and Lords, for governors to have nothing to do with trade) my Lord hath given to Kirke, though solicited, as he told me, by several others, to give them the buying it; whereas, indeed, he should have left the master to sell to whom he would. The Tuniseen demands fifteen hundred dollars; Kirke offers six hundred, and will neither give him more, nor let him go away. The poor Tuniseen complains that he is ready to starve, having had nothing this week but bread and water.

When he comes home, what a story he will make of this violence on our treaty! Kirke, at the same time, did damn at Senhouse, the King's officer, for taking notice of this at the entreaty of the poor man, cursing him for meddling with what he hath nothing to do with. Poor Senhouse

speaks privately to Sheres, not daring to be known to complain.

On this I spoke to my Lord, and he went down to the harbour and gave the master leave to be gone, if he desired it. So he did go away without selling her, after Kirke had set a guard to keep anybody else from coming on board. This is the use made of the King's guards, to serve private turns.

Dr. Lawrence tells me, the death of Lord 'Tiviot* was the fate of this place; for he took all the ways to have made it great, yet without neglecting himself. The rest have minded nothing but making themselves rich. As to public buildings for the benefit of the place, he says, Kirke hath done more than all of them put together.

Speaking with Kirke about want of water, he owned that, this dry year, if it had not been for Fountain Fort, where our only supply of water is, (of which, if the Moors knew, they might prevent us,) the place could not have subsisted. He added, that at my Lord Peterborough's receiving the place from the King of Portugal, a book was given him, with other things always given from one governor to another, to be never looked into by any other, that did give a secret account of all conduit-heads and heads of water-courses in and about the town; of which this place was the full-

* In 1664, "by an ambush of the Moors, while surveying their lines." See "Pepys's Diary."

est in the world, every house having a particular well or two, now dry, and lost by losing the knowledge whither to go to the conduit-head to remedy it. My Lord Peterborough having taken the book away with him, on being asked for it, hath always answered, he hath mislaid and cannot recover it. Another pretty instance of the fate this place hath always met with.

It is plain, and Mr. Sheres bid me observe, that the wind here consumes the stone walls of the town and Mole, where it comes, more than the sea. Strange how the wind shall eat holes in the walls, as deep in the very stones as my body is thick, and yet leave the mortar it is plastered with without, quite good! finding some crannies only for the air to get to the stones.

Everything runs to corruption here. The timber in Pole Fort, being now taking up, towards destroying the Fort, proves more rotten than it would in another place in a great deal longer time. The like is proved by the stone pillars along the Mole by the water-side, to fasten ships by, being eaten almost quite away with the wind merely and spray of the sea. The like by my knife and steel seal rusting in my pocket, and, I fear, my watch.

At the same time, in the whole place, nothing but vice of all sorts, swearing, cursing, drinking, &c. the women as much as the men. Captain Silver, a sober officer of my Lord's, belonging to

the Ordnance, said, he was quite ashamed of what he had heard in their houses ; worse, a thousand times, than in the worst place in London he was ever in. Dr. Balaam, their Recorder heretofore, left his servant his estate, with caution that if ever he married a woman of Tangier, or that ever had been there, he should lose it all. I have a copy of his will.

On Kirke's misgovernment, Captain Silver told my Lord, in my hearing, what a company of the King's subjects were in chains, and how long the chains were, when my Lord came hither and commanded them to be set at liberty ; and that this tyrannical severity of Kirke's made so many desert the place and run to the Moors. He says, there hath been thirty or forty in those chains at a time. Silver hath got me, from the Marshal of the town, who hath a great many of them, one of the very chains that the King's soldiers used to carry, and be made to work in.

Even by my Lord's discourse, when I asked him what he would do in the civil matters of the place, if the Mayor went away too soon, it is plain that Governors look on themselves to be meant to govern all civil officers : therefore he did never rest till he had brought it so at Portsmouth. Hence, I remember what troubles have ever been between the Mayor and Governors here ; and how, in England, the latter have ever been too strong against all complaints from the former,

which, in a town designed for a place of war, is impracticable.

The work of demolishing the Mole, by the fairness of the weather, is advanced, yet much to be done. Two days' rain, but no wind, and this day fair. Now preparing for my journey to Spain, having finished, and delivered to my Lord the 12th instant, our great report on our commission.

This is the first day that, by putting on some things extraordinary, to keep my feet warm, I feel my cold a little, and immediately, abated; and this day the guard-house, at the end of the Mole, is expected to be blown up. Thus ends November 19, 1683.

20. *Tuesday.* — Discourse between my Lord Dartmouth and myself and divers captains, after dinner, on board Wheeler. Captain Preestman grew very positive, and impertinent, to the dissatisfaction of my Lord, as well as myself, on the construction of commanders' instructions, showing their imperfections. Which I showed to arise only from his not reading them enough; and so, calling for them, did convince the whole company. It was particularly about captains being bound to know, themselves, and certify to the Navy-Office at the beginning of their voyages, the state of their stores and condition of their ships.

Then, against lying ashore without leave, after they come on board to begin their pay. Here he

mentioned, and it seems hath at other times publicly, that the commanders knew of my taking notice of a letter of his, dated from his ship when, by the witness of his seal, he must have been in town. He would have it understood, that a captain, though on shore, and with leave, yet hath no other place to date his letters from, than on board. All ended with his observing there was wanting in the navy a certain settlement, whether the greater ship, or the older commander, should command at sea; and that he that commands should have some sign not common to the rest of the ships. Herein my Lord agreed with him. I told him in this he might learn of the French; they were under a rule, according to seniority. On which, like a fool, he found fault that we should be thought to learn anything of the French, though I showed him we did much, and might more; and yet he agreed that was the true rule to go by.

Sir J. Wyburne tells me he was sent by the King, with the Rupert, to bring her to Herbert, and to carry back from him the Bristol, without any order to stay, but immediately to come away, after Herbert had changed ships, and stay only fourteen days at Cadiz. Yet Herbert would not change his ship but at his own time, and therefore made Wyburne stay till he could make him agree to give Herbert half the profit of what monee he carried from Cadiz. This was signified to

Wyburne, not by Herbert himself, but by Russett, his friend, a merchant at Cadiz, that if he would give Herbert such a share, he would presently load him, and Herbert should change ships, and send him home. This Wyburne denying to do, as selling the King's kindness, Herbert kept this ship there six weeks at his Majesty's charge, till Berry and some others came, that might take the money from Wyburne. He then changed ships, and bid Wyburne now get as much money as he could, and so dismissed him. By which means Wyburne was defeated of the kindness intended him by the King, who had his ship kept there all this while to do nothing, and only for Herbert's own profit.

Wyburne tells me Herbert will not trust some, but takes his share out of the principal money; and the captains make it up to the merchant out of the freight. In some cases he would send a man with them, to see what they received and delivered.

22. *Thursday*.—I stayed within, preparing matters for my journey to Spain against the vessel comes in with letters by the last post from England.

Yesterday the guard-house at the end of the Mole was, in my sight, at the window, blown up with good success, yet no great noise. The Mole does, indeed, now begin to look as in a way of destruction, this now gone being a great mark of

its standing. My Lord was with me to see the house blown up. He also hath been ill of a great cold two or three days, and kept his chamber.

24. *Saturday*.—As before, in my chamber; weather rainy, in mighty showers and drops; the work of the Mole going on but ill, yet no storms to break it down. The moon very bright, so that I could read plainly, even in this thick, hazy, rainy weather. The vessel, with our letters from Spain, is thought to be driven into the Straits with the west wind. Mr. Hewer and I are thus stopped in our journey, being unwilling to go without hearing from England.

This morning, as by mischance, a mine in the fields was blown up, frightening the Moorish sentries; for which, as of a mere accident, we sent an excuse to the Alcade, who sent thanks to my Lord: yet thereby we show them what they are to expect, if they come near our ground. Mr. Sheres in great trouble at my Lord's friendly plainness about the backwardness of his work. My Lord, I think, hath reason, and that he is a little too obstinate in not complying.

25. *Sunday*.—Thunder, sudden claps, with hail and lightning. Fair all day, and I within: my Lord, not well, sitting and talking with me a good while. Mr. Hewer ill all day of a headach, and I twice at his ill lodging to see him. Mightily troubled I was to see him lie in a room wide and cold, rain all over the house; no glass windows, but shuts. He was better at night.

To-day letters from Gibraltar by the boat of a ship that could not come in; but no letters to Mr. Hewer nor me, nor indeed to anybody, but one to my Lord of the 15th October, whereas we looked for letters of the 22nd. So, if Mr. Hewer be well enough to-morrow, we mean to be gone for Spain.

Up late, putting things in order for going to-morrow.

This day my Lord told me with great pleasure the good condition of his affairs. The Alcade could not now hurt him, nor designed it, having yesterday sent a present of fowl. He had, once indeed, orders from his King to set upon us; but on an answer from him, the King countermanded it. The rains must have now raised the rivers, so that the King could not, if he would, come against us with his army. All which made this the proper time for me to be gone, and to stay no longer, lest the opportunity be lost. My Lord is very earnest for my coming back as soon as I can, and seems to expect it in fourteen days; but he having once said "three weeks," I say, I will come as much within the three weeks as I can.

Mr. Du Pas tells me to-day, the Alcade insists on hostages when we go, for our performance of treaty, as to the powder. My Lord would put it off, as he told me to-day; but the thing seems most reasonable, and, if my Lord give me opportunity, I will advise it.

26. *Monday*.— Mightily frightened with my old swimming in the head at rising, and most of the morning, which makes me melancholy: I fear also my right foot being lame. But I hope in God both will go over, and that it is only the weather.

28. *Wednesday*.— This night, several of our ships drove out of the harbour, and hurt done by one to the Montague, so that she must go to be fitted at Cadiz.

It is plain, from the accidents that fell, all in one night, to the Montague, in breaking her head, and to the Oxford and Greyhound, both drove with the foul weather from their anchors into the Straits, how unsafe it is for great ships to lie without, as, from the foulness of the ground, it is to lie further in within the bay.

Strange that the road of Tangier should have never been insisted on before, no, not in the Report just now made by the commanders; nor any application of it to censuring the place, till now that I did it. My Lord Dartmouth, at my desire, read over that report with me, to see whether it was in it or not, he not knowing; and, as I said, it was not; only a word or two for so much as relates to the unserviceableness of the Mole by reason of those winds, but nothing expressly of the badness of road without respect to the Mole.

30. *Friday*.— To-day pretty fair. Because of

the floods apprehended in Spain from the late rains, we resolve to begin our tour to Cadiz, and to go thither in the Montague. This my Lord and I agreed to-day with Captain Killigrew. But such weather for wind, thunder, lightning, rain, all together, for eight or ten days, I never saw in my life.

This day, to clear my head of matters, I wrote many letters to friends in England; among others, a merry, roguish, but yet mysterious one, to S. H.

My Lord did tell me that the Moors design us mischief, the Alcade being all last night, bad as it was, in the fields about our bounds. Yet, but a day ago, he told me all was well with them, and would be so; for that the Alcade had let fall his pretension to hostages, and had called back the Jews from Tetuan to his camp, a sure sign of designing nothing against us; and that the floods were such, as that the King could not come. Yet, I doubt, we shall be found in the wrong, that my Lord do break the treaty in not giving hostages; and that the Alcade will not let the thing fall, so much as put the consequences upon us; and will break with us for his own safety, rather than suffer us to go away without paying for the powder, or giving hostages for doing it.

By a little calculation made by Mr. Sheres two days since, in my chamber, the Mole cannot be

brought down, even to high-water mark, in less than three months, according to the rate we have wrought hitherto, all in fair weather, without taking in terras-work done in this time: a sad consideration.

Within these last four days have come in some victuallers from England, which hath given us much relief, we being likely, otherwise, to have been under great difficulty, a turkey being sold for six dollars; some soldiers actually mutinying, at having pilchards given them for flesh, our men, from the rains, great labour, short provisions, and those not of good kinds, dropping down sick, and the seamen all at short allowance.

On the people's going away, my Lord ordered the soldiers to have their flesh in money, to save our flesh, and leave the soldiers to feed themselves as they could, some other way. They turned it all into drink, insomuch that presently they were all drunk; none could be got to work. So my Lord was obliged to send for live cattle from the Moors, and cause the soldiers to be fed with fresh meat.

On this occasion, Kirke told us openly that the soldiers generally sold the flesh delivered to them on Mondays to the town's-people for money, that they might have it in drink. Many would drink it away in three days, and fast the rest of the week; by which they grew sick, and many died. He swore more men had been killed

by brandy than by the Moors. The town's-people, knowing their love of drink, would tempt them, a little before money was coming over, with selling them anything, the most ridiculous, even women's hoods and bodices, at great rates, on the score of their pay, only to have wherewith to raise a little money, by selling those things again, to buy present drink.

Kirke turned everything to his own benefit, nothing being sold in town but by him, or his licence, and with profit to him, he buying all the cattle of the Moors, at nine pieces a head, and selling them to the butchers at twelve, ready money, they selling them to the people as dear as they could: this also, in the case of wax, against an express Order of Council, given, as they tell me, within a year.

Mr. Sheres tells me some things I must make myself perfect in, about Kirke's having men borne for him on ships in port, particularly on Elmer's yacht. Kirke's accounts were most extravagant, yet all vouched by the Mayor and Controller of the town, all his creatures, or awed by him.

For four or five nights we have fallen to play at cards, by which my Lord will want me the less.

December 1. *Saturday*.—Up, to get together my things to be gone this morning on board the Montague, towards Cadiz; the weather rainy.*

* Among the Correspondence, edited by Lord Braybrooke

in 1825, is a letter from "Lord Dartmouth to Mr. Pepys," dated "Tangier, Jan. 11, 1683," certainly designing 1683-4, according to the custom of the time, and probably addressed to him at Cadiz. His lordship says:—

"You will easily imagine the condition we have been in here, by the ill weather you have been witness of where you have been; but yet, God be thanked! we have struggled in it so far, that the Mole is totally destroyed; nay, much more than you will imagine, till you see it, which, I hope, will be as soon as you conveniently can; for, when the Alcade and I come to treat of slaves, I shall want both your advice and assistance, (for which I must ever acknowledge myself already sufficiently indebted,) and Mr. Hewer, for paying and accounting the money. Pray make no scruple of taking any man-of-war that is of his Majesty's fleet, to bring you hither when you think fit to command her; and I send you, inclosed, an order, that you may please to put in the commander's name, when you can come to me; for nothing they can pretend can be of more service to his Majesty than bringing you hither, in whose judgment and kindness I have an entire confidence."

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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