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1876

THE DIARY OF
SAMUEL PEPYS, M.A., F.R.S.

PEPYSIANA



Walker & Boutall ph. sc

Samuel Pepys.

from the painting at the Admiralty Whitehall.

THE DIARY

OF

SAMUEL PEPYS M.A. F.R.S.

EDITED BY

HENRY B. WHEATLEY F.S.A.

SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME

PEPYSIANA

OR

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE PARTICULARS OF PEPYS'S LIFE AND ON SOME PASSAGES IN THE DIARY

WITH APPENDIXES

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PREFACE.

THIS volume of Pepysiana, as its title implies, consists of odds and ends of information, but I hope it will not be thought that it needs excuse on this account. Much more might have been written upon most of the subjects dealt with, but I have tried to bear in mind the rule which I set myself at the outset, that nothing should be inserted which did not illustrate directly either the life or the work of Samuel Pepys. This is not so easy a rule to follow as it might seem at first sight, for in carrying it out interesting particulars occasionally have had to be rejected. I hope that the notes here collected will be found to throw some light upon a few previously unsolved difficulties.

In dealing with a wide field of inquiry such as the present, it is impossible to do much without the unstinted help of friends. It is a great pleasure, therefore, to find how kind these friends are in helping with information at the cost of much trouble to themselves. I have mentioned in the body of this volume all those who cordially assisted, but I must here particularly thank a special few. My sincere thanks are due to Mrs. William Cockerell, Mrs. Frederick Pepys Cockerell, Miss Cockerell, Lady Alice Archer Houblon, and the Countess of Jersey; to the Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, Sir Ernest Clarke, Mr. Frank Cundall, Mr. Lionel Cust, the Rev. J. W. Ebsworth, Mr. C. H. Firth, Mr. Danby P. Fry, Dr. J. W. Glaisher, F.R.S., Mr. Arthur Hill, Mr. A. J. Hipkins, Mr. Charles Henry Hull, Professor J. K. Laughton, Mr. W. A. Lindsay, Q.C., Mr. J. E. Matthew, the Hon. Walter Courtenay Pepys, Mr. Arthur G. Peskett, Mr. D'Arcy Power,

Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, Sir Horace Rumbold, Bart., G.C.M.G., and Mr. W. Barclay Squire.

I have now for so long a period been employed upon the editing of the Diary (a period which I fear some of my friends think might well have been curtailed), that I send off to the press the last pages of this volume with a feeling of some regret. I have hopes, however, that I may still have other occasions to place my name on the same title-page with that of Samuel Pepys. If this volume should prove of interest to the public I may perhaps be able to add to our knowledge of Pepys's distinguished career by the publication of the Tangier Diary and some volumes of correspondence, most of which has not been published.

It is to me a matter of some personal interest to find that the names of Pepys and Wheatley are not now for the first time associated, and I hope I may be excused for alluding here to an early association of the names. One day Sir Wollaston Franks, the late highly-esteemed and respected President of the Society of Antiquaries, said to me, "I was interested lately by seeing in a Norfolk church a monument of the sixteenth century bearing the arms of Pepys impaled with those of Wheatley." My friend Mr. Mill Stephenson, F.S.A. (who was with Sir Wollaston Franks on the occasion) tells me that the church was that of South Creake, Norfolk, and the monument was in memory of Clemence, daughter of Pepys, of Creake, and wife of William Wheatley, who died in 1565. Readers of the Diary will remember that in the following century there was a chance of another marriage between a Pepys and a Wheatley, when the daughter of Mrs. Wheatley was proposed as a wife for Thomas Pepys, the diarist's brother (ii. 86, iii. 19).

H. B. W.

Brampton, 2, Oppidans Road, N.W.
March, 1899.

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PEPYSIANA:

OR ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE PARTICULARS OF PEPYS'S LIFE AND ON SOME PASSAGES IN THE DIARY.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

DURING the years that the eight volumes of the Diary have been passing through the press various notes respecting the author and his work have accumulated. Some of these are corrections of statements in the notes, while still more consist of fresh material in illustration of the text. Of the latter class special mention must be made of the new facts which Mr. Lindsay has discovered respecting the diarist's ancestry, and the will of Samuel Pepys, which is now published for the first time.

The question has arisen how to deal with these miscellaneous notes to the best advantage. If they had been arranged in chronological order they might have been useful for ready reference, but they would have presented a somewhat motley appearance. It seemed, therefore, better to throw them into some order which would make them form a sort of companion to the Diary and a help to the better understanding of its contents. The order adopted is as follows: The second chapter contains pedigrees and notes as to Samuel's relations and to Mrs. Pepys's family, and some information respecting their constantly changing servants. The third chapter is

devoted to some personal notes of Samuel at school and college and in business, and an account of his bookplates, portraits, etc. In the fourth chapter various points relating to the Diary are dealt with, and additional illustrations of some of the words used by Pepys are added. The fifth chapter contains notes on friends and acquaintances. The sixth chapter is devoted to the Navy; the seventh to London and local allusions; the eighth to folk-lore, and the ninth contains an appreciation of the man. Nine appendixes complete the volume.

It must not, however, be supposed, because some attempt at classification has been attempted, that the various subjects dealt with in the different chapters are at all exhaustively treated. This, of course, was impossible without making a very big book, and I fear that it may be thought by some that too many odds and ends have been included. I hope, however, that although the pages may appear somewhat disconnected, it will be found that much which will help us to better understand the book, the author, and the times has been brought together.

CHAPTER II.

THE PEPYS FAMILY.

Pedigrees.

On page xv of the first volume of the Diary it is stated that Samuel Pepys's grandfather was Thomas the Red. This has been since found to be incorrect, and the correction was made in the re-issue of the volume in 1897. The discovery of this fact was made by Mr. W. A. Lindsay, Q.C., Windsor Herald, who found that a pedigree, dated 1684, in the College of Arms, in which the two brothers, Thomas the Black and Thomas the Red, are both said to have died unmarried, is untrustworthy, as both these brothers were married and had children. This induced him to investigate the matter more fully, with the result that he traced the correct particulars, which he has been so good as to allow me to print, and he has added to the obligation by preparing an interesting statement of the facts of the case, which is here presented to the reader.

Memorandum by Windsor Herald.

"In the year 1894 I was requested by the Hon. Walter Courtenay Pepys and by Mr. Pepys of Sloane Street to record in the official books of the College of Arms a pedigree of their family, and if possible to show the connection of the diarist to the House of Cottenham.

"The family is recorded in the first visitation of Norfolk, and afterwards in two visitations of Cambridgeshire, the last of which, taken in the year 1684, by Sir Henry St. George,

INCORRECT PEPYS PEDIGREE FROM THE VISITATION OF 1684.

JOHN PEPYS, of Cottenham, in co: Cambridge. = EDITH, daughter and heir of SIR EDMOND TALBOT, son of SIR GILBERT TALBOT of the Isle of Ely, descended out of Wiltshire.

- JOHN PEPYS, of Cottenham, aforesaid. = ELIZABETH, daughter of JOHN BENDISH, of Steeple Bumpsted, in Essex.
- ROBERT obijt cœlebs.
- THOMAS, vulg: dict: Black— obijt sine prole, unmarried.
- THOMAS, vulg: dict: ye Red. obijt cœlebs.
- APOLLO obijt cœlebs.

- TALBOT PEPYS, of Impington, in co: Cambridge, obijt circa ann: 1665 ætat circa 84. = BEATRIX, daughter of JOHN CASTLE of Ravingham in co: Norfolk, 1 wife. = 2 wife, sine prole.
- .... married to SIR SIDNEY MOUNTAGU, Knight, father of the first Earl of Sandwich.
- .... married to SIR GILBERT PICKERING of Tichmersh in co: Northampton, Baronet.
- FAITH, married to ROBERT BEALE, of Whittlesey in the Isle of Ely, in co: Cambridge.

CORRECTLY COPIED FROM THE RECORD
IN THE COLLEGE OF ARMS.

W. A. LINDSAY,
Windsor Herald.
27 *Aug.* 1896.

S Pepys, h
Cambridge
Coll.); men
Robert I

A—to face p. 4.

CORRECTED PEPYS PEDIGREE RECENTLY RECORDED IN THE COLLEGE OF ARMS.

EDITH, daughter and heir of EDMUND TALBOT; buried at Cottenham, 25 September, 1583. 1st wife.

= JOHN PEPYS, of Cottenham, co. Cambridge, acquired the manor of Impington, co. Cambridge, 1579; buried at Cottenham, 15 July, 1589; will dated 2 July, 1589, proved 26 November following in Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

= ANNE, daughter of . . . JENYSON, of Saltfleete, by Lincoln; married at Cottenham, aforesaid, 15 October, 1587, by licence; mentioned in her husband's will, 1589. 2nd wife.

JOHN PEPYS, of Cottenham afsd., buried at Cottenham afsd. 21 March, 1604.

= ELIZABETH, daughter of THOMAS BENDISH, of Bower Hall, Steeple Bumstead, co. Essex.

= RICHARD CRACKOFT, of Cracroft, co. Cambridge, and afterwards of Cottenham, aforesaid; there married 8 Dec. 1607.

ROBERT PEPYS, of Wisbech St. Mary, in the Isle of Ely, co. Cambridge, mentioned in his father's will, 1589; will dated 4 May, 1630 (in which he mentions MARIE his wife as sole executrix), proved 24 June following in the Archdeaconry Court of Caoibridge.

(2)

APOLLO PEPYS, of Grays Inn and of Hinchinbrook, co. Huntingdon, baptized at Cottenham afsd. 8 Feb. 1575; mentioned in his father's will, 1589; will dated 16 Nov. 1641, proved 2 January, 1644-45, in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. (23 Rivers.)

(5)

TALBOT PEPYS, of Impington afsd., Recorder of Cambridge; born 31 March (Easter Day), 1583; baptized at Cottenham afsd. 2 April following; mentioned in his father's will, 1589, and in that of his brother Robert, 1630; died March, 1665-6.

(6)

= BEATRICE, daughter of JOHN = . . . CASTLE, of Ravenham, co. Norfolk, by FRANCES his wife; married 3 August, 1615.

(1 w.)

(2 w.) died s.p.

ELIZABETH, wife of . . . . ALCOCK.

EDITH, baptized at Cottenham afsd. 30 Oct. 1573, and there buried 30 August, 1601. Administration granted to her brother JOHN PEPYS, 9 Sept. 1601. Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

PAULINA, wife of SIR SIDNEY MONTAGU, and mother of the first EARL OF SANDWICH, baptized at Cottenham aforesaid 17 Sept. 1581; mentioned as deceased in the will of APOLLO PEPYS, 1641.

SUSANNA, wife of ROBERT BEALE, of Whittlesea, Isle of Ely; baptized at Cottenham aforesaid 9 June, 1580, and there married, 27 October, 1601.

THOMAS PEPYS, the elder, called "Black," of Eaton. Mentioned in his father's will, 1589, and as deceased in the will of his brother APOLLO PEPYS, 1641.

= MARY, daughter of . . . DAY, of Wisbech. Marriage licence (Diocese of Ely) dated 8 July, 1596.

THOMAS PEPYS, the younger, called "Red," of Sutton, Isle of Ely. Mentioned in his father's will, 1589, and in that of his brother APOLLO PEPYS, 1641, and then deceased.

= KEZIA, mentioned in the will of APOLLO PEPYS, 1641.

ROBERT PEPYS, of Brampton, co. Huntingdon; mentioned in the will of APOLLO PEPYS, 1641; died 5, buried 7 July, 1661, at Brampton aforesaid. His widow mentioned in his will and in Pepys' Diary. Will dated Aug. 1657, proved 23 August, 1661, in Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

JOHN PEPYS, of Brampton, aforesaid, devisee of Brampton for life under the will of his brother ROBERT PEPYS, 1657, of which he and his son SAMUEL were executors; baptized 14 Jan. 1600-1, at Impington afsd. Will unregistered in which he is described as of Ellington, co. Huntingdon. Administration to his son SAMUEL PEPYS, 19 Oct. 1680, P. C. C.

= MARGARET. It is stated in the Diary of her son that she was married, 15 Oct. 1626, at Newington, co. Surrey, but no entry of the marriage appears in the register of that parish. She died 25 March, 1667, and was buried at Brampton aforesaid 27 March following.

THOMAS PEPYS, of London, mentioned in the will of his brother ROBERT, 1657; mentioned as deceased in the will of his nephew SAMUEL PEPYS, 1703. Will dated 2 Feb. 1664, proved 16 Aug. 1676, P. C. C.

= MARY, mentioned in the will of ROBERT PEPYS, 1657. Executrix of her husband's will.

MARY, wife of ROBERT HOLCKOFTE, baptized at Impington afsd. March, 1597; married at Southwell, co. Notts, 23 Oct. 1620.

EDITH, baptized at Impington, 11 Oct. 1599.

SAMUEL PEPYS, of the City of Westminster, of Brampton afsd., and of Clapham, co. Surrey, eldest son; Secretary to the Admiralty, 1684; Clerk of the Acts; M.P. for Castle Rising, co. Norfolk, 1673, for Harwich, 1685; author of Pepys' Diary; M.A. Camb. Univ. 1660 (Magdalen Coll. Camb.); born 23 Feb. 1632; baptized at St. Bride's, London; died 26 May, 1703; buried at St. Olave's Church, Hart Street, in the City of London; will dated 2 Aug. 1701, codicil dated 12 May, 1703, proved 15 June following. P. C. C.

= ELIZABETH, daughter of MARCHANT DE ST. MICHEL; married 10 October, 1655 (Diary), registered at St. Margaret's, Westminster; died 10 Nov. 1669; buried in St. Olave's Church, afsd., M. I.

THOMAS PEPYS, born 18 June, 1634; baptism registered at St. Bride's aforesaid; mentioned in the will of his uncle ROBERT PEPYS, 1657; died 15 March, 1663-4; buried at St. Bride's Church, London.

REV. JOHN PEPYS, born 26 Nov. 1641; M.A. of Cambridge University, 1666 (Christ's Coll.); mentioned in the will of his uncle ROBERT PEPYS, 1657.

PAULINA, wife of . . . JACKSON, born 18 Oct. 1640; baptism registered at St. Bride's afsd.; married 27 Feb. 1667-8; mentioned in the will of her uncle ROBERT PEPYS, 1657; also mentioned as deceased in the will of her brother SAMUEL PEPYS, 1701.

SAMUEL JACKSON and JOHN JACKSON, mentioned in the wills of their grandfather JOHN PEPYS and uncle SAMUEL PEPYS.

Other issue died in infancy; baptized and buried at St. Bride's, London.

CORRECTLY COPIED FROM THE RECORD IN THE COLLEGE OF ARMS.

W. A. LINDSAY,
Windsor Herald,
27 *Aug.* 1897.

Clarencieux King of Arms, presented very great difficulty. A copy of the pedigree then entered, so far as it relates to the generations to which the diarist's grandfather must have belonged in order to explain his calling Talbot Pepys, Recorder of Cambridge, 'my old uncle' (15th July, 1661), is here produced, from which it appears that all the sons of John Pepys of Cottenham, the necessary great-grandfather of the diarist, other than John the heir, and Talbot of Impington, died unmarried. It was reasonably certain that neither of these two could be grandfather to the diarist.

"The pedigree purports to be attested by John Pepys of Cambridge, great-grandson of John the heir, and by John Pepys of the Impington family, who were apparently allowed by the King of Arms to make statements about their grandfather's and great-grandfather's brothers and sisters, which, under the rules now enforced at the College of Arms, would not be accepted; and the attestation took place at a time when Samuel Pepys was a conspicuous person in the State, in fact, second cousin of the attestors, who must either have been ignorant of the relationship, or have had some reason for denying it.

"The pedigree, as ultimately proved by me in the College of Arms, and now recorded, on evidence suggested by Mr. Walter Pepys's work on his family[1] and supplemented by me, is also here produced—so far as it relates to the diarist. A comparison between the two pedigrees shows that in the generation of the diarist's grandfather the following corrections require to be made in the Visitation pedigree:

"Robert did not die unmarried.

"Thomas, called Black, did not die unmarried, nor without issue.

"Thomas, called Red, did not die unmarried, nor without issue.

"No daughter married Sir Gilbert Pickering.

[1] "Genealogy of the Pepys Family," by Walter Courtenay Pepys. Lond., 1887.

"There were two daughters not mentioned in the Visitation pedigree—Elizabeth, who married an Alcocke, and Edith, who lived to be twenty-eight, but died unmarried.

"There are other inaccuracies.

"Truly, a fine collection of blunders for one generation of a pedigree, which, being reported under a Royal Commission, is *ipso facto* evidence and *primâ facie* proof in a court of law! The evidence on which the statements of the new pedigree are founded is set out in the pedigree itself, and I will confine myself, therefore, to stating briefly the process of search which has enabled me to prove the real grandparents of the diarist. It was obvious at an early stage of the inquiry that one of the two sons called Thomas was the probable grandfather of the diarist. Apollo uses language in his will which implies that both his brothers Thomas had had issue, and were both long since dead, in 1641. And he mentions Kezia as widow of the younger.

"Mr. Walter Pepys accordingly supposed the younger Thomas to be the diarist's grandfather, and I started with that impression. Being led to examine the Impington Registers, guided—perhaps in this, and certainly in some searches, by Mr. Gibbons' work[1] on the Ely records—I procured from the vicar[2] copies of entries of baptism respecting children of Thomas and Kezia, and respecting children of a Thomas, who might either be a different Thomas, or the same Thomas with another wife—Mary. I then observed that the list of his grandfather's children given by Pepys (end of 1664) did not correspond with the baptisms of children of Thomas and Kezia, but did correspond very closely with the baptisms of children of Thomas and Mary.

"But it seemed also clear that the diarist had omitted those of his grandfather's children who were dead at the time of his

[1] "Ely Episcopal Records," by A. Gibbons, F.S.A. Lincoln, 1891.
[2] Rev. D. Hall.

memorandum, and therefore the Thomas who married Kezia might still be the Thomas who married Mary.

"Examining all of the Pepys name mentioned in Mr. Gibbon's book, I found that there had been a marriage licence for Thomas Pepys of Sutton and Mary Day, and it then became clear that the curious passage of 18th September, 1663, about the Days, describing William Day as brother of the diarist's grandmother—mother of the diarist's uncle (which passage has escaped the attention of all the editors of the Diary), must relate to the Mary Day licensed to marry Thomas Pepys of Sutton. I obtained a certified copy of the licence from Ely. The remaining point to be proved was: which Thomas was of Sutton?—for both of them were afterwards at Impington, and therefore either might have been at Sutton. This was finally settled by comparing an exact copy of the will of John Pepys, the great-grandfather, with deeds, and with a dispute caused by the heir, John Pepys, attempting to annul his father's will, all set out in the Chartulary described in the preface to this work—certainly written by Talbot Pepys. This comparison clearly proved that Thomas the elder was of Sutton in the earlier part of his life; he therefore was the Thomas who married Mary Day, and they were the grandparents of the diarist.

"I was not able to push the inquiry further; for this kind of search is expensive, and I had fulfilled my instructions. Further inquiry might no doubt explain the terms, 'uncle,' 'aunt,' and 'cousin,' often employed by Pepys for persons whose relationship to him is not obvious. It remains to observe, that in order to secure the legitimacy of Pepys's uncles, it must be surmised that Robert of Brampton was not the eldest son. I consider him second son, and that while Thomas was the eldest and the heir-at-law, it was not extraordinary that Robert should devise his estate to his younger brother. He did not thus pass over a brother, as I had at first supposed.

"The dispute with John as to the great-grandfather's will led me to wonder whether I had a clue to the false statements in the Visitation pedigree. Was it to the interest of the de-

scendants of John and Talbot, for any cause, to assert that their great-uncles died unmarried? or were they simply careless about facts outside their personal knowledge? I am happy to contribute the result of my investigations to so important an edition of the Diary; but I feel that my memorandum is imperfect, and that further inquiry would be valuable.

"W. A. LINDSAY.

"27 August, 1896.
"College of Arms."

In addition to Windsor Herald's pedigree, we want some statement of the degrees of relationship of the different uncles, aunts, and cousins who are mentioned in the Diary. A full pedigree was published by Lord Braybrooke, but this needs correction in some points. The Hon. Walter Courtenay Pepys published, in 1887, an important "Genealogy of the Pepys Family, 1273-1887," which contains much valuable information. It does not therefore appear to be necessary to repeat here a full pedigree of the family, more particularly as the readers of the Diary are chiefly interested in the men and women who are mentioned in that book, and these are often lost sight of in the full pedigree. I have therefore ventured to make a table in which I have inscribed the names of such of these persons as I was able to place, leaving out others who may perhaps be of more importance in the family tree, but for whom the reader of the Diary cares little.

William Pepys of Cottenham, the son of Robert Pepys, left many bequests to priests, nuns, and monks, for masses for his soul. He further ordered that all beneficiaries of his will were to keep the anniversary of his death by holding an annual "fayre," with masses in the church of Cottenham.

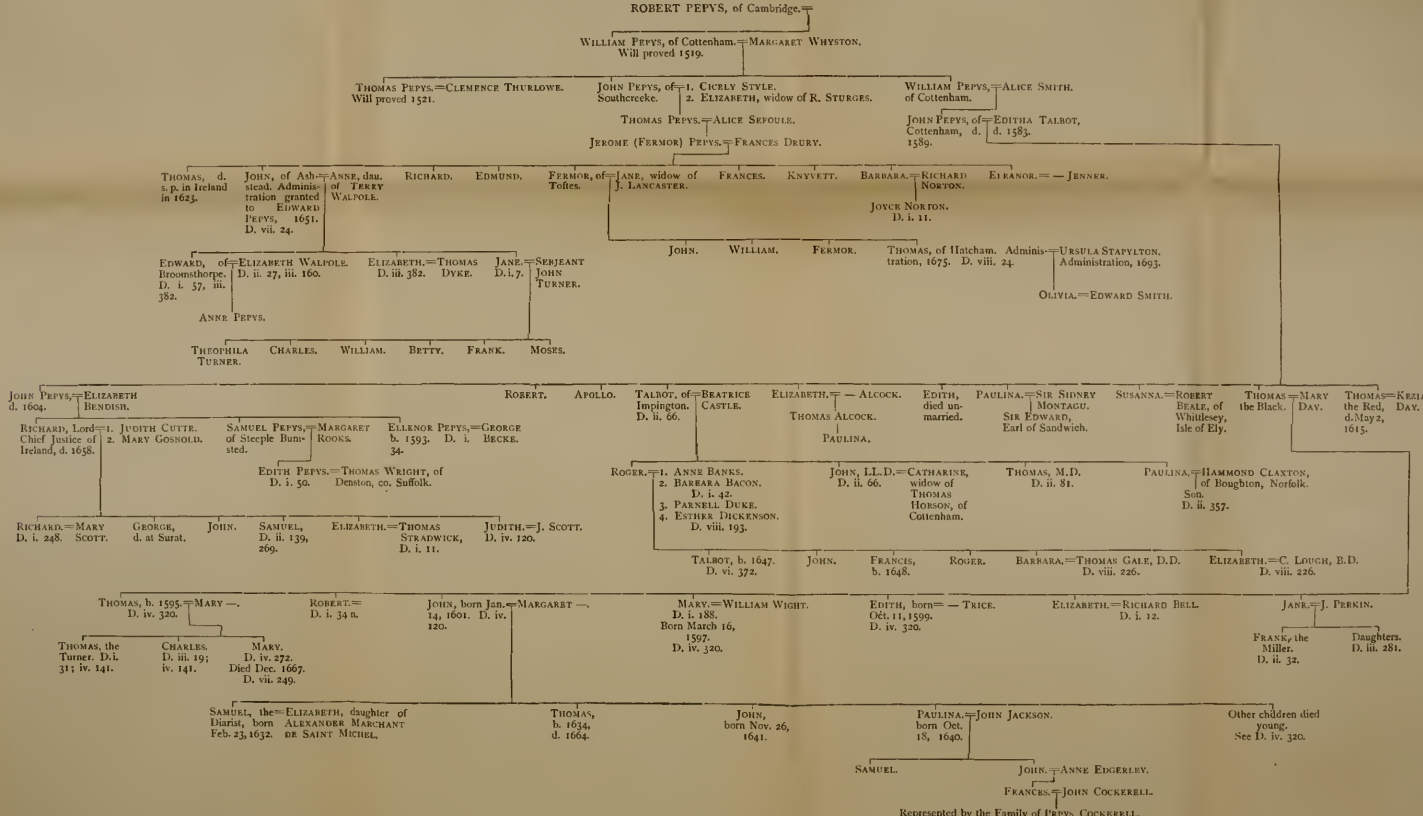
John Pepys, by his will (1589), bequeathed two hundred pounds each to his four daughters, Elizabeth, Edith, Susan, and Paulina, and he describes John, Robert, and Thomas (the Black) as "my three elder sons."

Editha Talbot, who married John Pepys of Cottenham, the

JOHN

HT.

PEPYS AND HIS KINDRED.



great-grandfather of the diarist, was daughter of Edmund Talbot of St. Clement's, Cambridge, who left her £40, "with my sovereign of gold and chalis of silver, and six silver spoons and a covering to a salte of silver double gilt, with all my messuages, lands, etc., in the Fen and in Wisbeache and elsewhere in the Isle of Ely, with my messuage at Impington which I lately bought."[1]

John Pepys's son, Apollo Pepys of Hinchingbrook, whose will was proved on the 31st January, 1645, mentions his sister-in-law Kezia in these pleasing terms: "Not forgetful of the more than brotherly affection of Thomas Pepys, younger brother of my two late brethren of that name long since deceased, I give to his widow Kezia Day," etc.

As stated in Mr. Lindsay's note, it was a blunder on the part of Clarencieux King of Arms (1684) to marry a daughter of John Pepys to Sir Gilbert Pickering. Sir Gilbert married Elizabeth, sister of Sir Edward Montagu, who is mentioned in Apollo Pepys's will as niece, as Edward Montagu is as nephew. In Apollo Pepys's will an additional executor (Robert Barnwell) is appointed "to get in his estate, much injured by the Wars," to whom £1,000 was bequeathed. This was probably the Robert Barnwell who is mentioned several times in the Diary, and who died in 1660 £500 in debt to Lord Sandwich (ii. 263).

The will of Robert Pepys of Brampton, brother of the diarist's father, was proved August, 1661. He left Samuel £30 a year to be paid by his father, John Pepys, and to John Pepys the estate at Brampton.

"And further my will is that if any herein my will named shall refuse to live in my home at Brampton aforesaid, that then any one of the name of Pepys shall have it five pounds a year cheaper than of any other name."

From these tables it will be seen that the relationship of

[1] The Hon. Walter C. Pepys has most kindly placed at my disposal the large amount of information he obtained from wills of the various members of the Pepys family, and from this source I have been able to extract some interesting passages.

Samuel Pepys to Lord Chief Justice Richard Pepys and his children, to Mrs. Jane Turner, and to Thomas Pepys of Hatcham was somewhat distant, and we shall find that Samuel was very liberal in his interpretation of the word "cousin." An extreme case may be mentioned in respect to Charles and John Glascock, who it is presumed were the sons of Francis Glascock, who married the sister of Judith Cutte, who was the first wife of Lord Chief Justice Pepys.

George Pepys, son of Richard Pepys, afterwards Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, died at Surat, and his will was proved 5th September, 1650, in which he refers to "the adventure which my father gave me when I came out of England, and what he sent me since my arrival in India."

I have set down six children as the offspring of Serjeant John Turner and his wife Jane, although it is generally stated that Theophila was their only daughter. I have had great difficulty in settling the parentage of Betty Turner, and at one time I was inclined to suppose her to be the daughter of Thomas Turner of the Navy Office and his wife. This pair had a daughter, but there is no evidence that her name was Betty. In the early pages of the Diary Theophila appears alone, but later on Betty, who was a child at school, became old enough to go out visiting. Several of the passages leave us in doubt as to her parentage, but in three passages the point seems to be placed beyond dispute. On December 5th, 1664, after a mention of Mrs. Jane Turner and her daughter Theophila, we read: "Mightily pleased I am to hear the mother to commend her daughter Betty that she is like to be a great beauty, and she sets much by her" (Diary, iv. 300). On January 4th, 1668-69, we read: "Mrs. Turner the mother, and Mrs. Dyke and The. and Betty was the company, and a gentleman of their acquaintance. Betty I did long to see, and she is indifferent pretty, but not what the world did speak of her; but I am mightily glad to have one so pretty of our kindred" (Diary, viii. 193).[1] Again, on March 10th and

[1] I have punctuated and noted this passage wrongly in the text by following the earlier editions. On consideration it is evident that the mother of

13th, 1668-69, there are references to "my cozen Turner and her two daughters." John Turner the father was son and heir of Sir William Turner (knighted 1662, Lord Mayor 1669). He was promoted to the rank of serjeant-at-law, 26th June, 1669, and was living in 1676.[1]

Fermor Pepys of Toftes, co. Norfolk, father of Thomas Pepys of Hatcham, died September 22nd, 1660, aged seventy-nine years, and was buried in the chancel of Mileham church, near the grave of his son John. The following inscription is in the chancel of Mileham church: "In memory of Mr. Fermour Pepys, sometime of this parish, of a worthy descent, most happy nature, choicest education, a tried faith in God, a persecuted church, a banished prince, and his old friend. He was born and lived a gentleman. Ob^{t}. Sept. 22, 1660, ætat 79. Baptised and lived a Christian, died a believer, and lived a saint."[2]

In the third volume (pp. 209, 281, 283) there are some curious passages respecting Uncle Day which have not been annotated. By the help of Mr. Lindsay's valuable correction of the Pepys pedigree we are able to understand these allusions. The two brothers Thomas Pepys appear to have married sisters—Mary and Kezia Day. Mary was the grandmother of Samuel, son of John, and of Thomas, son of Thomas. Uncle Thomas and his son Thomas, and Samuel the diarist, went to Wisbeach in September, 1663, to see after the estate of Uncle Day, the brother of Mary Day, but when they went on to Parson's Drive (iii. 281), and met J. Perkin and his wife Jane, another uncle and aunt, they found their labour in vain, for a representative of the brother of Uncle Day was then

The. and Betty was Mrs. Turner, and therefore that there should be no comma after Turner. The further blunder is to describe the mother as "Anne Pepys, who married Terry Walpole of South Creake." The wife of John Pepys was really the *daughter* of Terry Walpole, and she was probably dead at this date.

[1] Turner family of Kirkleatham, North Riding of Yorkshire (Nichols, "The Topographer and Genealogist" (vol. i., pp. 505-509).

[2] The Hon. Walter C. Pepys points out to me that Pepys Street, New Cross, Hatcham, takes its name from Thomas Pepys of Hatcham.

found, who took precedence of them as they were only descended from a sister, as seen in the following table :

Descent of Blinkhorne, a miller (vol. iii., p. 283).

Brother of Uncle DAY.
|
Daughter.
|
Grandson, BLINKHORNE.

Descent of Pepys and Perkin.

MARY, sister of Uncle DAY=THOMAS PEPYS.

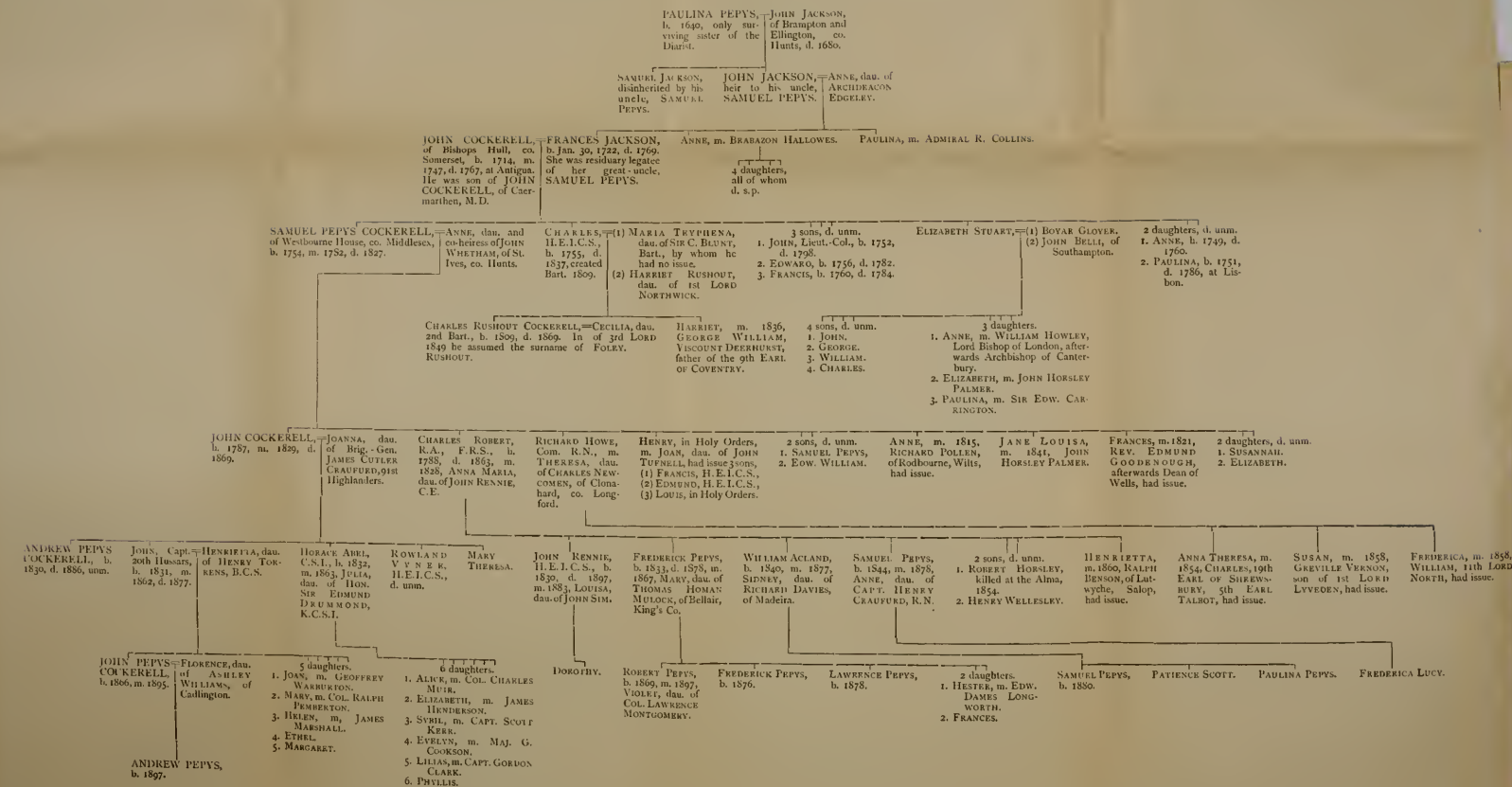
THOMAS P.	JOHN P.	JANE=J. PERKIN.
THOMAS P.	SAMUEL P.	FRANK PERKIN.

We cannot at present say what was the maiden name of Samuel's mother, as the marriage certificate has not yet been found. We may still hope that at some future time it may be brought to light. Mr. Osmund Airy, who wrote the article on Samuel Pepys in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," suggested the possibility of the name being Perkin, but we are able to place the Perkins mentioned in the Diary as children of the sister (Jane) of Samuel's father. There seems to be little doubt that Mrs. John Pepys was of an inferior social rank to her husband. There is a passage in the Diary (February 5th, 1660-61) where the diarist's mother is referred to as having been at one time "washmaid to my Lady Veere" (i. 341). It is not quite clear what a washmaid may be, but probably it was an equivalent of a laundry maid. Samuel always speaks of his father with more affection than he displays for his mother, and he expresses on several occasions pity for his father in respect to what he had to suffer from the ill-temper of his wife.

In respect to the descendants of Samuel's sister, Paulina Jackson, it may be here mentioned that Samuel Jackson, the elder son, who was to have been Pepys's heir, was passed over on account of his marriage to a lady disapproved of by his uncle : "Samuel Jackson has thought fit to dispose of him-

C—to face p. 13.

DESCENDANTS OF PAULINA PEPYS.



selfe in marriage against my positive advice and injunctions and to his own irreparable prejudice and dishonour, I doe think myself obliged to express the resentments due to such an act of disrespect and imprudence" (see Pepys's will in appendix). The daughter of John Jackson, who married John Cockerell, not only came into the property left by her great-uncle, but she was also the residuary legatee of that uncle's great friend, William Hewer, who was her cousin.

Mrs. William Cockerell has kindly prepared a table of the descendants of Samuel's sister Paulina.

Pepys's Father.

When Samuel Pepys was entered at Magdalene College in 1650, his father was described as "civis Londinensis," but although he had lived in St. Bride's Churchyard for some years he was treated as "a foreigner," and was not made free of the Merchant Taylors' Company until three years later.

I have been favoured by the kindness of Mr. H. A. F. Chambers, Accountant of the Company, with some extracts from the records relating to the admission of certain "foreigners," and the bearing of the rules upon John Pepys and others. If John Pepys had been thirty-six years in St. Bride's Churchyard in 1650, he must have commenced his apprenticeship at the age of thirteen. It is interesting to find the name of Richard Cumberland as one of the "foreigners" who with John Pepys was admitted a free brother of the Company, as this man's son, Richard Cumberland, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, was a schoolfellow and fellow-collegian of Samuel Pepys.

Merchant Taylors' Company's Records.

Re Foreign Tailors.

Bk. ix. fol. 335.b.
Court of Assistants.
26th Dec. 1649.

"An order of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen

against the admitting of any foreigners using the trade of Cutting Tailors into the freedom of this City by redemption— The tenor whereof followeth, viz. :

" Foote, Mayor.

" Martis vi die Novembr:
" Anno Dom^i. 1649.

" This day upon the humble petition of the Master and Wardens of the Company of Merchant Taylors showing that by reason of the multitude of foreign taylors in and about the City of London the Freemen of the said Company using the trade of Cutting Taylors cannot live upon their calling but are necessitated to crave and receive Alms of the said Company so that many poor families of the said cutting taylors are in grievous want and the said Company by relieving so great a number may in time become unable to bear their own or the common charges of the City This Court intending to do what in them is for remedy of so great an evil doth think fit and so order that from henceforth no person whatsoever using the trade of a cutting tailor shall be admitted into the freedom of this City by redemption except it be upon some extraordinary occasion with special security that they do not practise the said trade within the said City and Liberties thereof And no such to be admitted into any other Company than of the Merchant Tailors to the end the security may be there taken."

Book ix. fol. 337.
Court of Assistants.
16th Jan. 1649-50.

" This Court doth think fit and so order that a petition be drawn and presented to the Court of Aldermen against one Downes and Daynty freemen of this City and that keep sale shops in this City for setting foreigners on work out of the City of London and that in the meantime . . . all foreigners dwelling within this City and liberties be prosecuted against."

Book ix. fol. 337.b.
Court of Assistants.
29th Jan. 1649-50.

"Whereas at the last Court of Assistants upon the report of the Committee touching the Taylory It was ordered amongst other things that all foreign tailors dwelling within the City and liberties be prosecuted against This day the case and petition of John Pepys a foreign tailor dwelling in Bride's Churchyard as well by the said report as also now again was particularly recommended to the consideration of this Court It appearing by his petition that he hath lived in the said place these 36 years where he served an apprenticeship and ever since enjoyed his peace under the protection of the pretended ancient privileges of the Earl of Dorset paying all scot and lot there and further alledgeth that he hath settled himself by a long lease there Alledging further that the said privileged place with others being now made void and that the inhabitants thereof must become conformable to all the laws and customs of this City he is desirous to obtain his freedom to avoid trouble and molestation. Whereupon this Court upon due consideration of the premises doth refer back the said petition to the favourable consideration of the Committee aforesaid who are authorised to do therein in his behalf (his case being extraordinary) as they shall think fit, either to give him liberty to take his freedom or otherwise to do therein as shall be best agreeable to the constitutions and former orders of the Company With this caution that so as they shall do in favour to him the same to be no precedent for the future for any other."

Book ix. fol. 388.b.
Court of Assistants.
19th Nov. 1651.

"This Court approving of the admission into the freedom of the Company and City of such of the said cutting tailors that have served 7 years apprenticeship. . . ."

Book ix. fol. 415.
Court of Assistants.
18th May, 1653.

"This day an order for the Committee of Tailory of the 30th of March last concerning divers cutting Tailors foreigners inhabiting in Blackfriars and Salisbury Court was read the tenor whereof followeth, viz.

"Wednesday, the 30th March, 1653.

"This day John Peaps, Richard Cumberland, John Waine, William Iles, Robert Trevethan, and Thomas Christmas made their appearance before this Committee for regulation of the trade of Taylory being all foreigners and ancient dwellers in Salisbury Court and Blackfriars and did willingly declare their submission to the ancient orders of this Company and pay quarterage subjecting themselves unto the Company as other freemen do with proviso that they shall not set at work any but freemen of this Company or take any apprentices but freemen's sons such as may be made free by their father's copy according to an order of a Court of Assistants the 7th day of December 1601 And if the said persons above mentioned shall at any time after their admittance into this Company break or infringe the said order or do contrary to the contents thereof That then they to have no benefit of this order but to be speedily prosecuted as foreigners."

Book ix. fol. 424.b.
Court of Assistants.
16th Nov. 1653.

"This day Richard Cumberland and John Pepys, Wm. Oyles, John Waine, Robert Trevethen, Thos. Christmas, Edward Martin, and Wm. Foster, foreigners, cutting tailors inhabiting in Salisbury Court Whitefriars and Blackfriars were admitted free brothers of this Company according to an ancient order of this Court of the 7th December, 1601, And they presented this Company with these several pieces of plate, following, viz. Richard Cumberland gave one Silver Tankard, John Pepys

gave one Silver Tankard and a Trencher Salt, Wm. Oyles two silver cups, John Waine one Silver Tankard, Robert Trevethen one great Salt and a trencher Salt, Thomas Christmas one Silver Bowl with the Company's Arms, Edward Martin one dozen of Spoons and Wm. Foster three silver porringers, of all which this Court accepted."

Mrs. Pepys and her Family.

No fresh light has been thrown upon the curious inconsistency in the recorded dates of the marriage of Samuel and Elizabeth Pepys. The possibility of the principals making a mistake in the date is not accepted by most readers, but it is equally difficult to believe that the registers are incorrect. The difficulty may be got over by supposing that a religious ceremony of some sort was performed on October 10th, 1655, just before the publication of the banns and that the civil marriage before the justice of the peace took place on December 1st. It is possible that the marriage may have taken place at one of the French Protestant churches in London to which the St. Michels belonged. My friend Mr. Reginald Faber, honorary secretary of the Huguenot Society, very kindly had a search made in the Threadneedle Street French Church Registers from 1654 to 1656, but there is no record there of the marriage.

The author of an article in the "Atlantic Monthly" (vol. lxvii., p. 574, April, 1891), while using Balthasar St. Michel's information respecting the father of Mrs. Pepys (see vol. i., p. xxi), has added a few particulars which throw some further light on his history. He supposes Mrs. Pepys's grandfather to have been a Captain Marchant, who was attached to the French court in 1612, and that he added the name of a village in which he had property to his surname. Another Marchant, professor at the Sorbonne at the same time, may have been his brother. This writer speaks of the "plebeian name of Marchant being dropped," but it was not Alexander St. Michel who dropped his proper name, but the English people who supposed

"St. Michel" to be the surname and neglected the "Marchant." This has been general in the case of most Frenchmen who have become naturalized. These double names were too unfamiliar to the ordinary Englishman to be understood by him. In reference to the notion of the rescue of Mrs. Pepys from the nunnery in which she was for a short time confined, the writer of this article suggests that Alexander St. Michel probably owed his success to the assistance of Cromwell's ambassador at Paris—Lockhart, who was always zealous in assistance to distressed Protestants, but this is a mistake, as Sir William Lockhart was not in France at the time. He was appointed ambassador in December, 1655, but he did not set out for Paris until April, 1656.

The following short table shows the parentage of Mrs. Pepys in a convenient form, and contains a few additional facts relating to her brother Balthasar St. Michel:

. . . . Marchant, Sieur de St. Michel, High Sheriff of Baugé in Anjou, temp. Louis XIII.

Alexander Marchant de St. Michel, for a time Gentleman Carver to Q. Henrietta Maria, settled at Bideford, but returned awhile to France. = ... daughter of Sir Francis Kingsmill, widow of an Irish squire.

Elizabeth = Samuel Pepys.

Balthasar de St. Michel, admitted into the Duke of Albemarle's Guards, 1665; Muster Master at Sea, 1666; Muster Master at Deal, 1674; Commissioner at Tangier, 1681; Extra Commissioner of the Navy resident at Deptford, 1685-89. = 1. Esther Watts, died Feb. 1686-7.
2. Margaret Darling.

Samuel. Mary.

Balthasar St. Michel was twice married; first, on December 3rd, 1662, to Hester (or Esther[1]) Watts. The particulars

[1] She signs herself "Esther St. Michell" in a letter to Pepys, dated

are given in Chester's "London Marriage Licences" (ed. Foster, 1887). The clerk who copied out the licence made a bad shot at St. Michel's name—"Balteshasher Mitchell (Michel) of St. Gabriel, Fenchurch, gent., bachelor, about 22, and Hester Watts, of St. Dunstan in the East, spinster, aged 17, consent of father, John Watts, of Whittlebury, co. Northampton, yeoman—at St. Bennett, Paul's Wharf."

Pepys did not know of the marriage till some days afterwards (see vol. ii., p. 410). On March 15th, 1660-61, "my lady Kingston" is referred to as Mrs. Pepys's "brother's lady," and this has induced some to suppose that Lady Kingston was St. Michel's wife. She was possibly the wife of the Earl of Kingston, and we are unable to say why she is styled St. Michel's "lady" (see vol. i., p. 360).

Mrs. St. Michel died in February, 1686-87, and her husband married, secondly, Margaret Darling, at St. Mary Magdalen, Fish Street, on 29th January, 1688-89.[1]

Balthasar St. Michel was alive at the time of Pepys's death (1703), and the names of himself (as Captain St. Michel) and his daughter Mary are on the list of those who were presented with mourning rings.

Mrs. Pepys plays a very important part in the comedy and tragedy of the Diary, and we are supplied with ample materials for judging her character. At the same time we cannot help wishing that we possessed some fragments of her writing, from which we could obtain her opinions on the circumstances of her life, so that we might be enabled to check her views on the daily round with those of her husband. As this is impossible, the next best thing is to have the opinion of a woman on this woman's life, and Mrs. Margaret Christine

from "Brampton, April 4, 1682" ("Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys," 1841, vol. i., p. 283).

[1] From information given by Mr. Henry Wagner from Faculty Office Licence, 9th January, 1689. This licence is not to be found in Chester's "Licences." Mr. Wagner has references to several persons bearing the name of Balthasar St. Michel.

Whiting has given an excellent account of "The Wife of Mr. Secretary Pepys" in "The Atlantic Monthly" (December, 1890).

The writer says: "Who would not (if he stopped to notice her) feel a pity for little Mrs. Secretary Pepys, doomed, not only in her actual existence, but for long years after, to remain still in the corner of the canvas whereon the racy and unique portrait of her husband is painted with his own incomparable skill? Examine the corner where he sketched her (we will assume it was the upper left-hand corner, as being nearest the heart which beat with very real affection for her who had the honour to be his wife), and we find it to be as perfect in its way as that large figure of himself. She was an important factor in his life, and the active portion of her existence, that which affected his daily contentment, was never slighted or forgotten by Samuel Pepys. What she thought or felt he probably never inquired; he cared intensely for what she did, but the wishes or desires she entertained behind the row of little round curls that adorned her forehead he never guessed. As we read his unconscious revelations—betrayed even to his Diary under the cover of a cipher of his own invention—of his daily life and of his wife, we get a glimpse now and then of much which the shrewd secretary, with all his cunning, seldom suspected; and from what he tells and what he does not tell, we gather a pretty coherent idea of the character of Elizabeth St. Michael (*sic*) his wife."

The writer exhibits a true insight in these words, and shows a proper appreciation of the undoubted fact, that in pite of much unfaithfulness, Pepys really loved his wife, and was on the whole a devoted husband. In this Pepys was not unlike George II., who amused himself with his mistresses, but never wavered in his appreciation of the good qualities of his wife, Queen Caroline, and in his devotion to her. This opinion may seem to some to be too strongly stated, but nevertheless I think it will be found to be correct.

Those who look into the matter will find that in spite of quarrels these two never drifted apart, and the doings of the

wife continued to be matters of the greatest importance in the life of the husband.

The two were married at an early age, and during their life together they seem always to have remained mere grown-up children; as Mrs. Whiting says, "Loving each other very honestly, they fell out and made up over baubles and real troubles alike." Again, "Elizabeth, aside from her French cleverness and her beauty, had neither dignity nor nobility to aid her to order her life in a difficult age. She had the power to inspire in her husband the one love of his selfish heart; she had no capacity to control his roving fancy. Like a child in her love of frivolity, she was like a child still in meeting misery."

Pepys continued to be proud of his wife—proud of her looks, which he compared with those of the beauties of the court, and he came to the conclusion that she was "as pretty as any of them." He even thought her handsomer than the beautiful sister of the king, the Princess Henrietta of Orleans (Madame).

He was ever solicitous for her welfare, and greatly troubled at her illnesses. "He may have been impatient, but she was never afraid to send to the office for him to come home because she was ill, and wanted comforting."

Mrs. Whiting ingeniously traces the growth of the wife's influence over her husband. She writes respecting the troubles of the elder Pepyses and elder St. Michels: "It must be owned that she showed quite as proud and worldly a spirit toward both sides of the house as did her husband. They both assumed a critical, even disrespectful attitude toward their elders, which would merit the censure we are wont to think only children of the present generation deserve. Perhaps the fact that Mrs. Pepys got on better with her father-in-law than with any member of her husband's family is connected with the favourable opinion Samuel entertained for old Pepys, to the exclusion of all his other relatives, by more than a mere coincidence; for Elizabeth's influence over her husband's opinions was as subtle as it was unsuspected by himself."

Gradually Pepys "feels his dearly loved authority waning,

and in this stress even relaxes his purse-strings. . . . We read that wives of old were subservient, but Mrs. Pepys was emancipated. She had no more intention of being slavishly obedient than the women of a later century. She asserts herself emphatically when occasion arises, and their quarrels might have been dated the day before yesterday."

Mrs. Pepys does not appear to have suspected Samuel's *liaisons* with the women she did not know, and he, being unsuspected, saw no particular harm in his doings; but she was jealous of his bearing towards the women she knew, and after the disclosure of his relations with Deb Willet she asserts herself with success, and Pepys is thoroughly cowed. "Richly as he deserved punishment, we pity him in his abject submission to the tyrannies of his wife. For all the years of command he has shown her, for every neglect, for every time he played the niggard in giving her one pound for her clothes while he spent four pounds on his own, for each time he had been to a theatre on the sly, for all the petty misdemeanours she knows and for those she suspects, she gives him payment, and he meekly bends his neck to the yoke, and is grateful that now they 'do live in peace.'"

We regret the abrupt termination of the Diary on account of greater things than this, but we must agree with Mrs. Whiting that it is a thousand pities we cannot tell how these sad quarrels ended. She adds, "Never has their mutual position presented so interesting an aspect as this. Life to them has been composed of simple elements heretofore; it threatens now to become complex. Their relationship to one another has become a problem; one is curious to note the result; and here the record abruptly closes just as they are about to start forth on an expedition to the Continent, their first extended trip together."

Mrs. Whiting ends her most interesting article with a well-expressed sentiment, which will meet with the approval of all lovers of the diarist:

"It was, we are sure, a comfort to Pepys bereft (for he never married again), to remember that Elizabeth at the last

received the sacrament with him, as administered by the rector of their parish, and so put an end to the old anxiety as to her religious conditions. After their many quarrels and foolish bickerings we like to dwell upon those last months of sight-seeing they had together, during which, we fancy, Elizabeth relaxed her righteous grip, and ceased to hold his naughtiness before his eyes ; when they returned to the fonder mood of their early days of poverty. We are sure this little time of kind companionship must have been a dear memory to the great Mr. Secretary Pepys in the many years he lived without his wife Elizabeth."

Samuel Pepys records on two occasions in the Diary his present to his wife of a pearl necklace. On September 5th, 1660, he wrote, "In the evening, my wife being a little impatient, I went along with her to buy her a necklace of pearl, which will cost £4 10*s*., which I am willing to comply with her for her encouragement" (vol. i., p. 236). This necklace appears to be the one now in the possession of Miss Cockerell. It consists of one row of forty-nine pearls, each about the size of a fine pea. Miss Cockerell's grandmother, Mrs. Samuel Pepys Cockerell, of Westbourne House, had a seed pearl placed between each larger pearl to improve the general effect.

On April 30th, 1666, Pepys was much more extravagant, for he purchased for Mrs. Pepys a necklace with three rows of pearls, the price of which was £80 (vol. v., p. 282).

The portrait of Mrs. Pepys (an engraving of which forms the frontispiece to the fifth volume of this edition), was sold some fifty years ago at the sale of the late Mr. John Cockerell's effects, and it is not known where it is at present deposited.

Samuel Pepys's Relations.

With respect to the Pepys pedigree, note might be made of such of the relations as we are able to place there, and references to the Diary where they are mentioned are given on the above table (p. 8). But after all it is only a few that can be dealt with in

this manner; thus we find that the Alcocks were descended from Elizabeth, the aunt of Samuel's father. Cousin Beck (i. 34) was probably the son of Ellenor Pepys, sister of Lord Chief Justice Pepys, who married George Beck. Elizabeth Stradwick and Judith Scott were daughters of Lord Chief Justice Pepys. Paulina Claxton was sister of Roger Pepys. Samuel's father, John Pepys, it will be seen, had four sisters—Mary, who married William Wight, fishmonger; Edith, who married — Trice; Elizabeth, who married Richard Bell; and Jane, who married J. Perkin. Mary is given as the wife of Robert Holcroft in Mr. Lindsay's pedigree, but Wight is stated to be her husband in the Index to the Rawlinson MSS. at the Bodleian, where there are numerous Pepys papers. Mr. Lindsay thinks it probable that Mary Pepys was married twice.

The number of uncles, aunts, and cousins mentioned in the Diary, but unplaced on the family tree, is considerable, and it is to be hoped, now that attention is specially drawn to them, that information respecting some of them may be forthcoming.[1] First let us notice those who bore the name of Pepys. I cannot guess who "Mrs. Pepys that lived with my Lady Harvy,[2] Mr. Montagu's sister" (ii. 118), was, or "my cozen Pepys of Salisbury Court," who "was marshal to my Lord Cooke when he was Lord Chief Justice" (vii. 297).

"My cozen Pepys," referred to on July 14th, 1667, but apparently then dead, appears to have been John Pepys of Ashstead, Surrey, the father of Edward Pepys and Mrs. Jane Turner, although the identification can only be considered as a guess.

Two Richard Pepyses are mentioned in the Diary: the first (i. 248) was the son of Richard, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland;

[1] The Hon. Walter C. Pepys has kindly helped me in this matter, but he is unable to find any information respecting those mentioned in the list that follows.

[2] There may have been some connection between Mrs. Pepys and Lady Harvey, for, according to the will of John Pepys of Grimston, co. Norfolk, proved 1638, his grandchild was John Harvy, son of his daughter Bridgett Harvy.

but the second one, who supplied the Navy Office with "bewpers from Norwich" (iv. 162), was apparently the great-grandson of Thomas Pepys of Cottenham, who married Clemence Thurlowe, and whose will was proved 4th May, 1521. This Richard was a citizen and upholder of London. His will was proved 23rd May, 1679, and he was buried in St. Bartholomew's Church near the Royal Exchange. He left to the Bluecoat School, "of which I am governor, £25, if 100 scholars thereof attend my funeral." He made this statement in his will: "The temporal estate which the good Lord of Heaven pleased to bestow upon me (sinful creature) which is at present more than ever I expected at his gracious hand."

On March 19th, 1661-62, Pepys wrote: "I do begin to digest my uncle the Captain's papers into one book, which I call my Brampton book" (ii. 206). This passage must allude to Robert Pepys, who died in July, 1661, but this is the only place in which he is described as captain.

There are several references to a cousin Anne or Nan Pepys, who lived in Worcestershire. On July 10th, 1660, her husband is referred to as Mr. Hall (i. 196), but on June 12th, 1662, she had a second husband, Mr. Fisher, an old cavalier, and a very good-humoured man (ii. 255, 258). Probably she was the daughter of John and Anne Pepys of Littleton, co. Worcester. The will of Anne Pepys, alias Peakes, administration to which was granted to her husband John Pepys, alias Peakes, is dated 18th May, 1660. On 3rd November, 1667, Roger Pepys told Samuel "of a bargain which he might have in Norfolk" that his "she-cozen Nan Pepys is going to sell" (vii. 184). Nothing further is said about this, but probably this was the same Anne Pepys of Worcestershire.

It will be sufficient here to add a list of the uncles, aunts, cousins, and other relations of the diarist who bore other names than Pepys.

There are references to Percival Angier of Cambridge, who died January, 1664-65 (iv. 336), but I am unable to fix his relationship. His wife is mentioned (i. 69), also his son

John (iii. 328), and his brother, who lived in London (iii. 328). "Cozen Barnston of Cottenham" is only mentioned once (vii. 137).

Uncle Fenner and his daughters—Kate, who married Anthony Joyce, and Mary, the wife of his brother William Joyce—are constantly mentioned in the Diary, but no place has yet been found for them on the family tree. Fenner lived in the Old Bailey, and his first wife (who may have been a Pepys) died on 19th August, 1661, after twenty-eight years of married life. He married a second wife in January, 1661-62 (ii. 174, 177), and he himself died 24th May, 1664 (iv. 141).

Sarah Gyles is mentioned on 9th September, 1664 (iv. 239), and Lord Braybrooke supposes her to be the "Dame Sarah Gyles, widow, relict of Sir John Gyles," whose burial is recorded in the register of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, 4th September, 1704. Cozen Sarah, who is referred to on 3rd December, 1665 (v. 185), as losing some of her children by the plague, may either have been Sarah Gyles, or Sarah Kite, referred to later on.

An aunt of Pepys, and also of the Joyces, was Lettice Howlett (formerly Haynes), who is referred to on 18th September, 1667, and nowhere else in the Diary (vii. 117).

John Holcroft is described as a cousin on May 28th, 1661 (ii. 44). Robert Holcraft is said in the pedigree to have married Mary, sister of John Pepys, but from other evidence mentioned above it appears that Mary was the wife of William Wight, so that, as previously suggested, Mary Pepys was probably twice married.

Aunt James seems to have been connected with the Fenners, at whose house she stayed in May, 1663. Pepys calls her "a poor religious well-meaning good soul" (iii. 150). She died of the stone in February, 1665-66.

"Jeffrys the apothecary at Westminster" is described as a kinsman who apparently came from Cambridgeshire, as he talked fully about "Cottenhamshire" on 3 November, 1667 (vii. 184).

Mrs. Kite, a butcher's widow, who is described as Pepys's aunt (ii. 97), died 12th September, 1661. Peg Kite, who gave Pepys some trouble, appears to have been Mrs. Kite's own daughter, but Sarah Kite may have been a daughter-in-law, although Pepys calls her his cousin, and she may be the cousin Sarah referred to in vol. v., p. 185, and vol. viii., p. 12. "My Aunt Lucett" is mentioned on 24th September, 1667 (vii. 122), and again on 11th May, 1668, although in the latter place the name is misprinted as *Livett* (viii. 12).

"My cozen Nightingale" appears to have been a woman, but she is only once mentioned in the Diary (ii. 76).

Mr. and Mrs. Norbury are mentioned several times. On 19th January, 1661-62, Mrs. Norbury speaks of her sister Wight (ii. 175), and on 27th May, 1666, they are described as "aunt and uncle Norbury" (v. 299).

Pepys's "she-cozen Porter, the turner's wife," comes to him on 10th August, 1665, to tell the news that her husband had been sent to the Tower "for buying some of the King's powder" (v. 42). She had been previously mentioned (ii. 185), but we do not hear how her husband prospered after being taken to the Tower.

Mr. Snow, who is frequently called cousin in various parts of the Diary, does not appear to have been a relation. It was merely an agreement between him and Pepys that they should call each other cousins (i. 238).

Mr. Sutton is described on 24th August, 1662, as "a brother of my aunt's" (ii. 320), but which aunt is not specified, and we are left quite in the dark.

Servants.

There is much confusion in the Diary as to the various servants in the Pepys household. Generally we learn only the Christian names, but in some cases surnames are given. There were three Janes, viz., Jane Birch, Jane Gentleman, and Jane Wayneman. There were six Maries, four without and two with surnames, viz., Mary Ashwell and Mary Mercer.

Will Hewer, the clerk, may easily be confused with Will Wayneman, the boy.

The Diary opens on January 1st, 1659-60, when Mr. and Mrs. Pepys were living in a very humble manner with one servant. This appears to have been Jane Wayneman. In June, 1660, the girl became lame, so that Mrs. Pepys was unable to get on with the household work (i. 188), and the girl's brother, William Wayneman, was engaged (i. 189).

On November 9th, 1660, the diarist's sister Paulina became his wife's maid (i. 279). Doll came as chambermaid in August, 1661, and Jane left at the same time. Pall did not stay long; she complained of having all the work to do, and on September 5th she left to go to live with her mother and father at Brampton (ii. 96). Mary (a) came as cookmaid from W. Joyce's on September 10th, but she left on October 16th after a month's trial, "wanting to live in a tradesman's house where there was but one maid" (ii. 121). Nell was hired in October, 1661 (ii. 120). Dorothy (otherwise Doll) left on the 27th, and Sarah came on the following day (ii. 143, 144). On the 31st December Pepys's servants are catalogued as "W. Hewer, Sarah, Nell, and Wayneman." The latter was William Wayneman (ii. 161). Nell left on March 31st, and Sarah on December 5th, 1662, the latter going to Sir William Penn's.

Mrs. Gosnell was apparently the most accomplished of the servants who joined the Pepys household, and as her history, so far as we know it, was a curious one, it will be well to consider the particulars a little more fully. There were two sisters, apparently attractive girls, who wished for an engagement. The younger of the two—the Christian name of neither is given—came to take up her residence with Mrs. Pepys as her maid on December 5th, 1662. On the following day Samuel went home to dinner, and stayed some time after, until, he says, "my wife seemed to take notice of my being at home now more than at other times" (ii. 409). On the 8th Mrs. Gosnell's uncle (Justice Jiggins) sent word to the Pepyses that he required "her to come three times a week to him, to follow some business that her mother intrusts her withall, and

that unless she may have that leisure given her, he will not have her take any place" (p. 411). So on the following day she left, after a very short service. In less than half a year Pepys tells us that she was engaged as an actress at the Duke's Theatre. On May 28th, 1663, she acted in "Hamlet," "but neither spoke, danced, nor sung." On the following day she played the chief part in Sir Robert Stapylton's "Slighted Maid" (Pyramena), a character of Mrs. Betterton's, and "did it very well" (iii. 149). Five years afterwards, on May 28th, 1668, she took the same part, but Pepys thought she had fallen off very much—she "is become very homely and sings meanly, I think, to what I thought she did" (viii. 72).

On September 10th, 1664, she acted in "The Rivals," and in May, 1668, she was undertaking Moll Davis's parts, who had left on becoming the king's mistress (viii. 35). It is strange that there is no mention of Mrs. Gosnell in Downes's "Roscius Anglicanus" or Genest's "English Stage." We therefore owe it to the Diary that we have a record of one of the actresses of the Duke of York's company.

In March, 1662, Jane Wayneman was engaged again to the Pepyses as cook (ii. 211), and in December she undertook the duties of chambermaid (ii. 412), and Susan came as cookmaid. Jane did not stay long, but left on February 2nd, 1662-63. Pepys says he "could hardly forbear weeping" at her leaving, and "she cried, saying it was not her fault that she went away, and indeed it is hard to say what it is, but only her not desiring to stay that she do now go" (iii. 29). Mary (b) came in Jane's place, but she did not remain long, for on April 27th, 1663, she left because she was "too high" for Mrs. Pepys, "though a very good servant" (iii. 101).

Mary Ashwell, "a merry jade," came as maid to Mrs. Pepys on March 12th, 1662-63, and about the same time Hannah came as cookmaid. She was engaged at £4 a year, which Pepys considered to be very high wages[1]—"the first time I

[1] It must be borne in mind that money at this time must be multiplied by four, and in some instances by five. These wages would therefore be equal to sixteen or twenty pounds of our money.

ever did give so much, but we hope it will be nothing lost by keeping a good cook" (iii. 77). Hannah, however, did not turn out a treasure, and she left in a huff in August, 1663, after having robbed Susan, the former maid (iii. 253). Mary Ashwell was a very agreeable girl, and Mrs. Pepys was frequently falling out with her husband about her, and so she had to go on August 25th, 1663.

Another Susan came in August to take the place of a girl who ran away (iii. 258), and in the same month Jane Gentleman came to serve Mrs. Pepys as chambermaid. She left in March, 1664 (iv. 90), when Besse, who came as cook in September, 1663, was raised (with some doubt as to the wisdom of the step) to her position. Pepys writes of "the great dispute whether Besse whom we both love should be raised to be chamber-mayde or no. We have both a mind to it, but know not whether we should venture the making her proud, and to make a bad chamber-mayde of a very good-natured and sufficient cook-mayde" (iv. 90).

Jane Birch came as cook on June 27th, 1664, but she left in February following, apparently through the ill-temper of Mrs. Pepys (iv. 349). She returned, however, on March 29th, 1666, to the great content of husband and wife, who both esteemed her highly (v. 257).

Mary Mercer came as Mrs. Pepys's woman on September 8th, 1664, and remained longer than most of the servants. Mary (c) came as chambermaid on March 6th, 1664-65.

In March, 1665, Alce came as cook to take the place of Jane Birch, and on June 30th, 1665, we are told that the family consisted of "myself and wife, Mercer her woman, Mary, Alce, and Susan our maids, and Tom [Edwards] my boy" (iv. 452).

Alce left in March, 1666, and Mary (c) in June of the same year. Luce took the place of the latter.

A new girl (named Barker), who was very poor, and did not turn out a satisfactory servant, came in October, 1666, and left in May, 1667 (vi. 16, 315).

Nell Payne, daughter of the waterman, became Pepys's

cook in May, 1667 (vi. 327), and Mary (d) came at the same time and was a "good likely maid." The latter did not take kindly to work, and in the following July she left, "declaring that she must be where she might earn something one day and spend it and play away the next. But a good civil wench, and one neither wife nor I did ever give angry word to, but she has this silly vanity that she must play" (vii. 15).

There is no note of when Bridget the cookmaid came, but she is mentioned on April 18th, 1668, and on May 3rd following we are told that "a very pretty dinner" was "of my Bridget and Nell's dressing, very handsome" (viii. 3). In 1669 both Bridget and Nell had left. September 30th, 1667, was an eventful day in Pepys's life, for then it was that Deb Willet came as Mrs. Pepys's maid. She was very pretty, and very soon was the cause of the severest misunderstanding between husband and wife that had occurred in the Pepys household. The whole description of this amour is very painful, and Pepys, who saw no wrong in his doings when they were not found out, humbled himself before his wife, and was filled with remorse when his sin was found out. On November 12th, 1668, Deb Willet left.

Jane Birch was married to Tom Edwards in March, 1669, and Matt, a new chambermaid, came in her place, but the latter did not remain long, owing to a falling out with Mrs. Pepys. Pepys was not sorry, because he thought he could now get a girl who spoke French, which would be convenient when he and his wife went abroad. Doll, a black-a-moor, took the place of Bridget as cookmaid.

We hear much nowadays about the shortness of service and the troubles with servants as compared with the good old times, but the particulars just set down show that in those days there was little difference in these matters from those of our own time. The misunderstandings between mistress and maid exhibit a frequent shortness of temper on the part of Mrs. Pepys, which to some extent excuses Pepys's quarrels with his wife, and show that he was not necessarily always in the wrong.

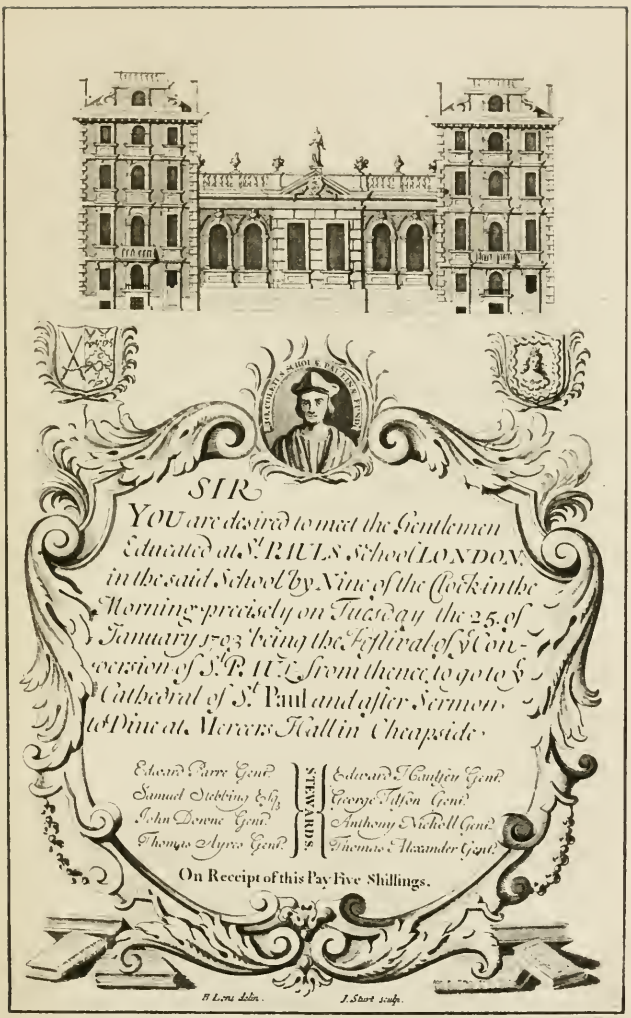
CHAPTER III.

PERSONAL NOTES.

WE are still unable to state with certainty where Samuel Pepys was born, but Dr. Knight's positive statement that Brampton was the place of his birth (vol. i., p. xvii) gains no corroboration from the documents of the Merchant Taylors' Company quoted on a previous page. If, as there stated, John Pepys was settled in London from his apprenticeship, and if he had no particular connection with Brampton until late in life, when his brother Robert left him his small property there, it seems highly improbable that his son should be born at that place.

School.

We only know from a casual reference that Pepys went to school first at Huntingdon, but the references to his attendance at St. Paul's School and to his schoolfellows there are numerous. In after life he always had a soft place in his heart for Dean Colet's famous foundation. He presented books to the library, and gloried in its continued welfare. There is no view of the old schoolhouse where he was a pupil, which was destroyed in the Great Fire of London, but the plate on the opposite page shows the building that Pepys visited, and which was pulled down to make way for a new schoolhouse in 1823. This last building was destroyed in 1880, when the school was removed to West Kensington. The plate opposite is a reproduction of the pretty invitation card to Old Paulians to attend the school festival on January 25th, 1703, which is preserved in the Pepys Collection at Magdalene



Invitation card of the Mercers Company,
showing St Paul's School as rebuilt after the Fire of London.
from the Pepys Collection

College. A notice of some of his schoolfellows will be found in Chapter IV.

College Life.

It was stated in the "Particulars of the Life" prefixed to the first volume that Samuel Pepys was first entered at Trinity Hall, and notice was taken of Lord Braybrooke's statement that it was Trinity College. "J. S. C.," not being satisfied with the negative evidence in favour of Trinity Hall, published in the "Academy," April 22nd, 1893, a letter asking for further information. This was answered in the numbers of this same journal for April 29th and May 6th by Mr. William J. Harvey, who (having been engaged for some years on the Cambridge Registers, with the purpose of publishing a list of graduates from 1450 to 1800 and of admissions to the several colleges from 1443 to 1893) proved conclusively that Pepys was admitted to Trinity Hall, June 21st, 1650. Mr. Harvey further stated that Robert Twells (see vol. i., p. xix) was admitted a scholar of Trinity Hall, August 11th, 1634, and fellow between June 24th and September 29th, 1644. He was succeeded in his fellowship by Thomas Exton, LL.D., between March 25th and June 24th, 1651. Several Pepyses were connected with Trinity Hall, and some were fellows of the College.

Equally with his school Magdalene College stood high in Pepys's esteem. He constantly visited it in after years, and kept up an intimate association with its life. He subscribed handsomely towards the building in the second court in which his library is now preserved. The plate opposite this page gives an excellent idea of this charming portion of the college, the foundation for which was laid in 1677, and another plate shows the appearance of the room with its original bookcases.

The arms of Pepys in the pediment of the central window, his motto, *Mens cujusque is est quisque*, and the inscription, "Bibliotheca Pepysiana 1724," may be supposed to be the work of the Herald Painter (mentioned in the account on the following page) and his assistants.

Mr. J. W. Clark informs us that among the subscriptions for

the new building is one of £60 from Mr. Secretary Pepys, to which a note is appended that £50 had been subscribed in the masterships of Dr. Duport (1668-79), and Dr. Peachel (1679-90), and £10 in that of Dr. Quadring (1690-1713).[1]

In Willis and Clark's great work there is a plan of the new building (vol. ii., p. 369), in which the position of the room originally used for the Pepysian Library is marked. It occupied the whole of the first floor over the arcade, with five windows. Here the books were placed in 1724, and here they remained until 1834, when they were removed to the Master's Lodge. In 1849 they were removed to the New Lodge, and in 1854 they were placed in a room in the south wing of the Pepysian building, where they still remain. Mr. Clark prints the following memorandum, which dates the arrival of the books at Cambridge:

"July 1724. Received of the Rt. Honble. Arthur Earl of Anglesea the sum of two hundred pounds, of which was expended in removing and settling Mr. Pepys's Library as follows:[2]

For Boxes, Workmen, Necessary Expences and Carriage from Clapham to London .	22	18	11
Carriage to Cambridge	18	03	10
Chamber Income	26	05	0
Wainscoting the Chamber, etc. . . .	44	18	7
Necessary Expences	02	11	8
Herald Painter	02	02	0
	£117	00	0"

The library, the arrangements for the preservation of which fill so large a portion of Pepys's will, now occupies a fireproof room.

In 1854 the present room, in the building in the second

[1] Willis and Clark's "Architectural History of the University of Cambridge," 1886, vol. ii., p. 367.

[2] Vol. ii., p. 373.



Walker & Boutall sc.

The Pepysian Library.

Magdalene College Cambridge.

court, was prepared for the reception of the library, and the original old mahogany bookcases, made by Mr. Sympson, the joiner and cabinet-maker (see July 23rd, 1666, v. 371), were set up there. The plate gives an excellent idea of this charming room, sacred to the memory of Pepys, and where his books remain in the order in which he left them. The case against the wall to the left of the engraving contains the manuscript of the Diary. The long framed picture over the fireplace is the so-called Agas map of London (one of the only two copies known to exist, the other being in the Guildhall). Above is Kneller's portrait of Pepys. The portion of a table case at the extreme right-hand corner of the engraving marks the place where Pepys's important collection of London and other views is preserved.

The interest of this room is unique, and no one who has been privileged to enter this quiet retreat can ever forget his visit to the Pepysian Library.

Early Business Life.

Mr. C. H. Firth has lately inspected the Thomas Carte papers in the Bodleian Library, where are about a score of letters from Pepys to Sir Edward Montagu, written between the years 1656 and 1660, which belong to the correspondence of Sir Edward, and were lent to Carte by the Earl of Sandwich, but were never returned to their proper resting-place at Hinchinbrook. From these Mr. Firth has compiled an interesting article on the early life of Pepys ("Macmillan's Magazine," vol. lxix., November, 1893, pp. 32-36), during a period which is otherwise almost a blank. Pepys and his wife lived at Montagu's House, and the former appears to have acted as a sort of factotum to his patron, paying and receiving small sums of money for his master and looking after the servants. Montagu's earliest letter to Pepys is dated March 11, 1655, was written at sea, and is an order to pay £180 to a certain Captain Hare. It is addressed, "For my servant Samuel Pepys at my lodgings in Whitehall." Pepys had frequent in-

terviews with Lady Pickering, Montagu's sister, and with Mrs. Crew, his mother-in-law. Some of our old friends of the Diary appear in this correspondence, but I do not know who "my cousin Mark," who is referred to below, really was—at all events, Samuel does not appear to have got on very well with him.

Mrs. Sarah and the maids gave Pepys a great deal of trouble; one of the latter got married clandestinely, and Montagu sent Roger Pepys and a Mr. Barton with instructions to set things to rights, and Pepys was for a time in disgrace. Vindicating himself as to "this late business of the maid," he says: "As for my privity to her marriage, if no duty to yourself, a tenderness to my credit (as to my employment) obligate me to avoid such actions, which (like this) renders it so questionable. But I shall submit your opinion of my honesty in this, to that which Mr. Barton and Roger shall inform you of, from her own mouth. If the rendering me suspicious to the maid, and charging her to lock me from any room but my chamber, moved me to speak anything in an ill sense concerning my cousin Mark, I desire it may be valued as my zeal to acquit myself rather than prejudice him. For the week-days I have not yet, nor for the future on Sundays, shall I be more forth at night, though this was not past seven o'clock, as my she-cousin Alcock knows who supped with us at my father's" (December 5th, 1657). This maid was sent away and Mrs. Crew obtained the services of another, but there was some misunderstanding, and she went away without giving any notice. Pepys explained that one of the causes of annoyance was that the servants had not enough employment, and the other that they went out for their meals. He therefore arranged to pay the maid four shillings a week, on which she could diet herself as well as Pepys and his wife. Montagu appears to have made a great fuss about these unpleasantnesses, and Pepys wrote to him on December 26th, 1657, "My cousin Mark is here, for how long I know not, but your commands concerning him I shall follow. Only it troubles mè to hear what your Lordship's apprehensions are concern-



Walker & Boutall Photo

Interior of the Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

ing me (if his report may be credited). The loss of your Honour's good word I am too sure will prove as much my undoing as hitherto it hath been my best friend. But as I was ignorant of this late passage, so I see little cause by anything I find yet to doubt of giving your Honour a good account of the goods in the house, and my care in keeping them so."

Pepys succeeded in regaining Montagu's confidence, and at the end of 1659 he obtained a clerkship in Downing's office, which Mr. Firth supposes him to have got through Montagu's influence. He continued to act as Montagu's factotum, and although no longer living at his patron's lodgings in Whitehall, "he kept his eye on both the house and its occupants." Mr. Firth says that on January 12th, 1660, Pepys reported to Montagu that several persons were trying to get his lodgings granted to themselves, and that Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper was specially anxious about them. This illustrates a passage in the Diary where he says that he wrote letters to Hinchinbrook and sealed them, but forgot to send them at night (vol. i., p. 17).

It will thus be seen that these letters join on to the Diary, and give an account of the incidents of the rising opposition of the citizens to the rule of the army, although, as Mr. Firth adds, "Unluckily the letters which should contain an account of the sudden revolution which so soon followed are not to be found. An account by Pepys of the dramatic scenes of December 24th would have been invaluable. Even 'Mercurius Politicus,' the dullest of newspapers, becomes animated when it describes the repentant mutineers marching down Chancery Lane to Lenthall's house at the Rolls, and hailing him as their general and the father of their country."

Popish Plot.

Mr. J. R. Tanner's article on Pepys and the Popish Plot in the "English Historical Review" (vol. vii., 1892, pp. 281-290), has been already referred to (see vol. i., p. xxxvii, note), but a

further notice of the important results of Mr. Tanner's researches among the correspondence in the Pepysian Library may be given here.

The immense excitement which swept over the whole country extended to every branch of the government service, and Mr. Tanner finds that it "disturbed the routine of the Navy almost as much as it agitated the parliamentary and political world."

Instructions were sent from Pepys to Sir Richard Rooth, Naval Commander in the Downs, and Captain Griffith, then commanding the ships at Portsmouth, dated "25 October, 1678, past 12 at night," to search for a Jesuit who had escaped. Careful watch was made at the ports for all "suspitious persons," and when the returns came in it was found that the Navy was remarkably free from professed "papist" officers. But in those troublous times zeal in the search for the suspected was no guarantee against being suspected yourself, as Pepys found when his enemy Shaftesbury attempted, without the least shadow of evidence and in the face of the extreme improbability of the charge, to connect him with Godfrey's murder. It will be seen from the following remarks by Mr. Tanner that he is quite of the opinion of Lord Braybrooke when he wrote, "Painful indeed is it to reflect to what length the bad passions which party violence inflames could in those days carry a man of Shaftesbury's rank, station, and abilities." Mr. Christie resented these remarks, but further investigations have proved the truth of Lord Braybrooke's censure, and Mr. Christie's attempt to exonerate Shaftesbury, at all events in this case, are singularly futile (see vol. i., p. xxxiv).

Mr. Tanner writes: "An attempt was made to incriminate Pepys himself in the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, through Samuel Atkins, one of his clerks. This attempt failed, and when Atkins himself was brought to trial as an accessory to the murder he proved an alibi, and was acquitted by the jury without leaving the box. The Admiralty letters show that this alibi was prepared by Pepys himself, who took the keenest interest in the trial. He appears to have made

full use not only of his own official position, but also of the king's name. For this we shall scarcely blame him, as the conduct of Shaftesbury and the Lords' Committee in attempting to extort from the clerk by threats evidence against his master was, as one writer remarks, worthy of the Spanish Inquisition."

Pepys's Banking Account.

The series of ledgers of Alderman Backwell are now in the possession of the eminent bankers, Messrs. Child, and one of the partners, Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, Director of the Society of Antiquaries, has most kindly allowed me to consult these valuable records. The volumes are in excellent condition, and the handwriting is so clear and good that it is a pleasure to consult them. The names of many of the persons mentioned in Pepys's Diary are preserved in these account books. Here are clearing accounts of most of the goldsmiths with whom Pepys had dealings, as for instance Hinton, Snow, and Stokes.

In these early days Pepys does not appear to have allowed himself the luxury of a private banking account, and we know from the Diary that he kept most of his money in his own possession, as he evidently had not any great faith in the solvency of the goldsmiths.

In the ledger lettered M (p. 413), there is an entry of the purchase of two silver-gilt flagons in October and November, 1664. This entry is of special interest on account of the mode in which the purchaser's name and style are set forth. The name appears thus : "Mr. Sam. Pepys (*vel* Esqre.)." All readers of the Diary will remember that he "was not a little proud" when he received, on March 25th, 1660, a letter from Mr. Blackburne inscribed to "S. P., Esq." (vol. i., p. 100), and on March 20th, 1666-67, he informs us he was rated as an esquire for the pole-tax (vol. v., p. 230). In Backwell's account he is charged on October 27th, 1664, "for gilt flagg. wey. 66 oz. at 6/4 £20 18." By reference to the Diary it

appears that this flagon was intended for Christopher Pett. On October 25th, 1664, we read : " So home, in my way taking care of a piece of plate for Mr. Christopher Pett against the launching of his new great ship to-morrow at Woolwich, which I singly did move to His Royal Highness and did obtain it for him, to the value of twenty pieces." On the following day the presentation was made by the Duke of York (vol. iv., pp. 274, 276). On the following November 17th, Pepys bought another silver-gilt flagon of about the same weight (65 oz. 14 dwt.) which cost £20 16*s.* 2*d.* I cannot find any reference to this in the Diary, so we are unable to tell for whom it was intended. The total amount for the two flagons was £41 14*s.* 2*d.*, and on the creditor side of the account is the entry to the effect that the bill was paid "by Mr. Fenn," January 11th, 1664[-5], £41 14*s.* 6*d.*

The first entry of Pepys's account as Treasurer of Tangier occurs in the book lettered O (p. 312), and the total here is not very large. The following is an abstract of the entry :

" Samuel Pepys, Esq., Treasurer to Tanger.

Cr.

Jan. 11, 1668[-9]. By note for so much paid for him at Portsmouth	£500 0
By Balance carried to Leger R, folio 86 . . .	55 10
	£555 10

Dr.

July 3, 1668. For ffees of y^e^ £4000 of Col. Norwood. To Mr. Loving £10, to the Post Office £2	£12 0
Oct. 8. For a letter of creditt given him for Portsmouth	£500 0
Nov. 27. For ffees of £10,000 to Sir Wm. Doyley, [etc.]	43 10
	£555 10"

The next account (R, p. 86), from June to August, 1669, containing note of fees to Sir Hugh Cholmeley, John Creed, Esq., Mr. Hill, the Lord Myddleton, Sir John Banks, Ben Hinton for Col. Fitzgerald, etc., amounts to £27,883. On the creditor side of this account are entries of orders on the customs, etc.

In this account there is a curious entry which bears upon the value of the newly-coined guinea at this date. August 24th, 1669, "By 2,500 guineas per note at 20*s.* 6*d.*," but the amount drawn out is only £2,500. It is not easy to explain this. May it be that a note only was paid in, and when the guineas were themselves presented the extra sixpences would be added to the account? When first coined in 1663 the guinea was valued at 20*s.* (see vol. viii., p. 111, note); but on June 13th, 1667, Pepys found that they were worth 24*s.* or 25*s.* apiece (vol. vi., p. 362).

The total of the next account for a portion of August and September, 1669, is £7,953 13*s.* 8½*d.* The total of the account from September 22nd, 1669, to March, 1669[-70], is £9,504 5*s.* 4*d.*, and on the creditor side is the one entry of "Order on the Country Excise," £9,504 5*s.* 4*d.* (R, p. 453).

The next account, from April, 1670, to February, 1670-71 (S, p. 117), rises to the high total of £43,101 15*s.* 9*d.* The names of Samuel Atkins, Dr. Lancelot Addison, the Earl of Peterborough, Colonel Norwood, Thomas Povey, and William Hewer occur in this account.

The account from April to September, 1671, has a total of £7,625 0*s.* 1*d.*, and that from September, 1671, to March, 1671[-2], one of £20,392 13*s.* 5*d.* (T, p. 159). On the creditor side of the last account there is the entry, "By Ballance caryed to Leger V, folio 260, £17,666. 13. 4."

This ledger is not in the possession of Messrs. Child, and as Backwell was ruined by the closing of the Exchequer by Charles II. in 1672, it seems probable that this volume, which was the current one at this time, got separated from the others which were closed. Backwell may have taken it away with him when he retreated to Holland. In a note in the first

volume of the Diary (p. 183), it is stated that Backwell died in Holland in 1679. This is incorrect, as is pointed out in notes in vol. iii., p. 195, and vol. vii., p. 194. Backwell was member of parliament for Wendover in 1679 and 1680. The date of his death is given in Lipscomb's "History of Buckinghamshire" as 1683. (See life in the "Dictionary of National Biography.")

Clothworkers' Company.

When Pepys was elected Master of the Clothworkers' Company in 1677, he was very liberal in the presentation of silver plate. The famous Pepys cup is figured on p. lxviii of the first volume, and here may be added the full description of the cup and rosewater dish and ewer, from Mr. H. D. Ellis's "Description of the Ancient Silver Plate belonging to the Worshipful Company of Clothworkers" (1891):

"The Pepys Cup.—This beautiful example of the silversmith's art has an extreme height of 22½ inches, and it weighs about 171 ounces. In point of design it is unique among the Company's possessions. The bowl is gilt and is formed as a liner, which rests in a pierced silver holder of most elaborate workmanship, composed of teasels, griffins, rams, and foliage intertwined.[1] The stem is of the baluster pattern, richly adorned upon the knops with wreaths of foliage. The foot has a gilt foundation, upon which are affixed four silver plaques, executed in masks and foliage. Upon the first is the inscription—'Samuel Pepys, Admiralitati a Secretis et Societ. Pannif. Lond. Magr An. MDCLXXVII D.' Opposite to this are the letters S. P. in monogram. Upon the third is [Pepys's] crest, and upon the fourth is [his] coat-of-arms. The cover is similarly adorned with four plaques bearing a griffin, a teasel, a ram, and two clamps, and the whole is surmounted by a ram couchant. There is no hall-mark to be found upon this

[1] In vol. i., p. xxxv, this cup is wrongly described as richly chased, instead of as open work. The mistake was corrected in the second edition of this volume (1897).

cup, but the maker's mark is apparently an elaborate monogram in script capitals of the letters C. J. G. There is perhaps, even yet, much to be learned of examples of antique plate, but it is somewhat remarkable that, so far as is known, no other piece of this highly gifted craftsman's handiwork is extant. An eminent authority (Mr. Wilfred Cripps) has included the Pepys Cup among his examples of old English plate ; but in the conception and execution of this work of art there is that which, in the absence of so weighty an opinion, might suggest a regret that the English hall-mark is not to be found impressed upon it.

"A large gilt circular Rosewater Dish, 24½ inches in diameter. The hall-mark is effaced, but there is every reason to believe it is that of 1677. The maker's mark is I.S. conjoined, many examples of which are known, although the maker's name is forgotten. This dish is quite plain, with a broad flat rim threaded at the edge. In the centre are engraved the coat-of-arms, crest, and motto of the Company. Upon the rim are four devices opposed quarterly. The first and second are respectively the coat of horses' heads and flowers *de luce*, and the inscription already noted upon the Pepys Cup. The third is a shield charged with a teasel, supported *a tergo* by a ram and flanked by two griffins. The fourth represents the Virgin and Child, and is similarly flanked by two griffins.

"The Ewer belonging to the preceding Rosewater Dish, 10¼ inches in height. The hall-mark is 1677, and the maker's mark is the same as that upon the dish. It is very similar in design to the Williamson Ewer, but is furnished with a larger lip, having a mask below. Springing from the stem, around the base of the bowl, are embellishments of foliage in cut-card work. Upon the bowl, beneath the lip, is a similar inscription to that engraved upon the dish, and this is flanked upon one side by the coat-of-arms and supporters of the Company, and upon the other by the coat of horses' heads and flowers *de luce* [Pepys's]."

Royal Society.

As stated in his life, Samuel Pepys held the office of President of the Royal Society for two years (1684-86). I was anxious to know how he fulfilled the duties of his office, and I have been allowed to state the particulars of his attendances, which are obtained from the Council Minutes and Journal Books of the Society. It appears that he was present at the Council on December 10th, 1684, and at eleven subsequent Councils. He took the chair at the Society's meeting on December 10th, 1684, and at five meetings after that date. The complete list of attendances for these two years is as follows:

Meetings of the Council.—December 10th, 1684; January 14th, 1684-85; July 22nd, September 18th, December 16th, 1685; January 13th, 1685-86; January 27th, February 3rd, March 3rd, 10th, 17th and 24th.

Meetings of the Society.—December 10th, 1684; January 7th, 1684-85; November 30th, 1685; December 2nd, 1685; December 16th, 1685; January 27th, 1685-86.

Throughout the period covered by the Diary Pepys was a constant attendant at the meetings, and an intelligent spectator of the various experiments which were shown there. His descriptions can be checked by the records collected by Dr. Thomas Birch in his "History of the Royal Society," and a comparison of the two accounts proves how accurate a reporter Pepys was. Mr. Claude Webster communicated to the "Zoologist" (October, 1878), an interesting article on "Scientific Research in the Seventeenth Century," in which the passages on the Society in the Diary are detailed. Mr. Webster also points out that there is evidence from what Pepys relates that the foundation of the Royal Society Club was almost coincident with the establishment of the Society itself. Weld, in his "History of the Royal Society" (vol. i., p. 401), says that the club was founded in 1743 under the designation of the "Club of the Royal Philosophers," and bases this statement on the

fact of the original "Rules and Orders to be observed by the Thursday's Club called the Royal Philosophers," bearing date October 27th, 1743. Admiral W. H. Smyth, however, in his "Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Royal Society Club," writes, "Though the commencement of the oldest minute-book which has descended to us is assumed as the date of establishment, it would appear, both from circumstances and tradition, that the Club was certainly in existence before the year 1743."

It is evident from several entries in the Diary that at the time when Pepys wrote there was a club at which the Fellows of the Royal Society supped after their meetings, and it seems fair to surmise that these meetings originated the Royal Society Club, which still flourishes, and has now a rival in the Philosophical Club.

On February 13, 1664-5, Pepys relates that "after this being done, they to the Crown Tavern behind the 'Change, and there my Lord [Brouncker] and most of the company to a club supper. Sir P. Neale, Sir R. Murray, Dr. Clerke, Dr. Whistler, Dr. Goddard, and others of the most eminent worth."

Again, on June 4, 1666, we read, "To the Crown behind the 'Change, and there supped at the Club with my Lord Brouncker, Sir J. Ent, and others of Gresham College."

Some further notes about the Fellows of the Royal Society known to Pepys will be found in Chapter V. (Friends and Acquaintances).

Highway Robbery.

A very interesting episode in the life of the diarist has been kindly supplied to me by Mr. Walter T. Rogers of the Inner Temple Library. It appears that on Michaelmas Day, 1693, Samuel Pepys and John Jackson, with the latter's wife and some other ladies, were robbed by highwaymen when riding in Pepys's coach to Chelsea. The description of the things stolen is curious. It is difficult to guess who was "my Lady Pepys" referred to, as Mrs. Pepys had been dead

many years, and Samuel did not marry a second time. The following statement is taken from the Old Bailey Sessions Papers, 6-9 December, 1693, and the copy has been given me by Mr. Rogers.

"Thomas Hoyle and Samuel Gibbons, Gentlemen, were both tried upon two Indictments for a Robbery on the High-way, committed on *Michaelmas-day* last; First upon *Samuel Pepys* Esq;, Secondly upon *John Jackson* Esq;. Mr *Pepys* gave Evidence, That as he was Riding to *Chelsey* in his Coach, accompanied with Mr *Jackson* and his Lady, and some other Ladies, on the 29th of *September* last, in the dusk of the Evening three Persons (having their Faces covered with Vizard Masks) met his Coach, (being all on Horse-back) and holding a Pistol to the Coachman's Breast, and another against Mr *Pepys*, commanded the Coach to stand, demanded what they had, which Mr *Pepys* readily gave them; which was a Silver Ruler, val. 30.*s*. a Gold Pencil val. 8.*l*. Five Mathematical Instruments, val. 3.*l*. a Magnifying Glass, value 20.*s*. a Gold and Silver Purse, val. 10.*s*. Two Guineas and 20.*s*. in Money, these were Mr *Pepys* Goods and Money. The things they took from Mr *Jackson* were, a Silver Hilted Sword, val. 50.*s*. a Hatband, val. 2*s*. &c. Mr *Pepys* and Mr *Jackson* could not Swear the Prisoners were the men that Robbed them, because they were Masked; Mr *Pepys* conjured them to be Civil to the Ladies, and not to Affright them, which they were; and by their demeanour of themselves, my Lady *Pepys* saved a Bag of Money that she had about her; Mr *Pepys* desired them to give him a particular Instrument that was of great use to him; and one of them told him, *Sir, You are a Gentleman, and so are we; if you will send to the* Rummer *Tavern at* Charing-Cross *to Morrow, you shall have it there:* Mr *Pepys* did send, but there was nothing left. Another Witness for the King Swore, That the Prisoners were Two of the Three that committed the Robbery, for that Mr *Hoyle* had oftentimes sollicited him to go abroad with him to take a Purse; at last he told them he would; and at the same time, *viz* on the 29th of *September* last, they went upon this design; but this Witness

shifted the matter, under some pretence of an accidental business, and so they went away by themselves ; but however he immediately followed them, with a purpose to see what they did : and he saw them stop the Coach, and commit the Robbery ; and they pulled off their Masks after they had done the feat, and he saw their Faces plainly. The man that let them the Horses Swore, that they had Three Horses of him at the same time, about *Michaelmas-day*, and that Mr *Hoyle* Hired them, and that they returned back about Six a Clock in the Evening. They were taken at *Westminster* in a short time after, and Mr *Hoyle* had a Pencil about him, which was Mr *Pepys* his Pencil ; they were taken at the *Rummer* Tavern at *Charing-Cross*.

" The Prisoners called some Witnesses, who said, That they were elsewhere when the Robbery was done ; and Mr *Hoyle* urged that he was Sworn against out of Revenge, and a Malice that was ingrafted in the bosome of one of the Witnesses that Swore against him, upon account of a former Quarrel that happened betwixt them about beating a Boy. Other Evidence on his part, declared that he was Sick, and had taken Physick, he further said that he was an Officer in the Army, and never wronged any Person, neither Man, Woman, nor Child. Mr *Gibbons* said, That he mounted the Guard at the same time, which he called a Corporal to declare ; but it was presumed he might do so, and yet be in the Robbery too. He being askt how he came by the Pistols ? He said he bought them to go to *Flanders*. The Evidence was very particular for the King against them : So the Jury having considered the matter very distinctly, they brought in a Verdict, That they were both guilty of Felony and Robbery." [Note. Received Sentence of Death.]—*Old Bayly Sess. Papers*, 6-9 Dec. 1693.

Medical History.

My friend Mr. D'Arcy Power read before the Abernethian Society at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, on March 6th, 1895, a very interesting paper on the illnesses of Samuel Pepys and his wife,[1] which throws much light upon their life-history, and from which I have his permission to quote. Mr. Power writes: "His Diary commences on Jan. 1st, 1659-60, two years after he had been cut successfully for stone at the house of Mrs. Turner, in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, by James Pearse, who was afterwards surgeon to Charles II. and the Duke of York, and Master of the Barber Surgeons' Company in 1675. The tendency to stone was doubtless an inheritance bequeathed to Pepys by his Eastern county ancestors, and it appears to have descended to him through the maternal side, for he relates (Nov. 4th, 1660) that his mother was 'in greater and greater pain of the stone when he went to visit her,' and (Dec. 21st, 1660) that 'my aunt at Brampton has voided a great stone (the first time that ever I heard she was troubled therewith).' He also informs us (Jan. 27th, 1662-3) that his brother John, who had just put on his bachelor's cap at Cambridge 'hath the pain of the stone and makes bloody water with great pain, it beginning just as mine did. I pray God help him.' Evelyn, the contemporary diarist, says that the stone removed from Pepys's bladder was as large as a tennis ball. It weighed therefore about two ounces, and I have little doubt that it consisted of uric acid, or of a uric acid nucleus with peripheral layers of ammonium urate, for the recorded symptoms do not in any way point to a mulberry calculus, and it was certainly of renal origin. It may perhaps be found some day, for Pepys treasured it for many years, and in 1664 he paid 24*s.* for a case in which to keep it. Although the stone was successfully removed on March 26th, 1658—

[1] "An Address on the Medical History of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Pepys," by D'Arcy Power, M.B. Oxon, F.R.C.S. ("Lancet," June 1st, 1895).

when he was twenty-six years old and had been married for three years—Pepys suffered throughout the period covered by the Diary from certain symptoms in part due to the operation and in part to the formation of fresh stones in his kidney. These renal calculi only once found their way into his bladder, for on March 7th, 1664-65, he passed two, after an attack of renal colic. When he died, at the age of seventy, a nest of seven stones was found in his left kidney. These calculi were, I believe, embedded from the beginning in the renal cortex—a rather unusual situation—and it is to this accident of position that Pepys owes his long life and his comparative immunity from symptoms, for in such cases the secreting substance of the kidney does not suffer except in the immediate neighbourhood of the stones."

It is perhaps worth mention here that there is no evidence that Pepys's mother came from the East of England. She was probably a Londoner, married to John Pepys some years after he had settled in London, and also that the aunt referred to was probably the wife of Robert Pepys of Brampton, and therefore only related to Mrs. John Pepys by marriage.

Mr. Power believes that Pepys, rather than his wife, was sterile, and that his incontinence was largely due to the injury done to him by removing so large a stone from the bladder by the particular operation then in use.

"The second great trial in Pepys's life was the trouble he had with his eyesight. He appears to have been ametropic from an early period, but it is clear that he had not used his eyes much during boyhood. He acquired a taste for reading soon after his marriage, and about the time the Diary opens he found that it was necessary for him to improve himself in many branches of education. . . . Increasing age added presbyopia to his hypermetropia, and his sight at last became so bad that after trying many expedients he found himself unable to write up his Diary. . . . The presbyopia no doubt increased, but he was able to transact the ordinary business of a useful life until May 26th, 1703, when he died. The minor illnesses of Pepys are neither numerous nor interesting. He

suffered from several attacks of indigestion, usually caused by surfeits, and he records that after a visit to Epsom in July, 1663, which was then a fashionable watering-place, he suffered from a pile, the result of the purging produced by a course of the waters, coupled with the additional riding exercise in which he indulged. He was in fear for some time lest the pile should prove a rupture, thereby displaying his lack of even the rudiments of surgical knowledge. He was extremely liable to catarrhal affections, for he was constantly catching cold. . . . The cold was usually cured by simple remedies and left no after effects, but on one or two occasions he had attacks of tonsillitis. . . . He suffered, too, from boils, for on February 8th, 1659-60, he records that he 'went to bed with my head not well by too much drinking to-day, and I had a boil under my chin which troubled me cruelly.' The boil increased in size, and there was some stomatitis, for on the following day he 'went home and got some alum to my mouth, where I have the beginnings of a cancer, and had also a plaster to my boil underneath my chin.' . . . Pepys had repeated attacks of nettlerash, which came on annually as soon as the weather began to get cold in autumn. He cured himself by keeping warm and sweating. He only records one occasion on which he was bled" (May 4th, 1662).

We now pass to the ailments of Mrs. Pepys. "The illnesses of Mrs. Pepys are of less general interest than those of her husband. . . . Mrs. Pepys was childless, owing, as I have endeavoured to show, to the sterility of her husband. She had, however, on several occasions a belief that she was pregnant."

Mr. Power describes Mrs. Pepys's long illness in the winter of 1663, which began with an abscess and ended in a fistula. "The affection ran its usual tedious course, but eventually the fistula healed. . . . I cannot find out when the abscess causing this fistula began, but so far back as 1661 there is an entry that she was suffering from some abdominal trouble" (May 12th, 1661).

"Mrs. Pepys suffered from earache and from toothache on

one or two occasions, but otherwise she appears to have been a tolerably healthy woman."

"We have no detailed account of the death of Mrs. Pepys. The fear of becoming blind led to the abrupt termination of the Diary in 1669. Pepys obtained leave of absence from the duties of his office, and set out on a tour through France and Holland, accompanied by his wife. Some months after his return he spoke of his journey as having been 'full of health and content,' but no sooner had he and his wife returned to London than the latter became seriously ill with a fever. The disease took a fatal turn, and on November 10th, 1669, Elizabeth Pepys died at the early age of twenty-nine years, to the great grief of her husband. Looking to the time of year, to the fact that she had lately returned home from a trip abroad, and to her age, an attack of typhoid fever seems to be the most plausible cause of her premature death, but such a suggestion must be the merest guess."

Will.

Samuel Pepys's will has hitherto been overlooked, and Mr. G. A. Aitken has done good service by calling attention to it in the "Athenæum" (February 13th, 1897). The will has been copied by Miss Walford from the original at Somerset House, and is printed in the appendix to this volume. The will, which was made by Pepys in the sixty-ninth year of his age, is dated August 2nd, 1701. The first codicil is dated May 12th, 1703, and the second codicil on the following day. The will and codicils were proved on June 25th, 1703. Most of the testator's near relations had died before him, and those mentioned in his will are few. In spite of a long life of work, in which he was careful in the collecting of money, Pepys had but little to leave, and many of the bequests in the will are contingent on the receipt of a sum of £28,007 2*s.* 1¼*d.* due to him from the Crown as balance of accounts connected with his offices—1, of Clerk of the Acts and Secretary of the Admiralty; 2, of Treasurer of Tangier.

Complete vouchers for this amount were in Pepys's hands, and if we possessed the particulars commanded by James II. in the document belonging to Mr. Hodgkin (referred to on p. 54), we should probably learn how the Crown had run so largely in his debt. The account would appear to have consisted partly of arrears of salary and partly of loans to Charles II. and James II. Anyway, the debt was never paid, William III. and Queen Anne evidently not considering themselves liable for debts incurred by the two previous kings. The Revolution was an unfortunate occurrence for Pepys. By the will it will be seen that the bulk of the property was left to Samuel Jackson of Brampton, elder son of Paulina Jackson, for life, and then to his sons successively. In default of such issue the property was to go to John Jackson, the younger son, and to his sons successively, and in default of such sons, to Samuel Pepys's cousin, Charles Pepys, second son of his late uncle, Thomas Pepys. William Hewer was appointed sole executor, with a bequest of £500, "as a very small instance of my respect and most sensible esteem of his more than filial affection and tenderness expressed towards me through all the occurrences of my life for forty years past unto this day." Pepys was greatly indebted to Hewer, and it was in the latter's house that he lived during the last years of his life. This lifelong friendship does equal honour to Pepys and Hewer.

As mentioned in a previous page, Samuel Jackson offended his uncle by his marriage, and his bequest was changed to an annuity of £40, his brother John becoming the heir. An annuity of £15 to Jane Penny (widow of George Penny), "my old and faithful servant," which had been paid since 1690, was continued by the will.

A whole year's wages was to be given to each of his servants remaining with him at the time of his decease, and £20 to his "servant Daniel Milo as a reward for his extraordinary diligence and usefulness to me in several matters relating to my books."

This will contains the scheme relating to the completion

and settlement of the library. The second memorandum is printed in the first volume of this work (p. liii), but the first, which deals with the completion of the library and the stamping of the books, has not been previously printed.

Between the time of drawing up the will and the addition of the codicils Charles Pepys had died, but his children were left £1,000 to be paid out of the money which was owed by the Crown. From the same doubtful source Mrs. Mary Skynner was to have £5,000, and another £1,000 if no child of Charles Pepys were living, and Hewer £2,000.

Mrs. Skynner was also left an annuity of £200; and in the face of these bequests we naturally ask, who was Mrs. Skynner? The will says: "I hold myself obliged on this occasion to leave behind me the most full and lasting acknowledgment of my esteem, respect and gratitude to the excellent Lady Mrs. Mary Skynner for the many important effects of her steddy friendship and assistances during the whole course of my life within the last thirty-three years."

In the "Life, Journals, and Correspondence of S. Pepys" (1841) there are some letters to Mrs. Skynner, the earliest of which is dated October 24th, 1679, and commences, "Madam, The principal erraunt 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." The letter is subscribed, "I am, madam, your most humble servant, S. Pepys."

On the cessation of the persecution Pepys underwent in connection with his imprisonment in the Tower, he wrote to Mrs. Skynner (July 1st, 1680) to tell her the news (see vol. i., p. xxxix). At a later date she seems to have been living at Chatham, in Hewer's and Pepys's house. The latter, writing to John Evelyn, August 7th, 1700, says: "I cannot give myself the scope I otherwise should in talking now to you at this distance, on account of the care extraordinary I am now under from Mrs. Skinner's being suddenly fallen very ill."

The last item in the will to be referred to is the bequest to Hewer of the testator's models of ships: "I give and bequeath to my executor, William Hewer, Esquire, my whole collection

of Moddels of Ships and other vessels standing in his house at Clapham where I now reside, recommending it to him to consider how these also together with his own may be preserved for publick benefit."

Hodgkin MSS.

One of the appendixes to the fifteenth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, published in 1897, contains a calendar of the valuable collection of manuscripts belonging to my friend, Mr. J. Eliot Hodgkin, F.S.A., of Richmond, Surrey, a most enthusiastic Pepysian. Not the least important portion of these manuscripts is the collection of Pepys Papers, consisting of fifty-eight papers, letters to and from Samuel Pepys. These are letters from Charles II., James II., the Earl of Sandwich, Edward Shepley, John Creed, the Duke of Albemarle, John Lord Belasyse, John Colville, Sir John Frederick, Francis Hosier, Sir William Coventry, Sir Richard Browne, Sir Joseph Williamson, Sir Leoline Jenkins, Sir Palmer Fairborne, John Evelyn, Dr. Thomas Gale, James Houblon, Thomas Tanner, Dr. John Wallis, Roger Gale, J. Jackson, etc. All of these papers are interesting, and some are of special value in illustration of the Diary and of the particulars of Pepys's life. It is not possible here to do more than refer generally to these papers, but the following communication from "James the Second to Sir John Tippetts and Sir Richard Haddock, knt., and James Southerne, esq., Commissioners of his Majesty's Navy," may appropriately be transferred to these pages:

"January 6th, 1686-7. The Court at Whitehall. Our Will and Pleasure is that in order to our being rightly informed in the particulars following, and some demands of Mr. Pepys depending thereon, with relation to his past services as Clerke of the Acts of the Navy and Secretary of the Admiralty you doe forthwith from the originall bookes and papers remaining with you, and in the office of our navy, duly inquire into and informe yourselves touching the said severall particulars and

report the issue of such your inquirys to us in writing without delay,—(1) The value of the yearly sallary enjoyed by Mr. Pepys as Clerke of the Acts of the Navy, and the totalls of his receipts thereon, during the time of his holding that employment.—(2) The value of the yearly sallarys allowed to each of the 2 persons, appointed to the joynt execution of that office, upon Mr. Pepys's removall from the same.—(3) The yearly sallary enjoyed by Sir William Coventry, as Secretary to Us, during our holding the office of Lord High Admiral of England, and as a Commissioner of the Navy, within the same time ; with the like of what has been allowed to Mr. Pepys, either as Secretary of the Admiralty or Commissioner of the Navy, during his sayd Secretaryshipp and the totall of what his receipts therein amounted to—and for soe doing this shall bee your Warrant." [The body of this letter under King's sign-manual, countersigned by Samuel Pepys, appears to be in Pepys's handwriting.[1]]

Books dedicated to Pepys.

When Pepys became an important public official authors and publishers were anxious to associate their books with his name, but at an earlier period the eccentric Payne Fisher had expressed a wish to dedicate a book to him, possibly for a monetary consideration.

We read in the Diary on July 14th, 1660, "Comes in Mr. Pagan Fisher, the poet, and promises me what he had long ago done, a book in praise of the King of France, with my armes and a dedication to me very handsome" (vol. i., p. 201). On the 28th of the same month the poet wrote a letter to Pepys asking the loan of a piece of money, and the boy who brought the letter was sent back with half a piece, valued at *2s.* 4½*d.* (vol. i., p. 209).

Paul Lorrain, who seems to have employed himself in trans-

[1] "Hist. MSS. Comm., Fifteenth Report," Appendix, part ii., pp. 179-180.

lating both English books into French and French books into English, dedicated, "a Monsieur Monsr. Pepys, ci-devant Secretaire de l'Amirauté d'Angleterre," a book with this title: "Apologie pour la Religion Protestante contre la Singularité et la Nouveauté . . . par Jean Tillotson . . . traduit de l'Anglois par le Sieur P. Lorrain. La Haye, 1681."

A subsequent publication, "Rites of Funeral, Ancient and Modern, in use through the known World. Written originally in French by the Ingenious Monsieur Muret, and translated into English by P. Lorrain. London, Rich. Royston, 1683," is dedicated—

"To the Honourable Samuel Pepys Esq.

"That then which alone emboldens me to the inscribing this to your rever'd name is a belief I have, that the copy cannot be disagreeable to you, of an original, in whose diversities of entertainment and reading, you have been sometimes pleas'd to own so much satisfaction, especially upon a subject of such singularity as this, touching the different rites of Funeral in practice with mankind. . . ."

The author proceeds to enlarge upon "your virtues," "your severe philosophy," "your known integrity and fortitude," etc.

The copy of this book in the British Museum contains the following manuscript inscription:

"SAMUEL PEPYS

ANAGRAM

ALMES—SUPPLYE.

Whilst godlike Charity's so much neglected,
And by ye most as fruitless quite rejected,
You do regard ye Poor with piteous eye,
And are so when an Heav'n-sent Alms—Supply.

P. L."

Dr. Brushfield kindly drew my attention to a dedication of the account of Thomas Phelps's captivity, and sent me a

transcript. This is of particular interest on account of the reference to Pepys's introduction of Phelps to James II.

"A True Account of the Captivity of Thomas Phelps, at Machaness in Barbary, and Of his strange Escape in Company of *Edmund Baxter* and others, as also of the Burning of Two of the greatest *Pirat-Ships* belonging to that Kingdom, in the River of Mamora; upon the Thirteenth day of June 1685.

"By THOMAS PHELPS. *Hæc olim meminisse juvabit.* Licensed, August the 21*st*. *R. L'S.*

"London, Printed by *H. Hills*, Jun. for *Joseph Hindmarsh*, at the *Golden-Ball* over against the *Royal-Exchange* in Cornhill. 1685."

[Dedication.]

"TO THE HONOURABLE

"SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ;

"SIR,

"Having by your generous Favour had the Honour of being introduc'd into His Majesties presence, where I delivered the substance of this following Narrative, and being press'd by the importunity of Friends to Publish it to the World, to which mine own inclinations were not averse, as which might tend to the information of my fellow Sea-men, as well as satisfying the curiosity of my Country-men, who delight in Novel and strange Stories; I thought I should be very far wanting to my self, if I should not implore the Patronage of your ever-Honoured Name, for none ever will dare to dispute the truth of any matter of Fact here delivered, when they shall understand that it has stood the test of your sagacity. Sir, Your Eminent and Steady Loyalty, whereby you asserted His Majesties just Rights, and the true Privileges of your Country in the worst of times, gives me confidence to expect, that you will vouchsafe this condescension to a poor, yet honest Sea-man, who have devoted my Life to the Service of His Sacred Majesty and my Country; who have been a Slave, but now have attained my freedom, which I prize so

much the more, in that I can with Heart and Hand subscribe my self,

"*Honourable Sir*,
"*Your most obliged and*
"*Humble Servant*,
"THO. PHELPS."

Willoughby's "Historia Piscium" (1685-86) is dedicated to Pepys, who contributed sixty plates to this book, and the gift is alluded to as follows: "Amplissimus Vir D. Samuel Pepys, Societatis Regiæ Præses, ingenuarum artium et eruditorum fautor et patronus eximius, qui operi illustrando exomandoque Icones plurimas ad Tabulas usque sexaginta, privatis impensis et proprio ære sculptas, raro magnificentiæ exemplo largitus est."

The book was published by the Royal Society, and the cost of publication exhausted the funds to such an extent that it was necessary to pay the arrears of the officers' salaries in kind by a supply of copies of this work. When the Society resolved on Dr. Halley's undertaking to measure a degree of the earth, it was voted that "he be given £50 or fifty books of fishes."[1]

The next book to be noticed is a useful work by Pepys's great friend, Dr. Richard Cumberland, who became Bishop of Peterborough in 1691: "An Essay towards the Recovery of the Jewish Measures and Weights. . . . By Richard Cumberland, D.D. London, 1686."

The long dedicatory epistle is dated October 28th, 1685:

"To the Honourable Samuel Pepys, Esq., Secretary of the Admiralty of England, and President of the Royal Society."

The author writes: "I cannot but hope, that this Essay of mine will be kindly received by you, even on account of your constant love to its author. For that good affection being begun in your youth thirty years ago in Magdalene Colledg in Cambridg, you have continued to this day, while you have gradually risen higher in the favour of our two great monarchs

[1] Weld's "History of the Royal Society," vol. i., p. 310, note.

successively. And I may justly reckon, that nothing can break that friendship, which so great advantages of preferment on your side doth not abate.

"Besides I believe this book will be the more welcome into your choice library, because the subject of it is not any quarrelsome interest, or distinguishing tenet of a party of men, but the peaceable Doctrine of Measures and Weights, which in their general nature are the common concern of all mankind, as being the necessary instruments of just dealing, and fair commerce between all nations; which the Admiralty of England (wherein you are so highly trusted) doth promote in times of Peace as it secures our safety in times of War." . . .

A chart entitled—

"Harwich
Woodbridg and Handfordwater
with Sands from
the Nazeland to
Hosely Bay"

has the following dedication—

"To ye Honble
SAMUEL PEPYS Esqr
Secretary of the Admiralty of England
President of the Royal Society and Maister of the Trinity House of
Deptford-Strond
This chart is Dedicated and Presented by Capt Greenvil Collins
Hydrog^r^ to the King 1686."

The last book to be mentioned, "Narborough's Voyages," is of the greatest interest, because it was dedicated to Pepys in his later life, when he was in retirement and had little power of patronage. The dedication is signed by the publishers, who were printers to the Royal Society, and, although it is not always possible to believe all the professions of old dedications, this one is of value as showing how high was the esteem in which Pepys was held in his later life.

"An Account of several late Voyages & Discoveries to the South and North, towards the Streights of Magellan, the South Seas, the vast tracts of land beyond Hollandia Nova

&c. . . . by Sir John Narborough, Captain Jasmen Tasman, Captain John Wood, and Frederick Marten of Hamburgh. . . . London, 1694."

"To the Honourable
Samuel Pepys, Esq;
Secretary
of the
Admiralty of England
to
K. Charles and K. James II.

"Sir,

"The design of this Dedication is neither to flatter nor to beg; but barely to present you with a simple and hearty acknowledgment of your kindness and generosity to the Publick, in communicating your exact Memorials, in advancing the progress of Useful Knowledge, and encouraging Men of Letters, or Invention, which noble endowments of Mind rendered you most worthy of those High Stations, wherein you have been eminent, as well in the chair of Philosophy, as Navigation; and the same will preserve you through all ages in the good esteem of the best part of mankind. No revolution, no storm, no time, can shake such foundations. *Monumentum Ære perennius.*

"Sir,

"Your most devoted Servants,

"Samuel Smith,

"Benjamin Walford."

There is a copy of this book in the Pepysian Library bound in a very handsome manner.

Pepys's Houses.

Pepys died at his friend Hewer's house on Clapham Common, which had originally been built by Sir Dennis Gauden for his brother, the self-seeking bishop who is supposed by some to have been the author of Εἰκὼν βασιλική. When the

contractor died in difficulties Hewer bought the house, and died in it himself in 1715. The house was pulled down about 1762, and on its site was built another house named "The Elms." It is not quite clear what was Pepys's position in his friend's house, but as he appears to have had an establishment of servants, it must have been by some amicable arrangement that he was a sort of joint-owner of the house, for it is frequently referred to as his. The same joint occupation seems to have occurred in respect to the house in Buckingham Street, Strand, which is sometimes referred to as Mr. Hewer's, although it appears from a document on parchment in the possession of Mr. J. Eliot Hodgkin, that the Governor and Company of the New River granted a lease for a term of eleven years, at a rent of forty shillings, to be paid in four equal instalments, direct to Samuel Pepys, on September 30th, 1687, "of one watercourse furnished with water, running through one small branch of pipe of lead (laid from the main pipe that lyeth in Villiers Street), containing half an inch of water or thereabouts, through four small cocks of Brasse souldred and set unto the same placed in the yards and kitchins of the said Samuel Pepys." Mr. Hodgkin also possesses the receipt for two quarters' water-rate, dated November 13, 1690, and signed, "Aquila Garfield."

The house at Brampton, which is so often referred to in the Diary, is a quaint old residence which is still standing. Its outward appearance is shown in an engraving in the seventh volume.

Inscriptions.

Mr. D. Palgrave Turner kindly sent me a tracing from a window in an attic in an old house at Burford, near Bampton, Oxon, which is interesting as being dated 1666, and signed "Samuel Pepys." The diarist does not mention being at this place, and therefore these lines may have been scratched upon the glass by another person with the same names. The full inscription is as follows :

"Teach me to hate the author of my Wrongs
for as yet I know not what it is to hate
My soul engrossd by
softer passions has not room to entertain so
rough a thought, 1666
Samuel Pepys.

At Lowestoft there is an inscription at the Lighthouse which is associated with Pepys. This is on an ornamental and carved stone with the arms of the Trinity Board and of Samuel Pepys. In the middle is this inscription: "Erected by the brotherhood of ye Trinity House of Deptford Strond London The Mastership of Samuel Pepys, Es^r^., Secretary of ye Admiralty of England, Anno Dom. 1676." The old Lighthouse was pulled down in 1874, and the monument removed from it was built into the north-east wall of the Watch or Service Room under the lantern of the present "High Light," which was built on the same site. The late Sir Edward Newton sent a note of this to his brother, Professor Alfred Newton, F.R.S., in 1890, and the latter kindly drew my attention to it.

Book-plates.

There is no allusion to a book-plate in the Diary, for the passage written on July 21st, 1668—"Went to my plate-makers, and there spent an hour about contriving my little plates for my books of the King's Four Yards" (vol. viii., p. 70)—which has been quoted as a reference to a book-plate, has been quite misunderstood. If we read this by the light of a further reference on the 27th of the same month, we shall see that some engravings of the four dockyards only are alluded to: "This day my plate-maker comes with my four little plates of the four yards, cost me £5, which troubles me, but yet do please me also" (vol. viii., p. 72).

Five of Pepys's book-plates are known to exist, viz., two portrait-plates, one anchor plate, and two armorials. The first three only are found in his books in the library at Magdalene College, and the others were probably only trial plates. There

is no clue to the date of the anchor plate, but the late Dr. Diamond suggested to me in 1880 that this was probably engraved by Faithorne (who died in 1691). The portrait-plates could not have been produced before 1685, and probably were not printed until after the Revolution of 1688, as the inscription upon them states that Pepys was Secretary of the Admiralty under Charles II. and James II.

The whole of the plates are reproduced, the large portrait-plate as a frontispiece to the Index volume and the others in this volume, and the reader can, therefore, follow the descriptions by reference to the copies of the plates themselves. It is important that these facts should be stated, because there has been much confusion hitherto in the minds of some book-plate collectors respecting them, and it has even been denied in print that the portrait-plates were book-plates at all, and doubts expressed that they had ever been found in books, in spite of the fact that those who have been privileged to visit the Pepysian Library have seen the plates in the books there.

1. Large portrait-plate. Portrait of Pepys in a carved oval, bearing inscription, "SAM . PEPYS . CAR . ET . IAC . ANG . REGIB . A . SECRETIS . ADMIRALIÆ. G. Kneller pinx. R. White sculp." Motto on a riband, "Mens cujusque is est Quisque."

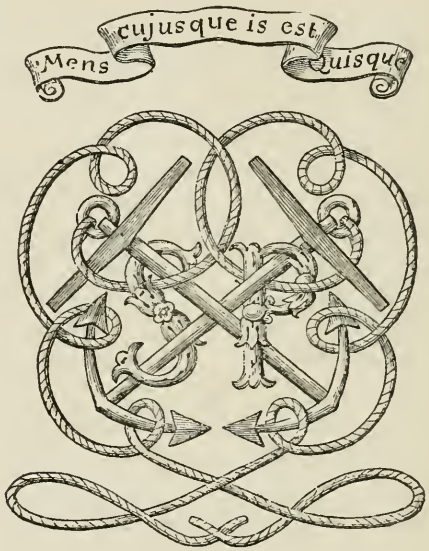
This plate was used as a frontispiece to some copies of Pepys's "Memoires relating to the State of the Royal Navy of England, 1690."

2. Small portrait-plate. Portrait of Pepys in an oval medallion, on a scroll of paper. Motto over his head, "Mens cujusque is est Quisque;" below, the same inscription as on No. 1, and "R. W. sculp." This is another copy of the same portrait by Kneller as No. 1.

3. Anchor plate. The initials, "S. P.," with two anchors and ropes intertwined, and the motto on a riband above. This is probably the earliest plate, but, as stated above, we have no information as to its date.

4. Heraldic plate. Pepys's coat-of-arms, with crest and elaborate mantling, and this curious inscription below: "Samuel Pepys of Brampton in Huntingdonshire Esq. Secretary of the

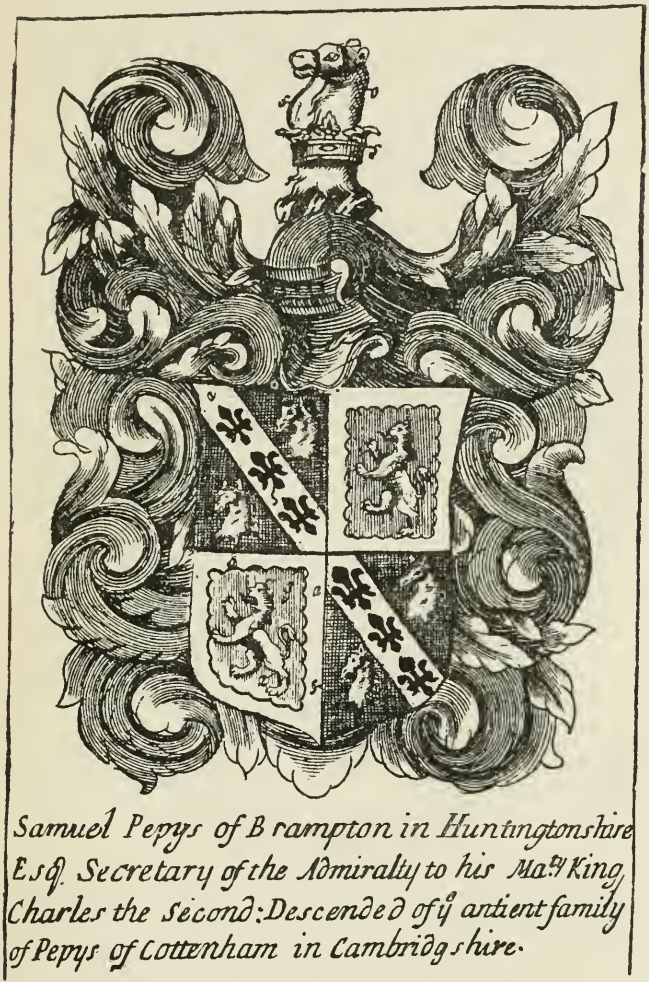
Admiralty to his Ma^ty^ King Charles the Second: Descended of ye antient family of Pepys of Cottenham in Cambridgeshire." Much criticism has been expended upon this inscription, and Pepys has been chided for his vanity, but there is really a very simple explanation of the inscription. The late Sir Wollaston Franks pointed out to me that this rare armorial was engraved in the fifth edition of Guillim's "Heraldry," edited by Richard Blome (1679), and that the inscription is



similar in character to those attached to the other armorial bearings engraved in that book. Another point of interest in this plate is that the old method of tricking with letters is used. Mr. W. J. Hardy, alluding to this peculiarity, which it enjoys in common with other work in Blome's "Guillim," writes: "A point of interest about them all is that, as well as expressing heraldically the blazon of the different shields, they also indicate with an initial letter the colour intended to be shown: 'a' for argent, 'g' for gules, and so on. The initial of the


Mens cujusque is est Quisque.
SAM. PEPYS CAR. ET JAC. ANGL. REGIB.
A SECRETIS ADMIRALIÆ.

heraldic term is used in every case, except that of 'azure,' when 'b' for blue is used, 'a,' as we have seen, standing for ar-



gent" ("Book-Plates," 1893, p. 32). This plate is excessively rare, and the only copies known are those in the British Museum, and in the Franks Collection, (also now in the Museum).

It is probable that Pepys sent his arms with the inscription to Blome, and that, in return for his courtesy, the editor sent him a few separate copies from the plate.

5. Heraldic plate. This is a very superior engraving to the previously described plate, and is particularly interesting as it is found in two states, one with shield blank and the other



with the arms filled in. There is no evidence that these were more than trial plates, and a few copies only exist. Sir Wollaston Franks showed his two plates at the Heraldic Exhibition of the Society of Antiquaries, and the late Mr. Charles J. Shoppee lent his copies to be engraved in the "Journal of the Ex-Libris Society" (vol. iv., pp. 112, 113). Mr. J. Eliot Hodgkin also possesses the pair of plates.

Portraits.

A reference to some of the portraits of Samuel Pepys is made in the first volume (p. lv), but others have come to light lately, and it will be well to give a full list here of such



portraits as are known. At present all search for the likeness of Pepys, which was painted by Savill in January, 1661-62, has been in vain, and there is no clue to its present existence, unless (as suggested by the late Sir George Scharf) the small portrait belonging to Mrs. Frederick Pepys Cockerell is the long-lost picture. This is attributed to Kneller, and the chief reason for supposing it to be by Savill is that on the table is

a lute or guitar, and Pepys describes Savill as painting the neck of his lute into the picture.[1] The other portrait mentioned in the Diary is that by John Hales (or Hayls), painted in 1666. This is now in the National Portrait Gallery, and a replica, which belonged formerly to the late Mr. Hawes, of Kensington, is now in the possession of the Clothworkers' Company.

Pepys mentions, on July 14th, 1668, a copy of his picture by Abraham Bosse (viii. 66). This might, of course, be the picture noticed above, which Sir George Scharf believed to be a replica or a good copy, but there is no definite evidence in favour of this suggestion.

The portrait by Lely, in the hall of Magdalene College, must have been painted soon after the completion of the Diary, as it shows Pepys as a young man; and as it is not mentioned in the Diary it cannot well have been in existence before 1669.

Kneller painted Pepys several times, and we know of three portraits by him in addition to the one belonging to Mrs. Frederick Pepys Cockerell. These are—one at the Royal Society, one in the Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, and the third now in the possession of Miss Cockerell. This last-named picture was exhibited at the First Special Exhibition of National Portraits, 1866, by the late Mr. Samuel Pepys Cockerell.

Evidently Pepys was very fond of having his portrait painted, and of giving copies to his friends. He sent, in 1675, a portrait to Mr. Thomas Hill at Lisbon,[2] which was highly appreciated by that gentleman, and in 1680 he sent one to Mr. James Houblon,[3] which is now in the possession of Colonel Archer Houblon, of Hallingbury Place.

The picture by Verrio, at Christ's Hospital, of James II. on his throne receiving the mathematical pupils of the school,

[1] If this be the work of Savill, it says much for his technical skill, as it is a highly-finished and excellent picture.

[2] "Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys," 1841, vol. i., p. 161.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 247.

contains a portrait of Pepys. The original drawing for the picture by Verrio is in the possession of Miss Cockerell.

The present volume contains an engraving from a portrait in the dining-room of the First Lord of the Admiralty at Whitehall, which has been produced by the kind permission of the Right Hon. George J. Goschen, M.P., First Lord of the Admiralty. This portrait is dated 1687, but it is not known by whom it was painted. It was presented by the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker, sometime Secretary of the Admiralty. It is an excellent portrait, and of considerable interest, as showing the diarist at a rather later date than the other portraits.

I do not know of any description of this portrait, and my attention was drawn to it by a friend who had seen the following passage in Sir Mountstuart E. Grant Duff's diary: "February 10th, 1881. I dined at the Admiralty with [Lord] Northbrook. He called my attention to a portrait of Pepys" (vol. ii., p. 294). Without a reference to this notice I should have known nothing of this valuable picture, and the reader would not have had the pleasure of seeing in this book a little-known portrait of Pepys in his later life. There is another, though inferior, portrait at the Admiralty, also presented by John Wilson Croker, which apparently is a copy from the one in the First Lord's dining-room.

Mr. Lionel Cust, Director of the National Portrait Gallery, was so good as to draw my attention to an anonymous portrait belonging to the Earl of Wemyss, now in the drawing-room at 23, St. James's Place, which Mr. Cust thought might probably be a likeness of Pepys. Lord Wemyss kindly gave me permission to see this very fine portrait, and I was strongly convinced of the probability of Mr. Cust's ascription. It depicts a middle-aged man in a red dress, with ruffles and lace collar, and the features are singularly like those shown in the acknowledged portraits of Pepys.

I have lately heard of another portrait supposed to represent Pepys, which belongs to Mr. J. Goldsmith, late of H.M. Civil Service, and now living at Brighton. It is the likeness of an

elderly man in a brown coat and with a full-bottomed wig. The size of the picture is 15 by 12 inches.

In addition to the portrait of Pepys by Kneller, and Verrio's original drawing for the picture at Christ's Hospital, a masterpiece of drawing, Miss Cockerell possesses a fine carving in ivory, showing Pepys's profile looking to the right. This is inscribed, "J. Cavalier fecit A.D. 1683."

I may mention here some of the relics of Pepys which belong to Miss Cockerell, and which she was so kind as to allow me to see. A portrait of Cornelius de Witt in a splendid frame, carved with the scene of his murder, is of the greatest interest, as showing Pepys's taste as a connoisseur and collector. There is also a very fine portrait of John de Witt.

A prayer book (without a title) and the Psalms (dated 1680), bound together in a contemporary binding, with gilt corners and clasps, was once in the possession of Pepys, as was also a beautifully bound manuscript list of ships, 1677 to 1702, in red morocco, richly tooled, which has silver clasps. Other relics possessed by Miss Cockerell are elsewhere mentioned, viz., Mrs. Pepys's pearl necklace and James II.'s presents to Pepys.

Pronunciation of Name.

The last item in the Introduction to the first volume is a discussion as to the proper pronunciation of the name Pepys, and no fresh evidence has arisen since that was written. There seems, however, very little chance of an agreement between the disputants being come to on the point. The descendants of the diarist's sister continue the pronunciation of *Peeps*, and other members of the family appear to favour that of *Peppis*. No member of the family is known to call himself *Peps*, and yet that is the form most generally favoured by the public. This point has been much discussed in the newspapers, and Mr. Ashby Sterry expresses a partiality for the unauthorized

popular pronunciation in the following excellent epigram, which he contributed to the "Graphic" in November, 1891:

"There are people, I'm told—some say there are heaps—
Who speak of the talkative Samuel as Peeps;
And some, so precise and pedantic their step is,
Who call the delightful old diarist Pepys;
But those I think right, and I follow their steps,
Ever mention the garrulous gossip as Peps."

The Rev. J. W. Ebsworth, the indefatigable editor of the "Roxburghe Ballads" and other volumes for the Ballad Society, illustrates what I consider the more correct pronunciation in some encomiastic lines on Samuel Pepys which he originally printed in his "Cavalier Lyrics" (1887). Mr. Ebsworth allows me to quote these lines in a slightly altered version from the twenty-sixth part of the "Roxburghe Ballads," the last issue of that invaluable contribution to ballad literature. Mr. Ebsworth describes Pepys as "the greatest collector of black-letter ballads," to whom "we owe unstinted gratitude."

A GOSSIP AT DEPTFORD.

"Do you wonder we love him, the best of all men?
Though I grant he is heavy and solemn and dull
When you meet him at Council, with word or pen:
Can you guess half the wisdom he stores in his skull?
Not half? not a tithe! He 's no idler at work;
The State has no servant, of all whom she keeps,
Like my squab little friend, who no labour does shirk:
The pattern of quill-driving clerks, Sam Pepys.

"If you knew what a pack he has had to control!
Peculators and sneaks, downright liars and thieves,
Men born into the world with no scrap of a soul,
Men whose solemn oath never a street drab believes.
With colleagues who truckle, take bribes from the French,
Smiling blandly at threats of the vengeance that sleeps,
Who pass jests on 'Old Rowley,' yet toy with his wench,
Is there one who can boast of connivance from Pepys?

"To his duty he's true, and wherever he sees
The navy despoil'd, he speaks out like a man;
He knows well the risk, and altho' he loves ease,
No temptation of pleasure can alter his plan.
Our seamen's complaints find him urgent to aid;
If timber be stolen, or rotting in heaps,
And the honour of England seems nearly betray'd,
Up starts to the rescue undaunted Sam Pepys.

"In the dockyards they know his true worth, and a cheer
Would rise from each shed-full of men, be ye sure,
Were not discipline strict; but he cares not to hear
From shipwrights, what conscience must echo secure.
Yet he makes no pretence to be hero or saint;
With the joyous he laughs, with mourners he weeps;
He's not one who at bilge-water turns pale or faints;
But a man, with sound courage and skill, is Sam Pepys.

"He had taint of the Puritan once, in Nol's time,
And perhaps pious phrases drop from him too oft;
But religion is not such a terrible crime,
Though we find little piety now left aloft.
Some snigger and sniff at his proneness to prayers,
Where storing old books, and old ballads, he creeps;
While others are shock'd at his fondness for players:
The girls in the 'tiring-room worship Sam Pepys.

"You should hear him at home, when his viol's in tune,
Or his voice joins in harmony dulcet and true;
Take my word, you would linger, none care to leave soon,
Though his wife (looking jealous at Knipp) is a shrew.
All gossip he notes, and when wanton eyes gaze,
Whether maid, wife or widow, his heart bounds and leaps:
I saw him kiss Nellie who acted stage-plays,
And Nell kiss'd him back again. Not Mistress Pepys!

"Now you see, we who know him have made up our mind
Not to heed the vile slanders of pamphleteers' mob:
We stand up for the man who is honest and kind,
Who will suffer no traitor to ruin or rob.
They may call him 'a Papist' because he loves James,
High Admiral York, ruling barques on our deeps;
But no Papist is he, who keeps watch on the Thames,
In the ship-yard at Deptford, our old friend Sam Pepys."

CHAPTER IV.

THE DIARY.

The Manuscript.

PEPYS'S Library is of great interest and value, but the six volumes containing the Diary (called by its author his Journal) are immeasurably the most interesting and the most valuable of the books preserved in it. These volumes, uniformly bound, but slightly unequal in size, are well shown in the opposite plate, and this plate has the additional merit of showing the particular style of calf binding adopted by Pepys for his books, and the arms and crest on the sides which he directed in his will should be stamped upon all of them. Although the Diary was written day by day, it is a marvel of neatness, and looks as if it was carefully written out at one time. Even in those places where Pepys describes himself as being careless in his writing there is little difference observable.

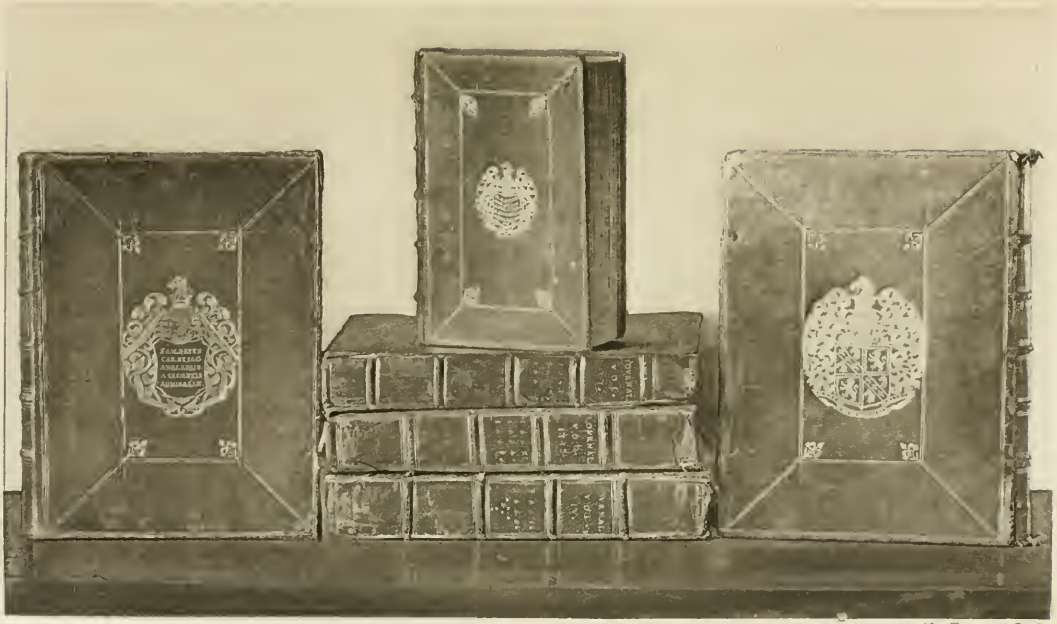
Shorthand.

Although the manuscript of the Diary attracted little or no attention during the many years that it slept on the shelves of the Pepysian Library until early in the present century the Master of Magdalene submitted it to Lord Grenville, it was barely four years after its removal to Cambridge brought under the notice of a distinguished man, both capable of deciphering and of appreciating it when deciphered, viz., John Byrom, the poet and Jacobite. Peter Leicester wrote to Byrom on May 22nd, 1728, to this effect :

"I spent the last week at Cambridge. Whilst I was there I went to see a curious collection of books bequeathed to Magdalen College by the late Mr. Pepys. In the catalogue I met with a book entitled 'Shorthand Collection,' and would gladly have seen it, but the gentleman who showed us the library being a stranger, and unacquainted with the method of the catalogue, could not find it. Mr. Hadderton tells me it is a collection of shorthand books containing above a hundred and fifty different methods. In searching for this book we found five large volumes, quarto, being a journal of Mr. Pepys; I did not know the method, but they were writ very plain, and the proper names in common characters. If you think it worth your while to make Cambridge in your way to London, you will meet with these, and I doubt not several other shorthand curiosities in the Magdalen Library. I had not time, and was loth to be troublesome to the library keeper, otherwise I would have deciphered some of the journal."[1]

The Shorthand Collections referred to by Leicester are contained in five small volumes, and stand in their original place on the shelves. The book from which Pepys appears to have learnt how to write shorthand was, "Tachygraphy. The most exact and compendious methods of short and swift writing that hath ever yet beene published by any. Composed by Thomas Shelton, author and professor of the said Art. Approved by both Universities," 1641. It affords a curious instance of Pepys's fancy for obtaining new editions to replace old ones that the copy of Shelton's book which he left in his library was of the edition of 1691. Byrom possessed two editions of the "Tutor to Tachygraphy," 1642 and 1645, and they still remain in his library, which is preserved at Manchester. A good explanation of Shelton's shorthand will be found in the excellent paper read before the Manchester Literary Club by the late Mr. John E. Bailey, F.S.A., on December 14, 1875, which is reprinted in the Appendix to this volume by the kind permission of Mrs. Bailey.

[1] "Byrom's Private Journal and Literary Remains," ed. R. Parkinson, B.D., Chetham Society, vol. i., part i., p. 301.



The Six Volumes of the M.S. Diary.

The plate here given is a reproduction of the first page of the first volume of the Diary, and those who wish to read it may perhaps be able to decipher it by the help of the instructions given by Mr. Bailey.

It has already been noted that Lord Braybrooke casually remarked that the cipher resembled that known as Rich's system (see vol. i., p. vi), and this put some persons on the wrong scent, an amusing instance of which is related in the "Atlantic Monthly" (vol. lxvii., p. 574, 1891). The writer had two friends, who, though usually writing two modern and briefer systems, corresponded with each other in Rich's, which they had mastered out of interest in Pepys.

Rev. John Smith.

The first decipherer of the Diary was an undergraduate of St. John's College, Cambridge—the Rev. John Smith (B.A., 1822; M.A., 1836), who was ordained deacon in 1824 by the Bishop of London, and priest in 1825 by the Bishop of Norwich. He was deputy esquire bedell of the university from 1821 to 1824; curate of St. Clement's, Eastcheap, London, 1824; of Banham, Norfolk, 1824-32; rector of Pwllcrochan, Pembrokeshire, 1832, and rector of Baldock, Herts, from 1832 until his death on March 3rd, 1870. A series of notes and correspondence on Smith's work on the Diary is quoted from "The Illustrated London News," 1858, in "The Eagle, a Magazine supported by members of St. John's College" (March, 1898, pp. 238-243).

The Rev. John Smith, writing on the 23rd of March, 1858, says: "In the spring of 1819 I engaged with the late Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge (I then being an undergraduate of St. John's), to decipher the whole of the Diary from the six closely written volumes of the original shorthand MS., little thinking how difficult, how laborious, and how unprofitable a task I had undertaken. The distinguished stenographer, the late William Brodie Gurney, to whom I showed the MS. at the outset, positively assured me that

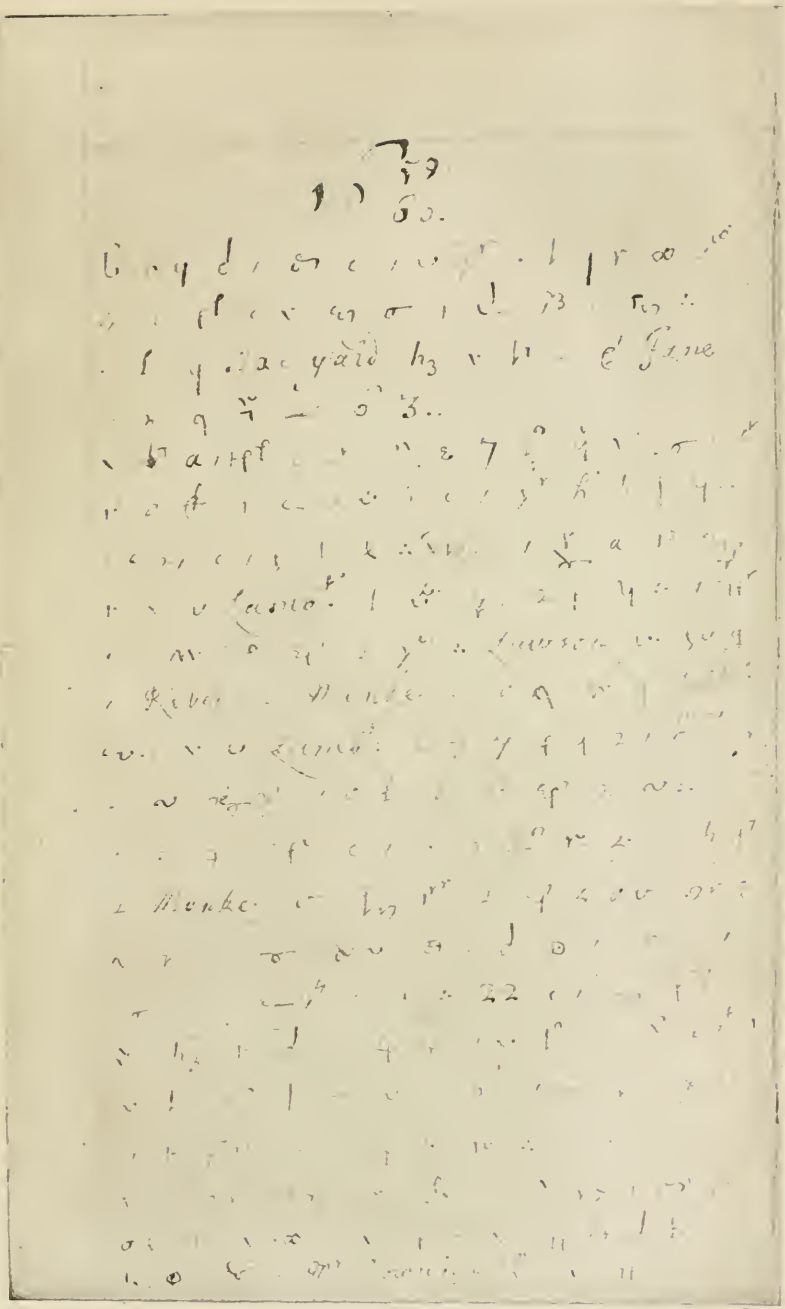
neither I nor any other man would ever be able to decipher it; and two other eminent professors of the art confirmed his opinion. I persevered, nevertheless; and in April, 1822, I completed the deciphering of the whole 'Diary,' having worked for nearly three years at it, usually for twelve and fourteen hours a day, with frequent wakeful nights. The MS. extended to 3,012 quarto pages of shorthand, which furnished 9,325 quarto pages in long hand, and embraced 314 different shorthand characters, comprising 391 words and letters, which all had to be kept continually in mind, whilst the head, the eye, and the hand of the decipherer were all engaged on the MS. Much of it was in minute characters, greatly faded, and inscribed on almost transparent paper, very trying and injurious indeed to the visual organs."

Smith did his work well, and deserves great credit for his arduous labours. It is remarkable that another student should have been willing to do the whole of the work over again, more especially as the Rev. Mynors Bright was a sufferer from chronic ill-health.

Spelling.

Pepys's spelling is partly phonetic, but in his time the craze for uniformity had not taken possession of the public mind, so that the diarist frequently spelt words and names differently at various times.

Come for Came.—There is one word which it will be found is spelt differently in the earlier and later portions of the printed book. This inconsistency, however, is not Pepys's own, but must be placed to the discredit of the modern editors. Pepys invariably spelt the past tense of the verb "to come" as "come" and not "came," following the custom of his own and previous times; thus, in the "Paston Letters," W. Lomner writing on 5th May, 1450, says, "Whanne he come the master badde hym 'Welcom, Traiter.'" My friend, Mr. Danby P. Fry, pointed this out to me, and further expressed the opinion that the "o" was no doubt pronounced



Walker & Boutall Ph. Sc

First Page of the MS. Diary.

long in the past tense and short in the other parts of the verb. Lord Braybrooke printed the word correctly, but Mr. Mynors Bright changed "come" into "came" throughout, and unfortunately I did not notice the mistake until the printing had somewhat advanced.

Mrs. and Miss.—Although the word "Mis." as a contraction of "mistress" is believed to have come into use soon after the Restoration, Pepys does not use it except in the case of Miss Tooker, but styles most women "Mrs." Usually this title is prefixed to the Christian name in the case of young girls, but not invariably so. Thus Mrs. Pepys's maid is always styled Mrs. Gosnell, and we do not know her Christian name. Occasionally the ladies are given a little more importance by the use of the title "Madame." For instance, Mrs. Turner is so called in the majority of cases, but sometimes she is styled Madame Turner. In a few instances ladies who possessed no titles are called "my lady," as a sort of courtesy title.

Use of Words.

Blind.—Pepys frequently uses the word "blind" in the sense of dark and obscure, out of the way; thus on September 26th, 1666, he refers to "the little blind bedchamber" (vol. v., p. 446), and on October 15th, 1661, he goes "to St. Paul's Churchyard to a blind place where Mrs. Goldsborough was to meet me (who dares not be known where she lives)" (vol. ii., p. 120). On November 15th, 1664, he visited with Bagwell's wife "a blind alehouse" in Moorfields (vol. iv., p. 288). A blind alehouse is referred to in Etherege's "Comical Revenge," and at a rather later date Swift (1727) makes use of the same expression. We still speak of a blind alley, but the meaning of a blind alehouse has been completely forgotten. Mr. Richard Lawson supplied "Notes and Queries" (8th series, vii. 37) with a satisfactory explanation from an original source. In the "Thurloe State Papers" are some letters from one of Cromwell's major-generals (Charles Worsley), who writes that he finds it "a difficult business how

to observe my instructions as to alehouses, though it's truly too visible that they are the very bane of the counties. We have ordered at least 200 alehouses to be thrown down in the Blackburn hundred after taking notice of these several qualifications." He then enumerates the qualifications, No. 3 of which relates to such alehouses "as stood in bye and dark corners and go under the name of blind alehouses."

Burnt Wine.—The late Mr. Walter Wren kindly corrected me in respect to a couple of notes which are either wrong or wanting in definiteness. On January 15th, 1660-61, there is a reference to "burnt wine" (vol. i., p. 325), and this is illustrated by Dickens's use of the same expression; but Mr. Wren pointed out that the novelist is more definite, and calls it "burnt sherry." Besides "Our Mutual Friend," quoted in the note, reference should be made to "Pickwick," chap. xl. (p. 443 of the 1837 edition). On the first night of Mr. Pickwick's imprisonment in the Fleet, Mr. Smangle said, "Let us rinse our mouths with a drop of burnt sherry." Canning alludes to "burnt champagne" in the "Loves of the Triangles," when describing Vauxhallia:

> "While with sliced ham, scrap'd beef, and *burnt* champagne,
> Her 'prentice lover soothes his amorous pain."

("Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin.")

Carfax.—On November 27th, 1662 (vol. ii., p. 402), Pepys refers to the Carfax at Leadenhall, formed at the junction of Cornhill and Gracechurch Street, which is called Carfuks in the City Records, 1357, but curiously enough he speaks of it as the "quarrefour," a name apparently not elsewhere used for this particular place. "Quarrefour" has been connected with *quadrivium*, but it really has nothing to do with that word. Dr. Murray, in the New English Dictionary, has furnished an interesting history both of "carfax" (carfox, carfulus) and "carfour" (carrefour). He says that the latter word was "formerly quite naturalized, but now treated only as French." The French word *carrefour*, formerly *quarrefour*, is traced by Littré to mediæval Latin *quadrifurcus*, "qui a quatre fourches,"

adding, "c'est le Provençal qui montre que dans l'etymologie est *furca* et non *forum*." Murray writes, "as the French had lost the final *c* before the twelfth century it is not clear how this (carfax) came into English, possibly from the Latin form —it could hardly be from the Provençal. The total absence of the *r* in English is also notable, especially as "fork" was a well-known word from O.E. times. But notwithstanding these and other obscure points in the phonetic history, the derivation itself appears to be beyond doubt." The Carfax at Oxford is mentioned in the note, but there is also one at Exeter and another at Horsham.

Carrousel.—It has been suggested to the editor that Lord Braybrooke's note respecting the Place du Carrousel (vol. ii., p. 217) requires some further explanation, as at first sight it does not seem to agree with Littré's derivation. It is, however, perfectly correct in its statement of fact. Littré gives two meanings to the word "carrousel," (1) a particular kind of tournament, (2) "La place même où se donne un carrousel." This is merely a general sense referring to *any* place where such tournaments may be held, but La Place *du* Carrousel evidently refers to an actual event. Littré quotes the passage from Voltaire's "Louis XIV."—"On fit en 1662 un carrousel vis-à-vis les Tuileries;" and in Chambers's "Guide to Paris," 1867, we read that the place "is called the *Place du Carrousel* in commemoration of a grand tournament which Louis XIV. held there and on which he spent £50,000." There are two distinct words in English which have been confused by some writers: (1) "carousal" (accented by Dr. Murray on the second syllable), a carouse, and (2) "carousel" (accented by Murray on the last syllable), a tournament. In the number of the "Quarterly Review" for January, 1896, there is an article on the art of horsemanship in which it is said, "The military carousel is not yet extinct in France. Only last year (1895) we read of one being held at Saumur."

Fellmonger.—On August 2nd, 1661, Pepys had some discourse with a fellmonger (vol. ii., p. 75), and this word is explained as a dealer in hides. The late Mr. Wren, however,

pointed out that a fellmonger dressed no skins but those of sheep and lamb. Hides are tanned by the tanner and dressed by the currier, who never tans and cures the sheepskin.

Off Square.—Two correspondents—Sir Edward Ridley (48, Lennox Gardens), and the Rev. R. Patterson, vicar of Selhurst—take exception to Lord Braybrooke's note on "off square" or "half square" (vol. ii., p. 309). The latter says that he has met with the expression "off square" in other books, and points out that a log being hewn "off square" (*i.e.*, not truly of a rectangular cross section) is itself a source of cheating. A true square contains more than a false one. If the length and breadth of a false square be multiplied together, it gives the content at a higher figure than is the fact. The former takes exception to the calculations quoted from Leybourn's "Complete Surveyor," and points out that "3·92" on the last line is a misprint for "2·92." Under these circumstances it seems wise to remove this long note, which is not properly illustrative, and it has been taken out of the second edition of the second volume.

Ora.—On October 15th, 1664, Pepys and his father walked over to Hinchingbroke from Brampton to see the "chargeable works that my Lord hath done there." They saw the water-works and "the Ora, which is very fine" (vol. iv., p. 268). It is rather difficult to guess what this "ora" may be, but Mr. Fred. J. Veall, an architect of Cardiff, has obligingly suggested to me in a letter that it refers to an oratory which Lord Sandwich had probably constructed in his house. He further remarks that there are many instances of oratories being constructed in private houses after the Reformation, although the owners might not be Roman Catholics. A more possible explanation, however, is, I think, that given by Mrs. William Cockerell. That lady suggests that the word "ora" is really a corruption of "noria," which is the Spanish word (derived from the Arabic) for a water-wheel worked by a mule or other animal. This word was adopted in English, but the confusion of the "n" of the article *an* with the initial of the following word is so common, that "a noria" might

easily become "an oria," and the loss of the *i* as easily follow.

Poor Wretch.—The frequent expression, "poor wretch," which Pepys used when speaking of his wife, is referred to in a note as an endearing expression (vol. vi., p. 313), but a reference might also have been made to Johnson's Dictionary and to "Romeo and Juliet," "Hamlet," and "Othello," where it is used in this sense. In the last century this does not seem to have been understood, and the playhouse copies give *wench* for *wretch*, and so it appears as "excellent wench" in Hanmer's Oxford edition, 1744, with a note on the word "wench," but with no hint that the original was "wretch."

Tripos Verses.—Some doubt has been expressed as to the issue of the Tripos verses referred to in the note on page 70 of vol. i. The Tripos verses (Greek and Latin) for 1878, printed on two pages of small folio paper, are now before me. The third page is blank, and on the fourth page is printed the list of Bachelors of Arts, dated 27th April, 1878. The folio paper is folded across into four, and the list is printed on the two centre divisions, the two outer ones being blank. When closed, therefore, the printed portion is outside. Dr. J. W. L. Glaisher, F.R.S., who kindly gave me this curiosity, tells me that very few people even among residents at the University know of the existence of Tripos verses.

In order to verify these facts he has kindly made further inquiries at the Pitt Press in order to bring the information up to date, with the following interesting result. "These verses have been published irregularly. There were none in 1892, but there were some in 1893 and 1894, and none since, and I think they are now actually extinct. When there are no Tripos verses there is no *ordo senioritatis* published separately, though it is printed in the 'University Reporter' always." Five hundred copies were formerly printed, but this number was reduced, and three hundred and fifty only were printed in 1893 and 1894. A copy was sent to all the heads of houses, professors, and certain other officers.

It was the custom for each proctor and moderator to take

his verses (which were obtained from undergraduates who were asked by the proctor or moderator to write them) to the press, where they were printed, the *ordo senioritatis* being put on the back, but it was no one's business to see that there were any verses or to edit them. If none were brought to the press nothing happened. It appears that in 1896 one of the proctors brought a copy of verses, but the proof was not returned, and so the matter rested indefinitely, "waiting instructions."

The Tripos verses afford a remarkable instance of the continuance of a custom long after it was thought to be dead by those who would be supposed to know about it.

The Diary is a microcosm, worthy of all elucidation. In its pages there is something for all readers—frivolous things for some, weighty facts for others, and problems for psychological students. It has a threefold interest for readers :

I. It is a source of information respecting the incidents of the Restoration period of so much importance that we may safely say that if it did not exist the history of the early part of Charles II.'s reign would be full of blanks.

II. It gives us an insight into the life and manners of this period such as we shall look for in vain elsewhere.

III. It is of absorbing interest from its vigorous style and from its truthful revelations of the inmost soul of the writer.

(I.) This is not the place to recapitulate the various historical events that are illustrated in its pages ; suffice it to say that the particulars respecting the naval preparations for the great Dutch war, and the account of the Plague and of the Fire of London, are of the greatest value. A few words, however, may be said here respecting the king and his court.

Charles II. at the Hague.

Pepys's account of his visit to the Hague in May, 1660, and of the movements of Charles II. before he left Holland for

England, are of great value, and several of the incidents are corroborated by Sir William Lower in that remarkable folio volume which he published at the Hague in 1660, entitled "Relation . . . of the Voiage and Residence which . . . Charles the II. hath made in Holland." In this book are some curious illustrations of some of the scenes enacted before the king left Holland. Pictures of these scenes by Dutch painters still exist, and an important letter by the late Rev. Edward White in "The Times" of August 23rd, 1890, containing a particular account of these pictures, is here reprinted:

"In a recent visit to the Hague and Amsterdam I have taken some pains to find out the pictorial records of Charles II.'s return to England at the Restoration, now scattered in the museums of Holland, and belonging to a series of which the last work long since found its way to this country. They are four in number.

"1. Of these, the first in order was painted by Hendrick de Meyer, of Rotterdam, and is now placed at Amsterdam in the magnificent collection of the Ryks Museum, No. 916. This is a small picture, about 2 ft. 6 in. by 20 in., brought from the Hague in 1808. Its title in the catalogue is 'Le Départ de Charles II., Roi d'Angleterre, de Schéveningue, le 23 Mai, 1660.' This painting represents the triumphal procession of Dutch and English dignitaries on horseback arriving at the shore of this charming watering place, about two miles from the Hague, amidst the shouts of a little crowd of spectators waiting to view the embarcation. A band of trumpeters in front is vigorously announcing the King's arrival to the English ships waiting in the offing. Boats are ready to convey the Royal party to the vessels. Charles rides in the middle of the front row of three horsemen, bareheaded, except for his wig, and apparelled in black.

"2. The second picture is placed in the Musée Royal of the Hague, and is numbered 70 in the catalogue. This is by Jan Lingelbach, and is described as the 'Départ du Roi Charles II. de Schéveningue pour l'Angleterre, le 2 Juin, 1660,' the date being given here in the style of the new

calendar. The subject of this picture is precisely the same with that of Meyer's work, but greatly excels it, as was likely, in the figure-painting of the foreground, being full of force, life, and colour. It was taken, unlike Meyer's, from the southern side of the procession, but there is no prominent figure of the King, who may be presumed to have embarked in the boat which is just leaving the shore for the ship in the distance, along with his convoy of State officials. This picture is in splendid preservation after 230 years. It was one of those taken by the French to Paris, where it remained until 1815, after the overthrow of Napoleon, when it was restored to its original place in the Hague Gallery. It is, of course, very valuable, both as an undoubted work of Lingelbach and as a contemporary memorial of an event interesting alike to Holland and England. Its size is about the same with that of Meyer's described above. The 'paysage,' or scenery surrounding, was, it is stated, by another hand, and is greatly inferior to Lingelbach's figure-painting of the Schéveningue crowd in the foreground, which is almost in his best style.

"3. The third picture, now placed in the Ryks Museum at Amsterdam (though hung at first in the collection at the Hague), is very much larger than either Meyer's or Lingelbach's, being in size 8 ft. by 4 ft., and was the work of Lieve Verschuier, an artist of Rotterdam. Its number is 1,538 in the Amsterdam Musée. It represents the arrival of the Royal flotilla at Rotterdam, on its way to England, and is a splendidly vivid representation of the scene of Charles's welcome by the Rotterdam people and authorities. Filling the foreground is the great ship sent by General Monk for the restoration of the King. Its stern, somewhat facing the spectator, is magnificently gilded. The flags of red, white, and blue fly from every mast, guns are saluting, and the whole harbour is decorated with the English colours. On the right lofty picturesque houses rise above the landing-place. Charles presents himself on the side of the vessel amidships, along with the English Ambassadors, waiting to welcome the Rotterdam burgomaster, who stands up, decorated with a

crimson scarf, in a boat below, about to ascend the ship to offer the congratulations of the city to the returning Sovereign. All available points of vantage are crowded with delighted spectators. Charles himself, as in Hendrick Meyer's picture, appears bareheaded, wigged, and in black dress, or perhaps dark purple. Closely examined with a magnifier the features and general effect of his long face are seen to be hit off with wonderful accuracy, which is more than can be said for the first picture, by Meyer, of the arrival at Schéveningue.

"4. There is still a fourth picture of the series, to which a strange history belongs, and this picture has been in England now for at least seventy years. Its traditional history is that it was one of the pictures carried off to Paris by the French from the Hague Musée, and there sold by the French Government, among other paintings similarly taken in their Dutch wars, in order to raise money for their necessities. At last it came into the hands of a picture-dealer, by name Perrochi, of Cranbourne Street, of whom it was bought, by a gentleman now deceased, as an undoubted work of Jan Lingelbach, for a fairly inconsiderable price, the new owner refusing some tempting offers, one immediately after his purchase from Baron Reuter for double the sum which was paid for it to Perrochi.

"This large picture (5 ft. 6 in. by 4 ft. 6 in.) consists of a lively representation of Charles's arrival at Dover, and completes the series of his homeward voyages and travels. The ships are not far from the shore, and occupy much space on the left of the picture. The beach is crowded with figures. In the middle foreground is a magnificent white horse, just landed, no doubt brought from the Hague for the King's journey to London, and bearing all the marks of the superb Lingelbach animal-painting. The Dover trumpeters are filling the air with their blasts of gladness. All sorts and conditions of men, women, and children in holiday dress fill the middle distance, while a long State barge is bearing from the ship over shallower waters the King and his followers, in a crowd of excited company, to the shore.

"It is the wonderfully vigorous figure-painting which settles

the truth of the tradition that accompanies the picture—that it was the work of Lingelbach 230 years ago. No one who comes to examine it with an eye fresh from the other works of this master still retained in Holland can doubt that it is a genuine and elaborate product of his genius, and that Lingelbach had been employed to paint both the 'Depart' from the Dutch coast and the Royal arrival in England, accompanying the King for that purpose in the ship of State sent to 'bring him home again.'

"This picture still remains in the possession of the family of the English gentleman who bought it from Perrochi, and any one who has seen the three other pictures—the two commemorating Charles's departure from the Dutch seaside and that of the intermediate stay at Rotterdam—cannot but feel that the fourth picture, notwithstanding its somewhat mythical representation of Dover Castle, by another hand, ought to join the collections at Amsterdam or the Hague, as bearing in its magnificent figure-painting on so large a scale the certain sign of its Lingelbach authorship." [1]

The King at Home.

The king is mentioned very frequently in the Diary, but Pepys was not intimately associated with him until a later date. On June 24th, 1664, the diarist went through some of the private apartments at Whitehall Palace. He saw a variety of pictures of value and rarity in the King's closet, and Mr. Pierce showed him "the Queene's bed-chamber, and her closett, where she had nothing but some pretty pious pictures and books of devotion; and her holy water at her head as she sleeps, with her clock by her bedside, wherein a lamp burns that tells her the time of the night at any time" (vol. iv., p. 168).

Since the publication of the fourth volume I have found a

[1] This interesting picture is now in the possession of Mr. R. W. Harrison, of 17, Weech Road, Finchley Road.

very interesting illustration of the above passage in a letter from Charles II. respecting "the pretty pious pictures," to his sister Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, dated 10th December, 1663, quoted in Mrs. Julia Cartwright's "Life of Madame," 1894 (p. 150). He writes:

"Pray send me some images to put in prayer bookes. They are for my wife, who can gett none heere. I assure you it will be a greate present to her, and she will looke upon them often, for she is not only content to say the greate office in the breviere every day, but likewise that of our Lady too, and this is besides goeing to chapell, where she makes use of none of these."

This shows that Charles II., though a bad husband, was anxious to give his wife pleasure, and it was these small amiabilities that endeared him to her and to the people. The duchess evidently fulfilled her brother's request, and "the images" were treasured by the queen, and seen by Pepys in her closet.

As a help to understanding some passages in the Diary it is well to bear in mind the movements of the Court in 1665-66, which were as follows: They went to Hampton Court on June 29th, to Salisbury on July 27th, to Oxford on September 25th, 26th, and were back at Whitehall, January 27th and February 16th.

James, Duke of York.

With James, Duke of York, the diarist was in almost daily communication, and it is evident that the Lord High Admiral held a very favourable opinion respecting the knowledge and abilities of the Clerk of the Acts. The improvements in the administration of the Navy, largely due to the labours of Pepys, were apparently approved by the duke, who is therefore entitled to some of the credit.

In an Admiralty paper (vol. i., p. lvi) we read: "The principal rules and establishments in present use in these offices are well known to have been of his introducing," and it is said

that the general lines of the administration of the Navy remained until the present century much as he left it. In this connection it is interesting to quote the expressed opinion of the Duke of Wellington respecting the Ordnance Office:

"The most curious book ever written perhaps is the 'Memoirs of James II.' It is all extremely curious. By his own showing he was a very weak fellow; but he had great skill nevertheless for the head of a department. His arrangements at the Ordnance were excellent. When I [Wellington] was Master-General I brought it back very much to what he had made it" (Earl Stanhope's "Conversations with Wellington," p. 66). For further notes on the government of the navy, see Chapter VI.

The very interesting portrait of James II. by Kneller, on which the painter was engaged at the time of the king's abdication, is now in the possession of Miss Cockerell. It is reported that while James was sitting, the news of the landing of William, Prince of Orange, was brought to him, but he refused to be disturbed, and said, "I have promised Mr. Pepys my picture, and I will finish the sitting."

Other memorials of James II.'s friendship for Pepys belong to Miss Cockerell, such as a chess-table and a beautiful silver-gilt cup, with Pepys's arms engraved upon it.

Monk.

The Duke of Albemarle and the Earl of Clarendon were the two greatest subjects after the royal family in the early days of the Restoration. Pepys does not appear to have had a very high opinion of the former, and he called him "a thick-skulled fool" (i. 127) and "a heavy dull man" (iii. 392). The king, however, never wavered in his appreciation of the great services which Monk had performed for the throne, and he always treated him with consideration. In the grant of Clarendon Park to the duke in 1665, the king's obligations to him are recited in the most glowing terms.

Clarendon Park.

There are several references in the Diary to Clarendon Park, when in the possession of the Earl of Clarendon. On February 22nd, 1663-64, Pepys writes, "That whereas the late King did mortgage Clarendon to somebody for £20,000 and this to have given it to the Duke of Albemarle, and he sold it to my Lord Chancellor whose title of Earldome is fetched from thence; the King hath this day sent his order to the Privy Seale for payment of this £20,000 to my Lord Chancellor, to clear the mortgage" (iv. 53).

In Lister's "Life of Clarendon" (iii. 340-1) we are told that Clarendon Park, near Salisbury, was crown land granted to Sir W. Herbert for two lives, and it reverted to the crown in 1601. It was mortgaged by Charles I. for £20,000, and granted by Charles II. to the Duke of Albemarle subject to this mortgage. When Lord Clarendon purchased the place from the Duke of Albemarle the king enabled him (by grant under the Privy Seal) to pay off the mortgage. The crown reserved the timber, and there is much in the Diary concerning this timber and Lord Clarendon's conduct in respect to it. The Lord Chancellor does not appear to have challenged the right of the crown to the timber, but to have complained of the conduct of the Commissioners of the Navy (who had at their command the timber of all the extensive royal forests) in respect to the way in which his park was despoiled, and to the "ungentlemanlike" manner in which this was done (see Lister's "Life of Clarendon," iii. 340-1).

These statements are not, however, borne out by the documents among the "State Papers." There is the "Warrant to the Lord Treasurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer to pay — Stringer and John Fisher £20,000 for redemption of Clarendon Park, mortgaged by the late King to Lord Hatton and others for that sum, and on its surrender to cause a grant to be made to the Duke of Albemarle." [1] This is dated September 18th, 1663, and there is no mention of Lord Clarendon's name.

[1] "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic," 1663-1664, p. 275.

There is a further document dated March 1st, 1664: "The King to Lord Treasurer Southampton. Having . . . resolved to dispark Clarendon Park, co. Wilts, valued at £1,000 a year, orders that it be passed to the Duke [of Albemarle] with all the timber except what is required for His Majesty's use, and the fee-farm rents, value £447 7*s.* 7½*d.*, to be holden of the Duchy."[1]

The whole circumstances connected with Lord Chancellor Hyde's possession of Clarendon Park, from which place he took his title, are very confusing, and no clear account of them appears to have been given. In none of the entries respecting Clarendon Park in the "Calendars of State Papers" is Lord Clarendon's name mentioned in respect to it.

At the very time that the Lord Chancellor was complaining to Pepys of the action of the Navy Office in respect to the cutting down of trees in Clarendon Park, preparations were being made for the drafting of the grant to the Duke of Albemarle of the park which had previously been given him by the king.

Clarendon complained to Pepys on July 14th, 1664, that he had sent the veriest fanatique in England to mark the trees, meaning Deane. This is corroborated by a paper among the "State Papers," dated July 4th, 1664: "Anthony Deane and Robert Magors to the Navy Commissioners. Survey of timber in Bucklebury Woods, tendered by Mr. Blackbery, also of some in Clarendon Park, Wilts."[2]

James I. granted "Claringdon Parke" to "Philip, Earl of Pembrook and Mountgomerie." In 1643 Charles I. granted "a Perpetuity to the Lord Dunsmore, Lord Capell and others their heires and assignes" of various forests (Clarendon being one of these) as security for a debt of £60,000. We learn (as already stated) from the "State Papers" that the mortgage on Clarendon was £20,000, and that the mortgagors were Lord Hatton and others.

The Parliament had the park surveyed in 1650, and, like

[1] "Calendar," 1663-1664, p. 502.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 633.

other crown property, they put it up for sale. Soon after, the Restoration Commissioners were appointed to report on the state of the park, and they found that the woods had been reduced from one thousand acres to sixty. Reasons were given against making Clarendon a park again.[1] Charles II. granted the park to the Duke of Albemarle subject to the mortgage. Hyde was created Earl of Clarendon on April 20th, 1661; he must therefore have been in possession of Clarendon Park on, or more probably before, that date. There seems to be nothing to show how or when he became owner of the place, or how he ceased to be owner.

The official charter or grant to Albemarle was not drawn up until 1665. A translation of this grant is printed in Hoare's "Modern Wiltshire," vol. v.

In this document mention is made of various tenants, but the Earl of Clarendon is not named. The wording of the grant is very florid in the praises bestowed upon Albemarle, and we find in it such sentences as this put into the king's mouth: "Whereas the sweetest fruit which we have gathered from supreme power consists in having the more ample means of doing good."

Aubrey thus writes respecting the property: "Clarendon Parke was the best parke in the King's dominions. Hunt and Palmer keepers there did averre that they knew seven thousand head of deere in that parke; all fallow deere. This parke was seven miles about. Here were twenty coppices, and every one a mile round." [2]

Clarendon Park was bequeathed by George Monk, first Duke of Albemarle, to his son Christopher, second Duke, who on his death in 1688 bequeathed it (apparently for a consideration) to his cousin, John Granville, Earl of Bath, from whose heirs it was purchased in 1713 by Benjamin Bathurst.

Sir Villiers Lister, who has kindly given me his opinion on the difficulty connected with Lord Clarendon's possession of

[1] "Calendar," 1660-1661, pp. 285, 286.

[2] Aubrey's "Natural History of Wiltshire," ed. J. Britton, 1847, p. 59.

the park, thinks that the matter is to a great extent settled by the following passage:

"There is a story connected with this estate in later times. Charles I., wanting money, borrowed £20,000 from Sir Edward Hyde (afterwards the famous Chancellor and author of 'The History of the Rebellion'), and mortgaged the property to him. The royal exchequer being, and continuing to be, impoverished, Hyde fully reckoned upon the debt's never being paid off, and being made a peer in the next reign from his expected estate. But the new king, Charles II., suddenly repaid Hyde his £20,000, and gave the estate to George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, leaving Hyde with the shadow of Clarendon, but not the substance."[1]

Sir Villiers Lister suggests that Hyde may have bought the mortgage on Clarendon Park from Lord Hatton and others during the Civil Wars, when he would be likely to get it cheap. This is a good explanation, but there still remains the difficulty that the payment of the £20,000 is not mentioned in the "State Papers" as being made to Lord Clarendon.

Pepys records (November 13th, 1661) that the Duke of York "is in mourning for his wife's grandmother, which is thought a great piece of fondness."

The Rev. W. H. Jones, who wrote a paper on "Lord Clarendon and his Trowbridge ancestry,"[2] was of opinion that this might refer to a tradition that a country girl came to London in the reign of Charles I. in search of a place as a servant maid, but not succeeding, became a tub-woman at a brewery, and subsequently married the brewer. The tale goes on to say that when a rich widow she married Sir Edward Hyde, and became the mother of Anne Hyde, afterwards Duchess of York. This we know to be incorrect, but Mr. Jones thinks it possible that the tradition might refer to

[1] "Notes on the Borders of Wilts and Hants," by the Rev. Canon J. E. Jackson, "Wiltshire Archæological and Nat. Hist. Mag.," vol. xxi. (1884), p. 350.

[2] "Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine," vol. ix., pp. 282-290.

the Duchess's grandmother, Lady Aylesbury (born Frances Denman). It is probable that there is no truth in the story at all, but it appears to have been in circulation, and to have given point to some contemporary allusions. What makes it worthy of mention is that Miss Strickland traced the story to the Cardinal York, a descendant of Anne Hyde, who is said to have quoted the tradition.

Lisbona.

On June 22nd, 1662, Pepys wrote: "This day I am told of a Portugall lady at Hampton Court that hath dropped a child already since the Queen's coming, but the King would not have them searched whose it is; and so it is not commonly known yet."

This child had been baptized two days before. The fact is proved by the following entry in the "Old Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal" (ed. Rimbault, Camden Society, p. 180):

"1662. Lisbona, the daughter of unknowne parents, accidentally found shortly after its birth in a private place of Hampton Court, but conceived to be the child of a Portugall woman, was baptized in a private chamber there, June 20th, 1662."

Mrs. Wyndham.

The late Mr. Benjamin W. Greenfield, F.S.A. (of Southampton), was so good as to point out a mistake in a note to a reference on November 3rd, 1665 (vol. v., p. 161), as to Mrs. Wyndham, who had been nurse to Charles II., and was greatly esteemed by him. The lady mentioned in this note was the sister-in-law of the nurse's husband. The lady who acted as wet-nurse to Charles when an infant was Christabella, daughter of Hugh, and sister and coheir of Arthur Pyne, Esq., of Cothanger, co. Somerset. She was one of the most beautiful women of her time, and married Edmund Wyndham, eldest son of Sir Thomas Wyndham, of Kentsford, co. Somerset. He was one of the first who in 1641 appeared in arms for the king. He was colonel in the western army

and Governor of Bridgewater at the time when it was besieged and taken by General Fairfax. Sir Edmund followed the Royal family abroad, and attended Charles II. at his Restoration, when he was made Knight Marshal of England. He died 2nd March, 1680-1. Colonel Francis Wyndham, of Trent, Somersetshire, Governor of Dunster Castle, was the second son of Sir Thomas Wyndham. He was created a baronet in 1673, and his wife was Anne, daughter of Thomas Gerard, Esq., of Trent.[1]

Queen of Sweden.

I have to confess that I have badly blundered in the entry under April 11th, 1667 (vol. vi., p. 269), by altering the text and substituting Sheba for Sweden. I am indebted for this correction to the kindness of the Countess of Jersey, who points out that the reference is evidently to Christina, Queen of Sweden, whose entry into Paris on September 8th, 1656, created a great sensation and attracted a great crowd. Madame de Motteville gives an account of this in her "Memoires."

In relation to the historical value of the Diary, a passage may be quoted from Sir George Trevelyan's "Life of Lord Macaulay." Macaulay was a great admirer of Pepys's work, and he had a remarkable dream respecting it not long before his death. He wrote to Mr. Ellis that the dream was "so vivid that I must tell it. She [his younger niece] came to me with a penitential face, and told me that she had a great sin to confess; that Pepys's Diary was all a forgery, and that she had forged it. I was in the greatest dismay. What! I have been quoting in reviews, and in my history, a forgery of yours as a book of the highest authority. How shall I ever hold my head up again? I woke with the fright, poor Alice's supplicating voice still in my ears."

(II.) The manners of the seventeenth century live again in the pages of the Diary. For instance, if we recapitulate the

[1] Collinson's "Somersetshire," vol. iii., p. 492.

main incidents of the daily round, we find that the midday dinner was the only fixed event in the day. No breakfast was eaten, and often much business was done before the morning draught was taken at the tavern; then more business was done, and dinner was eaten about twelve o'clock. This took some time, and as a rule little business was done in the afternoon. Dinner was got over quicker if the theatre was to be visited. Supper was not always eaten, and it was sometimes replaced by a drinking bout at a tavern.

These particulars we find all over the pages of the Diary, but an entry on November 27th, 1660 (vol. i., p. 294), gives an excellent idea of the routine of an ordinary day, except that more work was usually done than is there set down.

There is much interesting information respecting the character of the daily dinners, and also of those which were considered to be particularly elegant in their conception; thus, "a brace of stewed carps, six roasted chickens, a jowl of salmon, a tansy, two neats' tongues, and cheese" go to form what is described as "a pretty dinner" (vol. ii., p. 210). A dinner described as "noble and enough" consisted of "oysters, a hash of rabbits, a lamb, a rare chine of beef, a dish of roasted fowl, tart, fruit, and cheese" (vol. iii., p. 13). These menus do not give us a very high idea of the gastronomic taste of the time. It might be thought that this restricted and commonplace fare was confined to middle-class life, but we can bring forward a curious illustration which shows that the living of the upper classes was very similar in character. In Mr. S. J. Davey's "Calendar of Unpublished Correspondence addressed to Samuel Pepys" (1889) there is an abstract of a letter from John Evelyn to Pepys, dated October 3rd, 1685, with which was enclosed a paper written by Evelyn (in 1675), from his wife's dictation, for the use of Mrs. Margaret Blague, or Blagge, on the occasion of her marriage to Sidney (afterwards Lord) Godolphin. The memorandum, closely written on three large sheets of paper, is endorsed in Mrs. Godolphin's handwriting, "Mrs. Evelin's directions concerning house keeping for me." The following extracts from this paper are not only of value

by reason of the interest we naturally feel in the persons concerned, but also on account of the illustration they afford to the various particulars of a similar character in the Diary, and they may be compared with them with advantage: "Dear Child, of y^e £500 per annum (which you tell me is what you would contract your expenses to), and that you are to provide your husband's cloaths, stable, and other house expenses (except his pocket money), I leave you £20 over, and for your own pocket £40, and that little enough, considering sickness, physicians, and innumerable accidents that are to be provided against with any certainty. But (as ye proverb you know is) I am to cut ye cloak according to ye cloth, and I have done it as near as possibly." Then follows a long tabulated list of the various articles necessary, and with estimated price to each item: "Linen, bedding, plate, pewter, tin, copper and brass, iron, wool, glass and earth utensils, etc." After this a long list of estimates headed as follows:

"For a family of eight persons (as many as were in ye ark) this I think to be a decent provision, conjecturally computed as to ye prices little more or less, as within ye compasse you give me.

Liveing in London.

	£		
Housekeeping	244	04	00
Your own clothing (you being already plentifully stocked)	66	00	00
Your husband's cloaths	40	00	00
Your women's wages	10	00	00
Your 2 maids	8	00	00
Valet de chambre	10	00	00
Footman and groom	20	00	00
Coach and chair hires	26	00	00
Charity and Pocket money for gratuity	40	00	00
Your husband's two horses	30	00	00
	484	04	00

Bill of fare for Sunday.

Pottage of a Knuckle of Veal, piece of neck of mutton, a little bone of Beef, a little pork or Bacon and some herbs, Roast beef (if you please)	00	03	00
$3\frac{1}{2}$ stone, or fillet of Veal	00	05	00
Rabits or what you please	00	01	00
Artichokes, Pease, Asparagus, as y^{e} season is .	00	01	00
Total	00	10	00"

These amounts must be multiplied by four or five to arrive at the present value of the money. Mrs. Godolphin had an annual sum to deal with of about equal to £2,000 or £2,500 of our present money.

The Diary is a mine of information respecting the history of the stage, and there are to be found particulars which are not mentioned elsewhere; in fact, for the period immediately before and after the Restoration it is almost our only authority.

To the musical historian also the Diary is a most useful field of research. Pepys was an accomplished musician, and took the greatest delight in playing and singing. This taste brought him in contact with the chief musicians and amateurs of his time. He was a composer himself, and all his readers will remember the expressions of pride with which the writer records the praises of his songs, "Beauty, retire," and "It is decreed." Some further particulars respecting musicians and actors and actresses will be found in the next chapter.

(III.) The two points—the value of the Diary to the historian and to the student of manners—have always been acknowledged, but the third point, as to style and literary value, has not been generally accepted; in fact, a writer in the "Athenæum" in 1848—probably Peter Cunningham—was one of the first to claim this merit for Pepys:

"He has the minuteness of Dee and Ashmole without their tediousness, the playfulness of Swift in his best moments with-

out his prejudice and his party feelings, and a charm over Byron and Scott, and indeed above all other memorialists that we can call to mind, in that his diary was kept without the slightest view to publication."

The late R. L. Stevenson, a master of style himself, had something to say on this subject, but he naturally was more cautious than the former writer:

"It is generally supposed that as a writer Pepys must rank at the bottom of the scale of merit; but a style which is indefatigably lively, telling, and picturesque, through six large volumes of everyday experience, which deals with the whole matter of a life and yet is rarely wearisome, which condescends to the most fastidious particulars and yet sweeps all away in the forth-right current of the narrative, such a style may be ungrammatical, it may be inelegant, it may be one tissue of mistakes, but it cannot be devoid of merit."

We may go even further than this, and ask what is a good style. The answer must necessarily be a complex one, but at least one section of it would be—that which expresses clearly and fully, and with pictorial effect, what the writer wishes to say. In this respect at least Pepys had formed a perfect style.

The book is full of accurate descriptions, and the facts recorded can be accepted by the reader with complete faith, because wherever we have an opportunity of corroborating his statements we find that the diarist is absolutely correct. There is one warning that it is necessary to give to readers and quoters of the Diary. We must remember that the entries were made at the moment, and therefore if a man offended the writer his condemnation was set down while the accuser was still under the influence of hot indignation. In cooler moments Pepys would probably have written differently, or have modified what he had written.

CHAPTER V.

FRIENDS AND ACQUAINTANCES.

THE Diary is full of references to the men and women of the time. Some of these were of little importance in the world, and it is often difficult to find any information respecting them, but in course of time Pepys came in contact with most of the distinguished persons in the country, so that in reading these pages it seems as if we were assisting at a march past of the chief actors in the history of ten years. Some of the notes respecting these men and women in the previous volumes are incomplete, and some of them incorrect. In these cases a few additional notes and corrections seem to be advisable.

St. Paul's School.

Pepys mentions in his Diary several of his schoolfellows at St. Paul's School, and most of them are recorded in Gardiner's "Registers."[1] One or two, however, are not mentioned in that work, as—Brownlow (vii. 394), who is not definitely said to be a Pauline, and Jack Cole, who died in May, 1665. Less than a year before, Cole had called upon Pepys, when they talked of old times: "I made him stay with me till 11 at night, talking of old school stories, and very pleasing ones, and truly I find that we did spend our time and thoughts then otherwise than I think boys do now, and I think as well as methinks the best are now . . . strange to see how we are

[1] "The Admission Registers of St. Paul's School . . . edited by Rev. Robert Barlow Gardiner." London, 1884.

all divided that were bred so long at school together, and what various fortunes we have run, some good, some bad" (vol. iv., p. 199). Tom Alcock, mentioned on March 15th, 1659-60, was "one that went to school with" Pepys "at Huntingdon" (vol. i., p. 91).

The Paulines noticed in the Diary and mentioned in Gardiner's "Registers" are as follows: Christmas, Richard Cumberland, Thomas Davies, Robert Elborough, Richard Meggott, John Powel, Bernard Skelton, and Henry Yelverton. As Mr. Gardiner has in several cases given fuller information about these men than will be found in the notes to the Diary, I will here add a few particulars from his valuable book. I have also the pleasure of thanking Mr. Gardiner for additional notes from his interleaved copy.

On January 24th, 1659-60, Pepys first mentions Mr. Crumlum, the High Master (vol. i., p. 31), who is often alluded to in subsequent pages of the Diary. The following is Mr. Gardiner's account of Samuel Cromleholme or Crumlum, "son of the Rev. Richard Cromleholme, of Quedgeley, Gloucester; Corpus Christi College, Oxford (November 13, 1635), aged 17. Became Surmaster of St. Paul's School, May 13, 1647, having been previously Master of the Mercers' Chapel School. In 1651 he was appointed Head Master of Dorchester Grammar School, on the recommendation of Mr. [John] Langley [High Master, 1640-1657] to the Rev. Stanley Gower; and on Langley's death was recalled to St. Paul's School, being recommended to the Governors by Langley on his deathbed. He lost a valuable library in the Fire of London, 1666, and did not long survive the re-opening of the School after it was rebuilt, dying on July 21, 1672. He was buried in Guildhall Chapel, and his funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Wells of Aldersgate. He left as his executrix his wife, Mary Cromleholme, who was paid £17 13*s.* 6*d.* for fixtures by the Mercers' Court. He was surnamed πολύγλωττος for his skill in languages."[1] Pepys mentions Mr. Crumlum's loss in the Great Fire under date

[1] Gardiner's "Registers," p. 49.

Sept. 26, 1666—"all his books and household stuff burned" (vol. v., p. 446). Richard Smyth records in his "Obituary" that at Crumlum's funeral "rings were given, whose posie was *Redime Tempus*."

Mrs. Crumlum is alluded to by Pepys on May 11th, 1663, when he calls her a pretty woman (vol. iii., p. 119).

Pepys mentions in the same sentence with Mr. Crumlum the second master on December 23rd, 1661. This was Nathaniel Bull, Surmaster from 1658 to his death in 1672.

To pass from the masters to the scholars. Mr. Gardiner has not found any information respecting Christmas, who is mentioned in the Diary on November 2nd, 1660, and March 29th, 1661. In the former place Pepys expresses his fear whether Christmas should remember that when Charles I. was beheaded he said that were he to preach upon the king his text should be, "The memory of the wicked shall rot," but he was pleased to find afterwards that his schoolfellow had left before January 30th, 1649 (vol. i., p. 273).

Richard Cumberland, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, was born in the parish of St. Bride, London, in 1631, and his father was a near neighbour of Pepys's father and a follower of the same trade. (See vol. i., p. 45.)

Thomas Davies, afterwards the eminent bookseller, who filled the offices of Sheriff, Alderman, and Lord Mayor, and was knighted in 1667, was the son of John Davies, broker, of the Old Jewry, who died a prisoner for debt in Ludgate. He died in 1679, aged forty-eight. (Vol. ii., p. 399; vol. vii., p. 166.)

Robert Elborough was a Pauline Exhibitioner, 1658-59, and of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, B.A., 1655. Pepys had not much opinion of his powers; in fact, he calls him a fool, but on February 4th, 1662-63, he went to the Apposition at St. Paul's School, and after the function was over he went away and dined with Elborough, "he being all of my old acquaintance that I could meet with here" (vol. iii., p. 31). Pepys was always a *laudator temporis acti*, and on this occasion he did not think the speeches were "so good as ours were in our

days." This is a similar expression of opinion to that already noted when he met Jack Cole. In a note to the mention of Elborough on June 19th, 1660 (vol. i., p. 178), he is styled curate of St. Lawrence Poultney. It would be more correct to call him parson of the parish. This was a donative, and he was appointed in 1664.

Richard Meggott, called by Pepys "Maggett," is mentioned in the Diary on December 25th, 1664 (vol. iv., p. 316). After leaving St. Paul's School he went to Queen's College, Cambridge; B.A., 1653; S.T.P., 1669. He obtained several good pieces of preferment, and was successively rector of St. Olave's, Southwark, Canon of Windsor, and Dean of Winchester. He was chaplain-in-ordinary to Charles II., and vicar of Twickenham, 1668-86. He preached at the School feast, 1675-76, in St. Michael's, Cornhill. He died 1692.

John Powel is referred to on November 18th, 1660, and described as "a crook-legged man" (vol. i., p. 286). Mr. Gardiner has nothing to say of him further than that he was a Pauline Exhibitioner, 1647-58; Emmanuel College, Cambridge, B.A., 1651.

Jonathan Radcliffe, vicar of Walthamstow (ii. 44), is believed by Mr. Gardiner to have been M.A. of Magdalene College, Cambridge, 1661; B.D. 1668. When Pepys heard him preach on May 29th, 1661, he says he was "yet a mere boy."

Bernard Skelton was a Pauline Exhibitioner, 1651-60; Peterhouse, Cambridge, B.A., 1654; Taxor, 1662, when Pepys voted for him, October 10th (vol. ii., p. 356). He was a benefactor to St. Paul's School Library, 1669 and 1670.

Sir Henry Yelverton is the last of the schoolfellows to be mentioned. When he met Pepys on March 18th, 1667-68, neither remarked on their having been at school together (vol. vii., p. 368), but on a previous occasion (March 1st, 1659-60) Pepys calls Yelverton his old schoolfellow (vol. i., p. 76). Mr. Gardiner has the following note on Yelverton: "Son of Sir Henry Yelverton, Bart., of Easton-Mauduit, and grandson of the Attorney-General of James I., born 1633;

Gentleman Commoner of Wadham College, Oxford, 1650; M.P. for Northampton (county), 1660; married Susan, daughter and sole heiress of Charles Longueville, Baron Grey (of Ruthyn), and by her was ancestor of the Yelvertons, Earls of Sussex, extinct, and the Barons Grey de Ruthyn; died 1670. To him Dr. Edward Reynolds dedicates his funeral sermon on Langley's death, with the words, 'to whose care your father trusted the two props of his family, yourself and your most hopeful brother (whom God took from that school to a celestial academy).' Author of 'A Short Discourse of the Truth and Reasonableness of the Religion delivered by Jesus Christ,' 1662; 'A Vindication of the Church of England against Edward Bagshaw of Christ Church.'"

Sir Hugh Cholmely was educated at St. Paul's, and Mr. Gardiner informs me that he was "Steward of the Feast" (Annual Dinner) in 1677, but Pepys does not refer to him as a schoolfellow.

The Montagus.

The Earl of Sandwich was Pepys's patron and lifelong friend, and the patron's friends were the friends of the retainer. The Montagus were a large family, and it may be seen from the Index how many of them are mentioned in the Diary. There is a pedigree on page 90 of the fifth volume, showing how all descended from Edward Montagu, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who died 1557. His grandsons were Edward, first Lord Montagu of Boughton, Henry, first Earl of Manchester, Sir Sidney Montagu, father of the Earl of Sandwich, Sir Walter Montagu, Sir Charles Montagu, and James Montagu, Bishop of Bath, 1605, Winchester, 1616.

Among those mentioned are George and Walter Montagu, sons of the first Earl of Manchester, Sir William Montagu, Lord Chief Baron, son of the first Lord Montagu of Boughton, and Edward Montagu, eldest son of the second Lord Montagu of Boughton, and Ralph Montagu, second son of the son who

succeeded his father, and was created Duke of Montagu in 1705.

Walter Montagu (1603?-1677) was second son of the first Earl of Manchester. The note respecting him (vol. ii., p. 48) is not quite correct. When young, he was employed by the Duke of Buckingham, and was sent as a secret messenger to France in 1624, when the marriage of Charles to Henrietta Maria was first contemplated. He then formed a friendship with the latter, which lasted his life. He became a Roman Catholic in 1635, and was made abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Nanteuil, in the diocese of Metz, through the interest of the Queen Dowager of France. On the death of Father Phillips in 1652 Montagu succeeded him as Confessor to Queen Henrietta Maria. He subsequently obtained the rich abbey of St. Martin, near Pontoise, but in 1670 he was asked to resign in favour of Cardinal Bouillon. He retained, however, the income of a commendatory abbot. (See "Dictionary of National Biography.")

Pepys was looked upon by the family and connections as a sort of factotum, and was frequently consulted on family matters; thus he was in high favour at the house of Lord Crew, Lord Sandwich's father-in-law. He superintended much of the business of the Earl of Sandwich, and when he was first married he lived at the earl's house with his wife. In the early pages of the Diary we find him arranging for the comfort of Lady Jemima and Lady Paulina Montagu, the two daughters of Lord Sandwich, who seem to have been left alone in London some time when their parents were away from the house.

Mrs. Anne, mentioned at this time, appears to have been Lady Jem.'s maid, and the note (vol. i., p. 24) is incorrect. Lady Anne Montagu was much younger than her two sisters Jemima and Paulina, and she could not be the Mrs. Ann referred to on pages 6, 24, 29, and 38 of volume i. Lady Anne and Lady Paulina are mentioned on October 9th, 1667, as having grown "very proper young ladies" (vol. vii., p. 141).

Most of the ladies of the family seem to have been good

home-keeping women, but Lady Harvey (Elizabeth, daughter of Edward, second Lord Montagu of Boughton) gave much cause for scandal. She married Sir Daniel Harvey, M.P. for Surrey, 1661, and ambassador to Turkey in 1668.

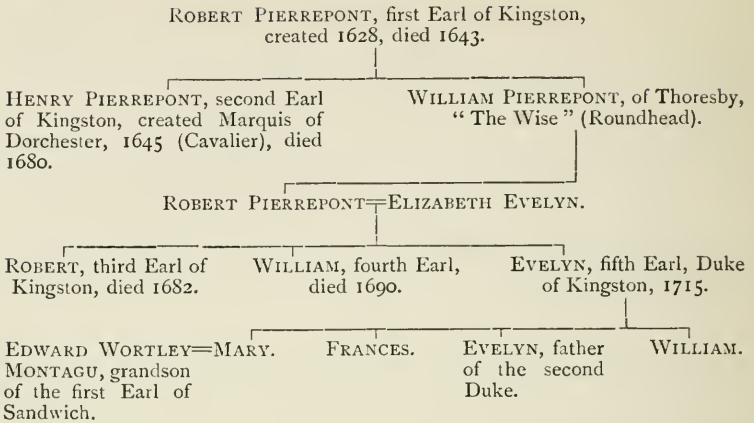
The various members of the Crew family are often mentioned in the Diary, and also the married connections—as Sir Harry Wright, M.P. for Harwich, created a baronet by Cromwell, 1658, and by Charles II. in 1660, who married Anne, daughter of the first Lord Crew, and sister of Lady Sandwich.

The descendants of the first Earl of Sandwich were very numerous, and connected with many noble families. His grandson, Edward Wortley Montagu, married the celebrated Lady Mary, daughter of Evelyn, fifth Earl and first Duke of Kingston, who was son of Robert Pierrepont, who married Elizabeth Evelyn, connecting the family with that of Pepys's great friend, John Evelyn. This name has ever since been a favourite Christian name for both men and women in most of the families descended from her.

On February 23rd, 1659-60, Pepys refers to William Pierrepont, second son of the first Earl of Kingston, as having had the largest number of votes for the Council of State (101), but the name is spelt by mistake as Pierpoint (vol. i., p. 67). This man (the Roundhead of the family) was called "Wise William;" but from anecdotes of his brother, the Marquis of Dorchester, we may judge that he was equally wise.

A Lady Kingston is mentioned on March 15th, 1660-61, as Balthasar St. Michel's "lady" (vol. i., p. 360), but it is not clear who she could have been, as, although the Marquis of Dorchester married twice, his sons and daughters all died in childhood. In the reprint of the first volume a suggestion is hazarded that she may have been the wife of the third Earl of Kingston; but this could not well be, as he did not come to the title till 1680.

The following table will show the descendants from "the wise" Pierrepont:



The servants of Montagu are frequently mentioned in the Diary, particularly those at the house of the Master of the Wardrobe in Blackfriars. Mr. Townsend was one of them, and his name often occurs in the Diary. In one place he is said to be "the veriest knave" (vol. vii., p. 296).

Creed.

Pepys seldom speaks well of John Creed (vol. i., p. 78, note), and probably this marked ill-feeling was largely due to Pepys's jealousy of Creed's influence with Lord Sandwich. The diarist did not think he was worthy of the honour of marrying Elizabeth Pickering, daughter of Sir Gilbert Pickering, and niece of their joint patron, Lord Sandwich.

In the collection of Pepys's correspondence in the possession of Mr. S. J. Davey (1889), already mentioned in these pages, was a series of nine letters addressed to Pepys from John Creed, relating to Charles II.'s marriage, etc. The first of this series is dated Lisbon, March, 1662. The writer refers to Catherine, daughter of John IV., King of Portugal, whom they are about to take over to England for her marriage with the king, and says, "My Lord Embassador [Lord Sandwich] doth all he can to hasten the Queen's Majestie's embarquement, there being reasons enough against suffering any un-

necessary delay. Her Majesty is pleased to express very great zeal to be speedily on board, and that she will overcome impossibilities in order thereto. . . . I hope, however, we shall not be much longer delayed from making his Majesty most joyful and England happy by the safe arrival of the Queen, so excellent a jewel as may enrich England, while this country is more impoverished by her loss than in parting with all ye money and jewells of her Majestie's portion." In a second letter, dated from the "Charles," April, 1662, the writer says, "On Sunday last, her Majesty embarqued, and her welcome into the fleet was expressed by all the wayes we could, the great guns spoke it loudly, and the fires artificially throughout the fleet showed it far and near. . . . God favouring us with a prosperous voyage, we shall not be long ere the Queen's safe arrival, amidst the general gladness."

In Mr. Davey's collection was also a letter from the Earl of Sandwich to Pepys, dated from Tangier Bay, 1661, in which he expresses his sorrow on hearing of the death of Pepys's uncle. This letter illustrates a passage in the Diary, September 30th, 1661, when Pepys speaks of being "very busy about the business of sending forces to Tangier and the fleet to my Lord of Sandwich" (vol. ii., p. 113). Sandwich writes, "I came to this place supposing to meet ye fleet from England, but I perceive they will be longer ere they come, and to avoid idleness I goe to sea again, and see if we can light on any Turks." Lord Sandwich encloses a letter from Edward Shepley, which contains further account of fighting at Tangier.

As we progress in the reading of the Diary we find a great improvement in the social standing of the friends and acquaintances that pass before our eyes. At first there are a large number of persons respecting whom we can find no account, and about whom probably nothing will ever be found; but as years passed, and Pepys improved his social position, he became acquainted with many of the most important men of his time. Even early in life he had known some distinguished men, such as Selden and those who congregated around James Harrington at the Rota or Coffee Club.

Allusion has already been made to some of his many relations, and some of his colleagues at the Navy Office will be mentioned in the next chapter of this "Pepysiana" (VI.). Here something more than has appeared in the notes may be said respecting a few of the persons mentioned in the Diary.

Rumbold.

William Rumbold (1613-1667) was Comptroller of the Great Wardrobe, and had been employed as clerk in the same office before the Rebellion. He died on May 27th, 1667, and left a widow (Mary, daughter of William Barclay, esquire of the body to Charles I., who only survived him a few months), and four children under age. The eldest of them, Mary, married James Sloane, M.P. for Thetford, elder brother of Sir Hans Sloane, the second daughter, Jane, becoming the wife of Richard Hosier, a Shropshire squire. The only son, Edward, succeeded his father as Surveyor General of Customs, and after marrying Anne, daughter of George, fourth Viscount Grandison, by whom he had no issue, died at Enfield in 1726. Mr. Julian Marshall possesses an assignment from Pepys to "Mrs. Mary Rumbold, administratrix of William Rumbold, deceased." In "A Particular of the Services performed by me, Henry Rumbold, for his Majesty" (written in 1674 or 1675, and printed by his Excellency, Sir Horace Rumbold, Bart., G.C.M.G., in the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society), the writer speaks of his brother William's children being "destitute, and with me sufferers by their father's engagements, and his place in the great Wardrobe (of which they might have hoped to have made some advantage, hee being agent for the Reversions of his Moiety for the good of his children) is now otherway disposed." William Rumbold's will was witnessed by Lord and Lady Mordaunt, his friends and neighbours. Sir Horace Rumbold mentions that the diary of Elizabeth, Viscountess Mordaunt, discovered at Tullymore by the late Lord Roden, and published by him, contains an interesting proof of the regard felt for William Rumbold by

the Mordaunts. On June 1st, 1664, Lady Mordaunt, in her daily prayers, includes a special thanksgiving "for the recovery of Mr. Rumball, now restored to perfect helthe by thy mercy, which bringes me now upon my knees to returne thanks to thee my God," &c.

Henry Rumbold, the younger son of the above-named Henry Rumbold, was married twice, and left descendants, who entered the service of the East India Company (the well-known Sir Thomas Rumbold was his grandson), and have continued his line down to the present time.

Rumbold is called by Pepys Rumball or Rumbell, and it is through Sir Horace Rumbold's kindness that I am able to give this information respecting a devoted Royalist.

There are lives of both William and Henry Rumbold in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

Beckfords.—Two Beckfords are mentioned by Pepys—one a friend of Thomas Fuller, who was introduced to him on January 4th, 1660-61 (vol. i., p. 318). This appears to have been Peter Beckford, who went to Jamaica at this time, prospered there, and was father of Colonel Peter Beckford, Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica. The other was Captain Beckford, the slopseller, who appears to have been the same man as Alderman Thomas Beckford, Sheriff of London, 1677, who was knighted 29th December of that year, and from whom Pepys, in February, 1681-82, borrowed a scarlet gown for Verrio, the painter, to make use of in his picture which he was then painting for Christ's Hospital. Mr. Frank Cundall contributed to the "Journal of the Institute of Jamaica" (vol. i., p. 349, December, 1893), a valuable paper on the Beckfords, in which he gave a genealogical table of the family, commencing with — Beckford of Maidenhead, tailor, who had two sons, Thomas and Peter. The latter was great-grandfather of Lord Mayor William Beckford, and great-great-grandfather of William Beckford, the author of "Vathek." Mr. Cundall tells me that he has since found that it is not certain that Sir

Thomas Beckford and Peter Beckford were brothers, and he doubts whether Captain Beckford and Sir Thomas are the same man. He says that he cannot find either Thomas or Peter called "Captain," and he suggests that the reference may be to Captain Edward Beckford, who is mentioned in the "Calendar of State Papers" (Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1661-68, p. 635); but I think there is better reason for supposing Captain Beckford to be Pepys's friend, who was afterwards Sir Thomas Beckford. On October 7th, 1665 (vol. v., p. 206), and February 21st, 1667-68, Pepys calls Captain Beckford, "the slopseller," and in the "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic," 1664-65 (p. 353), Thomas Beckford is styled the "slopseller." This seems to be conclusive as to the identity of the two men.

Lord Cottington.—Mr. C. H. Firth, in his life of Lord Cottington in the "Dictionary of National Biography," does not mention Pepys's story of this lord's disinheriting his nephew and heir (vol. v., p. 405), but he states that the remains of Lord Cottington, who died in 1652, were brought to England by his nephew, Charles Cottington, as inscribed on the monument in Westminster Abbey. He says the estates passed to Francis, son of Lord Cottington's brother Maurice. Now on the monuments Charles Cottington is stated to be the heir, and if he was disinherited, it seems strange that he should have raised the monument, instead of the nephew who obtained the property. We seem to need further information on this point. The following is the full inscription on the monument to Lord Cottington and his wife, copied from Dart's "Westminster Abbey":

"Dedicated to the Memory of Anne, the pious and beloved wife of Francis Lord Cottington, Baron of Hanworth in the County of Middlesex, daughter of Sir Wm. Meredith of the County of Denbigh Kn^{t} and of Jane his wife, daughter of Sr Tho. Palmer of Wingham in Kent Kn^{t} and Baronet who having lived in longe & perfect conjugall affection dyed full of Christian comfort the 22d day of Feb. an^{o} 1633 ætatis 33 having had one sonne and fower daughters, of which Frances,

Elizabeth & Anne dyed before her; Charles and Anne now living añ 1635."

Below this monument:

"Here lyes Frances (*sic*) Lord Cottington of Hanworth who in the reign of K. Ch. 1st was Chancellour of his Majies exchequer Mr of his Court of wards constable of the Tower, Ld. High Treas. of England and one of his maj. Privy Council, he was twice ambassador in Spaine, once for the said king and a second time for K. Ch. the 2d now reigning to both which hee most signally shewed his allegiance and fidelity during the unhappy Civill broils of those times & for his faithfull adherance to the Crowne (the usurpers prevayling) was forct to fly his country & during his exile dyed at Validolid in Spayne on ye 19 of June A.D. 1652 æt suæ 74 whence his body was brought & heere interred by Charles Cottington Esq his nephew and heire an. 1679."

It appears that the date (1679) given on the monument is incorrect, and Colonel Chester shows from the registers that the remains were buried in the Abbey on June 24th, 1678.

DANVERS.—Pepys notes on August 5th, 1665, that there had been a riot in Cheapside two days before, when Colonel Danvers, a delinquent, had been rescued from the captain of the guard on his way to the Tower. In a note to this passage, reference is made to the State Papers, among which is a letter from Sir William Coventry to Lord Arlington, mentioning this rescue (vol. v., p. 40), but Danvers is worthy of a little more notice. Robert Danvers, *alias* Villiers, *alias* Wright, called Viscount Purbeck (1621 ?-1674), was the illegitimate son of Frances, daughter of Sir Edward Coke, first wife of Sir John Villiers (created Viscount Purbeck in 1619), brother of the first Duke of Buckingham of the Villiers family. She eloped with Sir Robert Howard, and gave birth privately to this son under the name of Wright. Robert Wright married the daughter and heiress of Sir John Danvers, one of the regicide judges, and he obtained from Cromwell a patent authorizing him to assume the name of Danvers. He was expelled from parliament for delinquency on February 12th,

1658-59, but was elected for Malmesbury in the Convention Parliament, 25th April, 1660. At the Restoration he took his seat among the peers, but was expelled from the House of Lords, July, 1660, and committed to prison. He was afterwards a Fifth Monarchy man. After his escape as related in the text he fled to France, where he died. He was buried at Calais in 1674. (See "Dictionary of National Biography.")

Sir George Downing is frequently mentioned in the earlier pages of the Diary, and is styled a stingy fellow and a perfidious rogue. Most writers appear entirely to agree in his estimate. Mr. Firth ("Dict. Nat. Biog.") writes: "Downing's abilities are proved by his career, but his reputation was stained by servility, treachery, and avarice, and it is difficult to find a good word for him in any contemporary author." The story of his capture of Okey, Corbet, and Barkestead is particularly discreditable, especially if he were in early life a chaplain in Okey's regiment, as stated by Hume.

John Evelyn was a true friend of Pepys's, and their mutual esteem is a pleasing theme to dwell upon. The particulars of Evelyn's life are so well known that it is not necessary to note them here. It speaks well for Pepys's character that so excellent a man as Evelyn was should have respected him and cherished his friendship.

Lord Falkland.—Henry Lucius Cary, third Viscount Falkland, grandson of the first viscount, and second son of the great Lord Falkland, is not honoured with a notice in the "Dictionary of National Biography." Pepys mentions him as the author of a play entitled "The Marriage Night" (vol. vi., p. 232). Horace Walpole says that Anthony Wood absurdly ascribes this play "to the last lord his son." In fact, Wood does not make this particular mistake. He attributes it to the great Lord Falkland, but Allibone follows Walpole in his blunder.

Wood says of the third viscount: "Henry [was] not educated in academical learning, but so exceedingly wild and extravagant that he sold his father's incomparable library for a horse and a mare, as I have been informed by Sir J. H. who married his widow; afterwards he took up and proved a man of parts

(which might have been much advantaged if he had submitted himself to education)." [1]

Walpole, in his "Royal and Noble Authors," writes that Falkland died young, having given instances of wit and parts. Being brought early into the House of Commons [M.P. for Arundel], and a grave senator objecting to his youth and to his not looking as if he had sowed his wild oats, he replied with great quickness, "Then I am come to the properest place, where there are so many geese to pick them up." Douglas in his "Peerage" says that he "was a man of great abilities and well versed in every kind of literature. He was a particular friend to the Muses and a great patron of poetry, of which he was himself an amateur."

Baker ("Biographia Dramatica") supposes that the "Marriage Night" was never acted; so that here, as elsewhere, Pepys's testimony is of value.

GORING.—We read in the Diary on April 10th, 1660, that "my Lord Goring returned from France and landed at Dover" (vol. i., p. 109), and Lord Braybrooke explained in a note that this was Charles, Lord Goring, who succeeded his father as Earl of Norwich. This would have been right if Pepys had described the nobleman correctly, for Charles, Lord Goring, was entitled to the courtesy title from 1657 (when his elder brother died) to 1663, but Pepys really alluded to the father—George Goring, created Baron Goring of Hurstpierpoint in 1628, and Earl of Norwich in 1644. The Parliamentary authorities called him Lord Goring because they refused to allow that peerages created after the abstraction of the Great Seal were valid.

GREGORY.—There are several references to Mr. Gregory, but there is no possibility of telling who he was. It is probable that at least three different persons are referred to in the various places, one an old friend of Pepys's at the Exchequer, another friend connected with the Navy, and a musician.

In a note to Feb. 20th, 1659-60 (vol. i., p. 63), it is said

[1] Wood's "Athenæ Oxonienses," ed. Bliss, vol. ii., col. 571.

that Thomas Gregory was in 1672 Clerk of the Cheque at Chatham, but the reference here is probably to the "Exchequer man." Moreover, it was Jeremiah Gregory who was Clerk of the Cheque at Chatham. There was an Edward Gregory who was Clerk to the Chest at Chatham, and it was he probably who is referred to on May 4th, 1666 (vol. v., p. 285). It was evidently his son, Edward Gregory, junior, who succeeded his father in the office, who is referred to on July 5th, 1664, as "young Gregory" (vol. iv., p. 176).

HARTLIB FAMILY.—Several members of this family are mentioned in the Diary, but the relationship of the one to the other is not at all clear. I originally supposed that when "Mr. Hartlib" is referred to, Samuel Hartlib the elder is meant, while Sam Hartlib stands for the son, or Samuel Hartlib the younger. This view is set forth in notes on pages 216 and 350 of the first volume, but after a reconsideration of the facts (which are made to bear a very different signification from the extensive researches of my friend Sir Ernest Clarke on this subject) I have come to the conclusion that it is the younger Hartlib alone who is referred to under both forms, viz., "Mr. Hartlib" and "Sam. Hartlib."

The late Mr. Henry Dircks, who wrote a life of the elder Hartlib, was under the impression that all the entries in the Diary referred to him, but this cannot be correct, as some at least refer to a young and active man.

Hartlib senior was old and poor (living chiefly on charity) at the time of the commencement of the Diary, and it is probable that his wife died before this date, for on February 28th, 1653-54, her husband speaks of her in a letter as being "sick unto death" (Boyle's "Works," 1772, vol. vi., p. 83). If this were so, the Mrs. Hartlib mentioned in the Diary must have been the wife of the younger Hartlib.

Mr. W. R. Morfill, who wrote the life of the elder Hartlib in the "Dictionary of National Biography," supposes that he is referred to in the Diary. There is, however, no evidence that Pepys was connected with the father in any way. Samuel Hartlib senior appears to have been born at Elbing of a

German father and an English mother, who had, previously to the birth of their son, lived in Poland. About 1628, when he was still a young man, he came to England, nominally as a merchant. He seems to have taken considerable interest in the politico-religious movements of the time, particularly in connection with a scheme for the uniting of the Protestant communities advocated by John Durie, who had been minister to the English Company of Merchants in Hartlib's native town of Elbing, where the latter made his acquaintance. After his arrival in England he busied himself considerably with the object of furthering Durie's plans, and even approached Archbishop Laud on the subject with very small success.

Hartlib also published several pamphlets advertising the ideas of John Amos Comenius, the Bohemian educational reformer—a premature step which somewhat displeased Comenius himself.

Dircks calls Hartlib "Milton's familiar friend," but the assumption of this alleged friendship rests solely on the fact that to Hartlib Milton addressed in 1644 his tractate "Of Education," with a not altogether complimentary dedication containing a covert sneer at Comenius ("*januas* and *didactics* more than ever I shall read"). Mr. Morfill, however, asserts that the pamphlet is "full of praise of Hartlib."

During the Commonwealth Hartlib published a number of small books dealing with agricultural questions, for which he has received considerable credit. They are, however, in almost every case the works of other men, to which he added nothing but a preface. The grants of money which he received from the Parliament can hardly have been intended as a reward for these writings. Dr. Richard Garnett neatly sums up his character in a single word by styling him a "polypragmatist."

He was in poor circumstances some time before the Restoration, and on the 27th April, 1658, he wrote to Robert Boyle [1] a pitiable account of his bodily sufferings: "I may truly say,

[1] There is a series of letters written by Samuel Hartlib printed in Boyle's "Works" (vol. v. of the 1745 edition, and vol. vi. of the 1772 edition).

even in an outward sense, I die daily. These three days, every night I have been near unto death" (Boyle's "Works," 1772, vol. vi., p. 102). On November 22nd, 1660, he wrote to Lord Herbert, saying, "I have been very ill of late, and by manifold miseries oppressed," and he then goes on to beg for financial assistance.

At various dates between 1641 and 1649 we hear of the elder Hartlib as living in Duke's Place. At some period previous to May, 1651, he removed to Charing Cross. On 27th April, 1658, he wrote to Boyle, "My son Hartlib sends your last to me, dated April 24th, which the blind post brought to his house, mistaking Axe Yard for Charing Cross." The last certain trace we have of him is in February, 1661-62, the date of his latest extant letter. Perhaps the poverty which oppressed him during the closing years of his life forced him to seek shelter with his son. In any case his latest letters are dated from Axe Yard.

The elder Hartlib's son, also Samuel Hartlib, has not hitherto been generally known, but he appears to have attained to some position a few years before the Restoration, and from the references to him in the Diary we may guess that after that event he continued to be prosperous for a time. In 1657 he appears to have been engaged as secretary or clerk to the Council of State, as on September 8th the elder Hartlib, writing to Robert Boyle, says, "My son . . . intends that the order, with the addition of some affectionate clauses, shall be turned into a letter written from the Council here to the Council in Ireland, under the Council's own seal, that it may be distinguished from the ordinary passing or imparting of orders from hence to Ireland, that it may appear a business of extraordinary import and concernment" (Boyle's "Works," 1772, vol. vi., p. 96).

On April 16th, 1659, the elder Hartlib wrote, "My son went down with the orders of the house for my lord Craven to come over, giving him protection for six months. He hath staid out so many days, that we begin to apprehend he is gone over into the low countries, which also is no small trouble for me for

the present." This letter is dated from Axe Yard (p. 119). On April 19th, Hartlib was still troubled as to what had become of his son, but in an undated letter between April 23rd and May 10th he writes, "My son H. is returned from Holland with my lord Craven" (p. 122).

Young Hartlib appears to have been out of employment soon after this, for in the "Calendar of State Papers" there is a notice of a meeting of the Committee of Safety on July 6th, 1659, when were read "the order of Council of 1 July recommending Sam. Hartlib sen. and jun. for employment, and the petition of Sam. Hartlib jun." (1659-60, p. 9).

After the Restoration the younger Hartlib was employed at the Hearth Office, London, and there are several references to his correspondence with Secretary Williamson between the years 1660 and 1669.

In 1662 there are two references to Hartlib in the "Calendar of State Papers":

"April 9, Samuel Hartlib to Sec. Nicholas. Robert Shaw is the name to be inserted in the Warrant for £1,000 for special services of which Sir John Morley spoke. Alderman Backwell is his friend and will be responsible for him" (1661-62, p. 336).

Robert Shaw was clerk to Backwell, and there are several references to him in the Diary.

"Dec. 24. Memorandum that Mr. Hartlib has a letter to Sir Humphry Hooke approving his proceedings in destroying tobacco in Gloucestershire and apprehending rioters. Also enjoining the like security and prosecution of offenders" (1661-62, p. 602). Pepys mentions at a rather later date some disturbances at Winchcombe St. Peter, in Gloucestershire, connected with the growing of tobacco (September 19, 1667, vol. vii., p. 117).

About 1670 the younger Hartlib got into trouble owing to his connection with some rather shady transactions. A committee of French wine merchants complained of abuses in the sale of French wines, and affirmed that "Mr. Clifford of the Prize Office forced them [the wines] to be sold at low rates to

Mr. Hartlib, with whom he probably went shares" ("Calendar of State Papers," 1670, p. 642).

From an undated letter of Andrew Marvell, which appears to have been written about this time, we learn that Hartlib "hath a moneth ago shot the pye. For being a vaine fellow and expensive beyond his incomes he hath thought convenient to passe over into Holland with no intention of returning" ("Hist. MSS. Comm.," 9th Report, App. II., p. 447). The expression used by Marvell is apparently intended to express the meaning understood by the words "shot the moon," which have survived to the present day.

In 1672 Hartlib got into even greater trouble, for among the "State Papers" we find reference to a "Warrant to the Lieutenant of the Tower to take into custody Samuel Hartlibb and keep him close prisoner for seditious speeches and for published libels, Jan. 6" ("Calendar," 1671-72, p. 70). In less than three months he was set at liberty, and on March 29th we find notice of a "Warrant to the Lieutenant of the Tower to discharge Samuel Hartlibb, a prisoner in the Tower" (1671-72, p. 252).

The elder Hartlib had two daughters, one married to Dr. Clodius (Claudius), a physician and chemist, and the other to Mynheer Roder, who was knighted by Charles II. on the 5th August, 1660. When Claudius was married we do not know, but an undated letter from Boyle to him refers to the marriage as follows: "I am told, that Hymen makes you recant the opinions you lately defended against the sovereignty of Cupid; they say your grand theme is now no longer the prerogatives of a free heart and the advantages of a single life, but a certain frame of mind, exprest long since by

'Omnia vincit amor, et nos cedamus amori.'

But though your late contempt of love and women, and the railleries with which you threatened me, in case I did what I may now do only to imitate you, give me both cause and rise enough to punish you, and to let you see, that I have not been causelessly thought sufficiently stored with declamations against

Cupid and Hymen ; yet I shall willingly sacrifice my resentments, and this inviting opportunity of expressing them to your alliance with honest Mr. Hartlib. For I cannot conclude you less a servant to philosophy by choosing a mistress in his family ; and I cannot but look upon it as an act of his grand design to oblige this nation, that he hath found this way to detain you amongst us" (Boyle's "Works," 1772, vol. vi., p. 36). The marriage must have been before 1654, because in a letter from Hartlib to Boyle, dated February 28th, 1653-54, he speaks of "my son Clodius" and his experiment made at a smith's shop in St. Martin's Lane, and probably it was long before, because on May 10th, 1659, a young Clodius is mentioned, who may have been the elder Hartlib's grandson.

We do not know why Sir John Roder was knighted by the king, and we have no clue to reasons which enabled the daughter of a poor and decayed man such as Hartlib to make what would seem to be an advantageous marriage. The wedding was held at Goring House (now Buckingham Palace), when Pepys and his wife were invited to the feast by Dr. Clodius.

There is no mention of the elder Hartlib having been at this feast, so one is led to the belief that the younger Hartlib and his sister neglected their father, who was in less prosperous circumstances than themselves. Claudius stuck to his father-in-law, and is often mentioned in his letters.

HICKES.—On September 2nd, 1663, Pepys wrote : "Found my wife mightily pleased with a present of shells, fine shells, given her by Captain Hickes," and again on the 5th, "mightily importuned by Captain Hicks, who came to tell my wife the names and story of all the shells, which was a pretty present he made her the other day" (vol. iii., pp. 267, 271). These passages are well illustrated by a letter from Captain William Hickes to Samuel Pepys, dated September 9th, 1663, which is preserved among the State Papers. He says he will plunder abroad for more rarities and will share them with Pepys's wife.[1]

[1] "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic," 1663-64, p. 269.

There is a mistake to be corrected respecting another person of the same name—Sir William Hickes (vol. v., pp. 73, 75), who is styled Ranger of Epping Forest. He was really lieutenant or sub-warden from 1640 to 1670 (see Fisher's "Forest of Essex," p. 120).

THE HOUBLONS.—There are frequent references to the remarkable merchant family of the Houblons in the Diary, but, owing to the absence of Christian names, it is difficult to determine which member of the family is referred to when "Mr. Houblon" is mentioned. It has been taken for granted in the printed notes that the father—James Houblon, senior—was intended, but this appears to be a mistake, and certainly in most cases it was James Houblon, jun., who is described as Mr. Houblon.

Through the kindness of Lady Alice Archer-Houblon, who is engaged upon a history of the family, I am able to give some further particulars of these friends of Pepys.

The first Houblon to come to England from Flanders was named Nicholas. His name occurs in a List of Aliens dated 1571, where he is stated to have been then in London twenty years. He was followed by his brother Jehan at the period of the Alva persecutions, 1567. Strype, in his "Annals" (vol. iii., p. 517), records the preparations for encountering the Spanish Armada (1588), and says: "The Queen took up great sums of money of her city of London, which they lent her readily, each merchant and citizen according to his ability. And so did the strangers also, both merchants and tradesmen, that came to inhabit here for their business or liberty of the Protestant religion, in all to the sum of £4,900. Whereof among the strangers John Houblon was one, of whose pedigree is the present worshipful spreading family of that name."

James Houblon, senior, was grandson of this Jehan or John; he was born July 2nd, 1592, and married November 11th, 1620, Marie, daughter of Jean Du Quesne, a member of a refugee family now represented by the modern house of Du Cane. James and Mary had a large family of ten sons and three daughters. The wife died of the plague,

September 16th, 1646, and the husband was left with a young family. James Houblon lived to a great age, and died June 20th, 1682. Pepys wrote his epitaph, in which he refers to the five merchant sons (vol. iv., p. 345, note), who were named Peter, James, John, Isaac, and Abraham. Their chief trade was as Portugal merchants. The funeral sermon on James Houblon, senior, was preached by Dr. Gilbert Burnet (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury), at the church of St. Mary Woolnoth, on June 28th, and when printed it was dedicated "to the most honoured Master—Peter, James, John, Jacob, Isaac, Abraham, Jeremiah—Houblon, sons of the deceased Mr. James Houblon."

The preacher, in giving a short notice of his subject's life, says: "He was baptized in the French congregation, and continued a member of it his whole life; he married one of his own country women, the daughter of Mr. Ducane, who fled over hither upon the same account; so that this family is descended from Confessors on both sides. He was one of the chief pillars of that congregation, in which he often served as antient, and to the support of which, and of all the poor exiles that came over, he contributed always so liberally, that if he did not still live in so many children, to whom God has given hearts as well as fortunes like his, this loss would be very sensibly felt."

Pepys appears to have made the acquaintance of the sons before that of the father, and the Mr. Hubland mentioned on February 1st, 1664-65 (vol. iv., pp. 345-46), was James Houblon, junior, who became the diarist's lifelong friend, and not his father. It appears that Pepys did not make the acquaintance of James Houblon, senior, until February 14th, 1667-68 (see vol. vii., p. 320).

Isaac Houblon, the fifth son of John Houblon, senior, lived in Dowgate, and is mentioned on September 1st, 1666, as receiving some of his brothers' property at the time of the great fire (vol. v., p. 419); but in the "London Directory" of 1677, Abraham, Isaac, and James are described as in partnership, with their address in Winchester Street.

The two most distinguished members of the family were the

second and third sons of James Houblon, senior, viz., James and John. James Houblon, junior, was one of the four friends who came forward to bail Pepys when he was committed to the Gatehouse, Westminster, in 1690. There are many letters in existence from Houblon to Pepys and from Pepys to Houblon, which show the strong friendship that existed between them.

James was born on July 18th, 1629, and he was therefore fifty-three years of age when his father died. He was elected Alderman for Aldersgate Ward in September, 1692, and was knighted at the mayoralty feast in the following October. He became a director of the Bank of England on its establishment in 1694, and in May, 1695, he was one of three directors of the Bank sent out to establish a branch at Antwerp for the purpose of paying the English army in Flanders. Among the Rawlinson MSS. at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, is a paper relating to Pepys's recommendation of James Houblon as a candidate for the City of London in 1690, but he was not elected M.P. until 1698. He died in October, 1701. James married Sarah, daughter of Charles Wynne, and he left two sons, Wynne, born December 19th, 1659, and James, born May 5th, 1665, and two daughters. Pepys left mourning rings to these two sons, and his executors presented them with their father's, mother's, and grandfather's portraits, which are now preserved at Hallingbury Place, the seat of Colonel Archer Houblon, the present representative of the family.

The Mrs. Houblon mentioned in the Diary (see vol. iv., p. 379; vol. vii., p. 318) was Sarah, wife of James Houblon, junior, and not Mary, wife of James Houblon, senior, as stated in the note.

John Houblon was born March 4th, 1631, and married Marie, daughter of Isaac Jurion, in July, 1660. He filled the office of Sheriff in 1689, and was elected Alderman of Cornhill ward in the same year. He was knighted at the mayoralty feast, October 29th, 1689. He subscribed £10,000 towards the establishment of the Bank of England in 1694, and he was chosen as the first Governor. Part of the present Bank of

England was built upon the site previously occupied by Sir John Houblon's house and garden, which were 240 feet deep and 100 feet wide. The site was sold to the Bank in 1733 by the executors of Sir John, but for many years before this the house was used for the purposes of the Bank. In the following year the new building designed by George Sampson was opened. Sir John was a member of the Grocers' Company, and served as Master in 1696. In 1695 he was Lord Mayor, and a Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty from 1694 to 1699. He died January 10th, 1711-12. He had five sons and six daughters by his wife Marie. Sir John Houblon piloted the Bank of England through a period of great financial difficulty, and in 1696 he was presented with a silver tankard having the following inscription engraved upon it: "The gift of the Directors of the Bank of England to Sir John Houblon, Governor, Lord Mayor of London, in token of his great ability, industry and strict uprightness at a time of extreme difficulty."

Strangely enough, this tankard escaped from the custody of the Houblon family, and some years ago was purchased in London by an American silversmith, who took it to New York. Finally, it was obtained by a committee formed for the purpose of obtaining a testimonial for Mr. Frederick D. Tappen, Chairman of the New York Clearing House Association. In 1893 an inscription similar to the original one was engraved on the lid of the tankard, and this was presented to Mr. Tappen "as a unique and appropriate testimonial under circumstances surrounding the first presentation, closely parallel to those of our recent financial troubles." There is a portrait of the first Governor in the Bank Parlour at the Bank of England.

Jacob Houblon, sixth son of James Houblon, senior, was a clerk in orders, and rector of Moreton in Essex, whose grandson Jacob was made their heir by his bachelor uncles. Sir Richard Houblon, son of Abraham (who died May, 1722), inherited most of the Bank stock belonging to the family, and made this boy his heir, appointing his cousin, the

Rev. Jacob Houblon (rector of Bobbingworth and son of Jacob of Moreton), and his brother-in-law, Henry Temple, 1st Viscount Palmerston, guardians and trustees for the property. By his will he ordered that the whole should be invested in land. The Rev. Jacob Houblon, jun., devoted his life to the trust, and finally established his nephew at Hallingbury when he came of age. The young Jacob, born July 30th, 1710, married Mary, daughter of Sir John Hynde Cotton, of Madingly, Bart., and he was the direct ancestor of the present head of the family.

Besides the seven sons mentioned by Burnet, there were three others, Daniel, Benjamin, and Samuel, who probably died before their father in 1682.

In a large family such as that of the Houblons, when each generation repeated the same Christian names, there is great difficulty in distinguishing individuals with the same name. Peter was a common name among the Houblons, and four Peters are mentioned in the "London Directory" of 1677, viz., "Peter Houblon, Burbinder Lane," "Peter Houblon, Sice Lane, senior and junior," and "Major Peter Houblon, Budge-row."

HUNTINGTON.—Major Robert Huntington resigned his commission in 1648 on account of his disapproval of the conduct of the leaders of the army, and he published "Sundry Reasons inducing Major Robert Huntingdon to lay down his Commission. Humbly presented to the Honourable Houses of Parliament, August 2nd, 1648." This was published in the first volume of Thurloe's "State Papers" and reprinted in Maseres' "Civil War Tracts" (pp. 395-407). Huntington sums up his case in these words: "These gentlemen aforesaid in the army [Cromwell, Ireton, &c.] thus principled and (as by many other circumstances might appear) acting accordingly, give too much cause to believe, that the success which may be obtained by the army (except timely prevented by the wisdom of Parliament) will be made use of to the destroying of all that power for which we first engaged."

Mr. C. H. Firth has given the following further particulars in his notes to his edition of "Edmund Ludlow's Memoirs,"

1894 (vol. i., p. 196): "Huntington was answered by Samuel Chidley in 'A Back Blow to Major Huntington for his treacherous accusation of Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell and Comm.-Gen. Ireton,' 1648. See also 'Some Animadversions on Major Huntington's papers,' prefixed to the pamphlet edition of his narrative. On May 7, 1656, when Huntington applied for his arrears of pay, Parliament refused, and appointed a committee to consider charges of seditious practices against him ('C. J.,' vi. 408). In 1659 he was major of the Oxfordshire Militia ('Cal. S. P.,' Dom., 1659-60, pp. 219, 241-42). After the Restoration he became one of the Commissioners of the Customs, and died April 21, 1684. Major Huntington's 'Relation of sundry particulars relating to King Charles I. of blessed memory,' written for Sir William Dugdale in 1679, is printed with the 1700 edition of Sir Thomas Herbert's Memoirs (p. 151)."

KNAPP.—Mr. J. Eliot Hodgkin has contributed an interesting illustration to a passage written by Pepys on December 7th, 1663, where one Dr. Knapp, who wanted to pass himself off as king's physician, is described as "the most impudent fellow in the world." Mr. Hodgkin possesses a letter addressed to his "hon[d] friend Mr. Peeps, one of the Com'issioners of y[e] Nauie Roiall" from this Dr. Knapp, which reads as follows: "Sir,—It may please you to remember that last weeke I was with you about one George Gouye, a chirurgion of whom (for my sake) you candidly promised your aide about the business of a place in one of his Ma[ties] Frigots in such capacitie as his function calls him to. I am sorrie my Whitehall occasions draw soe vigorously contrarie to your end of the towne, else I might p'happes have irritated Sir Jo. Mints (*sic*) to haue concurred in the point, but I neyther doubt your power nor willingness to bringe aboute the humble desires of him who is Sir

"Your readie Ser: ad aras [*sic*] imperandus
"JO. KNAPP, dr. medecinæ."

[2 Dec. 1663.]

[1] "Notes and Queries," 8th series, vol. xi., p. 269.

It is evident that Pepys was bothered by this letter and made inquiries respecting him of Dr. Clerke, with the result as recorded in the Diary five days afterwards (vol. iii., p. 367).

MacNauchtane.—On April 26th, 1669, Pepys mentions a Scotchman, "Colonel Macnachan, one that I see often at Court," but as he adds, "I know him not," mention of him in this place is perhaps scarcely appropriate, but this objection must be overruled, as a better place cannot be found. Mr. David MacBrayne, a descendant of Alexander MacNauchtane of that ilk, known at Court as Colonel MacNauchtane, suggests that it was this gentleman to whom Pepys alluded. Colonel MacNauchtane was a loyal supporter of the royal cause, and dying in London during the reign of Charles II., he was buried in the Chapel Royal at the king's expense. The date of his death is not known, but he was alive in 1671. Mr. MacBrayne finds that Colonel MacNauchtane was connected with the Earl of Morton, one instance of which is found in the fact that he was joined with the earl in a commission from Charles I. to raise a troop of Highland Bowmen (Cosmo Innes' "Sketches of Early Scottish History," 1861, Appendix, p. 518). This connection seems to make the suggestion a highly probable one, as he whom Pepys calls Colonel Macnachan came as a messenger from Lord Morton (vol. viii., p. 306).

Marriott, the great eater, is referred to by Pepys on February 4th, 1659-60, when the conversation turned upon his powers of eating, and the diarist, having been very hungry, was ashamed of the amount he had eaten (vol. i., p. 44). In Smith's "Obituary" there is the following entry under the date November 25th, 1653, "Old Marriot of Gray's Inn (ye great eater) buried." In 1652 was published a book entitled "The Cormorant, or the Great Eater of Gray's Inn," in which Marriott is stated to have been in the habit of eating twelve pounds of meat daily.

Massey.—Major-General Sir Edward Massey (1619?-1674?) was one of the leaders of the Presbyterians, and was

excluded from Parliament by Pride's Purge, December 6th, 1648. On December 12th he was imprisoned with Waller, but escaped on January 18th from St. James's to Holland. He then took service with the king, and was lodged in the Tower (November, 1651), after the battle of Worcester. He escaped and fled to Holland. He was not dismissed, as stated in the note (vol. ii., p. 142). Mr. F. A. Hyett, in criticising Massey's life in the "Dictionary of National Biography," says that justice is scarcely done to his great military capacity. "By far the greatest work which Massey ever performed, and the one in which his qualities as a commander were most conspicuously displayed, was his defence of Gloucester" (August 10th to September 5th, 1643). ("Notes and Queries," 8th series, vol. v., p. 165.)

MICO.—On February 19th, 1663-64, Pepys mentions Alderman Mico, an East Indian merchant who was owed money by the Dutch during the Protectorate and obtained it owing to the determined action of Cromwell (vol. iv., p. 46). This appears to have been Samuel Mico, a citizen of London, an inhabitant of the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft, and a member of the Mercers' Company, who was knighted in 1663, and died in 1666. Why Pepys styles him Alderman is not clear, as no trace of his having held that office is to be found in the London Corporation Records. This information is obtained from Mr. Frank Cundall, who contributed to "The Journal of the Institute of Jamaica" (vol. ii., part 3), a valuable paper on "A Seventeenth Century Charity: a brief history of the Mico Training College, Jamaica."

Sir Samuel Mico appears to have been of a Dorsetshire stock, and this county benefited by his charity. One of his widow's bequests went for the redemption of Christian slaves taken by the Algerian pirates. When Algerian piracy was suppressed Lady Mico's £1,000 had—owing to the fact that it had been fortunately invested in wharves on the Thames—increased to £118,000, and nobody knew what to do with the money. In 1834 Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton suggested that it should be devoted to the instruction of the freedmen in the

West Indies, and in 1835 a charter was obtained authorizing its devotion to "the promotion of education in the British Colonies." Hence the charity of which Mr. Cundall gives an account in this article.

MORLAND.—Sir Samuel Morland is frequently mentioned in the Diary, and his first recorded association with Pepys is to be found in the entry of the latter at Magdalene College, on October 1st, 1650, when the former was tutor. The diarist does not appear to have thought very highly of him, and in one place he is said to be looked upon as a knave, but afterwards Pepys formed a more favourable estimate of his character. He was not a fortunate man in life, for although he obtained various grants from Charles II., he spent more money in carrying out schemes suggested by the king than he ever received back again. In a note on the infamous plot of Sir Richard Willis (vol. i., p. 142), the date of the plot is given as 1659, when it should, of course, be 1657.

OGILBY.—John Ogilby (1600-1676) published some very fine illustrated books, but the cost of producing them was considerable, and he found himself hampered by the possession of a heavy stock which would not sell and a want of ready money, so he obtained the licence of the Duke of York and the Assistants of the Corporation of Royal Fishery to get rid of the surplus copies of his books by means of a lottery. Pepys was one of the Assistants, so he probably felt bound to support the lottery, and he was rewarded by obtaining a prize of Æsop's Fables (1665) and the "Entertainment of Charles II. in the City of London on his Coronation" (1662), which cost him £4.

Ogilby had a house in Whitefriars, which was burnt in the Fire of London, when he lost stock valued at £3,000.

O'NEILL.—There are two notes on Lieutenant-Colonel Daniel O'Neill (1612?-1664), groom of the king's bedchamber, who is styled by Pepys "the great O'Neale" (see vol. ii., p. 274, and vol. iv., p. 273). He was elder son of Con M'Neill M'Fachartaigh O'Neil, and saw much service, first in the Low Countries, and afterwards during the Civil War in England. He

was well rewarded at the Restoration, and made captain of the King's own troop of Horse Guards. He was elected M.P. for St. Ives, and became Postmaster-General in March, 1662-63.

His second wife was the Hon. Catherine, eldest daughter and co-heir of Thomas, Lord Wotton, and widow of the Hon. Sir Henry Stanhope, K.B., eldest son of Philip, first Earl of Chesterfield. She was created Countess of Chesterfield for life, May 29th, 1660. She married secondly John Poliander van den Kirckhoven, Seigneur de Hemfleet in Holland, and thirdly Colonel O'Neill. The date of O'Neill's death on his monument was incorrectly inscribed as 1663, instead of 1664, and a second mistake was the statement of his age as sixty. Charles II., writing to his sister, the Duchess of Orleans, of O'Neill's death, on October 24th, 1664, says: "This morning poor O'Neill died of an ulcer in the guts; he was as honest a man as ever lived. I am sure I have lost a good servant by it." There is a long life of him (by Mr. A. F. Pollard) in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

PALMER.—Sir Geoffrey Palmer (1598-1670), Attorney-General from 1660 till his death, is referred to several times in the Diary (see vol. i., p. 188; vol. viii., p. 82). He was called to the Bar in 1623, and was one of the chief managers of the impeachment against the Earl of Strafford. He afterwards resisted the violent measures of Parliament, and on November 22nd, 1641, was committed to the Tower. After this he supported the king. On June 9th, 1655, he was committed to the Tower on suspicion of raising forces against the Government. He died May 5th, 1670.

SHARPE.—A minister, "one Mr. Sharpe," referred to on May 4th, 1660 (vol. i., p. 129), appears to have been the celebrated James Sharpe (1613-1679), who was Professor of Divinity in St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, in 1661, and in the same year Archbishop of St. Andrews. This identification was made by Mr. R. Denny Urlin in "Notes and Queries" (8th series, vol. vi., p. 143).

In Mr. Andrew Lang's "St. Andrews" (1893) a chapter is

devoted to Archbishop Sharpe which is entitled "The Reign of the Sinners." The author writes: "The history of St. Andrews from 1660 to 1679 is the history of Archbishop Sharpe, just as sixty years earlier it was the history of Andrew Melville, and a hundred years earlier the history of the Cardinal [Beaton]. Sharpe was so hated in Scotland during his life, and his death won him so many friends or pitying observers, that it is not easy to write of him without prejudice or favour."

TROUGHTBECK.—Troutbecke, described as the Duke of Albemarle's old surgeon on March 21st, 1665-66, was John Troughtbeck, appointed chief surgeon to the king in 1660, and surgeon to the Duke of Albemarle's troop of His Majesty's Life Guards in 1661. He formerly served as surgeon in the army in Scotland, and was with Monk in Scotland in 1659. He married in 1665 as his second wife Frances Wray, widow of Sir Christopher Wray, fourth baronet of Glentworth. In 1667 he was granted a pension of £200 for his services. (See C. Dalton's "English Army Lists," 1661-1714 (1892), vol. i., p. 3.)

WHITE.—In saying, on September 19th, 1660, that Jeremiah White was likely to marry Lady Frances Cromwell (vol. i., p. 243), Pepys was very much in error, for both White and Cromwell's daughter had then been married about three years. In the note it ought to have been stated that Lady Frances married Robert Rich on November 11th, 1657. Mr. C. H. Firth also points out on September 19th, 1660, Rich was dead, and Lady Frances had not then married her second husband. White's fifty years of married life, counted from his death in 1707, brings us back to the same date, and Noble's story is thus corroborated. The reference to Noble should be vol. i. and not vol. ii.

WOMEN.—The virtue of Pepys's female servants, if good-looking, was usually attacked by him, but the plain ones were safe, and generally found in him a kind and indulgent master. The case of Deb. Willet, with the circumstances of which the last volume is so fully occupied, is a specially sad one. It

affords also a very curious illustration of Pepys's code of morals.

It seems hard that the women with whom Pepys associated should have their characters destroyed in the nineteenth century, but as few of them are known outside the Diary perhaps not much harm is done. Mrs. Betty Lane, afterwards Mrs. Martin, who figures so largely in Pepys's pages, is the most objectionable of all. There is no evidence that she ever had any virtue to lose, and her conduct throughout is very revolting. It even seems to have disgusted Pepys himself, and he was by no means fastidious.

The character of Mrs. Bagwell, wife of William Bagwell, carpenter, is less objectionable, and it appears that Pepys actually did seduce her, and that in a way much to his discredit. Afterwards, however, one cannot help suspecting from the opportune absences of the husband that the latter recognized the advantages to himself which might follow from this connection.

The numerous entries in which the name of Mrs. Jane Turner appears are very confusing, as there is considerable difficulty in distinguishing between the diarist's cousin, the wife of Serjeant John Turner, a highly respectable woman, and the wife of Thomas Turner of the Navy Office, who appears to have been far from particular in her conduct.

Mrs. Jane Turner may be distinguished from the other Mrs. Turner if not mentioned in association with her daughter, by being often styled Madam Turner, which Mrs. Turner of the Navy Office never is.

Mr. Firth's Notes.

The following notes on some of the men in the earlier part of the Diary are drawn up from information kindly communicated by Mr. C. H. Firth.

Billing the Quaker is mentioned on February 7th, 1659-60. This was Edward Byllynge, one of the founders of New Jersey (see Justin Winsor's "History of America," iii., 430), and the Cornet Billing of the "Calendar of State Papers" (Domestic), 1661-62, p. 465. See also "Fox's Journal," ed. 1, pp. 272*, 277*.

Chillington.—On January 4th, 1659-60, Pepys writes that "Chillington was sent yesterday to him [Lambert] with the vote of pardon and indemnity from the Parliament" (vol. i., p. 8). This was Captain Edmund Chillenden, who had been captain in Whalley's regiment of horse. At this time he had been retired for about six years. He was probably sent as an old acquaintance of Lambert's. (See also "Dictionary of National Biography.")

Ireton.—The Ireton mentioned on December 1st, 1661 (vol. ii., p. 147), was John Ireton (1615-89), brother of General Henry Ireton, Lord Mayor of London in 1658, who was knighted by Cromwell. He was transported to the Scilly Islands in 1662, and released later. He was imprisoned again in 1685.

In Cornelius Brown's "History of Nottinghamshire" (Elliot Stock, 1891), there are some further details respecting Lord Mayor Ireton. "The Iretons were a Derbyshire family, and had held property at Little Ireton, from which village they took their name. German Ireton purchased a lease of the rectorial of Attenborough, and took up his abode in the house adjoining the west end of the church. His eldest son was born in 1611, the entry of his baptism being as follows: 'Henricus Ireton, infant Germani Ireton baptizat fuit 3° die mensis Novembris An. 1611.' . . . A house which seems to have been much modernized, and is now used as a farmhouse,

still occupies the site of Ireton's dwelling, and is known among the villagers as Cromwell House. German Ireton, father of these two notable men, died in 1624, and was buried at Attenborough." John Ireton "was knighted by Cromwell, and purchased the estate of Radcliffe-on-Soar in Notts from Colonel Hutchinson. At the Restoration, when his brother's remains were exhumed, he was seized and thrown into prison. . . . In a list of thirteen 'fanatics' at East Sheen in 1664, where 'conventicles were innumerable,' is the name of 'John Ireton, formerly Lord Mayor.' He was again imprisoned for seditious practices, and dying in 1689 was buried in London at the church of St. Bartholomew the Less" (pp. 40, 41).

JONES.—On January 31st, 1659-60, Colonel Jones was to be tried before a Committee of Parliament, and the note to the passage identifies Colonel John Jones as the prisoner, but this is a mistake. It was Philip Jones (1618?-1674) who was impeached in 1659 for embezzlement. After the Restoration the Attorney-General challenged his receipts and disbursements of public money in an unsuccessful action at law. He made his peace with the Government, and was Sheriff of Glamorganshire in 1671. (See "Dictionary of National Biography.")

MUDDIMAN.—One Muddiman is mentioned on January 9th, 1659-60 (vol. i., p. 13). This was Henry Muddiman, who edited the "news books" for the Parliament, and was afterwards employed in the same way under Charles II.

OKESHOTT.—Pepys alludes to Captain Okeshott on January 10th, 1659-60 (vol. i., p. 15), as if he knew him pretty well, but this officer is not mentioned again in the Diary. Captain Ben. Okeshott was of Montagu's regiment of horse. He was interested in inventions—fire-engines, mills, mechanical beds for sick people, &c. (see his advertisement in "Mercurius Politicus," February 3-10, 1659-60).

The Royal Society.

When Pepys became a member of the Royal Society he enlarged his acquaintance among a class outside his ordinary circle. Several of his colleagues were Fellows, and one of them, Viscount Brouncker, was President of the Society, but he got to know many men at the meetings at Gresham College that he would not otherwise have met. His accounts of the proceedings at these meetings are always of interest, and as we have a means of comparing these with the original minutes printed by Birch in his "History of the Royal Society," we cannot but be struck by their remarkable correctness. Never was a Society better served than was the "Royal" by its early members, and the doings of many of them are faithfully recorded in the Diary. For several years Christopher Wren was a tower of strength, and always ready to interest and instruct a meeting when others failed, and fully capable of doing so with the greatest distinction. After him there was Robert Hooke, whose powers of invention were little short of marvellous. The names of the others will occur to every reader.

Sir Isaac Newton.—With the rise of Newton we may date a new era for the Royal Society, and it is interesting to see how Pepys (who cannot be considered as a representative scientific man) was connected with this new era. When the "Principia" was published the order for its publication was signed by Samuel Pepys as President of the Royal Society, and his name therefore occupies a prominent position on the pages of that book. A friendship existed between the two men.

In 1693 Newton was very ill, and a letter he wrote to Pepys on September 13th, 1693, gave great concern to his correspondent. He said: "Some time after Mr. Millington had delivered your message, he pressed me to see you the next time I went to London. I was averse, but upon his pressing consented, before I considered what I did, for I am

extremely troubled at the embroilment I am in, and have neither ate nor slept well this twelvemonth, nor have my former consistency of mind. I never designed to get any thing by your interest, nor by King James's favour, but am now sensible that I must withdraw from your acquaintance, and see neither you nor the rest of my friends any more, if I may but leave them quietly. I beg your pardon for saying I would see you again, and rest your most humble and obedient servant."

Soon after receiving this letter Pepys wrote to Millington, who was then tutor at Magdalene College (September 26th), saying: "I must acknowledge myself not at the ease I would be glad to be at in reference to excellent Mr. Newton; concerning whom (methinks) your answer labours under the same kind of restraint (which to tell you the truth) my asking did. For I was loth at first dash to tell you that I had lately received a letter from him so surprising to me for the inconsistency of every part of it as to be put in a great disorder by it, from the concernment I have for him, lest it should arise from that which of all mankind I should least dread from him and most lament for,—I mean a discomposure to head or mind, or both. Let me therefore beg of you, sir, having now told you the true ground of the trouble I lately gave you, to let me know the very truth of the matter, as far, at least, as comes within your knowledge. For I own too great an esteem for Mr. Newton, as for a public good, to be able to let any doubt in me of this kind concerning him, lie a moment uncleared, when I can have any hopes of helping it." After a few days Mr. Millington was able to give an explanation of Newton's strange behaviour. He wrote: "I have not seen him, till upon the 28th I met him at Huntingdon, where, upon his own accord, and before I had time to ask him any question, he told me that he had writt to you a very odd letter, at which he was much concerned; added that it was in a distemper that much seized his head, and that kept him awake above five nights together, which upon occasion he desired I would represent to you, and beg your pardon, he being

very much ashamed he should be so rude to a person for whom he hath so great an honour. He is now very well, and though I fear he is under some small degree of melancholy, yet I think there is no reason to suspect it hath at all touched his understanding, and I hope never will. . . ."[1]

At the end of the year Newton appears to have been himself again, and cordial relations subsisted between the two men. On November 22nd Pepys wrote a letter of introduction for a Mr. Smith to deliver to Newton. At this time the Groom Porter had a lottery, which "almost extinguished at all places of public conversation, especially among men of numbers, every other talk but what relates to the doctrine of determining the true proportion of the hazards incident to this or that given chance or lot." Smith had elaborated a solution which he wished to submit to Newton. Pepys wrote: "However this comes accompanied to you with a little trouble, yet I cannot but say, that the occasion is welcome to me in that it gives me an opportunity of telling you that I continue sensible of my obligations to you, most desirous of rendering you service in whatever you shall think me able, and no less afflicted when I hear of your being in town, without knowing how to wait on you till it be too late for me to do it."

Newton was equally complimentary when he wrote on November 26th: "I was very glad to hear of your good health by Mr. Smith, and to have any opportunity given me of showing how ready I should be to serve you or your friends upon any occasion, and wish that something of greater moment would give me a new opportunity of doing it, so as to become more useful to you than in solving only a mathematical question."

Newton was not satisfied with the form in which Smith put his question, and altered it before sending an answer. On December 16th he sent a fuller and more elaborate solution.

GRAUNT AND PETTY.—John Graunt was a prominent Fellow of the Royal Society, and well known to Pepys, who

[1] "Encyclopædia Britannica," "Newton," p. 445.

bought his "Natural and Political Observations upon the Bills of Mortality" on March 24th, 1661-62. In a note to this passage (vol. ii., p. 209) an allusion is made to Burnet's assertion that this book was really written by Sir William Petty. On December 19th, 1662, Pepys speaks of "reading in Sir W. Petty's book" (vol. ii., p. 418), but there is no indication as to what book is referred to. Petty published in 1662 "A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions," which may have been the book.

Although certain contemporaries of Petty held the opinion that he really compiled the book which goes by the name of John Graunt, most of the authorities on statistics have repudiated the claim. Mr. W. B. Hodge, however, made a case for Petty in the "Assurance Magazine" (viii., 94, 234-237), and Dr. Bevan has reopened the question in the Publications of the American Economical Association (vol. ix., 1894, No. 4), and argued strongly in favour of Petty. Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice in his "Life of Sir William Petty," 1895, writes: "Whatever the explanation may be, a reasonable view probably is that it was a true instance of joint authorship."

Mr. Charles Henry Hull has contributed to the "Political Science Quarterly," Boston [U.S.], 1896 (vol. xi., No. 1), a very full and clear statement of the case under the title of "Graunt or Petty? The Authorship of the 'Observations upon the Bills of Mortality,'" in which he sums up very ably in favour of the claims of the reputed author. Mr. Hull has kindly sent me a copy of his paper, and I will here set down in short the chief points of his case. The direct testimony to Petty's authorship is given by four writers, viz., John Evelyn, John Aubrey, Edmund Halley, and Bishop Burnet. Of these Evelyn's testimony carries the greatest weight; Aubrey in one place calls Graunt the author, and in another he places the book among Petty's writings; Halley was not elected a Fellow of the Royal Society until 1678, four years after Graunt's death; Burnet's opinion is of no value whatever, for he maliciously charges Graunt, as a member of the New

River Company, with having stopped the pipes at Islington the night before the Fire of London, September 2nd, 1666. On the publication of the "History of his own Times," Bevil Higgons thoroughly disproved this charge.

The direct testimony in favour of Graunt comes from five sources: 1. Four editions of the "Observations" published during his lifetime, and one published by Petty after Graunt's death, all bear on their title-pages Graunt's name as author. 2. Petty continually cites the "Observations," sometimes without mentioning the author, but more often as Graunt's. In 1681 in a letter to Sir Robert Southwell, Petty twice speaks of "Graunt's," and once of "our friend Graunt's" book. 3. The minutes of the Royal Society are consistent in attributing the book to Graunt. 4. John Bell, author of "London's Remembrancer," and Clerk of the Company of Parish Clerks, who knew the author of the "Observations" as having used the records of the Company in the preparation of his book, asserts Graunt to be the author. 5. Sir Peter Pett, in his vindication of the Earl of Anglesey, at the time of the Popish Plot, from the charge of being a Roman Catholic, alludes to the "Observations" three times, but does not mention the name of the author. Mr. Hull believes that he purposely kept silence on this point because Graunt was a Roman Catholic.

Mr. Hull then discusses the similarities between passages in the "Observations," and those in Petty's acknowledged writings, and afterwards draws attention to the improbabilities attendant on the supposition that Petty was the author. One of these is that Graunt's whole life had been spent in London, while Petty had only become a resident a short time before the publication of the "Observations." I think that all who follow Mr. Hull's patient examination will agree that he proves his case, that, although Petty probably made contributions to the book, Graunt was its virtual author.

Music and Musicians.

The references to music and musicians, and to musical instruments, are amongst the most interesting matters referred to and discussed in the Diary. The late Dr. Francis Hueffer wrote a series of articles on "Mr. Pepys the Musician" in the "Musical Times" (1881), which he reprinted in his "Italian and other Studies" (1883). I found these articles of great value, and used the information contained in them for some of my notes. Sir Frederick Bridge, the well-known organist of Westminster Abbey, is also an admirer of Pepys, and has given several lectures on the "Musical Notes in Pepys's Diary." He quoted the remarkable words of the diarist on July 30th, 1666: "Musique is the thing of the world that I love most, and all the pleasure almost that I can now take" (vol. v., p. 383); and adds: "The man who wrote this must have been a musician of no mean order. . . . Not only was Pepys an enthusiastic listener and composer, but a very good critic and performer, and a propagator of the art." It is pleasant to find such high authorities as Dr. Hueffer and Sir Frederick Bridge appreciating and lauding the musical abilities of Samuel Pepys.

References to the words of Pepys's songs, "Beauty Retire" (vol. v., p. 165), "It is decreed" (vol. v., p. 263), and "Great, good and just" (vol. i., p. 37), are given in the notes, but the reference to "Gaze not on Swans" (vol. ii., p. 187), requires correction and enlargement. The title of this song is "Beauties Excellency," and the words, and apparently the original music will be found in "Select Ayres and Dialogues to sing to the Theorbo, Lute, or Basse Viol, composed by Mr. Henry Lawes, late Servant to His Majesty in his Publick and Private Musicke, and other excellent Masters. The Second Book. London, William Godbid for John Playford, 1669," folio. A second edition of this work was published in 1675. In the British Museum copy there is a MS. note to the effect that this particular tune is by Lawes.

There is no statement in this book as to the author of the words, and I do not know on what authority Lord Braybrooke stated that H. Noel was the author.

Mr. W. Barclay Squire, of the British Museum, has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that the words of this song are printed in a slightly altered form in "The Muses Mercury, or the Monthly Miscellany" (December, 1707, p. 285). The title as given in Playford's book is not repeated, but the song is inscribed "On a young lady of Quality, by her lover." The original words are as follows:

BEAUTIES EXCELLENCY.

"Gaze not on Swans, in whose soft breast
A full hatcht beauty seems to nest,
Nor Snow, which (falling from the Sky)
Hovers in its virginity.

"Gaze not on Roses, though new blown,
Grac'd with a fresh complexion;
Nor Lillies, which no subtle Bee
Hath rob'd by kissing Chymistrie.

"Gaze not on that pure Milky way
Where night uses splendour with the day;
Nor Pearl, whose silver walls confine
The Riches of an Indian Mine.

"For if my Emp'ress appears,
Swans moultring dye, Snow melts to tears;
Roses do blush and hang their heads,
Pale Lillies shrink into their beds,

"The Milky way rides post, to shroud
Its baffled glory in a Cloud;
And Pearls do climb into her ear,
To hang themselves for Envy there.

"So have I seen Stars big with light
Prove Lanthorns to the Moon-ey'd night;
Which when Sol's Rays were once display'd,
Sink in their Sockets, and decay'd."

It is not quite clear as to what share Pepys had in the composition of these songs which he describes as his own.

He says he set himself to compose, and then went off for some friendly assistance. Probably he conceived a tune in his mind, which he hummed over to John Berkenshaw or Cesare Morelli, who then set them properly.

Dr. Hueffer remarks happily on Pepys as a composer: "Mr. Pepys was not a conceited person in the vulgar sense, and considering how much he did for the furtherance of art and science—not to speak of his official work—he said remarkably little of his own virtues. At the same time he was not without a last debility, and his pride in his musical compositions may perhaps be considered as such. Of his grand ideas for the improvement of musical notation and theory generally we have already heard something. We have also seen him at work busily 'pricking' music of his own composition. The question now arises, of what kind were these compositions? Neither the number nor the scope of Mr. Pepys's musical efforts is very imposing. They are, indeed, as far as one can ascertain, essentially limited to three, or at most four songs, all with very quaint words. The first and the quaintest, as far as its poetry is concerned, is that beginning 'Gaze not on Swans.' . . . It would appear as if Mr. Berkenshaw's assistance in the composition of the song had been very considerable. . . . Whether this setting of the words by Berkenshaw was altogether independent of Mr. Pepys's, or only a corrected and developed version of it, is not sufficiently clear."[1]

A portion of the music of "Beauty Retire" is printed from the MS. in the Pepysian Library in vol. v., p. 165. Sir Frederick Bridge arranged it for a bass and added a proper accompaniment. It was sung at his lectures, and was well worth hearing as really a fine song. It will be remembered that it was originally sung by Mrs. Knepp and other women.

CHILD.—Mr. W. Barclay Squire draws my attention to the fact that the Mr. Childe mentioned on June 26th, 1663, as being about to take his degree of Doctor of Music at Oxford

[1] "Italian and other Studies," pp. 299-301.

(vol. iii., p. 182) was the Dr. William Child about whom there is a note in the fifth volume (p. 255). He was made Mus. Doc. on July 8th. When Pepys heard of this he thought he should like to take the degree himself, and he proposed to so order matters that he might obtain it.

Mr. Squire says that Child was born at Bristol about 1606. He was lay clerk at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, 1630, and subsequently organist, a post he held until his death; Mus. Bac. Oxon., 1631; Mus. Doc. Oxon., 1663; Composer to the King, 1661.

FERABOSCO.—On September 4th, 1664, a Mrs. Ferrabosco, who "sings most admirably," is recommended to Pepys as gentlewoman to his wife, but nothing comes of the recommendation (vol. iv., p. 235). On May 30th, 1667, the eccentric Duchess of Newcastle visited the Royal Society with a train of women attending her, and one of them is styled the Ferabosco (vol. vi., p. 343). It cannot be said that these two were the same, but they may have been. The family of Ferabosco was a famous one in musical annals, and Mr. G. E. P. Arkwright, who has investigated their history, and contributed to the "Musician" (1897, pp. 366, 380, 394, 459) the results of his inquiries, has kindly set me right as to the relationship of several of the family. Alfonso Ferabosco flourished 1562-87. A son of his, Alfonso F. (2), died in 1628, and this second Alfonso had three sons, viz., Alfonso (3), who died before 1660, John, organist of Ely Cathedral from 1662 until his death in 1682, and Henry.

Mr. Arkwright says, "Mrs. Ferabosco was not the wife or daughter of John F. of Ely. She may have been the third Alfonso's wife or daughter, but I have not found anything about his family. Of the Feraboscos that I know of this Mrs. Ferabosco could only be Henry F.'s daughter—'Elizabeth Farrabosco daugh. of Henry Farrabosco,' bapt. at Greenwich, Dec. 3, 1640."

GAULTIER.—On July 24th, 1663, Pepys met a music teacher named Mons. Gotier (vol. iii., p. 219). Mr. Squire writes: "This was probably Jacques Gaultier, a member of a famous

family of lutenists. He was in England in 1617. Constantin Huygens heard him play in London in 1622, and kept up a correspondence with him until 1648. See "Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft" for 1886, where an attempt is made to identify Jacques Gaultier ("Gaultier d'Angleterre") with Gaultier le vieux, born *circa* 1601, died *circa* 1671.

GRABU.—There are notes on Louis Grabu, Master of the King's Music (vol. vi., p. 187; vol. vii., p. 196). To these it may be added that in the Pepysian Library there is a folio volume entitled, "Pastoralle, a Pastoral in French, beginning with an overture and some aires for violins . . . all lately composed by Lewis Grabue, Gentleman, late Master of his Majesties Musick." This book is dedicated in French to the Duchess of Portsmouth.

Dr. Rimbault calls Grabu "an impudent pretender" (North's "Memoires of Musick," p. 110 (note).

JOHN HINGSTON, a pupil of Orlando Gibbons, and the first master of Blow, is mentioned several times in the Diary, and on December 19, 1666, Pepys describes him as "my old acquaintance" (vol. vi., p. 107). It is therefore interesting to discover a reference to Hingston's musical meetings before the Restoration.

In one of the letters from Pepys to Montagu described by Mr. C. H. Firth in his "Early Life of Pepys" ("Macmillan's Magazine," November, 1893, p. 34), he says that "Pagan Fisher hath a solemn speech prepared for the 16th current, the day of his Highness's inauguration, to be spoken in the Cockpit on Tuesday next, and distrusting by his rhetoric he should lose the name of the Poet mendicant, he hath fitted a song, which Mr. Hingston hath set for six voices, with symphonies between each stanza for as many instruments, the first of which (being at a practice at Mr. Hingston's chamber) I remember."

We know where Hingston's chamber was. At the west end of Pall Mall, under the shadow of St. James's Palace, was formerly a little nest of low-roofed buildings tenanted by the choristers of the Chapel Royal. One of these cottages was

inhabited by Hingston, and to the musical meetings held here Oliver Cromwell was an occasional visitor. Pepys may have met the Protector there, and we know that Sir Roger L'Estrange was a performer at these concerts. After the Restoration Sir Roger was called by his enemies 'Oliver's fiddler,' because he had remained in Hingston's house after Cromwell had come in. There is a pamphlet in the British Museum, printed in 1663, entitled, "The Loyal Observator, or Historical Memoirs of the Life and Actions of Roger the Fidler, alias The Observator."

One of the stories in "Anecdotes and Traditions," edited by W. J. Thoms, 1839, told by Sir Roger, relates to Rose, the viol-maker, and shows the interest of the narrator in musical subjects.

MADGE.—Humphry Madge, Musician in Ordinary to the King, and one of the king's twenty-four fiddlers, is mentioned on August 9th, 1661, where it is suggested in a note that his Christian name was Henry (vol. i., p. 78). Subsequently Mr. Squire gave me some particulars respecting Madge, and a fuller note was given in the third volume, p. 386.

Several famous musicians were acquainted with Pepys, and we therefore find in the Diary particulars and anecdotes of Captain Cooke, Christopher Gibbons, Pelham Humfrey, and others. Captain Henry Cooke, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, did great things at Whitehall. It was at first very difficult to arrange musical services, on account of sacred music having been neglected during the Commonwealth. Matthew Lock said: "For above a year after the opening of His Majesties Chappel, the orderers of the musick there were necessitated to supply superior parts of the music with cornets and men's feigned voices, there being not one lad for all that time capable of singing his part readily."[1] Captain Cooke brought forward several very promising pupils, and three

[1] Quoted in J. E. Matthew's "Popular History of Music," 1888, p. 195. Mr. Hipkins notes on the use of the word "cornet" in this quotation: "Cornet, an obsolete strident wind instrument with finger holes and a trumpet mouthpiece, not the brass instrument now known by that name."

of them at least became distinguished musicians, viz., Pelham Humfrey, John Blow, and Michael Wise.

Musical Instrument Makers.—Several musical instrument makers, as Drumbleby, Hunt in St. Paul's Churchyard, Haward in Aldgate (vol. vii., p. 390), and Hill or Hills, are mentioned in the Diary.

Mr. Hipkins tells me that when he first wrote about spinets in Grove's "Dictionary of Music," he could not find one of Haward's existing, but now he knows of several. There were two in the Inventions Exhibition at South Kensington.

One would be glad to connect Mr. Hill (see vol. i., pp. 60, 80; vol. ii., p. 132) with the old-established firm of W. Ebsworth Hill and Sons, of 140, New Bond Street, but I have been unable to find any information respecting this old instrument maker. Mr. Arthur Hill tells me that it is a family tradition that an ancestor of his was making instruments at this time, but they cannot trace their business farther back than 1716, when his great-great-grandfather was born. This was Joseph Hill, who made a large number of instruments and lived in the Haymarket, where his premises were destroyed by fire when the Opera House was burnt in 1789.

If the records of the Musicians' Company had been preserved, something might have been brought to light, as musicians and instrument makers of the name of Hill are in the earliest minute books, etc., which date from the middle of the last century.

Mr. Hill has collected much information respecting his family, which goes somewhat towards showing a connection between the several Hills. He has found from the Westminster rate-books that Pepys's Hill was living in Axe Yard in 1684-86 and 1687, and that Joseph Hill was originally in business in Westminster near by Axe Yard, viz., Angel Court. He has further found, from Boyne's "Tradesmen's Tokens," that there was a Hill in the seventeenth century who carried on business at the sign of "The Harp." Now Joseph Hill's sign in Westminster was "The Violin," but

when, in 1762, he transferred his business to the Haymarket, he changed his sign to "The Harp and Flute."

Mr. Arthur Hill writes to me: "Another point of interest in connection with our family, in which I have made some discoveries, is the fact that each generation has produced players as well as craftsmen, and I have found mention of a Hill in the list of the bandsmen of Queen Anne in the year 1707, and later there were several Hills, players, who all belonged to our family. In the books of the Royal Society of Musicians there are to be found several Hills who were musicians during a hundred years."

Musical Instruments.—The list of musical instruments mentioned by Pepys is headed by the angelique, a sort of guitar, then follows the bandore, the name of which some philologists suppose to survive in that of the banjo,[1] and the list includes the cittern, cymbals, dulcimer, flageolet, guitar, harp, harpsichord, lute, organs, recorder, spinet, theorbo, treble, triangle, trumpet, trumpet marine, viol, lyre viol, bass viol, arched viol, violin, virginals, triangle virginal. Pepys was specially fond of the flageolet, and Mrs. Pepys was taught to play the instrument by Thomas Greeting, who published a work on the flageolet in 1675 (vol. vi., p. 221). The recorder, a larger instrument of the same kind, is chiefly known to us by reason of Hamlet using it to illustrate the attempt of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to play upon him.[2]

[1] The two instruments are, however, essentially different. Mr. Hipkins writes: "The banjo is a quite modern instrument, while the bandore is an obsolete stringed instrument, one of three variants of the cither, known as bandore, orpheoreon, and penorcon. Queen Elizabeth's so-called lute at Helmingham is a variant of the old cither. There is a plate of this in my 'Musical Instruments, Historic, Rare, and Unique.' The cither in the last century became the English guitar, often to be met with even now, and bearing the name of the music-seller Preston, whose shop in the Strand at the corner of Beaufort Buildings is now Rimmel's."

[2] Mr. Hipkins notes on this instrument: "The recorders were in sets like viols, and the treble recorder may be said to survive in the flageolet. There is a case of recorders in the great Holbein in the National Gallery."

It is not quite clear what a triangle virginal really was. Mr. Hipkins suggests that it may have been a spinet on a three-legged stand, and in his article on "Spinet" in Grove's "Dictionary of Music" he gives illustrations of spinets on these stands.

Actors and Actresses.

The importance of the Diary as a help to the understanding of the history of the stage during a time when little information is forthcoming elsewhere, has always been acknowledged. Something will be said about the playhouses in Chapter VII., but here mention may be made of a few of the actors seen by Pepys. It cannot be said that he was a very sound judge of plays, but he was certainly an admirable critic of the players. In his eyes Betterton stands supreme, and he was never tired of singing that great actor's praises. His great friend, Henry Harris, was of a different opinion, for he pushed himself forwards as Betterton's equal.

We are indebted to Mr. R. W. Lowe for information respecting Harris. It was formerly supposed that his Christian name was Joseph, but Mr. Lowe proves conclusively that it was Henry, and that he was one of the contracting parties in the agreement for Davenant's Company of November 5th, 1660.

In a note on John Lacy (vol. ii., p. 239) it is said that it is not remarkable that this comedian succeeded in the part of "The French Dancing Master," because he had been brought up as a dancing master. This appears to be a mistake. Lacy was taught dancing by John Ogilby, but there is no evidence that he was a teacher of the art himself.

Nell Gwyn, "the pretty witty Nell," dances across a few of the pages of the Diary, and in doing so brightens up the surrounding print, but the picture that is most impressed upon the popular mind is that of Nelly standing at the door of a house in Drury Lane on May-day, 1667, in her "smock sleeves and bodice," looking upon the dancing milkmaids.

This house was pulled down in 1891, and has been since rebuilt as the manufactory of Messrs. Hunt, Peard, and Co. (vol. vi., p. 296).

Allusion has already been made to the curious fact that nothing is known of Mrs. Gosnell (Mrs. Pepys's maid for a few days), who appears to have been a prominent actress in Davenant's Company.

Mrs. Knepp (the name is sometimes incorrectly spelt Knipp) was a great friend of Pepys, and Mrs. Pepys was jealous of her, but although the diarist took liberties with her, as he did with most women who gave him a chance, there is no evidence in the Diary to show that she was what Peter Cunningham calls her—Pepys's mistress.

Painters.

Mr. Alfred Beaver contributed to the "Art Journal" (1893, pp. 25, 26) an entertaining article entitled "Gleanings from Pepys about little-known Painters," but he is not able to give us much information about the artists who are mentioned in the Diary, and he is obliged to confess that nothing is known of Savill, Salsbury, and Rogerson.

The "Mr. De Cretz," mentioned on June 30th, 1660 (i. 189), may have been Emanuel de Critz, who is supposed to have been the son of John de Critz, serjeant-painter to Charles I., who put in a claim to his father's office after the Restoration, but Aubrey describes Emanuel as serjeant-painter to Charles I. There is a mistake in the note on this passage, where Thomas is given as the Christian name of the serjeant-painter instead of John. Thomas de Critz was a brother of John.

Mr. Beaver says that Emanuel de Critz's petition sets forth "that his father had bought the place for himself and eldest son (from James I.), that the latter was dead without any benefit thereof, that £4,000 was still due to his father from the Crown, that he had spent £900 to rescue from Parliament the incomparable statue of the late king by Bernini, and

£300 more to buy in pictures, statues, &c., now in his Majesty's possession."

Respecting Alexander Browne, the author of "A Compendious Drawing Book" (1669), who taught Mrs. Pepys to paint, Mr. Beaver says he was a very handsome man; so Pepys may have been jealous when he objected to Browne dining with him.

Mr. Lionel Cust tells me that there is a fine collection of engravings by Abraham Bosse in the Print Room at the British Museum; also a printed catalogue of them. Following Horace Walpole, I have spelt this name by mistake *Bossc* (see viii. 66).

One would be glad to know something more of John Hales (or Hayls), and of Captain Brewer (iii. 15).

CHAPTER VI.

THE NAVY.

IT is impossible in this place to deal in any detail with the many points of interest in the history of the English Navy, but some notes may be made with advantage on a few of the different questions that arise from a consideration of the particulars recorded in the Diary, which is the original authority for many facts not elsewhere to be found.

It is remarkable how the revived public interest in the efficiency of the Navy has reacted upon the study of its early history. Eighteen years ago, when I compiled the little book entitled "Samuel Pepys and the World he lived in," our literature was deficient in accounts of the official history of the Navy. Since then several histories have been published, the chief among them being Mr. M. Oppenheim's "History of the Administration of the Royal Navy," reprinted from his remarkable series of articles in the "English Historical Review." The late Colonel Pasley, C.B., R.E., Director of Works at the Admiralty, who had made large collections relating to the early history of the administration of the Navy, was so good as to compile for my book the first published lists of Secretaries of the Admiralty and Principal Officers of the Navy, besides giving me other valuable information on the subject.

Taking the two offices held by Pepys in succession—Clerk of the Acts and Secretary of the Admiralty—we find considerable changes in the importance of the offices at different periods. Thus, the Clerk of the Acts was the lineal descendant of the Clerk or Keeper of the Ships, but the Keeper of the

Ships, who superintended the work of the Navy with a staff of subordinate clerks, was a very much more important official than the Clerk of the Ships after the appointment of the first Navy Board in 1546, which was practically a commission to undertake the office of Keeper of the Ships. The successor of the Keeper of the Ships only held office as one of the Commissioners. Again, the first Secretary of the Admiralty by patent was Pepys in 1673, but previously to this date the office of Lord High Admiral had been in commission, and then the Secretary was practically Secretary of the Admiralty.

The early history of the Admiralty and its gradual growth from a directing force to a great government department form a subject of great interest. The Saxon kings had navies to guard their shores, but it was not until after the Norman Conquest that the establishment of naval defence was thoroughly organized. The office of Lord High Admiral is first heard of in the reign of Richard II., and an old commission describes the holder of the office as "our great Admiral of England Ireland and Wales and of the dominions and islands belonging to the same, also of our Town of Calais and our Marches thereof, Normandy, Acquitayn and Gascoign . . . as also Governor of all our Fleets and Seas of our said Kingdom." The Admiral appointed his Vice-admirals of the Coast.

The Cinque Ports—Hastings, Sandwich, Dover, New Romney, Hythe (with the "two ancient towns," Rye and Winchelsea, and the "members" Seaford, Pevensey, Folkestone, Faversham, Lydd, Tenterden, Deal, Margate, and Fordwich)—were granted certain privileges, and in return they were expected to supply the king with ships when they were required, so that it has been said that "from the time of Magna Charta, which confirmed the charters of the Cinque Ports, to the first creation of the Royal Navy in the reign of Henry VII., the naval record of the Cinque Ports is the naval history of England." The Lord Warden is *ex officio* Admiral of the Cinque Ports, and as Constable of Dover Castle he holds his grand court of Shepway. The officers of the Cinque Ports are styled Barons, and there has been some popular

confusion respecting this title. Baron here simply means "man," and the barons of the Cinque Ports were merely the king's men, who supplied him with ships as the barons on land supplied him with soldiers. The powers of the barons on land waxed greater as time went on, while those of the Cinque Ports waned. The barons of the Cinque Ports, in spite of changes, have retained one high privilege, that is, to sit on the king's right hand at the coronation feast, and to bear the canopy over the king or queen at the ceremony. Pepys was a Baron of the Cinque Ports, and at the coronation of James II. he was one of the bearers of the canopy. Shakespeare refers to this right in his description of Anne Boleyn's return from her coronation :

> "They that bear
> The cloth of honour over her are four barons
> Of the Cinque Ports."—*Henry VIII.*, act iv., sc. 1.

The right has been claimed and acknowledged from the time of Henry III. in 1236, at the coronation of his queen, Eleanor, to the coronation of Queen Victoria.

The general administration of the Navy, in spite of many changes, remained much the same until the re-organization of the Admiralty in the present century ; thus the Lord High Admiral and the Admiralty had the ordering of the whole military organization, and the military officers were under their superintendence. The Keepers of the Ships and afterwards the Navy Board existed to execute the orders of the Admiralty. No system of half-pay was in existence until 1668, when it was accorded to a limited number of flag-officers. Under these circumstances the Commissionerships of the Navy Board were found useful as a reward for deserving officers.

The Navy Office.

The Navy Office formed the civil side of the Admiralty, and masters and mates, doctors and pursers, were under its jurisdiction. There was also a regular staff of pilots, boatswains, gunners, etc. Mr. Oppenheim, in a letter to the "Athenæum,"

August 7th, 1897, expresses the opinion that the office of Clerk of the Acts was the official descendant of that of Keeper or Clerk of the Ships, and in corroboration of this view it may be noted that, although Pepys's office was styled in common parlance Clerk of the Acts, in his patent he is called Clerk of the Ships. In Colonel Pasley's list of the Clerks of the Ships, of the Navy or of the Acts, he commences with Thomas Roger or Rogiers, who was appointed *circa* 1482, and on this appointment he notes: "The office of 'Clerk of the King's Ships,' or of the Navy, afterwards Clerk of the Acts of the Navy, is in all probability a very ancient one; but the first holder of the office whose name I have met with is Thomas Roger or Rogiers, who seems to have held it in the reigns of Edward IV., Edward V., and Richard III. In the third volume of Pepys's MS. 'Miscellanies,' p. 87, is an entry of an order dated 18th May, 22nd Edward IV. (1482), to the Treasurer and Chamberlain of the Exchequer, 'to examine and clear the account of our well-beloved Thomas Roger, Esq., Clerk of our Ships.' Harleian MS. 433 (supposed to have belonged to Lord Burghley) is a register of grants, etc., passing the Privy Seal, etc., during the reigns of Edward V. and Richard III., with some entries of other reigns. No. 1690 is the appointment of 'Thomas Rogiers to be Clerc of all maner shippes to the King belonging.' It has no date, but is very probably a re-appointment by Richard III. on his assumption of the throne."

It appears certain from Oppenheim's "Naval Accounts and Inventories of Henry VII." ("Naval Records Society," vol. vii., 1896, p. 3) that the Clerk of the Ships was the same as Keeper. The patent of Roger is referred to as granting him the office of "Keeper or Clerk of our Ships."

Mr. Oppenheim's further suggestion that the office of Clerk of the Acts is now represented by the Secretary of the Admiralty, and that when Pepys succeeded to the higher office he purposely lowered the dignity of the Clerk of the Acts is less easy of acceptance. Doubtless, knowing as he did the work of the Navy Office, Pepys was in a position to dictate the work of his subordinates, but he could scarcely have transferred

the business of the Navy Office to that of the Admiralty, and we know that for many years the civil department of the Navy was kept distinct from the Admiralty. Although Pepys was a most efficient Secretary there is no evidence that he specially augmented the importance of his office. Nicholas and Coventry, his predecessors, had been powers in the office. I have a letter from Colonel Pasley which bears specially upon this point, and was written in justification of his having commenced his list of Secretaries of the Admiralty before 1673. He wrote : " I think it is correct to call Sir W. Coventry 'Secretary of the Admiralty.' Amongst the MSS. in Pepys's library is one entitled 'Mr. Hewer's Account of the Secretaries of the Admiralty from King Charles II.'s Restoration to King James II.'s withdrawing, Decr. 1688.' Sir W. Coventry's name is the first on this list. No doubt the old Admirals' Secretaries were merely personal servants or retainers of the Lord Admiral for the time being, and were rather private secretaries than public officers. But this became changed at the death of the Duke of Buckingham. When he purchased from Lord Zouch in 1624 the office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports he took with it Lord Zouch's secretary, Edward Nicholas, a man of education and ability, and well versed in naval affairs (the Lord Warden having at that time a considerable naval or maritime jurisdiction independent of the Lord Admiral). Buckingham made Nicholas his Secretary for Naval Affairs, and entrusted him with a large amount of authority. When the duke was assassinated in 1628, and the office of Lord High Admiral for the first time put in commission, Nicholas was made Secretary of the Admiralty.[1] On the appointment in 1638 of another Lord High Admiral (the Earl of Northumberland), he appointed a Secretary of his own, Thomas Smith, who was, like Nicholas, a man of some mark. Since then, the office of Admiral has been generally in commission, and even when held by one person he has usually been assisted by a Board or Council of Advice. As the powers, rights, and duties of the

[1] He became Secretary of State to Charles I., and subsequently (at the Restoration) to Charles II.

office are the same whether exercised by one man or by a body of Commissioners, it is not improper (as it certainly is convenient) to call the successive secretaries by the generic name of Secretaries of the Admiralty. During the Commonwealth the constitution and designation of the governing body of the Admiralty was very frequently changed, but so far as I have been able to make out, the Secretary seems to have been always called 'Secretary of the Admiralty.'"

About 1560 Queen Elizabeth issued a set of regulations for "the Office of the Admiralty and Marine Causes," with the following preamble: "Forasmuch as since the erection of the said office by our late dear father Henry the eighth there hath been no certain ordinance established so as every officer in his degree is appointed to his charge: and considering that in these our days our Navy is one of the chiefest defences of us and our realm against the malice of any foreign potentate:— We have therefore thought good by great advice and deliberation to make certain ordinances and decrees which our pleasure and express commandment is that all our officers shall on their parts execute and follow as they tender our pleasure and will answer to the contrary."

Then follows a list of the several officers forming the Board, viz.:

1. The Vice-Admiral.
2. The Master of the Ordnance and Surveyor of the Navy; one officer.
3. The Treasurer.
4. The Comptroller.
5. The General Surveyor of the Victuals.
6. The Clerk of the Ships.
7. The Clerk of the Stores.

They were to meet at least once a week at the Office on Tower Hill to consult and take measures for the benefit of the Navy, making a monthly report of their proceedings to the Lord Admiral.

The particular instructions for the several officers which follow are brief and not very explicit.

1. The Master of the Ordnance is to take care to make the wants of his department known to the Lord Admiral in good time, and he is to obtain the signatures of three of his colleagues every quarter to his books and accounts, which are then to be submitted to the Court of Exchequer.

2. The Treasurer is to make no payments except on the warrant of at least two of his colleagues, and his books are to be made up and certified by a similar number of the officers every quarter.

3. The Surveyor General of the Victuals is to have his issues warranted and his accounts certified in the same manner. He is to take care always to have in store a sufficient stock of victuals to supply a thousand men at sea for one month at a fortnight's notice.

4. The Surveyor, Comptroller, Clerk of the Ships, and Clerk of the Stores are to see the Queen's ships grounded and trimmed from time to time, and to keep them in such order that upon fourteen days' warning twelve or sixteen sail may be ready for sea, and the rest soon after. They are to make a monthly report of the state of the ships to the Vice-Admiral and the other officers.

5. The Clerk of the Ships is to provide timber and other materials for building and repairing ships.

6. The Clerk of the Stores is to keep a perfect record of receipts and issues: the latter to be made on the warrant of at least two of the officers. He is to deliver periodical accounts, etc.

The document concludes thus:

"Item our pleasure and commandment is that all our said Officers do agree in one consultation, and all such necessary orders as shall be taken amongst them from time to time to be entered in a ledger book for the whole year, to remain of record.

"The Assistants not to be accounted any of our head Officers, but yet to travel in our causes when they shall be thereunto commanded or appointed by our Lord Admiral or Vice-Admiral, or other our Officers.

"Item our mind and pleasure is that every of our said Officers there shall see into their fellows' Offices, to the intent that when God shall dispose his will upon any of them, they living may be able, if we shall prefer any of them, to receive the same.

"These our ordinances to be read once a quarter amongst our Officers, so as thereby every of them may the better understand his duty; and to be safely kept in our Consultation house at Tower Hill."[1]

The number of Principal Officers was afterwards fixed at four, viz., Treasurer, Comptroller, Surveyor, and Clerk. The salaries of these officers are set down by Sir William Monson in his "Naval Tracts" as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Treasurer	220	13	4
Comptroller	155	6	8
Surveyor	146	6	8
Clerk	102	3	4

In the pocket-book of James II. preserved in the Pepysian Library there is the following memorandum of salaries:

	£	s.	d.
Treasurer of the Navy . . .	220	13	4
Comptroller	500	0	0
Surveyor	490	0	0
Clerk of the Acts	350	0	0

According to this, the Treasurer's salary was not increased, but this may be accounted for from the fact that his emoluments arose chiefly from *poundage* on all sums passing through his hands. In time of war his profits were often very large. However, it appears that at a Court at Whitehall on July 4th, 1660, his Royal Highness the Duke of York was desired to give order "that there be allowed to the Treasurer of the Navy for his annual fee or salary the sum of two thousand

[1] "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. xv., No. 4. There is a copy of the Regulations in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 9295, fo. 17).

pounds per annum."[1] The salary of the Clerk of the Acts (as given by Monson) is made up of the ancient fee out of the Exchequer attached to the office (£33 6*s.* 8*d.*), allowance for one or more clerks, "boat hire" and "riding costs," or travelling expenses. After the Restoration the salary was fixed at £350.

On May 31st, 1660, it was "ordered by his Majesty in Council that the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy do continue to issue forth monies for the necessities of the Navy until further orders." On June 27th it was "ordered by his Majesty in Council, that H.R.H. the Duke of York, Lord High Admiral of England, the Lord General Monk, the Earl of Northumberland, Lord General Mountague, Mr. Secretary Nicholas, Mr. Secretary Morris, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and Colonel Charles Howard, or any three or more of them, be a Committee to meet on Saturday next, the 30th of this instant, in the Council Chamber, at eight of the Clock in the morning, to consider of a Paper delivered in by his said R.H. to making the regulation of the Navy, this day read at the board; and in order to their information therein to send for and advise with such persons as they shall think proper for that purpose; and upon full consideration of the whole matter to make report unto H.M. of what they conceive fit to be done thereupon."

On July 2nd the report of this Committee was submitted to the King in Council, and it was ordered that his Royal Highness "do appoint and authorize John Lord Berkeley, Sir William Penn, Knight, and Peter Pett, Esquire, to be Commissioners for the Navy," to assist the Principal Officers, "provided that Peter Pett, Esq., be not obliged to a continual personal attendance jointly with the other officers, but that his chief care be employed at Chatham, the place of his ordinary residence." At this same Council "the orders of the 31st of May and 2nd of June last, whereby the Commissioners of the Admiralty and

[1] Granville Penn's "Memorials of Sir William Penn," 1833, vol. ii., p. 246.

Navy were empowered to act as formerly until further orders" were recalled.[1]

We learn from the Diary that the action of the Privy Council was communicated to Pepys on the evening of the 2nd July, and that the Navy Board were ordered to meet on the following day.[2]

We have seen that in Elizabeth's reign the Navy Office was on Tower Hill. It was afterwards removed to the corner of Crutched Friars and Seething Lane, the site of a storehouse which had originally belonged to Sir William Winter, Surveyor of the Queen's Ships.

One of the great evils of the civil administration of the Navy was its want of centralization. While the Admiralty was self-contained and well governed, the Navy Office and its many offshoots had separate establishments which did not work well together, and the accumulation of evils which followed from this bad administration caused the appointment by an Act of 43 George III. of a "Commission for inquiring into irregularities, frauds, and abuses practised in the Naval Departments and in the Prize Agency."

While the Navy Office was situated in Seething Lane, the Navy Pay Office (where the Treasurer held sway) was in Old Broad Street. The office of the Commissioners for the Sick and Wounded was on Tower Hill, where also was the Victualling Office. At the end of the eighteenth century there were thirteen departments in all.

In the first report of the Commissioners "for revising and digesting the civil affairs of his Majesty's Navy" (dated 13th June, 1805) there is an account of the establishment of the Navy Office at the Restoration, which is of great interest as showing how high was the estimation in which Pepys was held a century after his death. The Commissioners fell into an error, however, in supposing that the Regulations for the Navy were due to the initiation of Pepys. At this date the

[1] Granville Penn's "Memorials of Sir William Penn," 1833, vol. ii., pp. 242-245.

[2] Diary, vol. i., p. 191.

Diary was not published, and from its pages we learn that at the date of the publication of the Regulations Pepys was not sufficiently acquainted with the history of the Navy to draw them up.

"On the Restoration of Charles II. the Duke of York was immediately appointed Lord High Admiral, and by his advice a Committee was named to consider a plan, proposed by himself, for the future regulation of the affairs of the Navy, at which the Duke himself presided.

"In all naval affairs he appears to have acted with the advice and assistance of Mr. Samuel Pepys, who first held the office of Clerk of the Acts, and was afterwards Secretary of the Admiralty; a man of extraordinary knowledge in all that related to the business of that department, of great talents, and the most indefatigable industry. All the proceedings of the Duke of York in the management of the Navy, either when he was Lord High Admiral or after he came to the Throne, are minutely detailed in a great number of manuscript volumes in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge, of which eighteen volumes have, at our desire, been sent for our perusal.

"The Powers which had been before granted to the Commissioners of the Admiralty and the Navy Board were recalled, and the entire management was put into the hands of the Duke, as Lord High Admiral, by whom three new Commissioners were appointed to act with the Treasurer of the Navy, the Comptroller, the Surveyor, and the Clerk of the Acts, as principal Officers and Commissioners of the Navy.

"In 1661, those instructions and standing orders for the guidance of the principal Officers and Commissioners of the Navy, and the superior officers in the dockyards, which are still in force, were sent to the Navy Board by the Duke of York. These had been formed under his direction by Mr. Pepys, and have been found ever since of great use and value in the management of the Naval Departments.

"It appears that after the Duke of York's appointment great progress was very speedily made in the reparation and increase

of the Fleet, but on his return from his command at the end of the Dutch War, which commenced in 1664, he found that, though he had authorized the Navy Board to make all the addition to their establishment which the exigencies of the Navy might require, yet the same careful management had not been continued during his absence. The example of zeal and industry set by Mr. Pepys in his office of Clerk of the Acts had not been sufficient, without the presence and authority of the Duke, to prevent neglect in the other departments, and the Fleet and dockyards had suffered greatly in consequence of it.

"After minute inquiry into the circumstances, a state of the case was, by order of the Duke, drawn up by Mr. Pepys and sent to the Navy Board, in which the duties of the Board, and those of each member of it, taken from the instructions before mentioned, are stated in different heads, and under each head the errors and misconduct that he discovered in the execution, requiring a written answer, in a short limited time, from each of them. The answers were given, and in reply a second paper was sent to each, pointing out what of the charge remained unaccounted for; but finding at the same time, that a part of the blame was justly to be imputed to the irregularity and remissness of the Government, particularly in the supply of money for naval purposes, in consequence of the 'deplorable condition of the King's Treasure,' he continued those officers in their employments, warning them that on any new neglect they would be removed."

We now know not only that Pepys did not draw up the Regulations, but who really was the arranger of them. When William Coventry went to Holland to place his services at the disposal of the King and the Duke of York, he introduced to them William Penn, respecting whose knowledge of naval affairs he had a high opinion, and who had been in communication with the royal brothers for some time. The Regulations were really a revisal and confirmation of the Orders and Instructions issued in 1640 by Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, and a MS. copy

of them was endorsed in the handwriting of the younger William Penn, "Sir William Penn's Regulations of the Navy, settled by the King in Council, 1660, being thereunto commanded by the King and Duke." The Regulations were not published until 1662, when they were sent to the Principal Officers and Commanders of His Majesty's Navy, with a covering letter from H.R.H. the Lord High Admiral, dated "Whitehall, January 28th, 1661-62," which is printed in the "Life of Sir William Penn."[1]

On June 27th, 1660, at a Court at Whitehall, a Committee was appointed (as already stated) to consider a paper handed in by the Duke of York. This paper was the composition of Sir William Penn, who presented it to the King. From this it appears that the suggestion of appointing extra Commissioners, which was acted upon, was due to Penn.

He wrote, "The principal officers, might be, were expedient in the first constitution, by reason the navy was but small, and the ships of no considerable number; whereby they could the better accomplish their peculiar duties. But now the navy growing large (near 160 sail) and the expense vast and great, it hath been amongst knowing men esteemed the best and safest way for his majesty's service to govern the navy by Commission." The paper ends thus: "It is fit, according to the quality of the persons chosen for commissioners such of them as are of more honour and better estates than others should have precedence in commission, place and signing. And it may be presumed, that men look not so much upon a title (of office) as upon the salary which makes the place acceptable and thanksworthy; for if as good an allowance and entertainment be given for acting by a joint-commission as by a particular denomination it may be as much satisfactory and equivalent for rewarding of a service, as under any title whatsoever."[2]

Here we find some explanation of the many instances of Pepys's ill-humour with Penn which are recorded in the Diary.

[1] Penn's "Life of Sir William Penn," vol. ii., pp. 265-268.

[2] Vol. ii., pp. 589-592.

These were evidently caused by jealousy. Penn wished the Commissioners to take rank in the office in accordance with their relative social positions. Pepys was determined that he alone should be master in his own office, so that he was constantly anxious to prevent Penn from taking precedence of him.

It is the more remarkable that he who knew nothing of the Navy when he became Clerk of the Acts, and entered his office entirely ignorant of its business, should succeed in becoming so efficient that the patron and friend of Penn—the Duke of York and William Coventry—came in time to look to Pepys for information and advice respecting the conduct of the Navy Office which Penn had first of all been called upon to organize.

Mr. Granville Penn was very indignant with Pepys for his remarks on Penn, and even more so with Lord Braybrooke for having printed these portions of the Diary, but he appears to have been somewhat inconsistent, for he uses the Diary whenever it suits his purpose, and has largely filled the life of his great-grandfather with quotations from it.

It is evident that the strong words used in the Diary were only the hot expressions of passing feelings which were not followed by unfriendly action. There is every reason to believe that Pepys remained a cordial friend of Penn to the last, and this is corroborated by the evidence of the sincere friendship of the admiral's son—William Penn the Quaker—for Pepys.

The diarist was accustomed to set down unfavourable opinions (formed on the spur of the moment) of persons to whom he was attached. Hewer, Balty St. Michel, and others are not spared, but they remained his life-long friends. We all know those whose superlatives require modification and are not to be taken at their full value. Pepys was one of these.

Doubtless Penn frequently annoyed Pepys, both by his interference in what the latter considered his peculiar province—the governance of his office, and by his want of official aptitude. Tidiness, method, and business habits were all essentials in Pepys's eyes, and there is no evidence that Sir William Penn

was at home in these departments of practical work. He was efficient on board ship, and showed himself on many occasions an able commander. He also had the foresight to know what was required for the regeneration of the office, but the power of carrying out these improvements and acting upon these principles in daily life apparently was not equally familiar to him.

Doubtless Pepys, while educating himself for the efficient discharge of his duties, learned much from the two Sir Williams —Penn and Batten—and it is certainly a blot in his character that he showed so little appreciation in his writings of their eminent position as practical seamen who had seen much hard fighting and occupied prominent positions in their profession. He may, however, have shown them more consideration in real life.

Mr. Oppenheim, in his letter to the "Athenæum," says that the editors of the Diary have not given sufficient explanation of the Barlow incident. It is quite true that in Pepys's patent the joint patent of Dennis Fleming and Thomas Barlow is recited and revoked, so that he had no legal reason to fear any claim from Barlow, yet the fact remained that one who had held his office was still alive and might be troublesome at any time. Knowing from experience that what was given might be taken away and what had been revoked once might be revoked again, he evidently thought it safer to make an arrangement with Barlow, which, as it turned out, was a satisfactory one, for he paid little, and was relieved in his mind. If this is not a full explanation of a curious episode which may have been partly due to good nature, it is probably as good a one as we shall ever be able to give.

There are some very naïve notices in the Diary of Pepys's first appointment to the office of Clerk of the Acts. It was obtained by chance, and neither Montagu, who obtained it for him, or he himself knew its value at first. He was much tempted by the offers made to him to sell the office, but he knew that Lord Sandwich would not approve of the sale, and he put the idea from him. He would have been a madman to

sell for a few hundreds in ready money what turned out to be so profitable a position, but he was always doubtful as to the stability of the existing order of things.

Sir William Penn.

Penn was really one of the chief of those commanders who were at home on the sea, and at the same time could manœuvre a fleet as well as his own ship. Both the King and the Duke of York appear thoroughly to have appreciated his abilities, although they did not reward him very liberally. It is surprising that more disasters did not follow the practice of sending land generals to sea to command navies. Monk was an able commander, but he was so little at home on the sea that his manœuvres were often condemned by his officers and even by the seamen (see vol. v., p. 320), and his words of command, borrowed from those of the soldier, were laughed at by the sailors.

There is a passage in the Diary which should have been illustrated by a note, as it shows Sir William Penn's wisdom, and bears on the highly interesting and disputed questions of the origin of forming in line, and of breaking the enemy's line. On July 4, 1666, Penn was talking to Pepys, and strongly condemning the conduct of the late fight and the methods of many of the commanders, adding, that "three things must be remedied or we shall be undone by this fleete." Pepys then recounts the three vital points: "1. That we must fight in a line, whereas we fight promiscuously, to our utter and demonstrable ruine; the Dutch fighting otherwise; and we whenever we beat them. 2. We must not desert ships of our own in distress, as we did, for that makes a captain desperate, and he will fling away his ship, when there is no hopes left him of succour. 3. That ships, when they are a little shattered, must not take the liberty to come in of themselves, but refit themselves the best they can, and stay out—many of our ships coming in with very small disablenesses" (vol. v., pp. 353, 354).

There is a general opinion that the old practice in the English Navy was for the ships to plunge into battle pell-mell in the most admired disorder, and the above gives countenance to this view ; but it has been asserted that in the first Dutch war in 1652 the line was adopted. In the second Dutch war, in 1665, when Penn was at the right hand of the Duke of York, the line was apparently adopted with success.

Mr. Granville Penn, who enters fully into this question in his "Memorials of Sir William Penn," writes (vol. ii., p. 346): "In the first of the foregoing official narratives we possess the earliest distinct record of an English fleet in column, passing the enemy's line so nearly about the middle as to *divide his fleet*, according to the 3rd article of the Duke of York's fighting instructions: in modern phrase, *breaking or cutting through the enemy's line.* This unostentatious statement of the fact of the operation shows, both that the commander of that fleet was well aware of its nature and importance, and also that he regarded it as an advantage obvious to watchful and resolute seamanship. The document that contains this statement, and which certainly was not written with any reference to a recent controversy, has existed in print since the 8th of June, 1665, and has lain from that time, on the shelves of all our libraries which contain either the separate narrative or the 'Intelligencer' of that date, unheeded by all the writers of our naval histories. It is here to be observed, that Hoste does not present this second battle of the Texel as an example of an English fleet formed in line for the first time, absolutely, as Macpherson has erroneously done; for he had already shown, on the evidence of an eye-witness, that the English fleet was formed in line to leeward of the Dutch in the first battle of the Texel in 1653, but he presents it as a perfect example of a fleet formed in line, close hauled to the wind, and bearing down into the enemy's line to leeward, according to the Duke of York's 7th instruction."

Granville Penn further quotes from a work published at Amsterdam only three years after the battle ("Description exacte de tout ce qui s'est passé dans les guerres," etc.), the

following corroborative passage: "Le Comte de Sandwich sépara la flotte Hollandoise en deux vers l'1 heure du midi;" and adds, "In the tack in which the Duke of York made the signal to bear down into the enemy's line, the blue or rear squadron, under the Earl of Sandwich, became the van, and led the English column; and coming up the first to the enemy, about one o'clock p.m., gallantly broke through his line, near the centre, where Opdam was stationed. The Duke, in the 'Charles,' who followed in the centre of his own column, came into action with that commander about two o'clock; from which time the remainder of the fleet 'fell in pell-mell' with the enemy's lines."[1]

When Sir William Penn died the King was largely in his debt, and in consideration of this obligation William Penn the Quaker obtained the grant of land in North America, and in the grant the King's obligations to Sir William Penn are set forth, and "the memory and merits of Sir William Penn in divers services, and particularly his conduct, courage and discretion under our dearest brother, James, Duke of York, in that signal battle and victory fought and obtained against the Dutch fleet commanded by the Heer Van Opdam in 1665" are recorded. It was the intention of William Penn to call his province by the name of "Sylvania," but Charles II. insisted that it should be styled "Penn-sylvania."[2]

The Duke of York also surrendered his title to the adjoining territory, now forming the state of Delaware, "out of a special regard to the memory and many faithful and eminent services heretofore performed by the said Sir William Penn to his said majesty and royal highness," August 21st, 1682.[3]

It is strange that these particulars should so often have been overlooked when the claims of Lord Rodney, Sir Charles Douglas, and Clerk of Eldin[4] to the invention of the manœuvre

[1] "Memorials of Sir William Penn," vol. ii., p. 352.
[2] Vol. ii., pp. 359-360.
[3] Page 360.
[4] The "Essay on Naval Tactics," by John Clerk of Eldin (1728-1812), was privately printed in 1782.

of breaking the enemy's line has been discussed. At the same time, although Granville Penn makes out a case in favour of Sir William Penn's adoption of the line of battle, he certainly goes too far in asserting that it was adopted in 1652. I believe that Professor Gardiner, who has all the material on the subject before him, does not hold this view. For a final decision on this most interesting point we must wait till Professor Gardiner's work, to be issued by the Navy Records Society, is published. In this he is expected to trace out the genesis of the line of battle.

Sir William Penn and his position on the Navy Board have previously been alluded to. It was said that the king promised him a peerage, but this came to nought when his son became a Quaker. Penn was the second son of Giles Penn, a merchant and sea captain trading to the Mediterranean. He married, about 1639, Margaret, daughter of Hans (or John) Jasper of Rotterdam.

Penn was knighted by Charles II. on board the "Naseby" on May 23rd, 1660, although the circumstance is not mentioned by Pepys, who did not then know how intimately associated with Penn he would be in the future.

Sir George Carteret.

A few extra notes may here be set down on some of Pepys's colleagues at the Navy Office. First in rank was the Treasurer, who had his own office and staff. Sir George Carteret, who had been Comptroller of the Navy in 1639, was appointed Treasurer at the Restoration. He was a member of a distinguished Jersey family, and brought up to the sea. He was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Jersey, and there carried on operations against the Parliament for some time, thus providing an asylum for the Royalists until he was forced to surrender in 1651, when he joined the exiles in France. He was knighted by Prince Charles in 1644, and created a baronet in 1645. He was distinguished among the Royalists, and stood in high favour with the King, who, at the time of his death in

1680, had the intention of raising him to the peerage. His widow was granted precedence as a baron's wife, and his son was created Lord Carteret in 1681.

Sir George Carteret was rich and his credit was high with the bankers, but the worries attendant on the office of Treasurer were more than he cared to bear, and in 1666 he exchanged the Treasurership of the Navy with the Earl of Anglesey for the Vice-Treasurership of Ireland. In 1673 he was one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty. In the early years of the Diary we find that although Pepys was fairly friendly with Carteret he was apt to be critical. When, however, Carteret's son married the daughter of the Earl of Sandwich, and thus became one of the family to which Pepys belonged, a change of tone is distinctly observable, and the Treasurer's pleasant humour and honesty are lauded.

Earl of Anglesey.

Arthur Annesley (1614-1686), who succeeded his father as second Viscount Valentia in November, 1660, was created Baron Annesley and Earl of Anglesey in 1661. He was a strong Parliamentarian, but was converted to the royal side by the anarchy of the last days of the Commonwealth, and he was instrumental in the restoration of Charles II. He does not appear to have made a satisfactory exchange when he gave up the office of Vice-Treasurer and Receiver-General for Ireland to Sir George Carteret, for his tenancy of the office of Treasurer of the Navy was short. He was suspended from his office in 1668. Anglesey was a bold and straightforward man, but he is supposed to have looked after his own interest rather to the sacrifice of the interests of others. Pepys evidently felt a considerable respect for him. The office was given after Lord Anglesey's retirement to two men who acted as joint-treasurers; these were Sir Thomas Osborne, afterwards Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds, and Sir Thomas Lyttelton. The ways of these two men did not commend themselves to Pepys, and he thought they gave

themselves airs which he felt inclined to resent. It is not unlikely that there was some foundation for this unfavourable opinion, for Osborne's political career was not one to be praised by those who appreciate the highmindedness of our public men.

Sir Robert Slingsby.

Sir Robert Slingsby (1611-1661), a consistent Royalist, was appointed Comptroller of the Navy at the Restoration, but he lived a very short time to enjoy his office, for he died on October 26th, 1661, much regretted by Pepys.[1] He was succeeded by Sir John Mennes (1599-1671), also a Royalist, who was a good sailor and an accomplished man, but probably Pepys was right in holding him to have been an incompetent official. His name has been spelt by others in many different ways, one of these being *Mince*.

The office of Comptroller of the Navy is the only one connected with the Navy Board which still survives, at all events in name, at the Admiralty.

Sir William Batten.

Sir William Batten, who was re-appointed to his old office of Surveyor at the Restoration, occupies almost as large a

[1] Slingsby wrote a "Discourse of the Navy," 1660, which is printed with Hollond's "Discourse" by the Navy Records Society. Mr. J. R. Tanner, the editor of the volume, says of these two men: "Sir Robert Slyngesbie . . . is a man who appears in some sense to belong to just the opposite type to Hollond. Hollond was a clerk, Slyngesbie a seaman; Hollond was a man of great ability, who had worked his way from an origin wholly obscure, while Slyngesbie belonged to a family that had already attained a position of some distinction: it is nothing against Hollond that he was a parliamentarian, but he was certainly a selfish and in some respects almost a sordid parliamentarian, whereas Slyngesbie displayed a devotion to the lost cause that does infinite credit to his heart, if not to his head. Hollond's is the valuable treatise, but the charm of personal character is all with Slyngesbie, and it is a relief to turn from the difficult and ambiguous motives of the one to the plain dealings and delicate loyalty of the other." Mr. Tanner gives some particulars of Slingsby's life.

space in the Diary as his colleague, Sir William Penn. Pepys was jealous of him, and was seldom betrayed into saying a good word for him. The ill-feeling that evidently existed was increased by the unfriendliness and jealousy between Mrs. Pepys and Lady Batten. Clarendon describes Batten as an "obscure fellow unknown to the Navy," but Professor Laughton in the "Dictionary of National Biography" gives reason for doubting this description. He says that Burke states him to have been the son of Andrew Batten of Easton St. George, near Bristol, who was for many years master in the Royal Navy. Professor Laughton considers Sir William Batten to have been a distinguished officer, and warns readers against being prejudiced by Pepys's portrait of the man. There is an amusing allusion to Batten's personal appearance on April 21st, 1666, where the King, "among other pretty things," swore merrily to Pepys that "he believed the ketch that Sir W. Batten bought the last year at Colchester was of his own getting, it was so thick to its length" (vol. i., p. 276).

Batten was succeeded by Colonel Thomas Middleton.

Sir William Coventry.

Of the Extra Commissioners of the Navy who were in constant official communication with Pepys the first place must be accorded to Sir William Coventry, although it is as Secretary to the Duke of York more than as a Commissioner that he figures in the Diary. He may be considered as the hero of its pages, for Pepys evidently held him in the most profound respect, so that in a book where the characters of the actors are subjected to the most searching criticism Coventry almost alone receives only praise. Pepys's attachment to Coventry is a pleasing feature in his character, but it also says much for Coventry himself, for the man who was capable of impressing Pepys in this manner must have been far removed from the ordinary politician of his time.

Macaulay put forth all his powers to picture to us Sir George

Savile, Marquis of Halifax, and to portray him as a hero, but Savile was indebted to his uncle for much of that which made him famous. It was Sir William Coventry who was the original "Trimmer," the man who said that he "would sit upright and not overturn the boat by swaying on either side." The life of Coventry is remarkable as exhibiting the case of a statesman of the highest ability, who, although a member of the Privy Council, never held any office of the first importance. He and his brother for a time led the House of Commons, and Bishop Burnet describes him as the best speaker there. His fierce attacks upon Clarendon's administration contributed to the fall of the Chancellor, and when that statesman resigned his office and fled the country, it was expected that Coventry would have obtained the Secretaryship of State, but he was only made a Commissioner of the Treasury. It is not surprising that the Duke of York should resent Coventry's opposition to his father-in-law, but the king was certainly ungrateful. It was, however, largely Coventry's own fault that he did not attain high office, for we find him telling Pepys on October 28th, 1667, that he would not accept the office of Secretary of State even if his commission was brought to him wrapped in gold (vol. vii., p. 173).

The king grew tired of his faithful servant, and the opportunity which was taken to effect his fall was his quarrel with Buckingham. He was informed that the Duke of Buckingham and Sir R. Howard were contemplating a caricature of him on the stage, so he at once sent a challenge to the duke, with the result that he found himself in the Tower. He was excluded from the Privy Council and deprived of his office in the Treasury. Charles II. expressed his pleasure in a letter to his sister Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans. "I am not sorry that Sir Will. Coventry has given me this good occasion, by sending my Lord of Buckingham a chalenge, to turne him out of the Councill. I do intend to turn him allso out of the Treasury. The truth of it is, he has been a troublesome man in both places, and I am well rid of him."—Charles II.'s letter to his sister, the Duchess of Orleans, dated "Whitehall, 7 March

1669" (printed in Julia Cartwright's "Madame," 1894, p. 283).

Coventry never forgot the treatment he had received, and he had no taste for renewing his Court life. The note (vol. i., p. 153) is not strictly correct in respect to the statement that he retired into the country on being forbid the Court for challenging Buckingham, as he appears to have taken an active part in the debates of the House of Commons until the dissolution of Parliament in January, 1678-79. It was then that he retired to his seat at Minster Lovel in Oxfordshire.[1]

It has been said that he might have had any office he aspired to, but he turned a deaf ear to all overtures. His experience had taught him the dangers of public life, and he appears to have seen no corresponding advantages. He died unmarried, at Somerhill, near Tunbridge Wells, on the 23rd June, 1686.

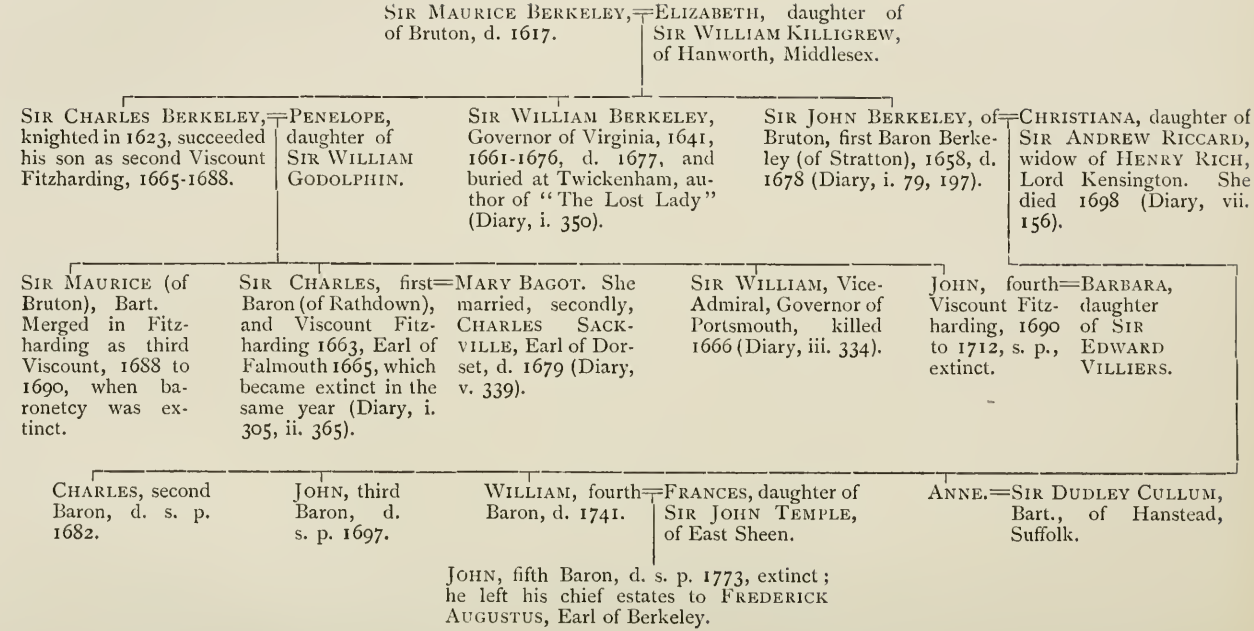
There is a singular fascination in Coventry's character, and he must ever be to the reader of the Diary, after the writer himself, the most interesting personality in the wonderful gallery of men and women there portrayed.

The two Lords Berkeley.

John, Lord Berkeley of Stratton, was appointed an Extra Commissioner of the Navy at the Restoration, and retained the office till December, 1664. He and his connections were in high favour at Court, and the table on the next page shows the relationship between various members of the family, several of whom occupy a prominent position in the pages of the Diary.

There were two Lords Berkeley mentioned in these pages, and in early editions the two were confused in the Index. The confusion was remedied in later editions, and Pepys, to make a distinction between the two men, usually gives Lord

[1] Penn's "Memorials of Sir W. Penn," vol. ii., p. 532 (note).


Sir Maurice Berkeley, of Bruton, d. 1617.
Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Killigrew, of Hanworth, Middlesex.
Sir Charles Berkeley, knighted in 1623, succeeded his son as second Viscount Fitzharding, 1665-1688.
Penelope, daughter of Sir William Godolphin.
Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia, 1641, 1661-1676, d. 1677, and buried at Twickenham, author of "The Lost Lady" (Diary, i. 350).
Sir John Berkeley, of Bruton, first Baron Berkeley (of Stratton), 1658, d. 1678 (Diary, i. 79, 197).
Christiana, daughter of Sir Andrew Riccard, widow of Henry Rich, Lord Kensington. She died 1698 (Diary, vii. 156).
Sir Maurice (of Bruton), Bart. Merged in Fitzharding as third Viscount, 1688 to 1690, when baronetcy was extinct.
Sir Charles, first Baron (of Rathdown), and Viscount Fitzharding 1663, Earl of Falmouth 1665, which became extinct in the same year (Diary, i. 305, ii. 365).
Mary Bagot. She married, secondly, Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset, d. 1679 (Diary, v. 339).
Sir William, Vice-Admiral, Governor of Portsmouth, killed 1666 (Diary, iii. 334).
John, fourth Viscount Fitzharding, 1690 to 1712, s. p., extinct.
Barbara, daughter of Sir Edward Villiers.
Charles, second Baron, d. s. p. 1682.
John, third Baron, d. s. p. 1697.
William, fourth Baron, d. 1741.
Frances, daughter of Sir John Temple, of East Sheen.
Anne.
Sir Dudley Cullum, Bart., of Hanstead, Suffolk.
John, fifth Baron, d. s. p. 1773, extinct; he left his chief estates to Frederick Augustus, Earl of Berkeley.

Berkeley of Berkeley, the head of the family, the incorrect title of Lord George Berkeley. The connection between the two branches of the Berkeley family dates back to the fourteenth century, as the father of Lord Berkeley of Stratton was descended from Sir Maurice de Berkeley (died 1346-47), second son of Maurice, second Lord Berkeley of Berkeley. Lord Berkeley of Berkeley and his family may be placed in a table as follows :

GEORGE, ninth Lord Berkeley of Berkeley, created Earl of Berkeley 1679 (Diary, i. 79). = ELIZABETH, daughter and coheir of JOHN MASSINGBERD, Treasurer of the East India Company. She died 1708 (Diary, vii. 23).			
SIR CHARLES, K.B. 1661, Viscount Dursley 1679-1698, summoned to Parliament as Baron Berkeley of Berkeley *vitâ patris* 1689, succeeded as second Earl 1698, d. 1710 (Diary, vii. 24). =	ELIZABETH, fourth daughter of BAPTIST, second Viscount Campden.	GEORGE, Prebendary of Westminster, died 1694.	Six daughters, one of these (possibly LADY ELIZABETH the eldest) PEPYS saw at a Court ball 15th November, 1666 (Diary, vi. 66).

LORD BROUNCKER.

William, 2nd Viscount Brouncker, was Extra Commissioner of the Navy from 1664 to 1666, and Comptroller of the Treasurer's Accounts from 1666 to 1679. He also held the offices of Chancellor to Queen Katharine and Master of St. Katharine's Hospital. He was an accomplished man and a proficient in mathematics and in many languages, but his chief title of honour is that he was chosen first President of the Royal Society after the charter was granted. In spite of all this he makes but a poor figure in the Diary. From the entries there respecting him one would scarcely suspect that he was a man of any ability at all. However clever a man might be, if he did not do his official work well Pepys had no word of praise for him.

Lord Brouncker died in January, 1687-88, and was succeeded in his title by Henry Brouncker, whose bad character, as painted by Pepys, is confirmed by all who mention him, for no

one has a word to say in his favour. He will ever be remembered in connection with the "slacking of sail" in the sea-fight of 1665, when he acted against orders to secure the Duke of York from danger.

The Petts.

Peter Pett was appointed at the Restoration one of the Commissioners of the Navy, with a salary of £350 a year, and attached to the dockyard of Chatham. Here he remained till 1667, when he was made a scapecoat after the Dutch navy had disgraced the English nation by proceeding up the Medway, and he was dismissed from his place.

Peter Pett, the Commissioner, is frequently mentioned in the Diary, as is his younger brother, Christopher.

Sir Peter Pett (1630-99) was educated at St. Paul's School, and was five years Pepys's senior there.

There were several members of the family named Phineas, who cannot be identified ; thus Phineas, Assistant Master Shipwright at Chatham, who was dismissed in October, 1660 (vol. i., p. 228), is said by Pepys to have been a kinsman of the Commissioner, but I cannot find what the exact relationship was. It seems scarcely likely that he was Sir Peter Pett's brother, who was Master Shipwright at Chatham in 1667 (see vol. viii., p. 71).

The family of the Petts was connected with the Royal Navy for several centuries, and Heywood the historian, speaking of Phineas Pette (1570-1640), says, "whose ancestors—father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, for the space of two hundred years and upwards, have continued in the same name officers and architects in the Royal Navy."

In Le Neve's "Pedigrees of Knights" Peter Pett (died 1589) is described as "great-grandson of Thomas Pett of Skipton in Cumberland" [really in Yorkshire]. But Professor Laughton thinks that he probably belonged to the family of the name which early in the fifteenth century owned property at Pett, in the parish of Stockbury, in Kent. There is great confusion respecting the various individuals of the family, owing to the constant use in all branches of the Christian names Peter and

PETER PETT, settled at Harwich (probably a shipbuilder).

PETER PETT, Master Shipwright at Deptford from the reign of Edward VI. till his death in 1589.

= First wife.

= Second wife, ELIZABETH THORNTON, who afterwards married THOMAS NUNN, died 1597.

JOSEPH, succeeded his father at Deptford, died 1605.

PETER, shipbuilder at Wapping.

PETER (1593-1652), Master Shipwright at Deptford.

SIR PETER PETT (1630-1699), Advocate General for Ireland.

SIR PHINEAS PETT, Master Shipwright at Chatham 1667, at Woolwich 1675, Comptroller of Stores 1680, Commissioner of the Navy at Chatham 1680, knighted 1680.

N

PHINEAS PETT (1570-1647), Master Builder of the Navy and Navy Commissioner, succeeded his brother JOSEPH as Master Shipwright at Deptford in 1605.

= ANNE NICHOLS (first wife), married 1598, died 1627.

NOAH PETT, Master of the "Popinjay" in 1594.

Four daughters.

JOHN, born 1601, Captain of the "Six Whelp," 1622, died 1628.

HENRY (1604-1612).

RICHARD (1606-1629).

JOSEPH, born 1608.

PETER (1610-1670?), Commissioner of the Navy 1647-1667.

PHINEAS (1614-1617).

PHINEAS, born 1618, Clerk of the Cheque at Chatham.

CHRISTOPHER (1620-1668) Assistant Master Shipwright at Woolwich, succeeded PETER (1593-1652) as Master Shipwright at Deptford.

Three daughters.

Second wife of Phineas Pett (1570-1647), Susan Yardley, widow, died 1636; third wife, Mildred, died 1638.

Phineas (see vol. i., pp. 193, 326). Considerable information is to be found in the manuscript in the British Museum, "The Life of Mr. Phineas Pette, one of the Master Shipwrights to King James the First, drawn up by himself," extracts from which are printed in "Archæologia" (vol. xii., pp. 217-96); and Professor Laughton has for the first time made the relationship fairly clear, in his lives of some of the Petts in the "Dictionary of National Biography." From these two sources I have drawn up the genealogical table on the preceding page.

This completes the list of Pepys's immediate colleagues, and there is not space here to recapitulate the names of the many captains and officers the diarist came in contact with. One or two, however, must be mentioned.

Sir Jeremy Smith.

Captain Sir Jeremy Smyth's serious quarrel with Sir Robert Holmes is mentioned on October 24th, 1666, and in the note to the passage (vol. vi., p. 36) the "Calendar of State Papers" is quoted and reference is made to Sir Jeremy's counter-charges, but the reviewer in the "Athenæum" says that this mistake is caused by a misprint in the "Calendar," as Holmes was never charged with cowardice. Smith had a powerful friend in the Duke of Albemarle, and the King and the Duke of York appear to have stood by him, so that the attacks of the hot-headed Holmes did him no permanent harm. In 1669 he was appointed Comptroller of Victualling in succession to Sir William Penn, and he held the office till 1675.

Evelyn described Sir Jeremy Smith as "a stout seaman, who had interposed and saved the Duke from perishing by a fire-ship in the late war" ("Diary," May 25th, 1673).

Sir Anthony Deane.

Sir Anthony Deane was a lifelong friend of Pepys, and a fellow-sufferer, as they were both committed to the Tower in 1679. He appears to have been a native of Harwich, and

through life he kept up his interest in this place. He filled the office of mayor, and was member of Parliament for the borough in 1679 and 1685. He filled an office in Woolwich Dockyard soon after the Restoration, and here he attracted the attention of Pepys, who obtained for him on October 15th, 1664, the appointment of Master Shipwright at Harwich. In 1668 he became Master Shipwright at Portsmouth, and in 1672 Commissioner of the Navy at Portsmouth. Subsequently he was successively Comptroller of the Victualling and of the Stores. He was a very expert shipbuilder and a rival of the Petts. Pepys had a high opinion of his abilities in this respect.

Sir Christopher Myngs.

Sir Christopher Myngs was buried in a church in the City on June 13th, 1666, but although Pepys describes the occasion he does not mention the name of the church. Professor Laughton suggests that he died at his own house in Goodman's Fields, Whitechapel, but Mr. George W. Minnes has been unable to find any notice of his burial in the registers of this parish. Pepys affirms that Myngs was the son of a shoemaker, and that he was in the habit of boasting of his humble origin, but Professor Laughton disputes this, and says that his parents were of well-to-do families in the north of Norfolk. Moreover, he sealed his letters with a crest of a boar. The remarkable and affecting anecdote of the dozen sailors who attended the funeral and swore that if the Duke of York would give them a fireship they would revenge their late commander we owe to Pepys (vol. v., p. 327).

Lord Sandwich.

The fifth volume of the Diary is full of remarks upon Lord Sandwich's conduct in respect to his taking of the Dutch prizes at Bergen (see note on page 50). When Pepys first heard the particulars he was sorry that his patron would prob-

ably get into trouble over the business, but he treated it very lightly. Gradually, however, owing to the stir it made, he began to see the matter in a more serious light. On September 18th, 1665, he says that Lord Sandwich made him "see how the judgement of the world is not to be depended on in things they know not" (p. 81), but on October 11th he had come to the conclusion that Sandwich had done a very rash act, and on December 31st he wrote that "the mistake about the prizes" had undone him (p. 185). The earl's enemies were many, but the king remained his friend and sent him as ambassador to Spain to get him out of the way and to hide his disgrace. Posterity, however, has come to the same judgment on Sandwich's conduct in respect to the prizes as his enemies, and we can see from his talk with Pepys how much he was to blame and how very lax his principles were. Pepys tries to throw the blame on his subordinates, and writes on December 31st, 1665, "his miscarriage about the prize goods is not to be excused to suffer a company of rogues to go away with ten times as much as himself, and the blame of all to be deservedly laid upon him" (vol. v., p. 185). This, however, does not appear to be a correct statement, for £2,000 went to Lord Sandwich and £8,000 to eight other flag officers. Moreover, it is said that the goods valued at £2,000 were sold by Sandwich to a London merchant for £5,000. The scandal was not allowed to be forgotten, for in 1667 it was brought before the House of Commons, and for a long period this and other irregularities were debated. The division of the prizes among the flag officers gave great offence to the captains, officers, and men, but the chief cause of complaint was the breaking of bulk, or Sandwich's division of the goods on his own responsibility. He obtained the consent of the King for his action, but this was not sufficient, for it was an illegal act, as no prize could be touched till it had been condemned by the Admiralty. Sandwich had made his division before the approval of the naval authorities could be obtained. Hence he drew down upon himself the wrath of the Duke of York, the Duke of Albemarle, besides that of many lesser men.

The nine and a half years covered by the Diary were full of great events, such as the Dutch wars and the Plague and Fire of London, but none of the pages relating to public affairs are so depressing as those containing the description of the great national disgrace caused by the forcing of the Dutch ships up the Thames to the Medway in 1667.

The Dutch in the Medway.

The authorities appear to have expected the Dutch to force their way to Chatham, and made some futile attempts in May to stop them by placing a great iron chain across the river near Gillingham. The position of the chain is marked on John Evelyn's chart, showing the position of the Dutch fleet (see vol. vi., p. 354). Some English ships were anchored behind the chain to protect it, but after two and a half hours' fighting, three Dutch ships broke the chain, and the rest passed by the obstruction in safety. When the Dutch left the river the chain was repaired, but it was not required again. On October 20th, Pepys relates that Sir W. Coventry was "forced to produce a letter in Parliament wherein the Duke of Albemarle did from Sheernesse write in what good posture all things were at Chatham, and that the chain was so well placed that he feared no attempt of the enemy." Pepys adds to this, "so that, among other things, I see everybody is upon his own defence, and spares not to blame another to defend himself, and the same course I shall take" (vol. vii., p. 159). This selfish action was not found to be the wisest after all, for Coventry told Pepys, on October 23rd, that he made a "mistake in the House the other day, which occasions him much trouble, in shewing of the House the Duke of Albemarle's letter about the good condition of Chatham" (vol. vii., p. 166). Reference has already been made to Evelyn's chart, and mention of the original sketch may here be added. This was amongst the Pepys MSS. belonging to Mr. S. J. Davey, and catalogued by him in 1889. This sketch was described by Evelyn on the back of the document as "A Scheme of the

Action at Chatham when the Dutch burnt our ships, as it was taken by me in the place, 1667." At the bottom of the sketch Evelyn has written, "Such a sight I wish no Englishman may ever see again."

Sovereignty of the Sea.

Pepys early in his career projected a book on the honour of the flag and sovereignty of the sea. When he obtained the appointment of Surveyor-General of the Victualling Office, chiefly through the influence of Sir William Coventry, he inquired about the Pursers, and sent a letter on the subject as a new year's gift to his friend Coventry. Later on he proposed to write a more extended history of the Navy. Pepys's attention was drawn to the question of the sovereignty of the British seas by reason of the trouble which Sir Robert Holmes got into by allowing the Swedish Ambassador to go by him in the Thames without striking his flag. The ambassador deceived Holmes by swearing that he had a permission from the king to dispense with this observance. Pepys writes, on November 12th, 1661, "This day Holmes came to town; and we do expect hourly to hear what usage he hath from the Duke and the King about this late business of letting the Swedish Embassador go by without striking his flag" (vol. ii., p. 135). Holmes was imprisoned for two months, and was not reappointed to the same ship. On November 28th, 1661, Pepys bought Selden's "Mare Clausum," "having it in my mind to write a little matter, what I can gather, about the business of striking sayle, and present it to the Duke, which I now think will be a good way to make myself known." And again, on December 31st, he writes: "I am also upon writing a little treatise to present to the Duke about our privilege in the seas, as to other nations striking their flags to us." He does not appear to have carried out his intention, and there was no real need for his proposed little treatise.

In Selden's work the British claim was strongly urged, and Charles I. made an Order in Council that one copy should be

kept in the Council chest, another in the Court of Exchequer, and a third in the Court of Admiralty. Besides Selden's work there was Sir John Burrough's treatise on "The Sovereignty of the British Seas proved by Records, History, and the Municipall Lawes of this Kingdome," 1651. Later, John Evelyn dealt with the subject in his "Navigation and Commerce" (1674), and argued strongly in favour of the British claim, but he privately confessed to Pepys that he did not consider there was any sufficient evidence of the right. The reviewer in the "Athenæum" takes exception to the wording of Lord Braybrooke's note on p. 145 (vol. ii.), which refers to Pepys's unblushing confession of having told a lie to Sir William Coventry, when he asserted that he had often heard Selden say that he could prove that in Henry VII.'s time the king "did give commission to his Captains to make the King of Denmark's ships to strike to him in the Baltique." The reviewer says that Henry VII. did not make this claim, and thinks that it ought to have been pointed out that Pepys confesses to the assertion being a mere lie invented on the spur of the moment.

In Granville Penn's "Memorials of Sir William Penn," there are extracts from the four several Treaties with Holland of 1654, 1662, 1667, and 1674, in which the British claim is conceded. The following are translations of the original Latin :

"Treaty of Westminster, 5th April, 1654. 13. That the ships and vessels of the said United Provinces, as well those of war as others, which shall meet any of the men-of-war of this Commonwealth in the British seas, shall strike their flag, and lower the topsail, in such manner as the same hath ever been observed at any times heretofore, under any other form of government."

"Treaty of Whitehall, 14th Sept., 1662, and of Breda, 21st-31st July, 1657. 10 and 19. That the ships and vessels of the said United Provinces, as well those of war as others, which shall meet any of the men-of-war of the said King of Great Britain, in the British seas, shall strike their flag and lower the topsail,

in such manner as the same hath ever been observed at any times heretofore."

"Treaty of Westminster, 9th-19th Feb., 1674. The said States-General of the United Provinces, duly acknowledging, on their part, the right of the above-mentioned King of Great Britain to have honour paid to his flag in the seas to be hereafter named, will and do declare and agree, that all and singular the ships and vessels whatsoever belonging to the said United Provinces, whether ships of war or others, whether single ships or in squadrons, which shall meet any ships or vessels whatsoever belonging to the most serene King of Great Britain, whether one or more, carrying his Britannic Majesty's ensign or flag called the *Jack*, in any of the seas from the promontory called the *Land's-end*[1] to the middle point of land in Norway called Van Staten, the foresaid ships or vessels of the United Provinces shall strike their flag and lower their topsail, in such manner and with the like testimony of respect as hath been customary in any time or place heretofore, by any ships of the States-General or their ancestors to any ships of his Britannic Majesty or his ancestors."

On January 1st, 1665-66, Pepys dictated from five o'clock in the morning till three o'clock in the afternoon a letter to Sir William Coventry on the "husbandly execution of the Victualling part of the Naval expense," which he styled "A New Year's Gift." The same afternoon and the two following days he copied the latter out, and after examining it he sent it off express on the 3rd. The MS. is now in the British Museum (Harleian MS., No. 6287).

Pepys's proposed History of the Navy.

For his grand scheme of a history of the British Navy Pepys was continually making inquiries, but although he left many volumes of collections which he styled "Navalia," he did not proceed far in the arrangement of his materials.

[1] This in Latin is "Promontorium *finis terræ* dictum," and in the old version of the peace this was absurdly translated as "Cape Finisterre."

He asked the following questions of Sir William Dugdale, which were copied from the Rawlinson MSS., and communicated to "Notes and Queries" (1st S., vol. viii., p. 341) by the late Mr. J. Yeowell:

"1. Whether any foreigners are to be found in any list of English admirals?

"2. The reason or account to be given of the place assigned to our admirals in the Acts of Parliament?

"3. Whether any of the considerable families of our nobility or gentry have been raised by the sea?

"4. Some instances of the greatest ransoms heretofore set upon prisoners of greatest quality.

"5. The descent and posterity of Sir Francis Drake, and what estate is now in the possession of any of his family derived from him?

"6. Who Sir Anthony Ashley was?

"7. What are and have been generally the professions, trades, or qualifications, civil or military, that have and do generally raise families in England to wealth and honour in Church and State?"

Unfortunately we have not Dugdale's answers to these questions, but we have John Evelyn's answers to somewhat similar questions. In the catalogue of Mr. S. J. Davey's collection of correspondence addressed to Pepys already referred to are notices of a series of letters from John Evelyn. In one, dated January, 1680, Evelyn impresses upon Pepys the importance of his writing a history of navigation, and refers him to the MSS. of Selden, giving him a list of works he should consult for his book, and tells him it is his duty to give "his prince, his country, and his friends, the literary knowledge he has been acquiring." In another letter, dated June 15th, 1680, Evelyn mentions the various books he has consulted, and gives the numbers of ships and men he believes to have been employed by King Edward III., and quotes his various authorities. These he says he has founded on a roll lately extant, but of its existence at the time of writing he is not sure. An undated letter of Evelyn of eight folio pages con-

tains a reply to two folio pages of queries from Pepys, which relate almost entirely to historical personages, such as Sir Francis Drake and the Spanish Armada, Queen Elizabeth, Henry VIII., etc. Evelyn mentions the invasion of the Dutch, whom "Albemarle did so despise." Amongst other interesting references, he speaks of Sebastian Cabot or Gabot, and says he has seen one of Cabot's charts of his voyages, which "was hanging up in ye Privy Chamber in Whitehall a long time ago," but he fears it has been lost, and asks Pepys to inquire "if Chiffinch has it." Speaks also of Sir Walter Raleigh's victories against the Spaniards, and of the money he spent during his discoveries. The following are questions proposed by Pepys which Evelyn answers in this letter:

"I. Instances of any national mistakes, either new or old, whether at home or abroad, in ye over-valuing their own knowledge or force, or undervaluing those of other countryes, and may not ye ill success of ye Spaniards in 88 bee in some measure charg'd upon a mistake of this kind in reference to us as ours seeme to be in this day against ye Moores in Barbary. II. Instance of any considerable inventions or particular peeces of knowledge, whether in Trade, Science or otherwise, wherein we may greatly value ourselves before our neighbours? III. Bookes of stratagem, and particularly naval? IV. Why should other nations more ancient in their naval actions than wee be thought less inventive and improved than us in Navigaceon while they are found so much to outdo us in all other arts, viz. Architecture, Painting, &c., and most other parts of Human Knowledge, whether for use or Pleasure. V. Instances of any Defeats anciently given us at sea or Invasion made upon our land by Forreiners from ye Roman Conquest upwards to this day, and more especially from ye French. VI. Who was Genebelli that built the block houses in 88 at Gravesend and first used ye stratagem about three years before of fire-boats at ye siege of Antwerp. VII. Who was Henry ye VIII. Engineer in the castles he built, and have we ever had any considerable Engineers in our owne Country. VIII. Queen Elizabeth's forbidding King Henry ye 4th of

France to build any new ships. May not actions of his implying ye contrary be instanced in? . . . ."

In another letter, dated September 6th, 1680, Evelyn refers in greater detail to some of the previous questions asked by Pepys, and gives a long dissertation upon certain Greek coins and vessels; describes a ship which would accommodate 500 families; mentions that in Toledo Cathedral he was shown a miniature ship "wrought all out of Rock Crystal, with ye very cordage of ye same."

In a further letter (October, 1681) Evelyn refers at length to a wonderful ship which sailed out of Egypt and Greece 1,500 years before Christ, and suggests the reading of certain works for the details.

Many other subjects connected with the management of the Navy might be alluded to here, such as the government of the dockyards, the payment of sailors by tickets, and the business of the Chest at Chatham, but the discussion of these matters cannot be dealt with in the space at our disposal. Suffice it to say that particulars on some of these points will be found in the publications of the Navy Records Society.

That society published in 1896, "Two Discourses of the Navy, 1638 and 1659, by John Hollond; also a Discourse of the Navy, 1660, by Sir Robert Slyngesbie." Pepys refers to Hollond's "Discourses" several times in the Diary (see vol. ii., pp. 287, 413, 417-18, vol. viii., p. 266). Mr. J. R. Tanner, the editor of Hollond's "Discourses," gives an account of the author in his introduction. Hollond appears to be first heard of in 1624 as clerk to Captain Joshua Downing, who resided at Chatham as assistant to the Commissioners of the Navy. The latest reference to him is that in the Diary (November 30th, 1660) where he is alluded to as the author of a project for restoring depreciated tickets to their full value (vol. i., pp. 296, 298).

A list of the ships which attended Charles II. on his return to England, May, 1660, is printed in the first volume (p. xxiv). A similar (although not identical) list is printed in Granville Penn's "Memorials of Sir William Penn," vol. ii., p. 220. In

this same book are printed a list of the English fleet, March 29th, 1665 (vol. ii., p. 317), and a list of the Dutch fleet, May 23rd, 1665 (vol. ii., p. 318).

An interesting "List of the Royal Navy in 1660" is published in "Archæologia," vol. xlviii., p. 167. Lists of ships in 1618, 1624, and 1684 will be found in a "Memoir on British Naval Architecture, by Ralph Willett" ("Archæologia," vol. xi., pp. 154-199).

Mr. Tanner has agreed to edit for the Navy Records Society a "Calendar of the Naval Manuscripts in the Pepysian Library." This will probably extend to two volumes.

CHAPTER VII.

LONDON AND LOCAL ALLUSIONS.

IN considering the London manners of the seventeenth century, we cannot but feel that in some respects a more agreeable life was lived then than we live now in the end of the nineteenth century. Plenty of good work was done, but there was more sociability, and men and women found time to enjoy themselves in an open-hearted fashion. This was owing partly to the smaller size of the town. We must remember that London ran east and west along the river, which was the most frequented highway, and that it extended a very little way either north or south of the river. Marylebone Gardens, just south of what is now Marylebone Road, were situated in a northern village, while within half a mile of London Bridge in the south were the fields of Surrey. Here, then, was one reason for the greater mixing of men in social intercourse; but there was another in the more sensible arrangement of the meals. The only fixed meal in the day was the dinner at twelve o'clock (which was often eaten at a tavern), and all the rest were movable feasts.

Taverns.

These dinners at the taverns cost a great deal of money; thus on June 20th, 1665 (Thanksgiving day for the victory over the Dutch), there was a dinner of officers of the Navy and Commissioners of the Ordnance at the "Dolphin." It was evidently a grand occasion, and it ought to have been a grand

dinner, for there were nine present, and the share of each was 34*s.*, equal to about six or seven pounds of our money. I suppose Pepys knew all the taverns of London well, for he mentions many both in the City and Westminster, and visited two or three in one day. We must remember that when everyone went to the taverns, these were very superior resorts to the public houses that have taken their place, and the taverners were men of substance and repute. John Wadlow, the vintner, and host of the "Devil," led a company of soldiers, all young comely men in white doublets, at the going of Charles II. from the Tower to Whitehall the day before the coronation. This Wadlow was the son of Ben Jonson's Simon Wadlow, "Old Simon the King," who gave the name to Squire Western's favourite air.

Daniel Rawlinson, of the "Mitre" in Fenchurch Street, a great friend of Pepys's, was father of Sir Thomas Rawlinson, Lord Mayor in 1706, and President of Bridewell Hospital, and grandfather of Thomas and Richard Rawlinson, the well-known bibliomaniacs. Daniel, upon the king's murder, hung his sign in mourning, and though sequestered, "those rogues" the whigs "say," as Thomas Rawlinson wrote, "that this endeared him so much to the churchmen, that he soon throve amain and got a good estate." Remember that his sign was the "Mitre."

King Street, Westminster, was full of inns, and Pepys seems to have frequented them all. Two of them—the "Dog" and the "Sun"—are mentioned in Herrick's address to the shade of "glorious Ben":

> "Ah, Ben!
> Say how, or when
> Shall we thy guests,
> Meet at these lyrick feasts
> Made at the Sun,
> The Dog, the Triple Tunne?
> Where we such clusters had
> As made us nobly wild, not mad!
> And yet such verse of thine
> Outdid the meate, outdid the frolick wine."

The "Three Tuns," visited by Pepys, was probably the same house whose sign Herrick changes to "Triple Tun."

The following is a list of the various taverns mentioned in the Diary:

London Taverns and Inns frequented by Pepys.

Anchor (The), Doctors' Commons.
Angel (The), King Street.
Angel (The), Tower Hill.
Axe[1] (The), King Street.
Bear (The), Drury Lane.
Bear (The) at the Bridge Foot, London Bridge.
Bell (The), King Street.
Bell (The), at the Maypole in the Strand.
Black Spread Eagle (The), Bride Lane.
Black Swan (The), Holborn.
Blue Balls (The).
Blue Bells (The), Lincoln's Inn Fields.
Bottle of Hay (The), St. John's Street.
Brazennose (The), near the Savoy.
Bull (The), Bishopsgate Street.
Bull Head (The), Charing Cross.
Cade's Tavern, Cornhill.
Cardinal's Cap (The).
Canary House (The), by Exeter Change.
Castle (The), near the Savoy.
Chequers (The), Charing Cross.
Chequers (The), Holborn.
China Alehouse (The).
Cock (The), Bow Street, Covent Garden.
Cock (The), in Suffolk Street.
Cock (The), Threadneedle Street.
Crown (The), King Street.
Crown (The), Palace Yard.
Crown (The), Hercules Pillars Alley.
Crown (The), behind the Exchange.
Devil (The), Fleet Street.
Dog (The), King Street.
Dolphin (The), Tower Street.
Dolphin[2] (The), "on the easterly side of Bishopsgate Street Without, near the end of Houndsditch."—*Hatton.*
Exchequer (The), Charing Cross. (Better known as the Chequers.)
Falcon (The), Bankside. The site is marked by the Falcon Wharf.
Feathers (The), Fish Street.
Fleece (The), Cornhill.
Fleece (The), York Street, Covent Garden.
Fleece (The), mum house in Leadenhall.
Fountain (The), in Old Bailey.
Fox (The), King Street.
Globe (The), Eastcheap.
Globe (The), Fleet Street.
Goat (The), Charing Cross.
Golden Eagle (The), New Street, Fetter Lane.
Golden Lion (The), Charing Cross.
Great James (The), Bishopsgate Street.
Green Dragon (The), Lambeth Hill.
Green Man (The).

[1] This inn gave the name to Axe Yard, where Pepys lived for a time.
[2] This inn is mentioned in Stow's "Survey."

Greyhound (The), Fleet Street.
Gridiron (The), Shoe Lane.
Gun (The), Mile End.
Half Moon (The).
Harp and Ball (The).
Heaven, Westminster Hall.
Hell, Westminster Hall.
Hercules Pillars (The), Fleet Street. The site is marked by a blind alley.
Horse Shoe (The).
Jackanapes (The), Cheapside.
Katherine Wheel (The), Islington.
King's Head (The), Bow.
King's Head (The), Chancery Lane.
King's Head (The), Charing Cross.
King's Head (The), Fish Street Hill.
King's Head (The), Islington.
King's Head (The), Lambeth Marsh.
King's Head (The), Tower Street.
Leg (The), King Street.
Leg (The), Palace Yard.
Lion (The).
Mitre (The), Cheapside.
Mitre (The), Fenchurch Street. (D. Rawlinson's.)
Mitre (The), Fleet Street.
Mitre (The), Wood Street.
Mouth (The), Bishopsgate.
Mum House (The), Leadenhall.
Nag's Head (The).
Old Swan (The), Upper Thames Street.
Pope's Head (The), Chancery Lane.
Pope's Head (The), Cornhill.
Pope's Head (The), Lombard Street.
Queen's Head (The), Bow.
Red Cap (The).
Red Lion (The), Aldersgate Street.
Red Lion (The), King Street.
Rose (The), Covent Garden.
Rose and Crown (The), Mile End.
Rose and Crown (The), Tower Stairs.
Royal Oak (The), Lombard Street.
Salutation (The), Billingsgate.
Samson (The), St. Paul's Churchyard.
Ship (The), Billiter Lane.
Ship (The), behind the Exchange.
Star (The), Cheapside.
Sugar Loaf (The), by Temple Bar.
Sun (The), Chancery Lane.
Sun (The), behind the Exchange.
Sun (The), Westminster.
Sun (The). (Wadlow's.)
Sun (The), Fish Street.
Sun (The), Leadenhall Street.
Swan (The), Charing Cross.
Swan (The), Chelsea.
Swan (The), Dowgate.
Swan (The), Fenchurch Street.
Swan (The), Old Fish Street.
Swan (The), Palace Yard.
Swan with Two Necks (The), Tuttle Street.
Three Cranes (The), Upper Thames Street.
Three Cranes (The), at the Stocks in the Poultry.
Three Crowns (The), Cheapside.
Three Golden Lions (The), Cornhill.
Three Mariners (The), Lambeth.
Three Stags (The), Holborn Conduit.
Three Tuns (The), Charing Cross.
Three Tuns (The), Crutched Friars.
Triumph (The), Charing Cross.
Trumpet (The).
Turk's Head (The), New Palace Yard.
White Bear (The), Cornhill.
White Horse (The), King Street.
White Horse (The), Lombard Street, at the east corner of Exchange Alley, now the Pelican Insurance Company.
World's End (The), Knightsbridge.

On March 7th, 1659-60, Pepys was at the "Sun" behind the Exchange, and then went round to the "Cock." He afterwards parted from his friends in Fleet Street (vol. i., p. 84). Being misled by this allusion to Fleet Street, I supposed that the "Cock" alehouse in that place was alluded to; but Mr. C. Gordon has pointed out to me that this is a mistake, and that Pepys really went to the "Cock" in Threadneedle Street, which might fairly be described as round the corner. Mr. Gordon says that in 1830 the "Cock" was situated one door from Finch Lane, and the next house was occupied by a butcher. It was a constant practice for the frequenters of the "Cock" to buy a chop or steak at the butcher's, and bring it to be cooked, for which they were charged one penny. It is related that the eccentric Duke of Norfolk ("Jockey of Norfolk") often bought his chop and brought it to the "Cock" to be cooked. A customer told the landlord what was the rank of the unknown frequenter, and the next time the duke appeared a silver fork and spoon were placed for him. After this he ceased to frequent the place. The "Cock" was cleared away in 1840.

Pepys was not a gamester, and he does not give us any idea of the large amount of gaming that went on at many of the taverns he frequented. The first chapter of Cotton's "Compleat Gamester" is entitled, "Of Gaming in General, or an Ordinary described," where we read, "An ordinary is a handsome house where every day, about the hour of twelve, a good dinner is prepared by way of ordinary, composed of variety of dishes in season, well drest, with all other accommodations fit for that purpose, whereby many gentlemen of great estates and good repute make this place their resort, who after dinner play a while for recreation, both moderately and commonly, without deserving reproof: but here is the mischief, the best wheat will have tares growing amongst it. Rooks and daws will sometimes be in the company of pigeons, nor can real gentlemen nowadays so seclude themselves from the society of such as are pretendedly so, but that they oftentimes mix company, being much of the same colour and feather, and by the eye undistinguishable."

Other places of entertainment mentioned in the Diary:

Cherret's (Madame Mary) French House, in Covent Garden.
Oxford Kate's, in Bow Street.
Miles's Coffee House, Old Palace Yard.
Mum Houses.

Several Rhenish wine houses are mentioned, and it is difficult to decide at each reference as to which one is alluded to; there was one in Canon Row, another in the Steelyard, and one called Prior's.

A reference to the notes of the various visits to these taverns will show how much wine was drunk at all hours of the day, and there is quite enough in the Diary to show that the heads of the clerks could not have been very clear after dinner, so that it was of little use for them to return to their offices for business. One day Pepys, being a little more sober than Sir W. Penn, had to lead the knight home through the streets, and on another occasion he resolved not to drink any more wine—a rash vow which he forthwith broke. On March 3rd, 1659-60, he wrote: "I met with Tom Harper, who took me into a place in Drury Lane, where we drank a great deal of strong water, more than ever I did in my life at one time before" (vol. i., p. 79). Two days afterwards he went to the "Salutation" at Billingsgate, where he "staid and drank till Mr. Adams began to be overcome." On September 9th, 1661, he was taken into the King's Privy Kitchen, where Mr. Sayres, the master cook, gave him a slice or two of beef for his breakfast, and then took him into the wine cellar, where he adds, "we were very merry, and I drank too much wine, and all along had great and particular kindness from Mr. Sayres, but I drank so much wine that I was not fit for business, and therefore at noon I went and walked in Westminster Hall a while" (vol. ii., p. 99). He was successful in clearing his head, for in the evening, when a party repaired to the "Dolphin" "to drink the 30*s*." they had got out of Sir William Penn by means of a practical joke, he was able to explain the matter to the knight. Penn, however, had also been drinking over-

much, and "is almost gone," so that he could not understand the matter.

At times there was a visit to Cambridge or some other place in the country, either in coach or on horseback. When travelling by coach it was possible to reach Cambridge in the day by starting from the "Bull" in Bishopsgate Street about six o'clock in the morning; the party dined at Bishop Stortford, and arrived at Cambridge about 9 p.m., performing in fifteen hours a journey which we can now do comfortably in an hour and a half. When horses were used, a large part of two days was occupied. A start was made about midday, and the party supped and slept at Ware, getting to Cambridge on the afternoon of the next day. The roads were so bad that one in the company was sure to roll over in the mud during some part of the journey, and this was taken as a matter of course.

The record of amusements occupies an important proportion of space, and for the theatre and for social gatherings business was often thrown aside, but it was not necessarily neglected, as the diarist was a strong man, and would sit up half the night to make up his arrears.

The Stage.

The Diary is a mine of information respecting the history of the stage, and in it are to be found particulars which are not mentioned elsewhere. Pepys's criticisms on the plays he saw acted are not always satisfactory, but he was very judicious in the disposal of praise and blame on the actors. Betterton was his ideal of the perfect actor, and all the references to him are of the greatest interest. We can trace in the Diary the various advances made in the revival of the stage from the incipient attempts of Sir William Davenant before the Restoration to the improvements in scenery introduced by the rivalry of the two managers, Davenant and Killigrew. The perfection of these arrangements is asserted by Tom Killigrew in the conversation he had with Pepys on February 12th,

1666-67 : " He tells me how the audience at his house is not above half so much as it used to be before the late fire . . . . that the stage is now by his pains a thousand times better and more glorious than ever heretofore. Now wax candles, and many of them ; then not above 3 lbs. of tallow : now all things civil, no rudeness anywhere ; then as in a bear garden : then two or three fiddlers ; now nine or ten of the best : then nothing but rushes upon the ground, and anything else mean ; and now all otherwise."

The public theatres were open in the afternoon, three o'clock being the usual hour for performance, and the plays were therefore usually acted by daylight during the summer. In the oldest theatres the pit was open to the sky, but in Drury Lane Theatre there were skylights ; these, however, were so slight that in times of heavy rain the frequenters of the pit were wetted through. On June 1st, 1664, Pepys wrote : " Before the play was done it fell such a storm of hail, that we in the middle of the pit were fain to rise, and all the house in a disorder." When plays were acted at Court, the performances took place at night, probably because the actors were then free after acting at the theatres.

The people were great playgoers in those days, and when a piece caught the public taste the theatres were even more crowded than they are now. When Etherege's " She Would if she Could " was first acted, one thousand persons were turned away because there was no room in the pit an hour before the performance commenced (February 6th, 1667-68). There was no booking of seats then, but the frequenters hit upon a clever expedient for saving themselves from a long wait. " To the Duke of York's playhouse at a little past twelve to get a good place in the pit for the new play, and there setting a poor man to keep my place, I out and spent an hour at Martin's my bookseller's, and so back again, when I find the house quite full. But I had my place."

The King's Company under Killigrew first performed at the " Red Bull," Clerkenwell, and on November 8th, 1660, removed to Gibbons's Tennis Court in Bear Yard, which was

entered from Vere Street, Clare Market (vol. i., p. 288). Here the company remained till 1663, when they removed to Drury Lane Theatre, which had been built for their reception, and was opened on May 7th. This house is styled by Pepys either the Theatre or the King's Playhouse.

The Duke's Company, under Sir William Davenant, first performed at the Cockpit, Drury Lane. They began to play at Salisbury Court Theatre on November 13th, 1660, went to the Apothecaries' Hall, Blackfriars, in January, 1661, and then removed to the theatre in Portugal Row, Lincoln's Inn Fields, in June, 1661. This date we obtain from Pepys, who visited the new house on July 2nd, being the fourth day of the performance (see vol. ii., p. 62). Downes gives the date of opening as in the spring of 1662. The theatre was built on the site of Lisle's Tennis Court, and the principal entrance was in Portugal Street. It is styled by Pepys either the Opera or the Duke's Playhouse.

Davenant planned a new building in Dorset Gardens, which was close by Salisbury Court, but he died before it was finished; the company, however, removed there in 1671. The Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre remained shut up till February, 1672, when the King's Company, burnt out of Drury Lane Theatre, made use of it till March, 1674. Then the new building in Brydges Street, Covent Garden, was ready for their occupation.

There has been some confusion in respect to the references to the Cockpit, as two distinct theatres are referred to under this name. The references before November, 1660, are to the performances of the Duke's Company at the Cockpit in Drury Lane. Here Pepys saw "Othello," "Wit without Money," and "Women's Prize." The subsequent passages in which the Cockpit is referred to apply to the royal theatre attached to Whitehall Palace.

Nurseries of Actors.—Besides the theatres there were several nurseries for actors, where plays were sometimes acted. In March, 1664, a licence was granted to William Legge, an ancestor of the Earls of Dartmouth, "to erect a nursery for breeding players in London or Westminster, under the over-

sight and approbation of Sir William Davenant and Thomas Killigrew, to be disposed of for the supply of the theatres." Apparently this scheme was afterwards altered, for instead of having one nursery for the two companies, two houses were established, one for the King's Company and another for the Duke's Company. The one in Golden Lane, near Barbican, was ridiculed by Dryden in his "McFlecknoe"; and in "The Rehearsal" Bayes is made to declare that he will write only for the "Nursery," and "mump the proud players" of the regular theatres. The other was in Hatton Garden, which was built by Captain Bedford.

On August 2nd, 1664, Pepys met Tom Killigrew, who told him that he was "setting up a nursery," and "going to build a house in Moorefields wherein he will have common plays acted" (vol. iv., p. 206). Two years and a half after this, Killigrew told Pepys that he had been "defeated in what he intended in Moorefields" (vol. vi., p. 172).

On April 23rd, 1669, Pepys mentions another establishment, which was styled the "New Nursery," and was "set up at the house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, which was formerly the King's house" (vol. viii., p. 304).

The evening was sometimes spent in work, and sometimes in visiting or having company at home. Pepys often sighed over the waste of his time, but he was honest enough to express his strong sense of enjoyment.

Supper either at home or at a tavern usually ended the day, and "then to bed," a formula which one might have thought could be omitted, but which was solemnly noted almost every day.

London in the Seventeenth Century.

The London of the seventeenth century was so unlike the London of the nineteenth century that it is with something of a mental effort that we attempt to project ourselves into the earlier period. The first thing to remember is that London was a walled town with gates, which were shut at a certain

hour. Then it was mostly unlighted, so that it was necessary to go about after dark with a lantern.

On September 10th, 1661, Pepys went to the Wardrobe to see Lady Sandwich, and after supper he took the young ladies out for a walk. He "bought a link and carried it myself till I met one that would light me home for the link. So he light me home with his own, and then I did give him mine" (vol. ii., p. 100). A few years after this, on June 15th, 1664, he took the three daughters of Lady Sandwich, with his wife and Creed, to the Cherry Garden. On the way home they all landed at Somerset House at ten o'clock at night. Lady Paulina Montagu was in terror "every step of the way" they went, and Pepys adds that it was not very safe, and he was afraid himself, although he appeared otherwise (vol. iv., p. 161).

After the Fire, when London was in ruins, the streets were specially dangerous. On April 23rd, 1668, Pepys was walking home with Mrs. Knepp, lighted by a link, when "just at my entrance into the ruines of St. Dunstan's I was met by two rogues with clubs, who came towards us." They escaped from the rogues, and "walked home quite round by the wall" (vol. vii., p. 408).

These were, to some extent, evils, but on the other hand Londoners could gather flowers before breakfast, as the country came up almost to the walls.

On May 12th, 1667, Pepys wrote: "My wife and I away to Islington, it being a fine day, and thence to Sir G. Whitmore's house [at Hoxton], where we 'light, and walked over the fields to Kingsland and back again; a walk, I think, I have not taken these twenty years; but puts me in mind of my boy's time, when I boarded at Kingsland, and went to shoot with my bow and arrow in these fields" (vol. vi., p. 315).

The diarist's official work ranged between the Navy Office and Whitehall and Westminster Hall, and as boats were always ready for hire at the various landing-stairs on the Thames, the journey was a much simpler matter than it is by cab at the present day. The Strand was then, so to speak,

merely a back way, fronting which were the stables of the houses on the Thames. The main traffic went by the river.

All this is London to us now, but Pepys kept the name exclusively for the City. This is distinctly marked in a passage written on June 27th, 1668, when, speaking of a new shop over against the New Exchange in the Strand, he speaks of the shopkeeper as having "come out of London since the Fire." The man told Pepys that "his and other tradesmen's retail trade is so great here, and better than it was in London, that they believe they shall not return, nor the city be ever so great for retail as heretofore" (vol. viii., p. 57).

Round the Tower.

The little district round the Tower is filled with associations connected with Pepys. The Navy Office, where he did his business, and also resided for some years, was situated at the corner of Crutched Friars and Seething Lane. In Water Lane, a little north of Tower Street, is the old Trinity House, the site of which is still marked by the name, and in the south is the Custom House. In the small area of the Tower Ward are four churches—one, St. Olave's, on the opposite side of Seething Lane to the Navy Office. This church, with its pews in the gallery specially reserved for the officers of the Navy, figures very prominently in the pages of the Diary. All Hallows Barking, in Tower Street, is also often referred to. St. Dunstan's in the East is shown at the east of our map, and a little north is the church with the strange name, St. Margaret Pattens, so called because at one time Rood Lane, hard by, was the place where pattens were chiefly made and sold. Before 1537 a large cross stood in the churchyard which gave its name to the lane. This last-mentioned church only is unmentioned in the Diary.

One of the early entries in the Diary refers to a dinner on June 28th, 1660, at the Clothworkers' Hall, which is situated at the north of the Tower Ward: "I took leave, and carried my wife and Mrs. Pierce to Clothworkers' Hall to dinner,

where Mr. Pierce, the Purser, met us. We were invited by Mr. Chaplin, the Victualler, where Nich. Osborne was. Our entertainment was very good, a brave ball, good company, and very good music. Where, among other things, I was pleased that I could find out a man by his voice, whom I had never seen before, to be one that sang behind the curtaine formerly at Sir W. Davenant's opera" (vol. i., p. 187). A few years afterwards London was destroyed by fire, and a new Hall had to be built. That Hall remained till 1856, when the present fine building was erected. The old Hall saw the Masterships of Pepys (1677), and of his servant and friend, William Hewer (1682). Often must the diarist have walked between Crutched Friars and Mincing Lane, but when he attained the position of Master he had removed to the West End as Secretary to the Admiralty. The Trinity Corporation seems to have had several houses, and it was not often that Pepys went to the one in Water Lane. On one occasion (June 3rd, 1667) he went to dine at Stepney, and after waiting and spending some time in the churchyard, he was struck by the fact that no company was stirring. So he sent to inquire, and found that the dinner was at Deptford and not at Stepney.

London Bridge was the only bridge across the river, and it formed a sort of lock to the river by reason of the narrowness of the arches which kept the water back. As the river was higher on one side than on the other, it was dangerous to pass under the bridge, and those who succeeded in doing what was styled "shooting the bridge," carried their lives in their hands. The more prudent travellers landed and entered their boats again on the other side. This Pepys usually did.

Westminster.

Passing from east to west (as Pepys himself did when he recorded his doings at the two ends of the town in the same sentence) we come to Westminster. When we first open the Diary we find the author living at Axe Yard, which took

its name from the sign of the "Axe" in King Street close by, which still existed in Pepys's day (see vol. v., p. 20). The memory of the place has long since passed away, and about 1767 Fludyer Street (named after Sir Samuel Fludyer, Lord Mayor in 1761, the ground landlord) was built on the site. Scarcely another century had passed when Fludyer Street and part of King Street were themselves cleared away to make room for the new Government Offices (1864-65).

In no part of London have greater changes taken place than those in Westminster and Whitehall. Westminster Hall, with its courts of law, and its stalls of booksellers, law stationers, sempstresses, and dealers in toys and small wares, was a lively resort, in violent contrast with the quiet that reigns there at the present day. Wycherley, in the epilogue to his "Plain Dealer," wrote :

> "In Hall of Westminster
> Sleek sempstress vends amid the courts her ware."

Pepys was an almost daily visitor to the Hall, and a frequent purchaser of haberdashery at the sempstresses' stalls. The various petty dealers appear to have been on friendly terms with one another, and Pepys tells how, on one occasion, "Mrs. Lane and the rest of the maids wore their white scarfs, all having been at the burial of a young bookseller" (vol. i., p. 26).

The two taverns, named respectively "Heaven" and "Hell," adjoining the Hall, were of considerable antiquity, and apparently were situated partly below the Hall. "Hell" is described in Fuller's "Worthies" as being near the Exchequer Court, which we know to have been situated at the entrance of the Hall. Pepys visited both these taverns.

The rambling buildings of Westminster Palace, where the Houses of Lords and Commons met till the fire of 1834, which necessitated the erection of new buildings for the use of Parliament, were often visited by Pepys during the period of the Diary, and in later years were frequented by him as a member of Parliament. Tuttle Fields, Tuttle Street, and the New Chapel are all mentioned in the Diary, and Pepys com-

plains that in the time of the Plague the dead were buried in the open fields instead of in the churchyard, which was walled in at the public charge in the previous plague time (vol. v., p. 19). Dennis Nowell was the first person buried in the yard on the 9th May, 1627. Christ Church, Broadway, was built on the site of New Chapel in 1843.

Whitehall Palace extended one way from the Thames to St. James's Park, and from Scotland Yard to Canon Row, Westminster, on the other. There was a public thoroughfare through the Palace from Charing Cross to Westminster, crossed by two gates, one known as Whitehall Gate, and the other as the King Street Gate. Most of the residential portion of the palace was on the river side of the road, but the Tilt Yard was where the building of the Horse Guards now stands, and the Cockpit was on the site of the old stone building fronting the Parade, which is known as the Old Treasury. Whitehall Gate, which stood close by the Cockpit, was commonly called Cockpit Gate.

Between the Tower and Westminster.

Having made some notes on the Tower Ward and Westminster, it will be well to say something about the intermediate district which Pepys visited in his boat; Dowgate, Queenhithe, Paul's Wharf, and Puddle Dock are all mentioned in the Diary. From the latter wharf he proceeded up St. Andrew's Hill, passed the church of St. Andrew, and arrived at the "King's Great Wardrobe," the site of which is now occupied by Wardrobe Place in Carter Lane. This house was originally built by Sir John Beauchamp, Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover, who lived here till his death in 1359. It was sold by his executors to the king, when it was turned into the office of the Master of the Wardrobe, whose duty it was to provide "proper furniture for coronations, marriages, and funerals" of the sovereign and royal family, "cloaths of state, beds, hangings, and other necessaries for the houses of foreign ambassadors, cloaths

of state for Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Prince of Wales, and ambassadors abroad," as also to provide robes for Ministers of State, Knights of the Garter, etc. Thomas Fuller says that the Wardrobe was the depository of the royal vestments which had been worn by past kings upon great festive occasions, and "was in effect a library of antiquities, therein to read the mode and fashion of garments of all ages." This museum was distributed by James I.

Soon after the Restoration Lord Sandwich was appointed to the office of Master of the Wardrobe, and at this house he lived for several years. The last holder of the office was Ralph, Duke of Montagu, who died in 1709.

It was not far to Blackfriars, where there was a bridge or landing-place, or to Whitefriars, where was the Salisbury Court Theatre. The Temple Stairs led to the Temple, with its church, its garden, and its walks, and was also the best landing-place for Lincoln's Inn.

A little farther on were Milford Stairs, at the foot of Milford Lane, Strand, which is described in Gay's "Trivia" in the following unflattering lines:

> "Behold that narrow street, which steep descends,
> Whose buildings to the slimy shore extends."

Here Pepys landed for Gray's Inn; thus on April 6th, 1662, we read: "After I was tired I went and took boat to Milford Stairs, and so to Gray's Inn Walks, the first time I have been there this year, and it is very pleasant and full of good company."

Ivy Lane was the landing-place for the New Exchange, which was built on the site of the gardens of Durham House, and for Salisbury House, which stood on the site of the Hotel Cecil.

York Buildings, erected on the site of York House, became the home of Pepys in 1684. His house was situated at the bottom of what is now Buckingham Street. After the Fire the King's Wardrobe was removed from Puddle Dock to York Buildings.

Another house from which many of Pepys's letters were dated in years long after the closing of the Diary, was Derby House, Canon Row, Westminster. This was a stately building with garden reaching to the Thames, which occupied the site of two of the prebendal houses of the canons of St. Stephen's Chapel, granted to the Earl of Derby by Edward VI. in 1552. During a portion of the reign of Charles II. it was occupied as the office of the Lord High Admiral.

When from some cause or other Pepys did not take a boat, he tells us that he went "by land": thus on March 8th, 1659-60, he took his wife by land to Paternoster Row. To some of the places to the north of his house, as Whitechapel and Mile End, Bishopsgate and Broad Street, he was forced either to walk or to go by coach. Spitalfields, to the east of Norton Folgate, was the place where the Spital sermons were preached for many years. The Hospital and Priory of St. Mary Spital was founded by Walter Brune for canons regular, and Walter, Archdeacon of London, laid the first stone in the year 1197. This house fell with the other monastic establishments, but Stow, in describing the remains of the hospital in his day, wrote: "A part of the large churchyard pertaining to this hospital, and severed from it by a brick wall, yet remaineth as of old time, with a pulpit cross therein something like that in St. Paul's churchyard, and against the said pulpit, on the south side, remaineth also one fair builded house of two stories high, for the Mayor and other honourable persons, with the Aldermen and Sheriffs to sit there to hear the sermons preached in the Easter holidays. In the loft over stood the Bishop of London and other prelates."

On April 2nd, 1662, Pepys walked with Mr. Moore "to the Spittle an hour or two before my Lord Mayor and the blew-coat boys come, which at last they did, and a fine sight of charity it is indeed. We got places and staid to hear a sermon, but it being a Presbyterian one, it was so long, that after above an hour we went away" (vol. ii., p. 214). As Pepys did not stay to the end we cannot say how long the sermon actually was, but it could not well have been longer

than that one preached by an eminent churchman who was opposed to Presbyterianism. In Pope's "Life of Seth Ward" there is a reference to Isaac Barrow, where it is written: "But the sermon of the greatest length was that concerning charity, before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, at the Spittle: in speaking which he [Dr. Barrow] spent three hours and a half. Being asked after he came down from the pulpit whether he was not tired: 'Yes, indeed,' said he, 'I began to be weary with standing so long.'" What would the present race of church-goers, who rail at more than a quarter of an hour being devoted to a sermon, say to such a length? In truth, a poor sermon, however short, will seem long to the hearer, and a good sermon, however many words it may contain, will seldom seem long.

Broad Street was a familiar place to Pepys. Here were the Navy Pay Office, where Sir George Carteret resided, the African House (vol. iii., p. 357), and the Excise Office (vol. i., p. 192). Here also was the back of Gresham House, which went through to Bishopsgate and had its front in that street. Sir Thomas Gresham lived in this house, which was described by Stow as "built of brick and timber, and the most spacious of all thereabout." He bequeathed it to the Mercers' Company for the purposes of the college which he desired to be formed. Gresham College was occupied by the seven professors who were appointed to deliver the lectures ordered by the founder. On its foundation the meetings of the Royal Society were held weekly at Gresham College, and Pepys generally referred to the Royal Society as Gresham College. After the Great Fire the Exchange was temporarily held in this building. In 1768 the ground on which Gresham College stood was made over to the crown, and an excise office was built on the site. This building was sold in 1853 for £136,044, and taken down soon afterwards, vast ranges of offices being built in its place.

The Excise Office has occupied many sites. The first office was in Smithfield, the duty of excise having been first introduced into this country by an Ordinance of Parliament of

July 12th, 1643, when an import was laid upon beer, ale, wine, and other provisions, for carrying on a war against the king. In 1647, however, the new Excise House was ordered to be pulled down. In 1660 Pepys describes the Excise Office as in Broad Street, but after the Fire it found a temporary location in Southampton Fields. In 1668 Pepys mentions that the office was in Aldersgate Street (vol. viii., p. 69). In 1680 it was in "Old Cockaine House;" then at Sir John Frederick's house, now Frederick Place, Old Jewry. In 1769 it returned to Broad Street, and in 1848 occupied rooms at Somerset House as the Inland Revenue Office. That is eight removals in two centuries, and probably there were others.

To the north of Broad Street, beyond the city wall, was Petty France, which was rebuilt in 1730 and called New Broad Street. Defoe mentions, in his "Journal of the Plague Year," a narrow passage which led from Petty France into Bishopsgate churchyard, and this thoroughfare still exists.

Pepys went on August 10th, 1664, to the Post Office "to hear some instrument musique of Mr. Berchenshaw's before my Lord Brunkard and Sir Robert Murray" (vol. iv., p. 214). Again, on October 5th of the same year, he went to the musique meeting at the Post Office (vol. iv., p. 260). This was probably in Bishopsgate, but no reference to these music meetings is to be found in the records of the Post Office.

As already remarked, London was still a walled city in the seventeenth century, and although the town had outgrown the barriers of gates and walls, yet the roads issuing from the gates, and the new districts generally, were but sparsely inhabited. There was, indeed, little growth at any great distance from the river either north or south. The Thames was, in fact, the connecting link between the Court and City, and how crowded and gay the river might become we see from an interesting passage in the Diary, under the date August 23rd, 1662:

"All along Thames Street, but could not get a boat: I offered eight shillings for a boat to attend me this afternoon,

and they would not, it being the day of the Queen's coming to town from Hampton Court. So we fairly walked it to Whitehall, and through my Lord's lodgings we got into Whitehall Garden, and so to the Bowling Green, and up to the top of the new Banqueting House there, over the Thames, which was a most pleasant place as any I could have got: and all the show consisted chiefly in the number of boats and barges; and two pageants, one of a King and another of a Queen, with her Maydes of Honour sitting at her feet very prettily, and they tell me the Queen is Sir Richard Ford's daughter. Anon come the King and Queen in a barge under a canopy with 10,000 barges and boats, I think, for we could see no water for them nor discern the King nor Queen" (vol. ii., p. 316).

Piccadilly.

Before the Restoration Piccadilly was a short road without houses, named after Piccadilly Hall, a place of entertainment situated at the top of the Haymarket. Soon after that event three mansions were built there, viz., Clarendon House (looking down upon St. James's Street), which was called by the populace Dunkirk House, under the supposition that Lord Chancellor Clarendon had built his great house with the bribe he was said to have received for selling Dunkirk to the French. On the west side of Clarendon House was Berkeley House, built by Lord Berkeley of Stratton, which stood where Devonshire House is now. On the east side was built Burlington House (now the home of the Royal Academy and of the scientific societies).

On the other side of the Green Park were Goring House and the Mulberry Garden, where Buckingham House was afterwards built, and where Buckingham Palace still stands. At this time and for long afterwards Marylebone was a country village.

The Suburbs.

Passing back again from the west to the east I may add that Hoxton was in Pepys's time a rural suburb, and so it remained until the beginning of the present century. The late Mr. Hyde Clarke (who died in 1895, aged eighty years) told me that when he was a boy he used to stay occasionally from Saturday to Monday with an uncle who had a country-house at Hoxton. The town ended at Finsbury Square, and there a party of unprotected travellers collected and remained till they could be led across the open country with safety by the patrol.

If Hoxton and Kingsland, which are now swallowed up in the outward march of the town, were then in the country, what must have been the condition of Hampstead and Highgate, which even now remain rural in character. On January 10th, 1660-61, there is a reference to the Fanatics being at Highgate, and on August 5th, 1664, Pepys rode out there. On July 28th, 1666, Lord Brouncker and Pepys drove to Highgate in a coach with six horses. They called upon the Duke of Lauderdale, who was then living at Lauderdale House. The diarist says nothing about the house and gardens, which are now included in Waterlow Park, although he does write a good deal about the owner and his hatred of music (vol. v., p. 380).

The Plague.

During the dismal period when the Plague was at its height, very few persons of importance remained in London, but one of those who did so was the Duke of Albemarle. Pepys remained at his post, and in spite of his miserable surroundings he appears to have exhibited but little fear. He could not fail to be uneasy at times, but he gave way to no panic, and in fact showed considerable fortitude of mind.

The clergy and the doctors fled with very few exceptions, and several of those who stayed in the town fell victims to the

disease. Dr. Goddard on one occasion attempted to defend himself and his fellow-practitioners, but Pepys seems to have thought his defence a very lame one. He wrote, "Dr. Goddard did fill us with talke, in defence of his and his fellow-physicians going out of towne in the plague time, saying that their particular patients were most gone out of towne, and they left at liberty; and a great deal more, etc." (vol. v., p. 203).

Defoe says that the plague "defied all medicines," and adds, "the very physicians were seized with it, with their preservatives in their mouths. . . . This was the case of several physicians, even some of them the most eminent, and of several of the most skilful surgeons."

Dr. Hodges, author of "Loimologia," enumerates among those who assisted in the dangerous work of restraining the progress of the infection the learned Dr. Gibson, Regius Professor at Cambridge, Dr. Francis Glisson, Dr. Nathaniel Paget, Dr. Peter Berwick, Dr. Humphrey Brookes, etc. Of those he mentions eight or nine fell in their work, among whom was Dr. Wm. Conyers, to whose goodness and humanity he bears the most honourable testimony.

Pepys's friend, Dr. Alexander Burnet, of Fenchurch Street, was among the victims. On June 11th, 1665, we are told that he had "gained great good-will among his neighbours" (vol. iv., p. 435), but this unfortunately came to an end owing to an ill-natured rumour that the doctor had killed his servant. So persistent was the rumour that he found it necessary to take public notice of it. This is recorded in Sir Roger L'Estrange's "Intelligencer" (No. 55), where we read, "I think it but an honest and necessary office to make some mention of Dr. Burnet, M.D., whose house it has pleased Almighty God to visit with the Plague; and of that disease one of his servants died: whereupon a most unchristian and scandalous report was raised that the said Doctor had murthered his man; without any other ground in the world, than the malice of the first contriver. But I find that yesterday, this unhappy gentleman caused to be fixed upon the Royal Exchange, London, his own vindication in these very words following: 'Whereas

some person or persons have maliciously forged and published that abominable falsehood, viz., that I, Alex. Burnet, of St. Gabriel, Fenchurch, London, Dr. in Physic, did kill my servant William Passon, and was committed to Newgate for it,—I do, by these presents upon the Royal Exchange, London, post him or them for forgery, who have invented and vented that wicked report: It being declared under the hand and seal of Mr. Nath. Upton, Master of the Pesthouse, who searched the body of the said Wm. Passon, that he dyed of the Plague, and had a pestilential Bubo in his right groin and two blains in his right thigh. Alex. Burnet, M.D., July 14, 1665.'"

Dr. Burnet's death is recorded by Pepys on August 25th, "I am told that Dr. Burnet, my physician, is this morning dead of the plague; which is strange, his man dying so long ago and his home this month open again. Now himself dead. Poor unfortunate man."

William Boghurst, whose Treatise on the Plague is preserved among the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum, advertised in the "Intelligencer" (No. 59) for July 31st, 1665, as follows:

"Whereas Wm. Boghurst, apothecary, at the White Hart in St. Giles's in the Fields, hath administered a long time to such as have been infected with the Plague, to the number of 40, 50 or 60 patients a day, with wonderful success, by God's blessing upon certain excellent medicines, which he hath, as a water, a lozenge, etc. Also an Electuary antidote, of but 8*d.* the oz. price. This is to notify that the said Boghurst is willing to attend any person infected, and desiring his attendance, either in City, Suburbs or Country, upon reasonable terms, and that the remedies above mentioned are to be had at his house, or shop, at the White Hart aforesaid."

These medicines were probably as effectual as sack, the virtues of which, as ranking high among the principal antidotes, are specially praised by Dr. Hodges.

Some of those who remained in the town during the Plague were not forgotten, and a few were specially honoured. Pepys

relates that he saw at Sir Robert Vyner's "two or three silver flagons, made with inscriptions as gifts of the king to such and such persons of quality as did stay in town the late great plague, for the keeping things in order in the town, which is a handsome thing." Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey had a flagon, with an inscription, presented to him for service during the Plague, and he was knighted in September, 1666, on account of his exertions in preserving order during the Great Fire (vol. vi., p. 299).

A study of the Bills of Mortality help us to corroborate the statements of Pepys, and his narrative can be read with advantage in connection with Defoe's vivid "Journal of the Plague Year," which was largely founded on these same Bills of Mortality.

Among the Pepys papers catalogued by Mr. S. J. Davey in 1889 was a printed broadside referring to "The Plague of London, printed by Peter Cole at the printing press in Cornhill near the Royal Exchange, 1665." This was apparently pasted on walls in prominent places during the Plague in order to reassure the populace as to its probable termination. The paper was ornamented with a thick black border decorated with bones and a skull, and at the top was a printed heading: "The Four Great Years of the Plague, viz., 1593, 1603, 1625, and 1636. Compared by the weekly Bills of Mortality, printed every Thursday in the said years, by which its increase and decrease is plainly discerned in all those years." From the totals of the figures given, it appears that in 1593 11,503 persons died of the plague. In 1603 30,561 persons, in 1625 35,403 persons, and in 1636 10,400 persons. The total of burials in 1665 was 97,506, of which number the plague claimed 68,596 victims.

Defoe mentions the appearance of a comet some months before the plague became general. This was frequently alluded to in the literature of the day, and with "other terrible apparitions and noises in the ayre" it was regarded as an indication of forthcoming calamities. Pepys specially alludes to the comet of December, 1664, and to that of

April, 1665, but he was not so superstitious as some of his contemporaries.

Although London was so terribly smitten and the people fled from it in large numbers, it was not easy to find a place which was entirely free from the scourge. The plague broke out at Deptford, Greenwich, Woolwich, Gravesend, and Chatham, and Pepys alludes to all these places as suffering from the sickness. It was also found at more distant places, and there was great fear of contagion, and jealousy of trading between place and place; for instance, Colchester had the plague rather badly, and other places objected to receiving oysters from that town.

The Fire.

Some of the most interesting pages of the Diary relate to the Plague and to the Fire. The latter caused such widespread destruction that it necessitated the rebuilding of London. An Act of Parliament was passed "for erecting a Judicature for determination of differences touching Houses burned or demolished by reason of the late Fire which happened in London" (18 and 19 Car. II., cap. 7), and Sir Matthew Hale was the moving spirit in planning it and in carrying out its provisions when it was passed. Burnet affirms that it was through his judgment and foresight "that the whole city was raised out of its ashes without any suits of law" (vol. vi., p. 186). By a subsequent Act (18 and 19 Car. II., cap. 8), the machinery for a satisfactory rebuilding of the city was arranged, and the principle of melioration (now known as betterment) was included in this Act through the influence of Hale. Pepys alludes to this on December 5th, 1666 (vol. vii., p. 224). The rulings of the judges appointed by these Acts gave general satisfaction, and after a time the city was rebuilt very much on the old lines, and things went on as before. In the meantime, however, there was great distress and inconvenience, and it certainly says much for the fortitude of the Londoners that they bore this great disaster

so bravely. One and all did their best to lighten the trouble. Penn and Pepys were ready in resource, and saw to the blowing up of houses to check the spread of the flames, the former bringing workmen out of the dockyards to help in the work (vol. v., p. 424). The daily records of the fire and of the movements of the people are most striking. Now we see the river crowded with boats filled with the goods of those who are houseless, and then we pass to Moorfields, where are crowds carrying their belongings about with them, and doing their best to keep these separate till some huts can be built to receive them.

The wearied people complained that their feet were "ready to burn" through walking in the streets "among the hot coals" (vol. v., p. 426). Means were provided to save the unfortunate multitudes from starvation, and on September 5th, 1666, proclamation was made "ordering that for the supply of the distressed persons left destitute . . . great proportions of bread be brought daily, not only to the former markets, but to those lately ordained. Churches and public places were to be thrown open for the reception of poor people and their goods" (vol. v., p. 431). Westminster Hall was filled with "people's goods."

The Fire was a great calamity to all concerned, but it was a blessing for those who came after, as it purified the plague-saturated districts as they could not otherwise have been cleansed.

How long the streets remained in a dangerous condition may be guessed by Pepys's mention, on March 16th, 1666-67, of the smoke issuing from the cellars in the ruined streets of London (vol. vi., p. 225).

London Localities.

The following is a list of the chief London localities mentioned in the Diary, most of which will be found on the accompanying map. This map is largely founded upon

Newcourt's plan of London, published in 1658, with some additional entries put in in order to help to form a plan which will give the reader an accurate idea of Pepys's London. Although largely taken from a survey, the whole is not always strictly correct in details.

Arundel House, Arundel Stairs, Strand.
Ashburnham House, Westminster.
Austin Friars.
Axe Yard, Westminster.
Bankside (Bear Garden, Bear Garden Stairs).
Barnard's Inn.
Basinghall Street.
Baynard's Castle.
Bear's Quay, Billingsgate.
Bell Alley, Westminster.
Bell Yard.
Berkshire House, St. James's.
Bethnal Green (Kirby Castle).
Billingsgate.
Billiter Lane.
Blackfriars.
Bloomsbury Market.
Blowbladder Street (now King Edward Street).
Brewer's Yard.
Bride Lane, Fleet Street.
Bridewell, New Bridewell.
Broad Street (African House, Excise Office, Gresham College, Navy Pay Office).
Bucklersbury.
Buttolph's Wharf.
Cannon Street.
Chancery Lane.
Change Ward.
Charing Cross.
Charterhouse Yard.
Cheapside.
Chelsea (Neat Houses).
Christ's Hospital, Newgate Street.
Clerkenwell (Berkeley House, Newcastle House).
Clothworkers' Hall.
Cockpit, Drury Lane.
Cockpit, Whitehall.
Convocation House Yard, St. Paul's.
Cornhill (The Stocks).
Covent Garden (Piazza).
Cow Lane, Smithfield.
Crutched Friars.
Cursitor's Alley, Chancery Lane.
Custom House.
Devonshire House, Bishopsgate.
Dowgate.
Drury Lane.
Duck Lane.
Ducking Pond Fields.
Durham Yard.
East Cheap.
Exchange (New Exchange, Royal Exchange).
Exchange Alley.
Exchange Street.
Fenchurch Street.
Fish Street.
Fish Street Hill.
Fishmongers' Hall.
Fishyard.
Fleet (Fleet Bridge, Fleet Conduit, Fleet Street).
Foxhall or Vauxhall.
Friday Street.
Gatehouse, Westminster.
Gates of London (The): Aldersgate; Aldgate; Bishopsgate; Cripplegate; Ludgate; Newgate.

Golden Lane.
Goring House, St. James's Park.
Gracious Street (Gracechurch Street).
Gray's Inn (Gray's Inn Fields, Gray's Inn Walks).
Guildhall.
Haberdashers' Hall.
Hammersmith.
Hatton Garden.
Hicks's Hall.
Holborn (Barnard's Inn, Holborn Conduit, Holborn Hill, Warwick House).
Horselydown.
Hosier Lane.
Hoxton (Baulmes).
Hyde Park.
Inns of Court (Gray's Inn, Lincoln's Inn, Temple).
Irongate (Irongate Stairs).
Ironmongers' Hall, Leadenhall St.
Ivy Lane, Strand.
Jewel Office.
Jewin Street, Cripplegate.
Kent Street.
King Street, Cheapside.
King Street, Westminster.
King's Gate in Holborn.
Knightsbridge.
Lamb's Conduit.
Lambeth (Stangate).
Lambeth Hill.
Leadenhall (Mumhouse).
Leicester House.
Lime Street.
Limehouse (Dick Shore).
Lincoln's Inn (Lincoln's Inn Court, Lincoln's Inn Fields, Lincoln's Inn Walks).
Lion Key.
Lombard Street.
London Wall.
Long Acre.
Long Lane.
Loriners' Hall by Moorgate.
Lothbury.
Ludgate Hill.
Mark Lane.
Mercers' Hall, Mercers' Chapel.
Merchant Taylors' Hall.
Mews, Charing Cross.
Mile End (Mile End Green).
Milford Lane.
Milk Street.
Minchin Lane.
Minories.
Moorfields.
Mulberry Garden.
Navy Office, Crutched Friars.
New Fish Street.
New Street, Fetter Lane.
Newgate (Newgate Market).
Newport Street.
Nottingham House, Kensington.
Old Bailey (Sessions House).
Old Fish Street.
Old Jewry.
Old Palace Yard.
Old Street.
Paddington.
Painters' Company.
Palace Yard.
Pall Mall.
Pannier Alley.
Parliament House (Parliament Stairs).
Paternoster Row.
Paul's Wharf.
Piccadilly (Berkeley House, Clarendon House (Dunkirk House) Burlington House).
Pope's Head Alley.
Poppin's Court, Fleet Street.
Pudding Lane.
Puddle Dock, Puddle Wharf.
Pye Corner.
Queen Street, Covent Garden.

Queen (Little) Street.
Queen's Court.
Queenhithe.
Ram Alley.
Ratcliffe.
Red Cross Street.
Rolls Chapel, Chancery Lane.
Rotherhithe (Half-way House, Jamaica House).
Roundhouse.
Royal Exchange.
St. Alban's Market.
St. Catherine's Hospital.
St. James's Fair (St. James's Gate, St. James's Market, St. James's Palace, St. James's Park).
St. Martin's Lane.
St. Mary Axe.
St. Thomas's Hospital.
Salisbury Court, Fleet Street (Dorset House).
Savoy (The).
Scotland Yard.
Seething Lane.
Shoe Lane.
Shoreditch.
Six Clerks' Office.
Skinners' Hall.
Smithfield (Bartholomew Fair).
Somerset House.
Southampton Buildings.
Southampton House.
Southampton Market.
Southwark (St. Margaret's Hill).
Spitalfields (Artillery Ground).
Steelyard.
Stock Market.
Strand Maypole, Strand Bridge (Essex House, Exeter House, New Exchange, Worcester House, York House).
Suffolk Street.
Surgeons' (Barber) Hall, Monkwell Street.
Temple (The) (Temple Garden, Temple Gate, Temple Walks).
Temple Bar.
Thames Street.
Theatres: Cockpit; Duke's House (Opera); King's House (Theatre); Red Bull; Salisbury Court.
Three Cranes, Vintry.
Tower (The) (The Mint, The Assay Office, Tower Hill, Tower Stairs, Tower Street, Tower Wharf).
Treasury Office.
Trinity House.
Turnstile (Little), Lincoln's Inn Fields.
Tuttle Fields (Tuttle Street, New Chapel).
Tyburn.
Victualling Office, East Smithfield.
Wallingford House.
Wardrobe (The).
Wards (Court of).
Warwick Lane.
Westminster (Westminster Bridge).
Westminster Hall.
Westminster Palace (Westminster Stairs).
Whitechapel.
Whitefriars (Whitefriars Stairs).
Whitehall (Banqueting House, Tennis Court, Whitehall Bridge, Whitehall Gate, Whitehall Garden, Whitehall Stairs).
Wood Street.
Woodmongers' Company.

Churches.

Allhallows Barking.
Allhallows, Thames Street.
Bow Church, Court of Arches.
Fen Church.
French church in the City.
French church in the Savoy.
St. Andrew's, Holborn.

St. Bartholomew's.
St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate.
St. Bride's.
St. Catherine Cree.
St. Catherine's Hospital.
St. Clement Danes.
St. Dionis Backchurch.
St. Dunstan's in the East.
St. Dunstan's in the West.
St. Faith's.
St. Gabriel's, Fenchurch Street.
St. Giles's.
St. Gregory's by Paul's.
St. Helen's, Bishopsgate.
St. James's, Clerkenwell.
St. Lawrence Jewry.
St. Lawrence Poultney.
St. Magnus.
St. Margaret's, Westminster.
St. Martin's, Ludgate.
St. Martin's in the Fields.
St. Mary Overy's.
St. Michael's, Cornhill.
St. Olave's, Hart Street.
St. Pancras.
St. Paul's Cathedral.
Savoy Church.
Temple Church.
Tower Chapel.
Westminster Abbey.

Other places outside the limits of the map—mentioned in the Diary:

In the east, Blackwall, Isle of Dogs, Shadwell, Wapping, Stepney.

In the north, Hampstead, Highgate, Islington, Kingsland.

In the west, Kensington (Campden House, Holland House), Lisson Green, Marylebone, Fulham (Parson's Green), Uxbridge Road.

In the south, Newington, Surrey.

In addition to these places it is necessary to say something respecting Pepys's travels outside the London of his day. He often inspected the various dockyards, and made flying visits to Cambridge and to his own house at Brampton. Sometimes he took a still more extended tour. East of the Tower he often travelled along the river till he came to the Medway at Sheerness, and on to Chatham dockyard.

During the raging of the Fire he took his goods to Irongate Stairs, at the bottom of Little Tower Street, and placed them on a lighter there. On October 26th, 1665, he started from St. Katharine's with Sir Christopher Mings to go to Greenwich. At St. Katharine's was the hospital of which Viscount Brouncker was the Master. In 1825 the district was destroyed and the St. Katharine's Docks took its place.

Wapping is frequently alluded to, and so is Rotherhithe opposite to it. The "Halfway House" was a favourite resort,

and the site of the Cherry Garden, from which place Pepys carried away some cherries on June 13th, 1664, is still marked by Cherry Garden Pier.

Jamaica House and Tea Gardens, Bermondsey, were situated at the end of Cherry Garden Street, and the name survives in Jamaica Road. Limehouse was known as the "lime house" in Pepys's time, and a part of the main riverside road was long known as Limekiln Hill, after this "lime house."

The Diary positively teems with references to Deptford, Greenwich, Woolwich, and Chatham, and it is not necessary to add anything to these references here.

CHAPTER VIII.

FOLK-LORE AND MANNERS.

IN referring to the items in the Diary which relate to folk-lore, it is necessary to adopt some system of arrangement, but as the subjects treated are very miscellaneous it is not easy, or in fact necessary, to be very precise.

The chief value of Pepys's record of folk-lore practices is that we have evidence that at a given date ordinary people really believed certain things, and acted on that belief. Pepys is a good authority, upon whom we can depend, for he was neither credulous nor incredulous. He was artist enough to like the facts of the tales he tells to hang together fairly well, but he did not set himself to dispute what the majority of people believed.

His want of imagination has caused his Diary to be silent on a large branch of folk-lore. We read there nothing about fairies, or of poetical imaginings generally, and we know that Pepys thought the "Midsummer Night's Dream" to be a silly performance.

The following order will perhaps serve the purpose of a rough classification: (α) Superstitions; (β) Traditional Customs; (γ) Traditional Narratives; (δ) Folk Sayings; (ε) Miscellaneous Manners and Customs.

(α) SUPERSTITIONS.

Pepys always had a fancy for buying and reading books on witchcraft, and some of the notices he gives of the fulfilling of prophecies are curious. On November 24th, 1666, he read

the Rev. Joseph Glanville's "Philosophical Considerations touching Witches and Witchcraft," that had lately been published, and of it he writes, "the discourse being well writ in good stile, but methinks not very convincing." On August 12th, 1667, he bought Reginald Scot's "Discourse of Witchcraft," a third edition of which book had been published in 1665. He does not express any definite opinion on the subject of these books, but we may guess that he did not believe in witchcraft.

He laughed at astrologers generally, and made game of the prophecies of Lilly and "Montelion" in their respective almanacks, but refers to some curious prophecies of the Fire of London. Nostradamus (1503-1566) wrote some verses foretelling this, which were quoted in "Booker's Almanack" after the event. On October 20th, 1666, Commissioner Middleton told Pepys that he was on board "The Prince" when the news came of the burning of London, and that all Prince Rupert said was, "Now Shipton's prophecy was out." This refers to the words of Mother Shipton, or rather of the Grub Street writer who put them into her mouth: "Ah, what a goodlie city this was . . . and now there is scarcely left any house." According to Ward's Diary, Sir Roger L'Estrange, whose office it was to license the almanacks, told Sir Edward Walker "that most of them did foretel the fire of London last year, but he caused it to be put out."

Pepys also tells (February 3rd, 1666-7) that a piece of burnt paper was blown from London to Cranborne in Windsor Forest, and when it was picked up it was found to have printed on it, "Time is, it is done," and nothing else was legible.

On August 22nd, 1663, he met some gipsies on his way to Greenwich, and one of them told him his fortune and said, "Somebody should be with me this day se'nnight to borrow money of me, but I should lend him none." For this the gipsy got ninepence, and on September 3rd he records that when he found his brother had written to him for the loan of £20 he thought of the gipsy's prophecy.

The se'nnight was more than passed, but Pepys was struck with the fact that the gipsy had prophesied so truly. It was, however, a fairly safe shot on her part.

There are several references in the Diary to Monpesson's haunted house at Tedworth, Wilts, which created so great a stir in 1663 and 1664. An invisible drum was beaten every night for a year without a discovery of the fraud. It was afterwards found that William Drury of Uscut, Wilts, was the invisible drummer. Lord Sandwich expressed his doubts to Pepys, and gave as his reason for doubting, that the drummer answered to any tune played to him, but on one occasion he tried to repeat a tune and could not. Lord Sandwich opined that a spirit would have been more successful. The 2nd Earl of Chesterfield says in his Memoirs [1] that Charles II. found out the deception and sent for Monpesson, who confessed it. More than fifty years afterwards Addison made this the groundwork of his comedy, "The Drummer; or, the Haunted House."

On November 29th, 1667, we read an amusing account of a fright, caused by an unusual knocking. Mr. and Mrs. Pepys were disturbed, and the servants frightened, but in the end it turns out that the knocking was caused by the sweeping of a chimney next door, "and nothing else."

On March 23rd, 1668-9, we are told that "after supper we fell to talk of spirits and apparitions, whereupon many pretty particular stories were told, so as to make me almost afeard to be alone, but for shame I could not help it."

More alarming was Pepys's adventure at the Hill House, Chatham, where he had to sleep in a room in which Kenrick Edisbury, a surveyor of the Navy, died in 1638, and he was supposed to continue to haunt it. Sir William Batten, at bedtime, dilated on the report, so that, as Pepys writes, he "did make me somewhat afeard, but not so much as for mirth's sake I did seem."

On October 19th, 1663, we hear of a portent: "Waked with

[1] Prefixed to his Letters, 1829, p. 24.

a very high wind, and said to my wife, 'I pray God I hear not of the death of any great person, this wind is so high! fearing the Queen might be dead." The Queen—Catharine, who had been seriously ill—got well, but Sir William Compton it was who died.

At the end of the entries for the year 1664 there are, in the pages of the Diary, a few charms, which were written out from some old papers Pepys was sorting on December 31st. Some of these papers, which the writer thought not "fit to be seen, if it should please God to take me away suddenly," were torn up. The charms are (1) for stanching of blood, (2) for the pricking of a thorn, (3) for the cramp, and (4) for a burning.

Under the date July, 1665, there is a full account of the practice of raising the body of a boy by four little girls, each using one finger alone. This curious experiment is frequently referred to in books of games, and is fully described in Brewster's "Natural Magic." The particular instance given by Pepys was described to him by a friend (Mr. Brisband) who had seen the trick played at Bordeaux, and who quoted the words used on the occasion:

> "Voyci un Corps mort,
> Royde cõme un Baston,
> Froid comme marbre,
> Leger cõme un esprit,
> Levons te au nom de Jesus Christ."

Pepys was a frequent sufferer from attacks of the colic, and he was, therefore, recommended to carry about a hare's foot, and in December, 1664, he tried the effect, but he was in doubt whether the improvement in his health that he decidedly noticed was caused by the hare's foot or by the turpentine pills which he swallowed. Shortly afterwards he was enlightened by Mr. Batten, who showed him that he had not got the right sort of hare's foot. We read in the passage on January 20th, 1664-5: "So homeward, in my way buying a hare and taking it home, which arose upon my

discourse to-day with Mr. Batten, in Westminster Hall, who showed me my mistake that my hare's foot hath not the joynt to it: and assures me he never had his cholique since he carried it about him;" but here the philosopher speaks: "It is a strange thing how fancy works, for I no sooner almost handled his foote but . . . whereas I was in some pain yesterday and tother day, and in fear of more to-day, I became very well, and so continue." On the following day he records permanent improvement, and adds, "and truly I cannot but impute it to my fresh hare's foot." On the following March 25th, he still had faith in his preservative, and sets down that he never had "a fit of the collique" since he wore it.

On May 23rd, 1661, Mr. Ashmole assured Pepys that "frogs and many insects do often fall from the sky ready formed."

There are many other instances of leechcraft in the Diary. On February 9th, 1662-63, we read of the virtues of Venice treacle, and again on July 11th, 1665.

On July 20th, 1665, Lady Carteret gave Pepys a bottle of plague water, but he does not seem to have put much faith in it, and he evidently had more faith in keeping his mind occupied, and in doing his duty, than in any quack medicines. Unfortunately, in those days, the regular practitioners were frequently in the habit of adopting quack remedies.

On October 19th, 1663, we read that pigeons were put to the feet of Queen Catharine, when she was nearly at the point of death, and when Pepys's cousin, Anthony Joyce, tried to drown himself in a pond, pigeons were put to his feet after it appeared that setting him on his head to let the water run out of his mouth was not so satisfactory a treatment as had been hoped (January 21st, 1667-68). Joyce died soon after in his bed, but as he did not die immediately from his immersion, his estate was saved from confiscation, to which it was liable from his being a suicide.

A curious belief respecting the turning sour of beer is recorded on November 6th, 1663: "Heard Sir John Cutler say,

that of his own experience in time of thunder, so many barrels of beer as have a piece of iron laid upon them will not be soured, and the others will."

On August 21st, 1666, Mr. Batelier told Pepys how a taverner in Bordeaux was cheated into a belief that his wine would turn sour. The cheats hired a man to imitate thunder and rain and hail, which so deceived the poor tavern-keeper that he was induced to abate some of the price of his wines from fear that the thunder would spoil them, although there was no storm. This reads rather too much like a traveller's tale.

(β) Traditional Customs.

The portion of this subject relating to traditional customs can be largely illustrated from the Diary, and some of these customs can be arranged in the order of the calendar.

In the seventeenth century seasons were kept with every proper observance, and in the Diary all of these are described with that local colouring that helps us to understand the happy spirit animating the people, and makes us feel that the expression "Merry England" was at one time appropriate.

Brand describes Handsel Monday as the first Monday of the New Year, and we find several instances of handselling set down by Pepys, although there is no allusion to this special day.

On April 12th, 1663, the parish of St. Olave, Hart Street, obtained a new pair of stocks, which were, we are told, "very handsome," and the constable caught a drunken boy and set him in them to handsel them.

Twelfth Night, the observance of which is now so completely neglected, was a time of high jinks in Pepys's day. On January 6th, 1659-60, there was fiddling and a good supper, with "a brave cake," and when the characters were chosen, the diarist's sister Pall was queen and Mr. Stradwick king. In 1661 there were two queens, Mrs. Pepys and

Mrs. Ward, but the king was lost, so the company chose Dr. Pepys, and made him send for some wine. In 1666 we read: "After cards to choose King and Queen, and a good cake there was, but no marks found; but I privately found the clove, the mark of the knave, and privately put it into Captain Cocke's piece, which made some mirth, because of his lately being known by his buying of clove and mace of the East India prizes." In 1669 we have fuller particulars of the proceedings: "I did bring out my cake—a noble cake, and there cut it to pieces with wine and good drink, and after a new fashion, to prevent spoiling the cake did put so many titles into a hat, and so drew cuts, and I was the Queen, and The. Turner, King; Creed, Sir Martin Marr-all; and Betty, Mrs. Millicent; and so were mighty merry till it was night."

This last entry is of much interest, as showing when the custom of choosing characters by cards came in, in place of depending upon what was found in the cake itself.

In those days Valentine's Day was a very serious occasion. All manner of devices were thought of in order to see first the one you wished to see and not to see the one you did not wish to have as a valentine. When a young lady did you the honour of writing your name on her breast you had to pay for it. Thus it cost Pepys a good deal of money to buy presents for his valentines, but the references to the custom (which may be found from the index) are too numerous to be alluded to here.

Pepys had fritters on Shrove Tuesday, and when he looked out of window on February 26th, 1660-61, he saw the cruel sport of throwing at cocks.

On March 1st, 1666-67, being St. David's Day, we read of a picture of a man dressed like a Welshman, hanging by the neck upon one of the poles on the top of a merchant's house. Until quite lately bakers made gingerbread Welshmen to represent a man skewered, which were sold on St. David's Day as *Taffies*.

There is an interesting allusion to the custom of Maundy on April 4th, 1667: "My wife and Mercer, who had been to-

day to White Hall to the Maundy, it being Maundy Thursday, but the King did not wash the poor people's feet himself, but the Bishop of London did it for him." Charles II. was not the man to perform this disagreeable duty if he could help it, although he touched more people for the king's evil than any other sovereign. James II., in after years, washed the feet of the poor people, but he was the last to perform this ceremony.

St. George's Day (April 23rd), which should be our national festival, does not appear to have been generally observed since the Reformation. We read of bonfires in the street in 1666, but then it was also the king's coronation day.

May Day, with its milkmaids and maypoles, was well observed, and there are many references to it in the Diary. On May 1st, 1667, Pepys, walking from Westminster, met many milkmaids with their garlands upon their pails, dancing, with a fiddler before them. Probably they were wending their way to the Maypole in the Strand. It was on this memorable day that the diarist saw Nell Gwyn standing at the door of a house in Drury Lane which has only been pulled down within the last few years.

Mrs. Pepys was fond of getting up very early in the morning (sometimes as early as four o'clock) in order to gather May-dew in the fields. The virtues of May-dew as an improver of the complexion were still believed in as late as the end of the eighteenth century.

The interesting custom of beating the bounds, which is still in some places observed, is frequently referred to in the Diary. This took place on Ascension Day or Holy Thursday. On May 23rd, 1661, we read: "This day was kept a holy-day through the town, and it pleased me to see the little boys walk up and down in procession with their broom staffs in their hands, as I had myself long ago gone" (vol. ii., p. 41).

Again, on April 30th, 1668, Procession Day: "They talked with Mr. Mills about the meaning of this day, and the good uses of it; and how heretofore, and yet in several places, they do whip a boy at each place they stop at in their procession."

It is surprising to find no mention of Oak Apple Day, or

Royal Oak Day, as Brand calls it, in the Diary. There are references to bonfires, ringing of bells, fireworks, and other modes of celebrating the 29th of May, when the king "enjoyed his own again," but nothing is said about the use of the oak apples. Pepys significantly says that on this day there was little rejoicing on the city side of Temple Bar.

Midsummer Day (June 24th) was kept as a holiday, and the fifth of November was well observed. "At night great bonfires and fireworks" (November 5th, 1660).

On St. Andrew's Day (November 30th, 1666), "pretty to see . . . how some few did wear St. Andrew's cross, but most did make a mockery at it, and the House of Parliament, contrary to practice, did sit also: people having no mind to observe the Scotch saints' days till they hear better news from Scotland." The Royal Society still keep this day as their anniversary; in 1668 the Fellows at their annual meeting wore the St. Andrew's cross in their hats,—it cost two shillings.

On St. Thomas's Day, December 21st, it was an old custom for the men of the Exchequer to have a supper (vol. i., p. 309).

Christmas Day was well kept, and we read of the plum porridge and the mince pies, but the roast beef was often replaced by fowls. The wassail bowl was common, and it was even introduced into girls' schools.

The old customs at weddings and funerals are fully illustrated. The habit of bargaining for wives and husbands which is generally thought to be particularly un-English is found to have been very general in the seventeenth century. Pepys was continually offering a dowry for his sister Pall to the friends of eligible men who came in his way—there is no idea of the principals falling in love.

The account of the wooing of Philip Carteret, who afterwards married Jemima Montagu, the daughter of the Earl of Sandwich, is very amusing, and we find Lady Sandwich expressing a doubt whether her daughter will be pleased with the arrangement. Pepys was young Carteret's friend and guide, and he was often rather annoyed at the lover's coldness and shyness. He gives full details of the wooing, and then we hear of the

wedding favours, and how all the company behaved. We are told of wedding rings set with diamonds, as well as posy rings.

Christening customs are also detailed, and the various presents are catalogued. Pepys often gave them with considerable reluctance, especially if the boy was not named Samuel.

Funerals and funeral feasts also come in for a full share of attention. It is related that ten maids in Westminster Hall wore white scarves as mourning for a young bachelor bookseller (January 20th, 1659-60), and how Charles II. went into purple mourning for his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, purple being the royal mourning (March 27th, 31st, 1667). In a country village we are told that graves were sowed with sage, a custom that I have not seen specially mentioned elsewhere. Then there was the custom of giving mourning rings to the friends of the deceased, which must have greatly added to the expenses connected with funerals.

Many more of the entries in the Diary come under the heading of traditional customs. When at Greenwich on June 10th, 1667, Pepys saw a great riding there for a man—a constable of the town, whose wife was in the habit of beating him.

Constantly we hear of bonfires in the streets, which must have been highly dangerous, but these must have been less inconvenient to the pedestrians than a game of football in the streets. We know that was a frequent practice in country villages, but it is startling to hear that on January 3rd, 1664-65, the streets near Charing Cross were full of footballs, "it being a great frost." Many outdoor sports and indoor games are registered. We constantly read of bull-baiting, cock-fighting, and prize fights, bowls, pall mall, and tennis, and archery in Moorfields.

Indoors we have allusions to various kinds of dances, backgammon, tables, shuffleboard, blind man's buff, and crambo. The game of "I love my love with an a, etc." was seen at a palace, with the King and the Duke of York as players. Pepys was not himself very devoted to games, but his value as

a chronicler is largely owing to his putting down particulars of what he saw, even if he were not specially interested in the things themselves. The curious custom of touching for the king's evil which prevailed for several centuries is frequently referred to.

(γ) Traditional Narratives.

On May 22nd, 1667, there is an entry which refers to a local tradition. Pepys saw a man who had caught a sturgeon, big enough, he says, to prevent his mistake of that for a colt if he ever became Mayor of Huntingdon.

It is related that once during a time of high flood in the meadows between Godmanchester and Huntingdon, a body was seen floating on the waters. The Godmanchester people said it was a black pig, and the Huntingdon folk said it was a sturgeon. It turned out to be a young donkey.

(δ) Folk Sayings.

There are a few folk sayings, but not many. The proverb, "My cake is dough," is referred to on April 27th, 1665, and "to take eggs for their money" (meaning, to give money on trifling consideration) on June 27th, 1666. The first of these proverbs will be found in the "Taming of the Shrew," and the other in the "Winter's Tale."

On May 14th, 1669, there is an allusion which it is difficult to explain. Pepys and a party took boat on the Thames as high as Fulham, "talking and singing and playing the rogue with the Western bargemen about the women of Woolwich, which mads them." On May 28th they were again making sport of the "Western bargees." We know that in the eighteenth century it was a favourite amusement to bandy words with the Thames boatmen, one which even Addison and Johnson joined in, but what the particular allusion to the women of Woolwich means, I cannot tell.

In a note referring to Pepys's use of the quotation, "Though

I love the treason I hate the traitor," this is not traced farther back than to Anthony Sadler, D.D. (1619-1680) (vol. vi., p. 216). In so common a book, however, as Riley's "Dictionary of Quotations" might have been found the proverb, "Proditionem amo, sed proditorem non laudo," borrowed from Plutarch, and said to have been used by Richard III. on the betrayal of the Duke of Buckingham.

(ε) Miscellaneous Manners and Customs.

In the last division a few casual references may be made to some of the more important instances which illustrate the manners and customs of the period over which the Diary extends.

It would take too long to enter into detail respecting these illustrations of a phase of life that has completely passed away, and it is the less necessary to enlarge upon these points because the whole book is before the reader, and there are notes to most of the passages where different customs are described. It will, however, be useful to bring together some of these disconnected passages.

Means of Travel.—Many of the incidents of travelling are of great interest, such as the time taken in getting from place to place, the descriptions of the carriages, of the newly-introduced glass coaches, and of the lumbering hackney coaches. The swift propulsion on the river by means of boats must have been vastly more agreeable than travelling by the land conveyances.

We know how great was the jealousy of the hackney coaches felt by the watermen, and Pepys tells us how the watermen were induced to sign a petition during the anarchic state of government which preceded the Restoration. On February 2nd, 1659-60, we read: "In our way we talked with our waterman White, who told us how the watermen had lately been abused by some that had a desire to get in to be watermen to the State, and had lately presented an address of nine or ten thousand hands to stand by this Parliament,

when it was only told them that it was to a petition against hackney coaches" (vol. i., p. 41).

Sir John Robinson, Lord Mayor 1662-63, was proud of having drawn up a precept "against coachmen and carmen affronting the gentry in the street" (vol. iii., p. 69).

On June 13th, 1663, Pepys was driven by a mad coachman, who "drove like mad, and down bye-ways through Bucklersbury home, everybody through the street cursing him, being ready to run over them" (vol. iii., p. 167). On September 18th, 1665, an amusing anecdote is related of a hackney coachman who waked Pepys while in his coach and in consequence was taken for a thief (vol. v., p. 84).

When Count Grammont came over to England he brought an improved type of coach, and about this time glass coaches came into use. This innovation was not appreciated, and Lady Ashley (afterwards Countess of Shaftesbury) expatiated on the bad qualities of glass coaches, and instanced the case of Lady Peterborough, who, seeing a lady pass in another coach, forgot that the glass was down, and ran her head through it, by which she cut her forehead (vol. vii., p. 121).

Taking the Wall.—The unpleasantnesses of walking the streets were numerous, and one of the chief of these was that connected with taking the wall. Gay commences his "Trivia" with an allusion to the difficulty of deciding

> "When to assert the wall, and when resign."

On February 8th, 1659-60, as Pepys was going home he received in Fleet Street "a great jostle from a man that had a mind to take the wall, which I could not help" (vol. i., p. 49).

Punishments.—The various modes of punishment which were prevalent are fully described in the Diary, with details which are repugnant to modern ideas. The bodies of malefactors were allowed to fall to decay on the gibbets, the heads of traitors were affixed to London Bridge, Temple Bar, and elsewhere, and limbs of the same were placed on Aldersgate and other of the city gates.

Shooter's Hill was long a notorious haunt of highwaymen, and on April 11th, 1661, Pepys "rode under the man that hangs upon Shooter's Hill, and a filthy sight it was to see how his flesh is shrunk to his bones" (vol. ii., p. 9).

It is very generally supposed that the punishment for treason was hanging, drawing (or disembowelling, as a drawn fowl), and quartering, but, oddly enough, the original order of the words was drawn, hanged, and quartered, and Pepys seems to have understood the word "drawn" to mean taken to the gallows in a cart. On April 19th, 1662, he wrote that he stood at Aldgate, "and did see Barkestead, Okey, and Corbet, drawn towards the gallows at Tiburne; and there they were hanged and quartered" (vol. ii., p. 221). This ambiguity as to the word "drawn," when used in the terms of the punishment, has given rise to some controversy, but there can be no doubt that the original meaning of "drawn" was "disembowelled." Mr. L. O. Pike, in his "History of Crime in England" (vol. i., p. 226), says, "In all the cases of treason during the reign of Edward II. of which the records have been preserved, the first object of all concerned—except the accused—was to give horror to the sentence, the last to give fairness to the trial. The proceedings against Andrew Harda, Earl of Carlisle, are thoroughly characteristic of the age. He was thrown into prison, and the accusation against him was heard in his absence. He had no opportunity of making any answer, and was brought before his judges only to hear their judgment, which the Court, sitting under a special commission, delivered at some length. The concluding sentences are worthy of notice, as they show the grounds upon which a portion of the horrible penalty for treason was justified. 'The award of the Court is, that for your treason you be drawn, and hanged, and beheaded; that your heart, and bowels and entrails, whence *came your traitorous thoughts*, be torn out, and burnt to ashes, and that the ashes be scattered to the winds; that your body be cut into four quarters, and that one of them be hanged upon the Tower of Carlisle, another upon the Tower of Newcastle, a third upon the

Bridge of York, and the fourth at Shrewsbury; and that your head be set upon London Bridge, for an example to others that they may never presume to be guilty of such treason as yours against their liege Lord.'"

Pepys describes, on January 27th, 1661-62, the driving to Tyburn of the three regicides whose names were not subscribed to Charles I.'s sentence: "This morning going to take water upon Tower Hill, we met with three sleddes standing there to carry my Lord Monson, and Sir H. Mildmay, and another to the gallows and back again, with ropes about their necks; which is to be repeated every year, this being the day of their sentencing the King" (vol. ii., p. 180). In a contemporary account the word "drawing" is used in this limited sense. The title is as follows: "The Traytor's Pilgrimage from the Tower to Tyburn, being a true relation of the *drawing* of William Lord Mounson, Sir Henry Mildmay, and Squire Wallop."

Wearing of Hats.—A curious custom was that of the constant wearing of hats in the house. Pepys was very proud to wear his hat at a committee, where an old friend who attended was bareheaded. By the statutes of the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries, the president was privileged to wear his hat at the meetings while the rest of the fellows were uncovered. At the Society of Antiquaries a cocked hat is placed on the table whenever the society meets, but the statement of the privilege has lately been taken out of the statutes of the Royal Society.

On November 17th, 1661, Pepys calls a preacher, who exclaimed "against men's wearing their hats on in the church," "a simple fellow"; and on September 28th, 1662, he remarks on a visit to the French church at the Savoy—"and which I never saw before, the minister do preach with his hat off, I suppose in further conformity with our church" (vol. ii., pp. 138, 346).

There is a very amusing account of the entry of Pepys and his friends into the parish church in the country, when all the country people rose with reverence at their arrival, and the

parson began the service—"Right worshipful and dearly beloved" (vol. ii., p. 75).

Truckle Beds.—Pepys's was a well-to-do household, but the individuals were not very nice in their habits, according to our modern ideas; thus, on October 9th, 1669, when on a visit to Brampton, Pepys and his wife slept in the high bed in their chamber, and Deb Willet in the trundle-bed (vol. vii., p. 142); and there are several other instances of the maids sleeping in the same room with their master and mistress. The trundle, trindle, or truckle-bed is elsewhere referred to in the Diary. According to the original statutes of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, a scholar slept in a truckle-bed below each Fellow, and at night this was drawn up under the high bed.

The King's new Costume.—One of the oddest attempts to fix a fashion was made by Charles II. in October, 1666, when he introduced a particular costume for men, thus described by Pepys on the 15th: "This day the King begins to put on his vest, and I did see several persons of the House of Lords and Commons too, great courtiers, who are in it; being a long cassocke close to the body, of black cloth and pinked with white silke under it, and a coat over it, and the legs ruffled with black riband like a pigeon's leg, and upon the whole I wish the King may keep it, for it is a very fine and handsome garment" (vol. vi., p. 21). The king told his council on the 7th inst. that "he will never alter," but he soon changed his mind. The Duke of York put on the costume on the 13th, and the king himself on the 15th. Pepys dressed himself in the new vest and coat on November 4th. A year before this Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, sent over to her brother a vest such as was worn in Paris. On April 8th, 1665, she wrote thus to Charles: "Madame de Fiennes having told me that you would be glad to see a pattern of the vests that are worn here I take the liberty of sending you one, and am sure that on your fine figure it will look very well."[1]

[1] J. Cartwright's "Madame," p. 210.

On November 22nd, 1666, Pepys's friend, Mr. Batelier, said that the King of France had put his footmen into the costume which Charles II. had chosen for himself and Court. Planché, in his "Cyclopædia of Costume," expresses his doubt as to the correctness of this statement, but the author of "The Character of a Trimmer" corroborates the information, and adds that the Duchess of Orleans was instructed by Louis XIV. to laugh her brother out of the use of these vests. There can, therefore, be little doubt of the substantial truth of Mr. Batelier's piece of news. This impertinence of the French king, that seems to have given Steele a hint for the story of Brunetta and Phillis, which he wrote for the "Spectator," caused the discontinuance of the so-called Persian habit at the English Court.

Prize Fights.—On two occasions in 1667 Pepys went to see prize-fights at the Bear Garden on the Bankside. On May 27th he saw a butcher and a waterman fight with swords, and afterwards a general tumultuous fight between the butchers and the watermen who supported their respective champions. The tumult was so great that Pepys, as he stood in the pit, feared that he himself would get some hurt (vol. vi., p. 340). On September 9th he went with his wife and Creed to see a prize fought between a shoemaker and a butcher, but, arriving too soon, he left the other two and went on to Whitehall. He returned in time for the fight, when he found the yard full of people. He got first into the alehouse, and then was put in the bull house. While he was there he feared he was among the bears also, but he afterwards got into the common pit, and there, with his cloak about his face, saw the prize fought (vol. vii., p. 106).

Kissing.—There are some passages in the Diary which show that occasionally it was the custom for men to kiss men; thus, on August 4th, 1664, "Sir G. Carteret kissed me himself heartily" (vol. v., p. 38), and on March 6th, 1667-68, we read: "I met Mr. G. Montagu, who came to me and kissed me, and told me that he had often heretofore kissed my hands,

but now he would kiss my lips, protesting that I was another Cicero" (vol. vii., p. 352).

Pepys was very fond of kissing women; this was allowable according to custom, but he often exceeded the number of kisses usually approved of. He knew his weakness, and adopted a favourite expedient for keeping a check upon his habits by fining himself. On January 14th, 1665-66, he resolved to perform his vow "to finish my journall and other things before I kiss any woman more or drink any wine" (vol. v., p. 198). On another occasion, when he went where there were many ladies, he made a vow that he would forfeit a certain amount if he kissed them all, but he took the precaution of allowing himself one kiss before the forfeits began to count.

Pepys's Vows.—The casuistry adopted by Pepys in respect to his vows is most amusing. He found himself wasting his time and money in attending the theatre, and injuring his health by drinking too much wine, so he took a solemn oath to partially abstain, and bought a box at the pewterer's to put his forfeits in, which were to be devoted to the poor (March 5th, 1661-62). We are not told how much the poor received, but probably it was not any great amount, for we find him constantly seeking for excuses for breach of his vows. Thus on August 8th, 1664, we read: "So my wife and I abroad to the King's playhouse, she giving me her time of last month, she having not seen any then, so my vowe is not broke at all, it costing me no more money than it would have done upon her had she gone both her times that were due to her" (vol. iv., p. 211). On August 22nd, 1663, Pepys drank a cup of strong water, but as he did it entirely for his health's sake he considered that this was outside the influence of his oath.

The most amusing instance of casuistry, however, is one that is familiar to all from its having been commented upon by Sir Walter Scott. On October 29th, 1663, Pepys wrote: "Wine was offered and they drunk, I only drinking some hypocras, which do not break my vowe, it being to the best of

my present judgement, only a mixed compound drink, and not any wine. If I am mistaken, God forgive me! but I hope and do think I am not" (vol. iii., p. 321). Now, as hypocras is nothing but sweetened and spiced wine, Scott was justified in saying, "Assuredly his pieces of bacchanalian casuistry can only be matched by that of Fielding's chaplain of Newgate, who preferred punch to wine, because the former was a liquor nowhere spoken against in Scripture." The strangest part of Pepys's reasons for his opinion is the evident sincerity with which they were stated.

Morals.—In touching on manners it seems necessary to say a word upon the morals of the time. It is of the greatest value to us that the Diary was commenced before the Restoration period, as we thus see that there was little difference in the manners of the two periods, however much they may have differed outwardly.

We find that it was usual for men to visit ladies in their bedrooms before King Charles "obtained his own again." On February 24th, 1659-60, Pepys took horse at Scotland Yard, and rode to Mr. Pierce, "who rose and in a quarter of an hour, leaving his wife in bed (with whom Mr. Lucy, methought, was very free as she lay in bed), we both mounted and so set forth about seven of the clock" (vol. i., p. 67). The manners of the Court did not greatly affect the manners of the town, and probably had no effect upon those of the country.

Pepys was a Republican during the Commonwealth, but there is no evidence that he was ever a Puritan, and there is nothing in the Diary to corroborate the popular idea of an almost universal prevalence of a canting diction at that time. Probably after the Restoration one of the chief causes of demoralization was the stage, and the influence of the looseness exhibited there was doubtless greater on the people of London than any influence exerted by the Court.

Truly it is a remarkable exposure of the hidden manners of men and women, both before and after the Restoration, that we find in the pages of the Diary.

CHAPTER IX.

APPRECIATION OF THE MAN.

THERE are many works which we estimate apart from their authors, but Pepys's Diary is one of those personal books that cannot be separated from its writer, because we know him almost entirely through its pages.

Before 1825 Samuel Pepys was little more than a name. His external form was known, for his portraits are extant. His public actions and his highly respectable character were known, and Jeremy Collier and John Evelyn praised him in high terms. Evelyn was particularly eulogistic:

May 26, 1703. "This day died Mr. Sam. Pepys, a very worthy, industrious, and curious person, none in England exceeding him in knowledge of the Navy, in which he had passed thro' all the most considerable offices, Clerk of the Acts and Secretary of the Admiralty, all which he performed with great integrity. When K. James II. went out of England he laid down his office, and would serve no more; but withdrawing himselfe from all public affairs, he lived at Clapham with his partner, Mr. Hewer, formerly his clerk, in a very noble house and sweete place, where he enjoyed the fruite of his labours in greate prosperity. He was universally belov'd, hospitable, generous, learned in many things, skilled in music, a very greate cherisher of learned men of whom he had the conversation. His library and collection of other curiosities were of the most considerable, the models of ships especially. Besides what he publish'd of an account of the Navy, as he found and left it, he had for divers years under his hand the History of the Navy, or 'Navalia' as he call'd it; but how far advanced

and what will follow of it, is left, I suppose, to his sister's son, Mr. Jackson, a young gentleman whom Mr. Pepys had educated in all sorts of usefull learning, sending him to travel abroad, from whence he returned with extraordinary accomplishments, and worthy to be his heir. Mr. Pepys had been for neere 40 yeares so much my particular friend, that Mr. Jackson sent me compleat mourning, desiring me to be one to hold up the pall at his magnificent obsequies; but my indisposition hinder'd me from doing him this last office."—EVELYN'S *Diary.*

The record of the inner man, however, remained a blank, but now it is disclosed as man's soul was never disclosed before. The publication of the Diary, although it has enhanced Pepys's fame, has been disastrous to his reputation, and we have here a remarkable illustration of the truth of the proverb that no man is a hero to his *valet de chambre.* When reading the Diary we may be said to stand at his daily toilet in the place of his valet.

Readers often take advantage of this honesty of self-portraiture, and patronizingly speak of the writer as "poor old Pepys," but this shows a want of appreciation and is well rebuked by Russell Lowell's wise remark, "the very fact of that sincerity of the author with himself argues a certain greatness of character."

Truly "familiarity breeds contempt," and we often find it difficult to appreciate justly the character of the man who says something more foolish than we think we should say ourselves. It is the old experience that the reticent fool is more likely to be thought highly of than the garrulous wise man.

We have gained so greatly by the garrulousness of this man that we ought to be grateful to the writer and attempt to do justice to him, in spite of the temptation to think lightly of him in consequence of his confessions.

The diarist was in some points a representative of the ordinary man, but he stands at the head of the class. In many respects, however, he was a unique man, and in no instance is this "uniquity" more apparent than in the uncompromising

manner in which he strips his soul naked. All other autobiographers attitudinize a little, even to themselves, and all other writers of confessions are more or less self-conscious—they drape their vices before they present them to the public gaze—but not so Pepys. A man who can be so thoroughly honest must be far above the ordinary man in intellectual fibre.

We find both in his Diary and in his letters that he grew in character year by year, till he attained in the end a mellowed and respected old age. When great and unexpected difficulties arose, he was always ready to meet them. He was, in fact, equal to the great occasions of his life.

In attempting an appreciation of the man we find ourselves in a great difficulty, for we have too much information to allow us to give a simple explanation of his character, and it is imperative that we should refrain from drawing our inspiration from the Diary alone.

It will therefore be necessary in the first place to catalogue the chief aspects of his character under the following heads: (1) husband and friend; (2) official; (3) patriot; (4) curioso or dilettante; (5) collector; (6) philanthropist.

(1) He was very fond of his wife, and very proud of her, and as a rule they lived happily together, but yet at times he did not use her well. Then his conduct was both immoral and unmanly. Occasionally his remorse was great, and he made resolutions which unfortunately were not kept. His self-abasement in the last volume is the saddest episode in the whole Diary; but although this is a subject that cannot be overlooked, it is not one to be enlarged upon.

I fear that little can be said with respect to his moral character, but we must remember that, although there are many passages which we may well wish he had never written, these are not considerable in respect to the mass of the Diary, and that the larger portion is thoroughly healthy in tone, and never morbid, as confessions so often are.

As a friend he was admirable, and everyone connected with him may be said to have succeeded in life. For instance,

although he constantly complained of his brother-in-law, Balty St. Michel, that officer went on step by step in the public service till he became a Commissioner of the Navy, and there can be no doubt that he owed this advancement very largely to Pepys.

The great Selden was one of Pepys's early friends, and so was the philosophical republican James Harrington, but some of the early acquaintances mentioned in the Diary are so undistinguished that the most diligent search is unproductive of information respecting them. As he got on in the world, his circle enlarged so as to include most of the celebrities of his day. Moreover, there was always a warm place in his heart for old schoolmates and fellow-collegians.

(2) As an official, first as Clerk of the Acts of the Navy, and afterwards as Secretary of the Admiralty, he was a most valuable public servant, not only carrying out the work of his office with vigour, but initiating improvements, so that he may be said to be the founder of the civil government of the Navy. When the Revolution occurred, Pepys was not treated with much consideration. He was supposed to be a Jacobite and a plotter, and was confined in the Gate House, Westminster; but in course of time these unworthy suspicions were set at rest, and, although his active career was closed, he was constantly appealed to as the Nestor of the Navy—as the one man in the country who knew most about it.

I believe him to have been a thoroughly honest man; but there is some difficulty here, for the opinion is often preached that to palliate the actions of the man is to condone the crime. But it is unjust to carry back the sentiments of to-day, and by their light to condemn those who lived in a different world two centuries ago. The taking of fees by officials is a most dangerous and reprehensible practice, but it was a universal practice in Pepys's day, and an official was expected to make part of his living by taking them. I can see no evidence that he did what he was unable to approve on account of a bribe; after choosing a contractor to the best of his judgment, however, he had no objection to taking a fee.

I know this sounds a dangerous doctrine, and doubtless it is so, but to the men of Pepys's day it appeared to be thoroughly straightforward.

(3) Pepys was essentially a patriot, and his unwearied labours in obtaining a Navy worthy of the country should meet with the unqualified applause of every Englishman. In making this claim for Pepys, it is only justice to say how well he was supported in his endeavours to improve the Navy by two men who are sadly in need of a good word being said in their favour, viz., Kings Charles II. and James II.

It is no little matter that his name should remain to the present day a power at the Admiralty. How completely he identified himself with the Navy is given in an amusing manner in the records of the House of Commons. Sir R. Howard, in a debate on the 11th May, 1678, complained that Pepys used the pronouns "I" and "we" too frequently in his speeches, and that he spoke rather like an admiral than a secretary. But surely these little eccentricities may easily be forgiven in one who was so devoted to the true interests of his country.

He was not content to sit at his desk and give his orders, but he constantly visited the dockyards and looked into every detail himself. He relates that when he had reason to believe that some of the ships in the Thames were deserted at night by their officers and crews, he went himself in his boat to discover the truth of the report, and he then found several vessels with no one on board.

He was also a man of courage, and it is related of him that on one occasion when the Corporation of the Trinity House were much concerned at the interference of Charles II. with the affairs of the institution, he undertook to speak to the king on the subject, and to inform his majesty that it was unadvisable to interfere in the election on Trinity Monday as he proposed to do.[1]

(4) The old word *curioso* describes Pepys to a nicety.

[1] Barrett's "Trinity House of Deptford Sound," 1893, p. 94.

Dilettante expresses an idea too finicking and dandyish to associate with him, but he was essentially curious, which is something different from inquisitive. It describes the intelligent inquirer whose business was the public service, but whose amusement was general knowledge.

(5) Pepys was one who collected with judgment, and everything he collected was kept in excellent order. We have only to visit the Pepysian Library at Cambridge to prove this. Here are his books and his catalogues, his collection of ballads and chapbooks, and his series of books of prints. This small room in Magdalene College contains a monument to Pepys second only to the Diary in interest.

(6) Pepys was a philanthropist, although it was not until his later years that he had the time to spare for the active pursuit of philanthropy.

During the period of the Diary Pepys was living in the City; but he was not actually presented with the freedom of the City of London until April, 1699, when it was conferred upon him "in acknowledgment of the great zeal and concern for the interest of Christ's Hospital which [he] hath manifested on all occasions." His latest years were largely occupied by his earnest endeavours for the advancement of that valuable institution.

These notes are intended to give us some idea of the man Pepys, but after all they amount to little more than a catalogue of the varied aspects of the different sides of his complex character. Our materials for depicting his character are, in fact, too voluminous, and the frank and open confessions of the diarist are so full and so unexpected that they often fill the soul of the reader with a feeling of awe at being taken into the very presence of the innermost man. This, however, does not appear to have been felt by former critics, who were often contemptuous at the same time as they were appreciative; but now that a fuller transcript of the Diary has been given to the world, a higher estimation of the genius of the man appears to be general.

In one of the ablest modern articles on the Diary, which

Mr. Charles Whibley communicated to the "New Review," he complains that the late Mr. Russell Lowell called Pepys a Philistine, and that a professor of literature said that he had no imagination. As to the first point, the word "Philistine" is used somewhat vaguely, and often means little more than that the person spoken of holds opinions of which the speaker disapproves. Mr. Lowell only incidentally used the word in his address at the opening of the Pepys Memorial at St. Olave's Church, to describe Pepys, but he enlarged upon the French word *bourgeois*, and probably every student of the Diary will feel that this is a most appropriate description of its writer, who cared little or nothing for what was not connected with that which was immediately around him.

The objection to the second point must after all be a mere matter of words. What we usually understand by imagination is poetical imagination—that which enables its possessor to soar into the higher realms of thought. This faculty we all agree was not Pepys's. No one, however, will dispute that he had a lively imagination for all matters of a more mundane character. He could see with his mind's eye what was invisible to mortal sight, so long as it dealt with things on this earth. A writer in "Macmillan's Magazine" on the man Pepys, very justly says that "mentally blind he was not, but morally blind he was."

Coleridge thus happily described Pepys: "He was a pollard man, without the top (*i.e.*, the reason as the source of ideas, or immediate, not sensuous truths, having their evidence in themselves, or the imagination or idealizing power, by symbols mediating between the reason and the understanding), but on this account more broadly branching out from the upper trunk."

One reason why Pepys was so successful in whatever he undertook was that he devoted himself entirely to the work that was before him. He took the greatest interest in that which came under his own observation, but he seldom troubled himself with abstract propositions. If we take this ground, and do not claim for Pepys any connection with the higher

life, we shall come to the conclusion that within his own limits he was one of the ablest men that ever lived. His mastery of details and general clear-headedness are so marked and ever present that they induce us to claim for him true genius. Mr. Whibley puts the matter compendiously when he says that "he understood the art of life completely."

To sum up in a few words, we may say that he was a man of innate power, with an extraordinary strength of will, and an insight that showed him the right way to carry out his own conceptions.

All this, however, leaves untouched his moral character; and here we must read the incidents of his later life, which are altogether praiseworthy, in connection with the confessions of the Diary, and we shall find that we must honour him for the reasons already stated. After all, it is scarcely necessary to adjure readers to be lenient to his failings, for however much we may occasionally be disgusted, this disgust is soon forgotten under the influence of the charming naïveté which abounds in the pages of the Diary. However much we may think it needful in the cause of morality to condemn its writer, we cannot keep him out of our hearts.

Pepys as a Man of Business.

I am indebted to Mr. A. E. Seaton, J.P., Managing Director of Earle's Shipbuilding and Engineering Company, Hull, for the following interesting communication. This practical opinion of an expert, who is also a devoted admirer of the diarist, serves as a supplement to my remarks on Pepys as an official:—

Samuel Pepys as Clerk of the Acts was called upon almost daily to take part in transactions more or less of a commercial character; in so doing he was brought in contact with men of varied character and standing in the commercial world.

When his Diary commences he appears to have had little or no commercial knowledge, and no contact with commercial men. There is, therefore, all the more credit due to him, that

in a few years from taking up office he was able to conduct successfully negotiations with some of the most astute men in the City of London, and to deal with the various problems that came before the Tangier Committee and the Navy Board in a businesslike and clear-headed way, in strong contrast to the methods of both his predecessors and colleagues.

To measure his character by modern standards is an interesting study in commercial ethics; to condemn him in the process is manifestly unjust and inconsequential. His character as an official having business relations with the outside world may, indeed, very well be carefully scanned through nineteenth-century spectacles, but, to give him a proper place in the estimation of fair-minded men, he must be seen through the eyes of his contemporaries who could claim that character.

Throughout his Diary we have the fullest proof that he took what nowadays would undoubtedly be deemed to be bribes, whatever euphonious name might be applied to the acts; but he does not seem to have thought the worse of himself for so doing, whereas for his other moral lapses he does at times seem conscience stricken. Moreover, there is not the slightest evidence that by such acts he fell in the esteem of such men as Sir William Warren, Captain Cock, etc., or that they assumed thereby to have any power over him; but, on the contrary, on one occasion he adopted towards Sir William Warren an attitude of open hostility, when that worthy merchant tried other channels than that of Samuel Pepys to attain his ends at the Navy Board.

There is little doubt that when Pepys was first appointed Clerk of the Acts, he retained much of the old Puritan spirit of the Commonwealth, and no doubt had acquired the tone of Cromwell's men from Mr. Downing and his clerks. His sincerity and zeal for the good of the Navy are beyond doubt, and shown by his successful attempts to break down the corner in tar and the corner in bewpers (bunting) established by the London merchants, dealers in those articles. But in doing so he probably had the first tangible

proof of how things might be arranged to his personal advantage in these commercial dealings, so that later on he readily fell a victim to the baits of an astute City man like Sir William Warren, and no doubt really felt, that after beating down that worthy in his tender for masts, and "thereby doing good for the King," he was honestly entitled to "a little gain for himself," especially as it would appear to come from the generosity of Sir William Warren. Whether it was better for the public service that Mr. Pepys should drive as hard a bargain as he could with a respectable City merchant, and get good material for the Crown, and at the same time a little gain for himself, or whether he should have got tenders from all and sundry for the same, and accepting the lowest tender, by which the dockyards very likely should receive an inferior article, while fully answering the description as tendered for, would seem in Charles's time to have been open to considerable debate. That he honestly tried to do his best for the public service, there is not only ample evidence in his Diary, but his contemporaries willingly and frequently bore testimony to the same, and more than one public inquiry into the doings of Samuel Pepys resulted in acquitting that gentleman of any crime and re-established his integrity. Had Pepys himself to meet the nineteenth-century critic who should charge him with the taking of tips and bribes, he would probably, like Warren Hastings, minimize the fault to vanishing point by showing the magnitude of the opportunities. He would also have shown that he had taken from no man a reward for which he had done no work, and proved that in those days the gratitude for services rendered was not limited to honeyed speeches and graceful bows, but was expected to take tangible form, and to be an integral part of that income by which an official could hold his place in society. He would also express the contempt he had felt for Lord Brouncker, Sir William Batten, and other colleagues, who, while expecting similar presents to be conferred upon themselves, did nothing to earn them; and that whereas he insisted on the contractors fulfilling their obligations to the

Crown, bribe or no bribe, these other gentlemen neglected to do so, and frequently by such remissness caused scandal at the dockyards and more serious consequences to His Majesty's Navy. In fact, by comparison with other officials of the times, as judged by the evidence of contemporary writers, by official documents, by the records of trials, as well as by the pages of the Diary, Mr. Pepys's character for honesty and integrity must have stood exceedingly high.

There are three circumstances in the Diary that cannot be passed over in an inquiry of this kind without comment:

The first is in connection with Dennis Gauden, who, like many another naval contractor, seems to have made nothing by his contracts, in spite of the help of Mr. Pepys and some other members of the Navy Board; in fact, victualling the fleet never seems to have been a paying affair for any contractor for ages before his time and since. The incident in question, however, is Pepys's reluctance to write to Gauden to demand security for the fulfilment of his contract before they gave it him, in consequence of his somewhat straightened circumstances, resulting from losses with the last contract. This showed Pepys to have a sense of justice, fair play, and consideration for those who had served the country well, which is apparently not so evident in officials generally in this century of purity and incorruption.

The second curious circumstance is the owning of a privateer by the principal members of the Navy Board, and the still more singular one of the owners of that ship carrying through the illegal seizure of a ship belonging to a subject of a friendly power by means of which there is reason to believe Mr. Pepys himself was heartily ashamed. That public officials could be guilty of such an act as that mentioned is a greater blot on their character than that caused by the taking of commissions from friendly contractors.

The third circumstance is the obtaining of one of His Majesty's ships when paid out of commission by the Clerk of the Acts as a present from the King, which shows first of all that the King's interest in what we are accustomed to call *public*

property was vastly different from anything we have experienced in this century; and that the Secretary of the Navy Board could ask of the King for the present of a ship because when paid out of commission there would be expense attached to her keep, and difficulty to know what to do with her, to us seems almost incredible. But we find that in Charles's day it was a comparatively common thing, and it was because the King was extending those gifts to people having small claim on him, and had done little in the public service, that Mr. Pepys was prompted to prefer his request.

APPENDIX I.[1]

THE WILL OF SAMUEL PEPYS.

Prerogative Court of Canterbury.
97 *Degg.*

Īm. Samuelis Pepys.

IN the Name of God Amen. I Samuel Pepys of the City of Westminster Esq. being now by Gods favour arrived to the Sixty ninth year of my age and in Sound mind and memory doe make and ordain this to be my last Will and Testament in manner and forme following Imp̃ris I doe with all humility and thankfulness and with a Satisfaction inexpressible resign my Soul into the hands of its blessed Creator and my body to be decently (but privately) buried in such manner and place as to my Executor herein after named shall seem Good in sure relyance upon the goodness and truth of my said blessed Creator and the merits of his Son Christ Jesus my Saviour for a happy resurrection with the just to an Everlasting State of rest and bliss in the world to come. And as to the little portion of worldly Goods which after debts and funeral charges paid God in his providence shall permit me to dy seized or possessed of after my more than four and twenty years publick and painful service faithfully performed to the Crown under my late Royal Masters King Charles and King James the Second I give devise limitt and appoint All those Messuages Lands Tenements and Hereditaments in the parish of Brampton in the County of Huntingdon And all other my ffreehold Messuages Lands Tenements and Hereditaments or Lands in ffee simple in Huntingdonshire aforesaid or elsewhere in the Kingdom of England And all my Estate Right Title and Interest of in or to the

[1] Of these nine Appendixes, I. is printed for the first time, II. is a reprint from an original paper, and III.-IX. have been printed in previous editions.

same and every of them together with all Deeds Evidences and writings concerning the same To my welbeloved Nephew Samuel Jackson of Brampton aforesaid gentleman Eldest Son of my late Sister Paulina deĉed for and during the term of the natural life of him the said Samuel Jackson And from and after his decease Then to and for the use and behoofe of the first Son of his body lawfully begotten or to be begotten and of the heirs males of the body of such first Son lawfully issuing and for default of such issue To and to the use of the Second third fourth fifth Sixth Seventh and all and every other Son and Sons of the body of the said Samuel Jackson severally and successively and in remainder one after another as they and every of them shall be in Seniority of age and priority of birth and of the several and respective heires male of the body and bodies of all and every such Son and Sons lawfully issueing the Elder of the said Sons and the heirs males of his body issuing being always to take before and to be preferred to the younger of the said Sons and heires males of his and their body and bodies Issuing And for default of Such Issue Then I give devise and bequeath All and every the said Lands Tenements and Hereditaments whatsoever unto my nephew John Jackson of the City of Westminster aforesaid Gentleman youngest son of my said Sister Paulina Jackson for and during the terme of his natural life And from and after his decease Then to and for the use and behoofe of the first Son of his body lawfully begotten and of the heirs males of the body of such first son lawfully issuing And for default of such issue To the use of the Second third fourth fifth Six Seventh and all and every other Son and Sons of the body of the said John Jackson severally and successively and in remainder one after another As they and every of them shall be in Seniority of age and priority of birth and of the Several and respective heires males of the body and bodies of all and every such Son and Sons lawfully issuing The elder of the said Sons and the heires males of his body issuing being always to take before and to be preferred to the younger of the said Sons and the heires males of his and their body and bodys issuing And for default of Such Issue Then I give devise limitt and bequeath All and every the said Lands Tenements and Hereditaments whatsoever to my cousin Charles Pepys Second Son of my Uncle Thomas Pepys deĉed for and during the term of the natural life of him the said Charles Pepys and from and after his decease Then to and for the use and behoofe of the first Son of his body lawfully

begotten and of the heirs males of the body of such first Son lawfully issuing And for default of Such Issue To and to the use of the Second third fourth fifth Sixth Seventh and all and every other Son and Sons of the body of the said Charles Pepys Severally and Successively and in remainder one after another as they and every of them shall be in Seniority of age and priority of birth and of the several and respective heires males of the body and bodies of all and every such Son and Sons lawfully Issuing The elder of the s̃d Sons and the heires males of his body issuing being always to take before and to be preferred to the younger of the said Sons and the heirs males of his and their body and bodies issuing And for default of such issue To and to the use and behoofe of the right heires of me the said Samuel Pepys the Testator for ever. Item I doe hereby release and discharge my said nephew Samuel Jackson his Executors and Adm̃strators of and from All [and] every such Debts and Sum and Sums of money as he the said Samuel Jackson shall owe and be indebted to me at the time of my decease And I doe hereby declare and my Will and intent is That the Annuity of fifteen pounds per Annum which I by an instrument or writing under my hand and Seale bearing date the third day of May Anno Domini 1690 have given to and Setled upon my old and faithfull Servant Jane Penny widow of George Penny dec̃ed during her natural life shall be Annually paid out of and by such part of my personal Estate as hereafter is mentioned Item I give and bequeath to my Executor herein after named the sum of five hundred pounds Sterling And whereas there rests due and unsatisfied to me at this day from the Crown the sum of Twenty eight thousand and Seven pounds *2s.* 01¼*d.* upon the Ballance of two Accompts (One as Clerke of the Acts of the Navy and Secretary of the Admiralty of England The other as Treasurer for Tangier to their said late Majesties King Charles and King James the Second) lying as they have for many years done with their compleat Vouchers in the hands of the Auditors of the Impress with the whole sworn to by my selfe before the present Lord Chief Baron Ward[1] and several part thereof also lying with the late and present Chancellors of the Exchequer ready for declaration Now my mind will and intent is And I doe hereby will and appoint That the said Sum of Twenty eight thousand and Seven pounds *2s.* 1¼*d.* or so much and Such part

[1] Sir Edward Ward, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer 1695-1714.

thereof as shall by the good Providence of God and justice of the Crown be at any time or times hereafter paid shall be laid out and disburst by my Executor as the same shall be from time to time received or as soon after as may be in the purchase of ffreehold Lands Tenements and Hereditaments of inheritance to [be] bought and taken in the name of such Trustees as himself and my nephew the before mentioned John Jackson shall nominate and make choice of And that the said Lands and Hereditam^{ts} thereby to be purchased shall be Setled and assured as herein after is mentioned (vizt) One equall third part thereof (the whole in three equall parts to be divided) To and for Such and the Same or the like uses intents and purposes as the said Messuages Lands and Hereditaments in the said County of Huntingdon are before herein given limited or devised or soe many and Such of the Same uses as shall be then unspent And the other two third parts Residue thereof To the use and behoofe of the said John Jackson for and during the terme of his natural life and from and after his decease Then to and for the use and behoofe of the first Son of his body Lawfully begotten and of the Heirs males of the body of such first Son lawfully issuing And for default of such issue To the use of the Second third fourth fifth Sixth Seventh and all and every other Son and Sons of the body of the said John Jackson Severally and Successively and in Remainder one after another as they and every of them shall be in Seniority of age and priority of birth and of the several and respective heirs males of the body and bodies of all and every such Son and Sons lawfully issuing The elder of the said Sons and the heirs males of his body issuing being always to take before and to be preferred to the younger of the said Son and Sons and the heirs males of his and their body and bodies issuing And for default of such issue To the use and behoofe of the said Samuel Jackson for and during the terme of his natural life And from and after his decease Then to and for the use and behoofe of the first Son of his body Lawfully begotten and of the heirs males of the body of such first Son lawfully issuing And for default of Such issue To the use of the Second third fourth fifth Sixth Seventh and all and every other Son and Sons of the body of the said Samuel Jackson Severally and Successively and in remainder one after another as they and every of them shall be in Seniority of age and priority of birth and of the several and respective Heirs males of the body and bodies of all and every such Son and Sons

lawfully issuing the elder of the said Sons and the heirs males of his body issuing being always to take before and to be preferred to the younger of the said Son and Sons and the heirs males of his and their body and bodies issuing and for default of such issue Then to and to the use and behoofe of the s^{d} Charles Pepys for and during the terme of his natural life and from and after his decease To and for the use and behoofe of the first Son of his body lawfully begotten and of the heirs males of the body of such first Son lawfully issuing And for default of Such issue To the use of the second third fourth fifth Sixth Seventh and all and every other Son and Sons of the body of the said Charles Pepys Severally and Successively and in remainder one after another as they and every of them shall be in Seniority of age and priority of birth and of the Several and respective heires males of the body and bodies of all and every Such Son and Sons lawfully issuing The elder of the said Sons and the heires males of his body issuing being alwaies to take before and to be preferred to the younger of the said Son and Sons and the heires males of his and their body and bodies issuing. And for default of such issue To and to the use and behoofe of the right heires of me the said Samuel Pepys the Testator for ever And as to the disposition of all the Residue and Remainder of my personal Estate (my debts funeral charges and the said yearly Sum or annual payment of fifteen pounds and the said Sum of five hundred pounds and all Costs and charges in and about the performance or Execution of this my Will being there out first paid deducted and discharged) and Subject and lyable to the Same I will and appoint that the same Residue shall be laid out and disbursed by my Ex̃o^{r} within eighteen months after my decease or Sooner if it may be in the purchase of ffreehold Lands or Tenements of Inheritance in ffee simple to be bought and taken in the names of such Trustees as himselfe and the said John Jackson before mentioned shall nominate and make choice of And that the said Lands and Hereditaments thereby to be purchased shall be forthwith after the same be settled and assured to for and upon the Uses herein after mentioned (vizt) so much and Such part of the same Lands and Hereditaments as shall cost and be of the full value of one Thousand pounds Sterling To and for such and the Same or the like uses intents and purposes as the Messuages Lands Tenements and Hereditaments in the said County of Huntingdon are before in or by this my Will given devised or limited or so many and such of the

Same uses as shall be then unspent and All the rest residue and remainder of the same Lands and Hereditaments soe to be purchased with the last mentioned moneys as aforesaid To and for such and the same or the like uses intents and purposes as the Lands and Hereditaments intended to be purchased by or with the two third parts or residue of all the moneys that shall be received from the Crown are before in this my Will ordered directed or appointed to be Settled and assured Or soe many and such of the Same Uses as shall be then unspent Provided always and my Will and meaning is And I hereby Order and declare That the said Samuel Jackson John Jackson and Charles Pepys and their respective heires male of their respective bodies or any other or others being a Son or Sons when and as soon as they respectively shall by virtue of this my Will and the Limitations therein made or directed to be made be in the actual possession of the said Lands and Hereditaments hereby devised and limited or intended to be purchased and limited or any part thereof of an Estate for life shall have power liberty and Authority and that it shall and may be Lawfull to and for the said persons respectively from time to time and at all times by any Deed or Deeds in writing under hand and Seale attested by two or more Credible witnesses to Assign Limit and appoint unto or to the use of or in trust for any woman or women that he or they shall respectively marry or have married for and during the terme of the natural life or lives of such woman or women respectively for in lieu name or Stead of her or their Joynture or part of Jointure Any of the said Lands or Hereditaments by this my Will devised or Limited or intended to be purchased and limited whereof they shall soe be in possession or any part or parcell parts or parcells of them or any of them to commence and take effect. As in such Deed or Deeds Writing or Writings shall be Assigned limited or appointed Provided also that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the respective persons to whom the Lands and Hereditaments by this my Will devised or ordered and intended to be purchased and limited in use respectively at any time after they severally and respectively shall by virtue of this my Will or the Limitations thereby made or directed be in actual possession of the same Lands or Hereditaments or any part or partes thereof to make any Lease or Leases by Indenture of the same Lands and Hereditaments whereof they shall so be in possession for any number of years not exceeding one and twenty years in possession At the best and

most improved yearly Rent that can be gotten for the Same with usual Covenants in the same Indentures respectively to be contained And further I doe hereby declare and the true intent and meaning of this my Will is That untill purchases can be found and made for the said Several and respective Sums of money by this my Will directed and intended to be laid out in the purchase of Lands Tenements and Hereditaments as aforesaid the said Severall and respective Sums of money or soe much and such part of them as shall not at the time of my decease be forth at interest shall be lent and put forth at interest to such person or persons on such Mortgages or Securities at and for such interest or other allowance for forbearance thereof as my said Executor his Executors or Adm̃strators together with such person or persons to whom the imediate possession of the said Lands Tenements and Hereditaments respectively soe intended to be respectively purchased would or should belong if the same had been respectively purchased and Settled as aforesaid shall think fit in the name or names of such person or persons as my said Executor his Executors or Adm̃strators together with such person or persons to whom the imediate possession of the said Lands Tenements and Hereditaments respectively soe intended to be respectively purchased would or should belong if the same had then been accordingly purchased and Settled as aforesaid shall nominate And that the interest or produce of the same several and respective principall Sumes so intended to be lent as aforesaid shall be from time to time paid to such person or persons to whom the respective rents of the same Lands Tenements and Hereditaments soe intended to be respectively purchased should or would have been due or payable if the same Lands Tenements and Hereditaments had been then purchased and Settled according to the uses and Limitations above mentioned and intended to be declared and limited concerning the same. Provided also that if I doe or shall at any time or times hereafter either verbally or by writing Give order or direct any plate rings things or any Sum or Sums of money (other then and besides what I have given by this my Will) to or for any person or persons whatsoever provided and so as the same shall not in the whole exceed the sum or value of ffive thousand pounds That then such plate rings things or sum or sums of money shall be accordingly paid and delivered any thing in this my Will to the contrary notwithstanding And I doe hereby earnestly recommend it to and desire my said nephews to joyn with me in not repining

at any disappointment they may by the late publick providences of Almighty God meet with in what they might otherwise have reasonably hoped for from me at my death but to receive with thankfullness from Gods hands whatsoever it shall prove, remembring it to be more than what either my self or they were born to and therefore endeavouring on their part by all humble and honest industry to improve the same · And I pray my most approved and most dear ffriend William Hewer of Clapham in the County of Surry Esquire to take the trouble as my Executor of seeing this my Will performed and to accept of the said sum of ffive hundred pounds as a very small instance of my respect and most sensible esteem of his more than filial affection & tenderness expressed towards me through all the occurrences of my life for forty years past unto this day. And lastly I doe hereby revoke all former Wills by me at any time heretofore made and doe make and declare this to be my last Will and Testament. In witness whereof I the said Samuel Pepys the Testator have to this my last Will and Testament contained in twelve Sheets of paper with this present sheet (and also to a duplicate thereof contained in thirteen sheets of paper one whereof being proved the other to be void) have to each Sheet thereof sett my hand and Seal. And at the top of the first Sheet where they are all affixed together have sett my Seal the Second day of August Anno Dñi 1701 And in the thirteenth year of the reign of King William the Third over England &c. Samuel Pepys. Signed Sealed published and declared by the said Samuel Pepys the Testator as and for his last Will and Testament (after the interlining these words (vizt) Item I give and bequeath to my Executor herein after named the Sum of ffive hundred pounds Sterling between the twelfth and thirteenth lines in the ffourth Sheet of the before written Will) in the presence of us who did all of us Subscribe our names as witnesses thereto in his presence the same day on which the said Will is dated these words (And at the top of the first sheet where they are all affixed together have Sett my Seale) being also interlined. John West, Richd [sic] Foster, Tho. Jones, Wm Martin.

I Samuel Pepys Esquire doe make and declare this present Writing as and for a Codicil to be and to be Accounted deemed and taken as part of my last Will and Testam^{t}. And whereas in or by Writing under my hand and Seale purporting to be my last Will and Testa-

ment bearing date the Second of August One Thousand and Seaven hundred and One I have given or devised or made mention to give or devise All my Messuages Lands and Hereditaments in the parish of Brampton in the County of Huntingdon And all other my ffreehold Messuages Lands and Hereditaments or Lands in ffee simple in Huntingdonshire aforesaid or elsewhere in the Kingdom of England unto my nephew Samuel Jackson (Eldest Son of my late Sister Pauline Jackson deĉed) for his Life the remainder to his first and other Sons in Taile male with diverse other Remainders over. And in or by my said Will or Writing purporting to be my Will I have ordered and appointed That the sum of twenty eight Thousand and Seven pounds two shillings One peny farthing which is due to me from the Crowne or soe much thereof as shall be paid to my Executor therein named shall be by my Executor Laid out in the purchase of ffreehold Lands or Hereditaments of Inheritance And that the same Lands and Hereditaments shall be Settled to the uses following (vizt) One Third part thereof To such uses and for such intents as the said Messuages and Hereditaments in the said County of Huntingdon are before in my said Will given devised or Limited And the other two third parts being the residue thereof unto the use of my nephew John Jackson (youngest Son of my said late Sister) for his Life, The remainder unto his first and other Sons in Taile male with diverse other Remainders over. And by my said Will or Writing I have ordered and appointed That the Residue of my personal Estate (my debts funeral charges and the Annuity of fifteen pounds which I formerly gave to and Settled upon my old Servant Jane Penny for her life, and the Legacy of ffive hundred pounds by my said Will given to William Hewer Esq. my Executor and all charges about the performance of my said Will being there out satisfied and discharged) shall be by my Executor Laid out in the purchase of ffreehold Lands or Hereditaments in ffee simple; And that soe much of the same Lands and Hereditaments as shall cost and be of the full value of One Thousand pounds shall be Settled to such uses and for such intents as the said Messuages and Hereditaments in the said County of Huntingdonshire are before by my said Will given or devised And that the residue of the said Lands and Hereditaments soe to be purchased with the said Residue of my personal Estate shall be Settled to such uses and for such intents as the Messuages or Lands before by my said Will directed to be purchased by or with

the two Third parts or Residue of the debt due to me from the Crowne are directed to be Settled and Limited or to such or the like effect, as by the said Will or Writing or Instrument under my hand and Seale more plainly may appear To which Will or Writing I doe for the more certainty in the premisses referr my Self. And whereas Since the time of my Signing and declaring my said Will or Writing purporting to be my Will my said Nephew Samuel Jackson has thought fit to dispose of himselfe in marriage against my positive advice and Injunctions and to his own irreparable prejudice and dishonour I doe think my Self obliged to express the resentments due to such an act of disrespect and imprudence. And therefore I the said Samuel Pepys (in Consideration thereof) doe by these presents revoke retract and make null and void the said devise and Limitation by my said Will or Writing or Instrument before recited made or mentioned or intended to be made of the said Messuages lands and Hereditaments in the County of Huntingdon or elsewhere in the Kingdom of England; And also all other Devises and Limitations by me at any time or times heretofore made of or concerning the same Messuages Lands or Hereditaments or any part thereof. But for as much as no degree of provocation has been able wholly to extinguish my Affections towards the said Samuel Jackson I doe hereby give devise and appoint unto the said Samuel Jackson and to the heires male of his body lawfully begotten (under the Conditions herein after mentioned) One Annuity or yearly payment of forty pounds of Lawfull money of England to be issuing and payable out of All and singular the said messuages Lands and Hereditaments in the said County of Huntingdon. The same Annuity to be paid free of All taxes and Deductions whatsoever and by four Quarterly payments (vizt) at Midsummer Day Michaelmas Day Christmas Day and Lady Day in every year by equal portions The said Annuity to commence and begin from the first of those ffeasts or Dayes of payment next coming or happening after my Decease. Item I doe by these presents (in consideration of the matters aforesaid) give Devise Limit and appoint All and singular the said Messuages Lands and Hereditaments in the said County of Huntingdon And also all other my ffreehold Lands and Hereditaments in the said County of Huntingdon or elsewhere in England unto and to the use of my said nephew John Jackson and of his heirs and assigns for ever, charged and chargeable (And I doe hereby

charge the same) with and for the paym^t^ of the said Annuity of forty pounds payable in manner aforesaid and under the condition herein after mentioned Item I doe by these p̃sents (in further consideration of the matters aforesaid) Revoke Retract annull and make void the said Bequest order direction and appointment by my said Will or Writing made or mentioned or intended to be made of or concerning the said Debt or Sum of Twenty eight Thousand and Seaven pounds two shillings one peny farthing due to me from the Crowne and of every part thereof And also all other bequests orders directions and appointments by me at any time or times heretofore made mentioned or intended of or concerning the same Debt or Sum due from the Crown or any part thereof. And I doe by these presents order declare direct and appoint that the said Debt or Sum of Twenty eight Thousand and Seaven pounds two shillings one peny farthing or such part thereof as shall be paid to my Executor shall be laid out by my Executor (as the same shall be from time to time received or as Soon after as may be) in the purchase of ffreehold Lands Tenements or Hereditaments of inheritance in ffee simple (such purchase to be approved of by the said John Jackson or his heirs). And the same Lands or Hereditaments shall be conveyed Settled and assured to and for the only use and behoofe of the said John Jackson my nephew and of his heirs and Assigns for ever. And my further Will is that after the said Debt due to me from the Crown or any part thereof shall be received untill the same shall be laid out in a purchase as before is mentioned The same moneys be lent forth at Interest to such person or persons on such Mortgages or Securities and at and for such Interest as my Executor his Executors or Adm̃strators together with the said John Jackson or his heirs shall think fit. And that the same Interest shall be paid unto the said John Jackson his heirs and Assigns to his or their own use. Item I doe by these presents (in further consideration of the matters aforesaid) Revoke retract and made void the said Bequest Order direction or Appointment by my said recited Will or Writing made or mentioned or intended to be made of the clear residue of my personal Estate And also All other Bequests Orders directions and Appointments by me at any time or times heretofore made concerning the residue of my personal Estate Every or any part thereof. Item whereas I hold my self obliged on this occasion to leave behind me the most full and lasting acknowledgment of my esteem respect and

gratitude to the Excellent Lady M^rs^. Mary Skyner for the many important Effects of her Steddy friendship and Assistances during the whole course of my life, within the last thirty three years; I doe give and devise unto the said M^rs^. Mary Skyner One Annuity or yearly payment of Two hundred pounds of Lawfull money of England for and during the terme of her natural Life the same Annuity to be paid free of All taxes and deductions whatsoever and by four quarterly payments (vizt) at Midsummer Day Michaelmas Day Christmas Day and Lady Day in every year by equall portions. The said Annuity to commence and begin from the first of those ffeasts or dayes next happening or coming after my decease. Item I doe by these presents will order declare and Appoint That the clear residue of my personal Estate (after payment and Satisfaction of my Debts and the charges of my ffuneral and of the said Annuity of fifteen pounds to Jane Peny for her life and the said five hundred pounds to my Executor and of all and every the Legacies by this or any other Codicil given or bequeathed) shall be laid out by my Executor as the same shall be gott in and received in the purchase of ffreehold Lands Tenements or Hereditaments of inheritance in ffee simple to be bought and taken in the names of such Trustees as himself and the said John Jackson (if he shall be then living) shall make choice of. And that the same Messuages Lands or hereditaments shall (as soon as may be after such purchase or purchases shall be made) be conveyed and assured To and for the Uses intents and purposes hereinafter declared concerning the same (vizt) To and for the use and behoofe of the said John Jackson and his heires and Assigns for ever. Subject nevertheless in the first place And charged and chargeable with and for the answering and paying unto the said Mrs Mary Skyner and her Assigns The said Annuity or yearly payment of Two hundred pounds for and during the Terme of her natural life free of all taxes Assessments and charges whatsoever and on the said quarterly days of payment before appointed for payment of the same And my Will and intent is And I hereby declare the same to be That in the meantime and untill the said clear residue of my said personal Estate shall be laid out in such a purchase or such purchases as before is mentioned The same clear residue shall be Lent forth at Interest to such person or persons on such Mortgages or Securities and at and for such Interest or allowance for forbearance thereof and in the names of such Trustees and in such manner as my Executor his

Executors or Adm̃istrators together with the said John Jackson or his heires shall think fit And soe as such Security as to what shall be sufficient to secure the said Annuity of Two hundred pounds to the said Mrs Mary Skyner for her life be approved by the said Mrs Mary Skyner And that out of the interest or produce of the said principal moneys the said Annuity of Two hundred pounds shall be from time to time paid unto the said Mrs Mary Skyner during her Life, free of all deductions whatsoever and by such quarterly payments as before is mentioned And that the Residue of the said Interest shall be paid unto the said John Jackson his heirs and Assigns to his or their own use Provided And the same Devise or bequest of the said Annuity of forty pounds unto my said nephew Samuel Jackson and to the heirs male of his body is upon this express Condition That if the said Samuel Jackson or his heirs shall not within three months next after my Death Or in case the said Samuel shall be Dead leaving an Infant heir, Then if such heir shall not within three months next after he or she shall arrive to his or her age of one and twenty years Sufficiently convey or otherwise release and Assure to the said John Jackson my nephew his heirs and Assigns to the Satisfaction of his or their Councell All the Estate right title pretence claim and demand of him the said Samuel Jackson or of such heir either in Law or Equity or by vertue of any custome whatsoever into or out of All my Messuages Lands and Hereditaments in the County of Huntingdon or elsewhere in England and every part thereof Except for and in respect of the said Annuity of forty pounds only And also if the said Samuel Jackson his Executors or Adm̃istrators shall not within the said Space of three months next after my death give and also deliver unto my Executor to the Satisfaction of his Councell a Sufficient Release and discharge of and for all and every the Sum and Sums of money and of and for All the right title pretence claims and demands which he the said Samuel Jackson ought to have or be entituled to of or out of my personal Estate by virtue or under colour of my said recited Will or writing purporting to be or to contain my Will Or any Law usage or custome whatsoever Other than for or in respect of Such Debts as he shall owe me at my death (from which debts I did and doe intend to discharge him) Then in either of those Cases and from & imediately after such refusal or neglect to make such conveyance and give such Release as aforesaid The said Annuity of forty pounds shall cease and not be paid But

the same Annuity shall from thenceforth be Extinguished and shall Enure for the benefit of the said John Jackson and his heires Any thing before herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding Item I Will That All my vessells and utensils of Gold and Silver generally understood by the name of my plate, and Specified in one or more Lists thereof be Sold to the best advantage that may be and the money arising from the Sale thereof put out at interest till a convenient purchase can be made therewith, in like manner and to the same uses as the said cleare residue of my said personal Estate is before appointed. Item I will that my nephew John Jackson have the full and Sole possession and use of all my Collections of Books and papers contained in my Library (now remaining at Mr Hewers at Clapham or in any other place or places) during the Terme of his natural Life And in case it shall not please God in his mercy to restore me to a Condition of prosecuting my thoughts, relating to a more perticular disposal and Settlement thereof My will and desire is that my said nephew John Jackson doe with all possible diligence betake himself to the dispatch of such pticulars as shall be remaining undone at the time of my decease towards the completion of my said Library according to the Scheme deliverd to him for that purpose and intended to be hereunto annexed And that he together with my Executor and such of their friends as they shall judge fittest and best qualified to advise them herein doe faithfully and deliberately consider of the most effectual means for preserving the said Library intire in one body, undivided unsold and Secure against all manner of deminution damages and embesselments; and finally disposed most suitably to my inclinations (declared likewise in the before mentioned Scheme) for the benefit of posterity. Item I give and bequeath to my Executor William Hewer Esquire my whole collection of Moddels of Ships and other vessels Standing in his house at Clapham where I now reside recommending it to him to consider how these also together with his own may be preserved for publick benefit. Item I give and bequeath unto my said nephew John Jackson All my pictures, beds, hangings, linen, and all other my household goods and furniture, to be delivered up to him by Inventary Except only such part or parcel thereof as I shall hereafter by this or any further Codicil particularly dispose of. Item I will that my Executor doe give unto each of my Servants that shall be remaining with me at the time of my decease, a whole years wages over and above what shall

be severally due to them Together with mourning suitable to their respective degrees. Item I further give unto my Servant Daniel Milo, as a reward for his Extraordinary diligence and usefulness to me, in Several matters relating to my books, the Sum of twenty pounds upon condition nevertheless that he continue the space of halfe a year at the least after my decease in the Service of my nephew John Jackson at the wages of ten pounds per Ann. to assist him in the before mentioned perticulars, relating to the completion of my Library In witness whereof I the said Samuel Pepys to this present writing as and for a Codicil to be and to be accounted as part of my last Will and Testament contained in three Sheets of Paper with this present sheet have to each sheet thereof (as also to the sheet hereunto annexed purporting to be the Scheme mentioned in the said Codicil) set my hand and Seale, and at the top of the first sheet, where the same four sheets are all fixed together have set to my Seale this twelfth day of May Anno Dñi One Thousand Seven hundred and three and in the second yeare of the reign of Queene Anne of England, &c. S. Pepys. Signed Sealed published and declared by the said Samuel Pepys as and for a Codicil to be and to be accounted deemed and taken as part of his last Will and Testament in our presence who did all of us Subscribe our names as witnesses in his presence the day and year abovesaid. Richd Foster, John West, Tho: Jones, Wm Martin.

The Scheme referred to in my foregoing Codicil relating to the Completion and Settlement of my Library, viz$^{t.}$

For the Completion of my Library.

I will and require that the following perticulars be carefully punctually and with all possible diligence and dispatch performed and Executed by my nephew John Jackson after my decease vizt. 1st That a general review be taken of my said Library compared with its Catalogue and all outlying books imediately lookt up and put into their places. 2^{ndly} That my Collections of Stamps or any others which shall then be depending be finished, bound placed and properly entred in my Catalogue and Alphabet. 3^{rdly} That all Setts of Books contained in my said Library under the name of growing Tracts be compleated to the time of my Death and roome

provided for the further volumes of my Lord Clarendon's History now under the press. 4thly That Gronovius's Sett of Greek Antiquities lately publish't be forthwith bought and added thereto and any other considerable Desiderata supplyed at the discretion of my said nephew with the advice of his learned ffriends. 5thly That this being done my said Library be closed and from thenceforward noe Additions made thereto. 6thly That the whole number and bulke of my books being soe ascertained one or more new presses be provided for the convenient containing them soe as to be neither too much crowded nor Stand too loose. 7thly That my Arms or Crest or Cypher be Stampt in Gold on the outsides of the Covers of every booke admitting thereof. 8thly That their placing as to heighth be strictly reviewed and where found requiring it more nicely adjusted. 9thly That soe soon as their order shall be thus fixt the whole be new numbred from the lowest to the highest. 10thly That the said new number be Stampt on a piece of Redd Leather fixt at the head of the back of every book where now the guilt paper is. 11thly That all the Additaments with their new numbers be then properly incerted in the bodies of the Catalogue and Alphabet and there elegantly and finally transcribed to remaine unalterable and for ever accompany the said Library. 12thly Lastly That as farr as any room shall be left for further improvements or embellishments to my books by Ruling, Elegant writing or Indexing the same be done at the discretion and convenience of my said nephew.

For the further Settlement & Preservation of my said Library, after the death of my Nephew John Jackson.

I do hereby declare That could I be sure of a constant Succession of Heirs from my said nephew qualified like himself for the use of such a Library I should not entertain a thought of its ever being Alienated from them. But this uncertainty considered with the infinite paines and time and cost employed in my Collecting Methodizing and reducing the same to the State wherein it now is I cannot but be greatly Solicitous that all possible provision should be made for its unalterable preservacõn and perpetual Security against the ordinary ffate of such Collections falling into the hands of an incompetent heir and thereby of being sold dissipated or imbezelled. And since it has pleased God to visit me in a manner

that leaves little appearance of being my Self restored to a Condition of concerting the necessary measures for attaining these ends I must and do with great confidence rely upon the Sincerity and discretion of my Executor and said nephew for putting in Execution the powers given them by my forementioned Codicil relating thereto requiring that the Same be brought to a Determination in Twelve months time after my decease and that special regard be had therein to the following particulars which I declare to be my present thoughts and prevailing inclinations in this matter vizt. 1st That after the death of my said nephew my said Library be placed and for ever Settled in one of our Universities and rather in that of Cambridge than Oxford. 2dly And rather in a private College there than the publick Library. 3dly And in the Colleges of Trinity or Magdalen preferable to All others. 4^{thly} And of these two Cæteris paribus, rather in the latter for the Sake of my own and nephews Education therein. 5^{thly} That in which soever of the two it is a faire roome be provided therein on purpose for it and wholly and soly appropriated thereto. 6^{thly} And if in Trinity, That the said room be contiguous to and have Communication with the new Library there. 7^{thly} And if in Magdalen That it be in the new building there, and any part thereof at my nephews Election. 8^{thly} That my said Library be continued in its present form and noe other books mixt therewith Save what my Nephew may add to them of his own Collecting in distinct presses. 9^{thly} That the said roome and books so placed and adjusted be called by the name of Bibliotheca Pepysiana. 10^{thly} That this Bibliotheca Pepysiana be under the sole power and custody of the Master of the College for the time being who shall neither himself convey nor Suffer to be conveyed by others any of the said books from thence to any other place except to his own Lodge in the said College nor there have more than ten of them at a time and that of those also a strict entry be made and account kept of the time of their having been taken out and returned, in a booke to be provided and remain in the said Library for that only purpose. 11^{thly} That before my said Library be put into the possession of either of the said Colleges, that College for which it shall be designed first enter into Covenants for performance of the foregoing articles. 12^{thly} And that for a yet further Security herein the said two Colleges of Trinity and Magdalen have a Reciprocal Check upon one another. And that the College which shall be in present possession of the said Library be subject to

an Annual visitation from the other and to the forfeiture thereof to the like possession and Use of the other upon Conviction of any breach of their said Covenants. S. Pepys.

I Samuel Pepys Esquire doe make and declare this present Writing as and for a Codicil to be and to be accounted deemed and taken as part of my last Will and Testament Whereas in or by writing (Purporting to be a Codicil or part of my last Will and Testament) bearing date and Executed the day next before the day of the date of these presents) I have willed ordered and appointed or made mention to will order and appoint that the Sum of Twenty eight thousand and seven pounds two shillings one peny farthing which is due to me from the Crown, or so much thereof as shall be paid to my Executor, be by him laid out in the purchase of Lands or Hereditaments of Inheritance in ffee simple to be Settled to and for the use and behoofe of my Nephew John Jackson and of his heirs and Assigns or to such or the like effect. As by the said writing or Codicil (to which for more certainty I referr my Self) more plainly may appear Now I doe by these presents Revoke Retract Annul and make void the said recited Bequest Order direction or appointment by my said recited Codicil or Writing made mentioned or intended. As to Nine Thousand pounds part of the said sume or debt of twenty eight thousand and seaven pounds two shillings one peny farthing due to me from the Crowne. And I doe hereby give bequeath Order and appoint the Same nine Thousand pounds to any among the Several persons in the proportions following (vizt.) unto the Excellent Lady M^{rs}. Mary Skynner in case she shall be living at the time of the Receipt of the same debt as a further acknowledgment of my respect esteem and gratitude for the many important effects of her steady friendship, councell and assistances during the whole course of my Life within the last Thirty three years) ffive thousand pounds. And to my Executor William Hewer Esq Two Thousand pounds; And unto the said William Hewer (for his care and paines and for and towards the charges & Expences to be expended and employed in and for the recovery and obtaining of the said Debt due from the Crowne the further Sum of One Thousand pounds; And unto and amongst all and every the child and children of my late Kinsman Charles Pepys deceased (son of my late Uncle Thomas Pepys deceased) That shall be living at the time of my Death (if any such child or children shall be then living) the Sum of One thousand

pounds (The Residue of the said nine thousand pounds) equally share and share alike. But in case no such child of the said Charles Pepys shall be then living. Then I doe give and bequeath the same last mentioned Sum of One Thousand pounds unto the said M^rs^. Mary Skynner if she shall be living at the time of the receipt of the same. And my Will is and I doe hereby declare the same to be, that the sum of nineteen Thousand and Seven pounds two shillings one peny farthing or other the residue of the said Debt due from the Crowne shall be laid out in such a purchase or such purchases, and in the meantime put out at interest for such intents and in such manner as by my said recited Codicil or writing (bearing date and Executed the day next before the Date hereof) is mentioned or appointed concerning the Debt due from the Crown Provided and my Will is and I doe declare the same to be That no preference or precedence be had or made in payment of the said respective Legacies shares or proportions of the said Debt due from the Crowne, but that what shall be received of the said Debt, shall from time to time, when and as the same shall be soe received, be paid applyed and distributed to and amongst the said respective Legatees of the Debt due from the Crown proportionably according to the respective parts shares and proportions of the said whole Debt to them respectively Ordered Bequeathed or Appointed, in or by this my Codicil and according to the true meaning of the same. Provided further That if the said M^rs^. Mary Skyner shall happen to dye before all or any part of the said Debt of Twenty eight Thousand and Seven pounds two shillings one peny farthing shall be received from the Crown, and before the said Legacies of ffive Thousand pounds and One Thousand pounds shall become payable to or ought to be received by her as aforsaid. Then in such case my Will is and I declare the same to be That the same Legacies or soe much thereof as shall not have been received by the said M^rs^. Mary Skyner shall not be paid to the Executors Adm̃strators or Assigns of the said M^rs^. Mary Skyner but that the same shall be laid out in such purchase or purchases, and in the mean time put out at Interest for such intents and in such manner as the said Sum of Nineteen Thousand and Seven pounds 2^s^. 01^d^. farthing (part of the Debt due from the Crown) is before in that behalfe directed or appointed. In witness whereof I the said Samuel Pepys to this present Writing as a Codicil to be and to be accounted as part of my last Will and

Testament (to this and the preceeding side thereof) have set my hand and Seale the Thirteenth day of May Anno Dñi One Thousand Seven Hundred and Three And in the Second year of the reign of Queen Anne of England &c. S. Pepys. Signed Sealed published and declared by the said Samuel Pepys as and for a Codicil to be and to be accompted deemed and taken as part of his last Will and Testament in the presence of us who did all of us Subscribe our names as witnesses thereto in his presence the said Thirteenth of May 1703. Rich^{d}· Foster, John West, Tho. Jones, W^{m}· Martin./

Probatum fuit ħumoi Testamentum cum duobus Codicillis annexis apud London coram venti viro Domino Johanne Cooke Milite Legum Doctore Surrogato veñlis et egregii viri Domini Richardi Raines Militis Legum etiam Doctoris Curiæ Prærogativæ Cantuariensis Magistri Custodis sive Commissarii legitime constituti vicesimo quinto die mensis Junii Anno Domini Millesimo Septingẽnno tertio Juramento Willielmi Hewer Armigeri Executoris in dicto Testamento nominat̃ Cui Commissa fuit administratio omnium et singulorum bonorum jurium et creditorum dicti defuncti de bene et fideliter Administrando eadem ad Sancta Dei Evangelia jurat̃.

APPENDIX II.

ON THE CIPHER OF PEPYS'S "DIARY."

By John Eglington Bailey, F.S.A.

[Abstract of a Paper read December 14th, 1875.[1]]

MR. BAILEY said it had often been a puzzle to him to reconcile the fragmentary fac-simile of the stenography engraved in Lord Braybrooke's edition of Pepys's Diary with the statement of the editor that the cipher in which it was written "greatly resembled that known by the name of Rich's system." This careless statement had probably been partly due to the fact that in the list of subscribers to Rich's New Testament in Shorthand there appear the names of the secretary to Henry, Earl of Manchester, and of Henry, the Earl's son. Though

[1] From the "Papers of the Manchester Literary Club," vol. ii. 1876.

Pepys was connected with this Montagu family, Mr. Bailey showed that it was not Rich's system, but the earlier one of Shelton, with which Pepys was familiar. Some of Pepys's letters having come in his way, Mr. Bailey worked out from them the key, and identified it with copies of Shelton's "Tachygraphy" which he had in his own collection of shorthand works. Lewis, Pitman, and other authorities on the art, misstated the date of the invention of the "Tachygraphy" by some thirty-four years too late, and thus defrauded Shelton of his rightful position in the history of shorthand. There were fourteen or fifteen letters in Rich's alphabet which Shelton had put in use some years before. The earliest edition of Rich's "Pen's Dexterity" was published in 1654; while in 1642 Shelton was referring to a twenty years' experience as a shorthand author. Reverting to the history of shorthand, Mr. Bailey stated that in 1588, Dr. Timothy Bright had used marks for words—an invention he termed "Characterie," which designation still obtained in Pepys's time. Willis was the first to give, in 1602, marks for letters, and was also the first English writer who used the word "stenography." It was, however, left to Shelton to systematize the signs. His first edition was published in 1620, and in 1630 he brought out a more methodic and an amended work. The latter edition, which is preserved in the Bodleian Library, has the following title: "Short-writing. The most Exact method. By Thomas Shelton, Author and Professor of ye said art. The second edition inlarged. Printed by I. D. for S. C., and are to be sould at the Professors house in Cheape side over against Bowe Church. Ps. 45. My tongue is as ye pen of a swift writer." Facing this title is a plate containing arms: a cross and man's head couped at the breast for a crest, mantled. A book opened with a hand holding a pen, with a shorthand inscription on the open pages. At foot, on a scroll, is this epigram—

> "Short is man's tyme much like this art,
> Take tyme in tyme ere tyme depart."

The treatise was dedicated to Richard Knightley, Esq., a relative of John Hampden. The method is explained in four chapters and nine pages of engraved examples. Three later editions were published, and these in turn were succeeded, in 1641, by the work used by Pepys, and which has the following title: "Tachygraphy. The most exact and compendious methode of short and swift writing that hath euer yet beene published by any. Composed by Thomas Shelton,

Author and professor of the said Art. Approued by both Vnyuersities. Ps. 45, 1. My tongue is as the pen of a swift writer." This work is quite different as regards arrangement to Shelton's former books. He was the first shorthand writer who secured the approval of the universities, and his "Tachygraphy" met with such favour at Cambridge that at least four graduates celebrated its value in laudatory verse. The students who were thus prompted to write belonged to Magdalene College (*i.e.*, Pepys's College), Peterhouse, Gonville and Caius College, and St. John's College. The following is the happiest of the verses:

"What! write as fast as speake? what man can doe it?
What! hand as swift as tongue? persuade me to it.
Unlikely tale! Tush, tush, it cannot be,
May some man say that hath not heard of thee.
This thou canst doe, this (Shelton) thou hast done:
Thy nimbler pen hath many tongues out-run.
Therefore if anyone of me demand
What hand's the best, I say, thy running hand.
Herein the proverbe holds not, for thy haste
Is advantageous, it doth make no waste;
Nor dost thou envy others this thy art,
But willingly dost it to all impart:
And 'tis not fit that such a gemme should rest
Within the cabinet of a private breast.
On praise of thy *Short-writing* I could long
Insist; but I therein would do thee wrong.
This only I will adde, whilst some desire
To praise thy skill, I rather will admire."

Mr. Bailey said he considered it very probable that it was at Cambridge that Pepys made himself familiar with the system of shorthand he afterwards turned to so good an account. In the next few years Shelton's "Tachygraphy" made still greater progress. Upon the publication of other methods, Shelton was induced in 1650 to put forth another form of his invention, in his "Zeiglographica," a work which is said to have given rise to the first advertisement in a newspaper, but which is more noteworthy as having been the cipher used by Sir Isaac Newton. According to Shelton's account, "many thousands" used his shorthand, and reaped "profit and comfort" from it. We are also told that the memory of many worthy divines had been perpetuated by it in their works, as Dr. Preston, Dr. Sibbes, Dr. Day,

Thomas Shelton's Tachy graphy.

		Grammalogues	Examples	Arbitraries and Contractions.
a	Λ	a	Λ are; Λ at	Λ among · ⊢ ab-. ob-: ⊢ about; ⌒ again.
b	ı	but. them	ı3 being; ıp businesſ	b be; d at; ⌊ bleſs: ⌣ up
c	⌐	were	⌐ can, ⌐r care, ⊂⌒ clock	5 because
d	)	do	)— done; ⊢ dr;) day	2 to. dis-; d de-; du-. 9 our
e	∂	ever, -ler	∂) indeed; ∂⌐ enable	∂ effect; ∂⌒ either.
f	⌐	fear	⌐) friend	⌐ from; ⌐r favour
g	ч	God	>r ч charge, ч/ get	ч. give. ч great.
h	h	have hath, has	h) had	h humble.
h	<	him, is	<r her: < who: <how; <house	< ao-, oc-, us; < un-; < then than
ij	L	in, in-. en	⅂ interest, ⅂ into, ⅂) instead	
i	⋮	I. -y	When prefixed to a word it signifies a final s, when affixed, -y.	
k	⌒	king	⌒ kiſs; ~ know	⌒ here, hear, ~ it, -fication.
l	⌣	lord	⌣r letter; ⌣) lady	⌣ their; there-ther, ⅂ self; ⌣ now; ⅄ love; [∂-ation
m	\	man	\ me. ⅄ seem; ⩾ much	δ per-, par-, ⅄ his; ⅄ at-, those. δ sub-, ⅁ -ceive;
n	–	and	–/ night; –⅁ next	⅂ an; ⅂ any; ¬ -able, -ible; ∂ all, al-;
				= even; ∂ con-; ⊂ on, one, own; ⊂⌒ only;
				⅂r never; . ⌒ think; ~ mind, -ment;
				⅂ not; ⅂ they; — long.
o	(	of	⅁ out, ought: ⅁ home, whom: ⅁⌣ often	(am; (over; ⅁ -ject; ⅁ other, ⅁ us; ous: ⅁ so as.
p	σ		σ pray; σ⌣ ⅄ please	
qu	q	in	<q⅂ acquaintance	
r	r	or	⌐ re-; ⅄ rs; ⅂r order	⌐ч regard; ⅂r more; cor-; ⌐ trouble.
s	⅄	these	⅄ see; ⅁ or ⅁ st	⅄answer. ⅄or ⅄ serve; ⅄ will, col-: ⅁ so.
t	⁄	thei. that	⌒ tell, till	⁄ time; ⁄) hand: (if; b believe; d see ⅁we:
				⅁life; ⅄ap-, op-; ⅄people; ⅃ particular, ∂ our.
w	V		⅄ use. ⅄ч usage	
v	V		⅂ч devotion; ⌣V leave; ⅂ -ver.	
w	⅂	was	⅂⅂ went	In practice ⅂ is carelessly written U V
	o	with	⅂ way. ⅂⅁ worse	o/ V/ without, o–V– within
y	⅄	you	⅄ your; ⅄ yet; ⅄⅂ yard	
xx	xz			
ch	>		⩾ much; ⩾⅄ such	⅂ they
sh	h	shall	h⌒ ship, h) should	h sk, h⌐ score.
th	o	he	o⅁ thence; ō⌒ thank	o which; o when; what. φ where. wherever,
			o world; o account; o sent, send; o mis-; φ came, come, comr,	
			φ Mr; φ Mrs; ∞ good; ∝ this; ϑ thus, suff-: ϑ thy, un, ⋗ why	

ʒ	ing	13 being; φʒ coming	ʒ -ness
∈	for. for	⌣∈ therefore	⅄ -sion, -tion

∴ ⅂ signs of punctuation — is used for the hyphen.

and others. A Latin edition was in circulation on the continent. For the use of his pupils, Shelton engraved the Psalms in metre. Mr. Bailey then gave a very interesting account of the plan and method of Shelton's "Tachygraphy," pointing out some of the differences between it and Rich's system. He illustrated his exposition with the annexed tabular outline of the system, and *fac-similes*. He observed that the system would hereafter be regarded with a more special interest on account of its connection with the incomparable Diary.

The alphabet is made up of an undue number of compound characters; but in this respect Shelton made an advance on the cumbrous characters of John Willis. Eleven of the letters (a c e g h q r v x y z) are very little removed from the outlines of the ordinary longhand forms. The first chapter gave rules for abbreviation; and as the principal end of the art is said to be to "write much in a little time and room"—the latter word illustrating a fallacy which long held ground with professors of shorthand—all letters not sounded might be omitted. The author next (Chaps. ii., iii.) dealt with the way of making the consonants: *c*, *d*, and *t* are said in his "Tutor" to be made "backwards," so as to form readier joinings. He allows, after Willis's plan, five places for the vowel-dots. The long, or alphabetic vowel-characters, were very useful in words beginning with vowels. A vowel in the middle of a word is ingeniously expressed by writing the following consonant in the vowel's place, the position of the consonant thus determining the vowel. (Chaps. iv., v., vi.) The two latter features of the system were adopted in the popular method of Rich; and they held their place in stenography as late as 1858, in the "Parliamentary Shorthand" of Mr. Thompson Cooper, F.S.A., who commended the principle. Chaps. viii. to xi. explain the marks for the frequently-occurring syllables at the beginning and end of words—signs which for the main are arbitrary, but which were well selected with a view to convenience in joining. These marks were rendered necessary by the radical defect that has been pointed out in the alphabet. The curious manner of representing a final *s* is explained on the annexed lithographed outline of the system. The late Mr. Thomas Keightley believed that the omission of this dot in practice led to the printing, in the Diary, of such seeming peculiarities of expression as "He *do* tell me," "He *do* say," which forms he did not find in the diarist's correspondence ("Notes and Queries," 1 S., viii., 466); but this view of the case is not perhaps correct. A list of contracted words is re-

commended (Chaps. xii. and xiii.) for the names of the books of the Bible, &c., and for frequent phrases that occur in sermons; and the author explains that he had "in this edition" added a list of words written with the signs for affixes and prefixes. Chap. xiv. explains the mystery of a quantity of the most frequently-occurring words, 265 in number, a large portion of them being quite of an arbitrary description; such lists being those that Dickens characterized as the most despotic characters he had ever known; "who insisted, for instance, that a thing like the beginning of a cobweb meant *expectation*, and that a pen-and-ink sky-rocket stood for *disadvantageous*," referring to the arbitrary marks in Mason's method. In Shelton's list of words some fanciful contrivances are adopted, and even the common letters are introduced, t standing for *though*, b for *believe*, &c.; the numerals also are drawn into the service, 2 standing for *to* (a larger 2 representing *two*), 3 for *grace*, 4 for *heart*, 5 for *because*, 6 for *us*, and so on.

Hidden under this secret writing, Pepys's Diary lay in the Pepysian library, Magdalene College, Cambridge, until three or four generations had passed away. It was comprised in six volumes 8vo, containing upwards of 3,000 closely written pages (extending from 1st January, 1659-60, to 31st May, 1669), a monument of the diarist's industry and of his economy of time. The volumes were brought out of their obscurity by members of the Braybrooke family, the hereditary visitors of Magdalene College, who placed them in the hands of their relative, Lord Grenville. His Lordship, who was acquainted with shorthand, made out a key, which was given with the original diary to Mr. John Smith, an undergraduate of St. John's College and a reporter. Mr. Smith, who undertook to make the transcript, was a native of Manchester, being the son of the Rev. Thomas Smith, who belonged to a Lancashire family of that name. He was occupied three years at his task, usually working twelve or fourteen hours per day, with frequent wakeful nights. He was afterwards Deputy Esquire-Bedell, and died, in 1870, Rector of Baldock, Herts., to which he had been presented by Lord Brougham, 1832, at the instance of Miss Martineau. The Diary was edited by Lord Braybrooke, and published by Mr. Colburn, in 1825, in two handsome volumes. Subsequent editions were very much enlarged with new matter and notes; but the literary public were all along deceived as to the actual extent and nature of the omissions. By adding fresh entries, equal in bulk to one-fourth, to the fourth edition of 1848-9, the noble editor so far atoned for the

treatment to which he had at first subjected the manuscript. In the accurate edition (the seventh) now in course of publication under the careful supervision of the Rev. Mynors Bright, M.A., in whom is fortunately combined both editor and transcriber, a complete form is being presented *one-third* larger than its immediate predecessors. After calling attention to some of Pepys's references to shorthand, Mr. Bailey said that admirers of the Diary ought not to forget that many of its most attractive features were due in no small degree to the writer's use of that art, which indeed had prompted the writer to begin his wonderful journal. Pepys was an eager stenographic student. He used the art in drafting his public and private letters, large collections of which, with other journals and memoranda, still exist at Oxford, London, and elsewhere. Even in his old age he spent considerable time in making a collection of all works on the subject that he could meet with.

After referring to the various later editions of Shelton's Works, Mr. Bailey proceeded to read several letters written by Pepys in shorthand—the originals of which are preserved in the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian—and from which Mr. Bailey had worked out the key.

* * * * * * *

Sr. Anto. Deane to Mr. Pepys out of Worcestershire. A letter of respect only and Mortification. W^th^ S. P^s^ Answer thereto.

Sir,

These are onely to lett you know i am a live, i have nothing to doe but reade walke & prepare for all chanceis attending this oblidgeing world, i have the ould souldiers request, a little space between business and the grave, which is very pleasant one many considerations, as most men towards their later ends grow serious so doe i in assuring that am Sir Your very humble Servt,

A. D.

Octr. 29. 1689.

Answer.

Nov. 23, 1689.

S^r^.

I am alive too (I thank God) and as serious (I fancy) as you can be and not less alone; and yet (I thank God too) I have not one of those

melancholy misgivings within me that you seem haunted with; for the worse the world uses me the better I think I am bound to use my self; nor shall any solicitousness after the felicities of the next world (which yet I bless God I am not without care for) ever stifle the satisfactions arising from a just confidence of receiving (some time or other even here) the reparations due to such unaccountable usage as I have sustained in this. Be therefore of my mind (if you can) and be cheerful; if not enjoy yourself your own way and in your devotions think of your friends whom you have so outstripped from their not being able so easily to fall out with themselves as you have done. I kiss Mrs. Hunt's hands with a 1000 respects and am her and

Your faithful humble servant

S. Pepys.

The next letter, endorsed "Peter Skinner to Mr. Pepys, wth my Answ^{r}. to him, Oct. 17th" is from some naval man, who had been befriended by Pepys, and who had been charged with some dereliction of duty:—

Portsm. Septemb^{r} ye 27th 1689.

May it please yor. Hon^{r}.

If Tears and Sighs and the un-feigned Sorrows of a perplexed and uneasie Mind can make any Impression upon your hon^{rs}. good Nature to pardon my offending you; If the low Submission and Prostration of a Slave cast at your Feet can move any pitty in your tender Breast, look upon mee with Eyes of Compassion and suffer a Compassionate relenting to possess your Mind; let the former Kindness you was pleas'd to express towards mee plead on my behalfe, that you would restore mee from Banishment, that you would once more admitt mee to your presence that there I may obtaine the favour of excusing, or at least of confessing and begging Pardon for the Crime of wch I stand charged before you and as an expiation thereof undergo any Punishment you shall doom mee to, except that of being forbidden to approach ye Darling of my Repose, the Center of all my Happiness and all my Earthly Felicity. And so in hopes you will look kindly upon this my low Submission. I remaine

May it please your Hon^{r}. y^{r} Hon^{rs}. most penitent & afflicted Servant

P. Skinner.

The following is the draft shorthand reply of Pepys, who was then the Secretary to the Admiralty :—

Oct. 17 : 1689.

Young Man.

Mr. Harman coming to me this day to take his leave of me, I gave him this in answer to that which he brought me from you of the 27th of the last and serves only to tell you that if good words would have controlled [?] me you would never have had occasion to have writ to me as you therein do. Therefore don't think that that will now do anything with me. For your sister's sake and in hopes of your being of the same righteous disposure of mind with her, you know I entertained cherished and encouraged you and was at no contemptible charge in doing it. And this out of a pure desire of doing you some good and enabling you to do yourself more. This I did while you were at the same time using all the way [?] you could to frustrate both mine and your poor sister's hopes [and] cares concerning you. What the event of it to you will be I shall not now add anything to what I have heretofore said to you by way of prophecy about it. This only I shall tell you that you are not to flatter yourself with any further expectation from me the condition I am now in not furnishing me with opportunity of being anyway further useful to you, did you deserve it. And as to the seeing me till I have more assurance and from yourself that you behave yourself worthy of it by a steady sobriety and industry of life and the effect of it in your being able to return the past kindnesses of your friends to you by yours to those of your relations who may want it rather than by the misspending of what you may have levied up from their former favours to you be drawn (without success) to come to them for more. This I say to you as one that still for your own sake wish you well though at the same time I but own to you that till your Actions convince me of the contrary I shall despair of my wish.

Your very loving friend

These for Mr. P. Skinner at Portsmouth. S. P.

In the Pepys "Correspondence" (vol. ii., p. 223) there is a letter, dated from "The Expedition," Nov. 12, 1689, from this Skinner to Pepys, giving an account of an accident to his Majesty's ship

"St. David," by which fifty lives were lost: from the date and terms of which it would appear that Skinner was reinstated in his position.

The following letter was written by Pepys's godson, Samuel St. Michel, and was enclosed by his father, Balthazar St. Michel (brother-in-law of the diarist), in a letter to Pepys. The father informs Pepys that he had received the letter from the youth after four months' absence and silence; and believing that it would also be welcome to Pepys, he sends it for perusal. This letter has been printed in Smith's "Life, Journal, etc., of Pepys," 1841, vol. ii., p. 224; but not only has the spelling been modernized by the editor, but the construction of the language has been altered. "Hyleck" is Hoylake. The siege referred to is the historic siege of Londonderry :—

Hyleck Road near Leverpole
Augt 2^{d} 1689

Hond S^{r}

After our Busking up and down ye Irish Coast Wee arrived this morning at Hyleck where wee Ride till ye first Opertunity of Conveying the Army over that lyes here (of ab^{t} 24000 Men as Reported) for Ireland, and thought it long till I writ to you, in hopes of our lyeing here a weeke or thereabouts to gett an answ^{r} of yor health and my sisters w^{eh} I soe long for: as to ye Knews I can tell you is only that London-Derry in ireland holds out still bravely ag^{t} ye seaze [siege?] of their Enemy in great hopes of our Army comeing over quickly to Assist and Eade them, and that Major Gener^{ll} Kirke wth his Army has been over this great while & has landed his Army in a small Iland Called Inch w^{eh} they have fortifyed and many of ye Prodestants in Ireland comes every day to them where they have had some small Combatts wth ye Enemy and gott alwayes ye advantage much: I have noe more to say but pray that it may not be our Station this Winter to cruse in St Georges Channell it being the wost place imaginable for Tempestuous cold Wather wee having had this yeare noe Summer to speake of but Winds and Raines

I remain
Yo^{r} Dutyfull Son
Sam^{LL}. S^{T}. Michell.

I desire I may have one Line or two from my Sister Elizabeth.

During the reading of the paper, which was varied with quaint

touches of humour, Mr. Bailey exhibited several facsimiles of letters, pages from the Diary, and specimens of Shelton's shorthand. He also exhibited some rare works from his shorthand collection, including Shelton's "Tachygraphy," Rich's "Pen's Dexterity," and a remarkably small and neat copy of Rich's "New Testament" in shorthand.

[This is reprinted by kind permission of the writer's widow, Mrs. J. E. Bailey.]

APPENDIX III.

S. PEPYS'S ACCOUNT OF MR. MEHEUX'S SINGULAR MEMORY.

Saturday, September 10, 1698.

THIS day, at my table, Lord Clarendon, Captain Hatton, Dr Smith, and I, each successively at his pleasure, dictated 60 independent words set down in numerical order, to Mr Meheux; which, after a silent pause of about eight minutes, he repeated in the same order backwards and forwards. He also answered our demands, of any of them singly, by their number only, out of all order; and this without the least failure, or so much as hesitancy, saving only that, in his first recital, he stopped at the word budget, which, in repeating the words backwards immediately afterwards, he quoted right. Nor did he stint us to any number of words, inviting us to go on beyond 60, which we thought abundantly enough. Memorandum, that he objected to the word Heautontimoroumenos, not for its length, but praying that each word might be significative of something which he understood. Captain Hatton, who had seen the like experiment in France, asking him whether his making another trial presently upon a fresh set of words would not entirely efface the memory of the first, which was the case with *him* in France, he said it would not, if he proposed to himself the remembering of the former; and he was now ready to have given us a proof of it, had we insisted on it.

S. P.

APPENDIX IV.

THE DUTCH FLEET.

From the Original in the Bodleian Library.

[Endorsed in Pepys's handwriting—"Given me by Mr W. Belcher, a copy of what was reade in the pulpitt at Bowe."]

July the 26th, 1666.

THE Dutch totally routed.

14 Ships taken.

26 burnt and sunck.

2 Flagg ships taken, and out of them 1200 men, and what else they would, then sunck them.

Taken in all 6000 men.

Oure shipps have blockt up the Zealanders in Flushing, and ride before them top and top gallant.

The Dutch Fleet are gott into the Texell, and wee ride before the same.

The Lord Maior ordered thanks to be given this forenoon throughout the City.

APPENDIX V.

B.L. orig.]

[Endorsed—"Decemb. 16th, 1688. His H. the P. of Orange's Order from Windsor, to the Lord Dartmouth, about the disposing of the Fleete."]

IT being for the service of the nation, we doe require you to leave under the command of Sr John Berry, Knight, the shipps of warr and fier ships mentioned in the margen, at Spitthead;[1] in which Order to him you are to direct and require that he be very carefull to

[1] Elizabeth, St. Albans, Dover, St. David, Tiger, Mary, Deptford, Swallow, Portsmouth, Bristol, Richmond fire-ship, Defyance, Constant Warwick, Woolwich, Pearle.

send, from time to time, two or more frigets to cruce on this coast, as he shall judge most fitting, to prevent any affrount that may be committed by the French or others; you are also to direct him to be very strickt not to suffer any vessel to sayle out of Portsmouth harbour with suspected persons on board; you are to supply the squadron you leave there, out of your fleet, what provision you can with safety to yourselves spare; and, so soon as you have given your necessary orders in these matters, you are forthwith, wind and weather permitting, to sayle with the rest of the ships of warr, fier-ships, and tenders, not named in this Order, to the Buoy of the North,[1] unless such of the fleet as you shall judge not fitt for the sea, and in that case you are to order them into Portsmouth harbour, where they are to stay for further orders from us. 'Tis our pleasure, that you immediately send an Order to the Commissioner of that place, that there be a stopp putt and nothing further done towards the fitting out of any ships or vessels of warr in that harbour of Portsmouth, till our further pleasure be known; and also you are to give a generall Order to the proper officers of the fleet in those parts, that no more men be listed or entertained on board any of the men of warr, fier-ships, or tenders; and so soon as you arrive at the Buoy of the Nore, you are to signifie the same to the Secretary of the Navy. And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given under my Hand and Seal the 16th of December, 1688.

L.S. G. Prince d'Orange.

APPENDIX VI.

ERECTIO EDWARDI MOUNTAGU, NOB. ORD. GART. MILITIS, IN BARONEM MONTAGU DE ST. NEOTS, VICECOMITEM DE HINCHINBROKE, ET COMITEM DE SANDWICHE.

REX, &c., Archiepiscopis, &c., Salutem. Cum nihil majus muniat magisque illustret regale solium, quam ut nobiles militent, aut milites nobilitentur: cumque prædilectus et perquam fidelis consiliarius noster Edwardus Mountagu (præfectus generalis classis nostræ, et nobilissimi ordinis Garterii miles) ab antiquissimis ejusdem nominis

[1] *Quære*, Nore?

de Shipton Montacute in agro Somersetensi baronibus, necnon inclitissimis Sarisburiæ olim Comitibus, genus deducit suum : propinquiori vero gradu ab alio Edwardo Montagu, equite aurato, Domino Placitorum Communium quondam Justiciario, cujus pronepotes in lineâ rectâ (ultra tres pronepotes eorundem sorores, honorificè nuptas) fuerunt Edwardus, nuper Baro Montagu, de Boughton, vir heroicæ et priscæ probitatis ; Gualterus Montagu, miles ; Henricus Comes Mancestriæ, post penè omnia magistratûs vocabula percussa, quæ mereri possit togata virtus, Dominus Privati Sigilli Custos ; Carolus Montagu, eques auratus et officio militari laudabiliter functus ; Jacobus Montagu, reverendissimus Wintoniensis Episcopus ; postremo autem Sidneius Montagu miles, Libellorum Supplicium Magister, istius Edwardi pater : cumque idem Edwardus, genus virtute superans, postquam summam totius classis Anglicanæ gubernationem anteà divisam adeptus esset propter egregiam indolem, et solus et admodum adolescens, arreptâ ansâ, ita nautarum sensim animos inflexerit, ut marinam feritatem exuerint, et in obedientiam pristinam, singulari nostri amore, incredibili voluptate redierint ; interim in fluxu maris, contribuente non parum refluxui terrarum regnorum trium ; quorum (ut orbis magni) fundamenta Deus posuit super aquas : undè præfatus consiliarius noster retulit naves, retulit portus, retulit maria altera regna (claves, portas, mœnia Britanica) nos demum, in operis coronidem, et charissimos fratres nostros retulit Britanniæ, acceptos Skevelingis Hollandicis in Regiam classem jubilantem et redditos Doroberniæ, duce scilicet et auspice Montacuto, quod nulla ætas tacebit : Sciatis igitur, quod nos de gratiâ nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ scientiâ et mero motu nostris, præfatum Edwardum Montagu ad statum, gradum, stilum, titulum, dignitatem et honorem Baronis Montagu de St. Neots, in comitatu nostro Huntingtoniæ, ereximus, præfecimus et creavimus ; ipsumque Edwardum Baronem Montagu de St. Neots prædictâ, tenore presentium erigimus, præficimus et creamus : eidemque Edwardo nomen, statum, gradum, stilum, dignitatem, titulum et honorem Baronis Montagu de St. Neots prædictâ, imposuimus, dedimus et præbuimus, ac per præsentes pro nobis hæredibus et successoribus nostris, damus, imponimus et præbemus ; habendum et tenendum eidem nomen, statum, gradum, stilum, dignitatem, titulum et honorem Baronis Montagu de St. Neots prædictâ, præfato Edwardo et hæredibus masculis de corpore suo legitimè exeuntibus in perpetuum. Volentes et per præsentes concedentes, &c.

Ac insuper pro consideratione prædictâ, de uberiori gratiâ nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ scientiâ et mero motu nostris, præfatum Edwardum Montagu in honorem Vicecomitis Mountagu de Hinchinbrooke in dicto comitatu Huntingdoniæ ereximus, præfecimus et creavimus, ipsumque Edwardum in Vicecomitem de Hinchinbrooke prædictâ tenore prænestium erigimus, præficimus, constituimus et creamus: eidemque Edwardo nomen, stilum et titulum Vicecomitis de Hinchinbrooke prædictâ imposuimus, dedimus, et præbuimus ac per præsentes imponimus, damus, et præbemus; habendum et tenendum statum, gradum, dignitatem, stilum, nomen, et honorem Vicecomitis de Hinchinbrooke prædictâ, præfato, Edwardo et hæredibus suis masculis de corpore suo exeuntibus in perpetuum. Volentes, &c.

Ac insuper pro consideratione prædictâ, de uberiori gratiâ nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ scientiâ et mero motu nostris, præfatum Edwardum Mountagu in Comitem de Sandwich in comitatu nostro Kanciæ, necnon ad statum, gradum, stilum, titulum, dignitatem, nomen et honorem Comitis de Sandwich ereximus, præfecimus, insignivimus, constituimus, et creavimus; ipsumque Edwardum in Comitem de Sandwich, necnon ad statum, gradum, stilum, titulum, dignitatem, nomen et honorem Comitis de Sandwich prædictâ, tenore præsentium erigimus, præficimus, insignimus, constituimus, et creamus: eidemque Edwardo, statum, gradum, stilum, titulum, dignitatem, nomen et honorem Comitis de Sandwich prædictâ imposuimus, dedimus, et præbuimus, ac per præsentes imponimus, damus, et præbemus, ac ipsum Edwardum hujusmodi statu, gradu, stilo, titulo, dignitate, nomine et honore Comitis de Sandwich, per gladii cincturam, capæ honoris et circuli aurei impositionem investimus, et realiter nobilitamus per præsentes; habendum et tenendum nomen, statum, gradum, stilum, titulum, dignitatem, nomen et honorem Comitis de Sandwich, cum omnibus et singulis præeminentiis, honoribus, cæterisque hujusmodi statui, gradui, stilo, titulo, dignitati, nomini, et honori Comitis pertinentiis sive spectantibus præfato Edwardo et hæredibus masculis de corpore suo exeuntibus in perpetuum: Volentes, &c.

Et quia crescente statûs celsitudine necessariò crescunt sumptus et onera grandiora, ac ut idem Edwardus et hæredes masculi de corpore suo exeuntes, juxta dicti nominis Comitis de Sandwich decentiam et statum sic nobilitati melius decentius et honorificentius se habere, ac onera ipsis incumbentia manutenere et supportare valeant, et eorum quilibet valeat, ideo de uberiori gratiâ nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ sci-

entiâ et mero motu nostris, dedimus et concessimus, ac per presentes pro nobis, hæredibus et successoribus nostris damus et concedimus præfato Edwardo, et hæredibus masculis de corpore suo exeuntibus in perpetuum, annualem redditum viginti librarum legalis monetæ Angliæ singulis annis percipiendum ad Receptum Scaccarii nostri, hæredum, et successorum nostrorum, per manus commissionariorum pro thesauro nostro, vel thesaurarii et camerariorum nostrorum, hæredum et successorum nostrorum pro tempore existentium, ad festa Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, et Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis, per æquales portiones annuatim solvendum. Volumus etiam, &c., absque fine in hanaperis, &c. Eo quod expressa mentio, &c. In cujus, &c. Teste, &c. xij. Julii anno regni nostri duodecimo.

APPENDIX VII.

B.L.] JUNE 24, 1672.

THE DISPOSITION OF THE SEVERALL PLACES ATTENDING THE FUNERALL OF THE EARLL OF SANDWICH, AND THE PERSONS DESIGNED THERETO.

The Chiefe Mourner—Earle of Manchester.

Two Supporters—Earle of St. Albans ; E. of Oxford.

Trainbearer to the Chiefe Mourner.

Peter Crowne.

Assistants.

Earle of Bedford.
E. of Bridgwater.
E. of Essex.
E. of Anglesey.[1]
E. of Suffolk.
E. of Northampton.
E. of Bath.
E. of Shaftesbury.

[1] In case the Earle of Sandwich be here before the solemnity, the Earle of Manchester to be instead of Earle of Anglesey.

Supporters of the Pall.

Lord Clifford. Mr. George Montagu.
Mr. Vicechamberlaine. Lord Clifford.

To carry the Standard—Sir Henry Sanderson.

A Guidon—Mr. Creed.

The Great Banner—Sir John Pickering.

The Six Bannerrolles.

Mr. Samuel Pepys. Mr. Talbot Pepys.
Mr. Sidney Pickering. Sir Charles Harbord.
Sir Charles Cotterell. Mr. Wm. Harbord.

Steward—Mr. Edw. Jolly. *Treasurer*—Mr. Lowd Cordell.

Comptroller—Mr. John Vallavin. *Secretary*—Mr. Wm. Ferrer.

Chaplains—Mr. Fullwood, Mr. Turner.

Physitian and Chyrurgeon—Dr. Knight, of Langerfort.[1]

To carry the Flagg.

Mr. Wm. Montagu, Sonn of Mr. Attorney Montagu.

Bishop of Oxford.
20 Servants.
Sam. Bonner. 50 Old Men.
John Bonner. 12 Trumpeters.
Thomas Peck. 6 Drummers, besides Bargemen.
Mr. John Gering.

Depositum prænob. EDVARDI
Comitis de SANDWICH, &c.
Freti Britannici Thalassiarchæ,
Qui in Navali illo
Conflictu acerrimo
Adversùs Batavos occubuit
28 die mensis Maii
A° D^i 1672.

[1] Languard Fort.

APPENDIX VIII.

WILLIAM HEWER, so often mentioned in the preceding pages, was interred in the old Church at Clapham, where the monument erected to his memory is thus described in Manning and Bray's "Surrey," vol. iii., page 365.

"On the North wall,[1] on a large marble scroll under two angels holding the bust of a man, with an anchor over the arms, at each bottom corner. Sable, 2 Talbots' Heads, erased in pale Or, between as many Flanches Ermine. H. S. E. Gulielmus Hewer de Clapham, Armiger, filius Thomæ Hewer Londinensis, natus Londini, Novr 17, 1642, Regibus Carolo et Jacobo 2^{dis} a faustissimo utriusque in patriam reditu 1660, ad infelicem alterius Angliâ discessum, servus diligens, fidelis, dilectus. Qui multa et perquam difficilia obivit munera, obeundis omnibus par. De Tingitani propugnaculi conservatione, quamdiu illud conservari voluit Rex optimus, de eodem tandem diruendo, cum id videbatur maximè expedire, probè curavit publici æris administer. Eorum quæ ad maritima spectarent negotia ita gnarus erat et expertus, ut inter Classis Regiæ Curatores et Præpositos optimo jure conscriberetur; in iis quæ commercio promovendo inservirent, ita perspicax erat et indefessus, ut mercaturæ ad Indos Orientales unâ cum viris in re mercatoriâ primariis multoties præficeretur. In singulis quæ ubique gessit officiis, id potissimum sibi proposuit, ut Principis honori et patriæ emolumento jugiter consuleret. Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ institutis et disciplinæ per universum vitæ cursum firmiter et tenaciter adhæsit. In Deo colendo sine fuco assiduus, in pauperibus sublevandis sine ostentatione beneficus, in amicis et convivis excipiendis facilis . . . . . et sine luxu hospitalis. Ad annos tres ultra septuagesimum, vitam duxit innocentem, utilem, cælibem, mortique piè succubuit Decr 3, 1715. Hewer Edgeley Hewer, Armiger, quem vir laudatus sanguine sibi conjunctum filii

[1] The North Aisle, with a Gallery at the west end of it, carrying it from the North Transept to the west end of the Nave, was added by Mr. Hewer previously to the year 1715.

loco habuit, et hæredem ex testamento reliquit, monumentum hoc exiguum gratitudinis suæ indicium posuit.

"At the General Election in 1685, Mr. Hewer was chosen one of the Members for Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight.—CHAMBERLAYNE'S *Angliæ Notitia*."

APPENDIX IX.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THE COMTE DE COMMINGES, THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR AT WHITEHALL, WITH LOUIS XIV., AND THE MARQUIS DE LIONNE, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AT PARIS.[1]

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Calais, Decr. 20, 1662.

VOUS n'auriez jamais pensé que les folies du Chevalier de Grammont eussent pu servir une seule fois en sa vie à l'advancement des affaires du Roi. Néantmoins il est vray, que sans son arrivé en ce port j'y étois retenu par le mauvais temps, qui ne m'eut pas permis de m'embarquer dans le paquebot. Je pars à quatre heures dans le yacht de M. le Duc d'York qui me conduira jusqu'à Londres ; la voiture sera plus honnête, et plus sure, et même plus prompte pour donner commencement aux affaires de S. M. que je traiterais avec tout soin.

Au Roi.

Londres, Dec. 24, 1662.

Sire—Je ne parlerai pas à V. M. des incommodités que j'ai souffert dans le voyage par le débordement des eaux, si je n'y étois

[1] These letters were copied from the originals, in the Bibliothèque du Roi, at Paris, by the late Sir Cuthbert Sharpe, F.S.A., and obligingly placed at the Editor's disposal. They confirm many of the facts recorded in the early part of the Diary, and, should the reader feel tempted to examine the two accounts of the same event, Pepys's credit as a faithful chronicler will not suffer from the comparison. There are also a few anecdotes relating to the Court of Charles II., and more particularly the Comte de Grammont, which have no immediate reference to the Diary, but are not printed elsewhere.—B.

nécessité pour excuser le peu de diligence que j'ai fait; ce n'est pas que je n'ai quasi forcé les elemens à se rendre favorables à mes desseins, mais tout ce que j'ai pu faire après avoir évité deux ou trois naufrages sur la terre, et souffert la tourmente sur la mer, a été de me rendre ici hier.

Au Roi.

Londres, Dec. 29, 1662.

Le Chevalier Benet est fort bien avec son Maitre jusques au point qu'il avoit donné quelque jalousie à la cabale du Chancelier, mais cela est assoupi par quelque eclaircissement. L'on ne parle en cette Cour que de la magnificence de V. M. Le diamant qu'elle a donné au Mi Lord Jarret,[1] en a fourni une ample matière. Il a été produit en plein cercle, et Leur M^s^. de la Grande Bretagne l'ont estimé 6000 écus.

Jan. 5-15, 1662-3.

Le Reine Mère ne se porte pas bien : elle est extrèmement maigre, et a une toux qui tire à la consomption. Son médecin lui a déclaré qu'il n'y avoit point de sureté pour sa vie, si elle ne retourneroit en France, puisque l'air d'Angleterre lui étoit mortel. Tous ses gens sont de cet avis, et le Comte de St. Alban's est si interessé à sa conservation qu'il tomberoit dans cette volonté universelle de ses domestiques, quoiqu'il soit ici fort à son aise. Ainsi, Sire, je croy que si elle peut mettre ordre à ses affaires, V. M. la reverra bientôt à Paris.

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Londres, Janvier 5-15, 1662-3.

Le Chevalier de Grammont arriva hier fort content de son voyage. Il a été ici reçu le plus agréablement du monde. Il est de toutes les parties du Roi, et commande chez Madame de Castlemaine, qui fit hier un assez bon tour. Madame Jaret, avec laquelle elle a ici un grand demeslé, devoit donner à souper à Leur M. Toutes choses préparés et la compagnie assemblé, le Roi en sortit et s'en alla chez Madame de Castlemaine, où il passa l'après souper. Cela a fait grand bruit, les cabales se remuent, chacun songe à la vengeance, les uns tout pleins de jalousie, les autres de dépit, et tous,

[1] Probably Gerard.

en général, d'étonnement. Le Balet est rompu manque de moyens ; il n'y a personne qui sache danser, et moins encore pour le diriger, et former un sujet. Il a bal de deux jours l'un, et comédie aussi ; les autres jours se passant au jeu, les uns chez la Reine, et les autres chez Madame de Castlemaine, où la compagnie ne manque pas d'un bon souper.

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Janvier 22-Febvrier 1.

Beaucoup d'officiers Irlandois m'ont faits l'honneur de me rendre visite, et m'ont priés de me servir d'eux si j'en avois besoin. Ils paroissent affectionez pour la France, et rebutez de l'Espagne : en un mot ce sont gens qui cherchent maitre, et qui sont fort ennuiez de la tyrannie que l'on exerce indifféremment sur toute leur nation. Ma maison sera ouverte demain avec trente personnes vêtues de deuil, quatre carosses, et huit ou dix gentilshommes. Les Roi et M. le duc d'York me feront l'honneur d'y diner : ce n'est pas que j'aye prié sa Majesté ; mais il a voulu être de la partie de tous les illustres desbauchez du Royaume.

Au Roi.

Febvrier 12-22, 1662-3.

J'ai appris de bon lieu que la Roi de la G. B. négotie en secret le mariage du fils aîné du Chancelier avec la fille du Comte de Bristol, afin de réunir les deux cabales. Je ne scay si le Comte de Bristol ne se repent point de s'être fait Catholique la veille de Paques : cela l'éloigne des affaires si bien, que ne pouvant trouver sa satisfaction hors des charges de la Couronne et de la Maison, il faut pour faire quelque figure et le tenir en considération, qu'il prenne parti dans les délibérations du Parlement, qui ne sont pas toujours favorables aux intentions de S. M. B. Le bruit ayant couru dans Londres des raisons qui retardoient mon entrée, le Chevalier de Grammont et le Sieur de St. Evremont me sont venus trouver comme bons François, et zélez pour la gloire et l'authorité de V. M. Je me servirai de l'un et de l'autre selon que j'en jugerai à propos, et s'ils font leur devoir, comme je suis persuadé qu'ils feront, j'espère que V. M. aura la bonté de les ouïr nommer et permettre qu'ils méritent

par leur services qu'elle leur pardonne, après une pénitence conforme à la faute.

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Febvrier 26-Mars 8, 1662-3.

Il y a 5 ou 6 jours que le Roi alla à la Tour de Londres faire prêter serment à tous les officiers de la Monnoie, et après cette action, il fit luy même 16 dix pièces dont j'ai reconnu celle que j'envois à S. M. Ce sont nos Louis blancs que l'on a travesti en couronnes, et si l'acquisition de Dunquerque nous les a ravi, les vins de Gascogne nous les rapporteront. L'on proposa à la Chambre Basse un acte contre les jeu de l'ombre, ou du moins une limitation jusques à la concurrence de 5 pièces. La proposition fut traitée de ridicule; elle donna occasion à une autre qui passera, qui est que l'on ne sera point obligé à paier aucune debte contractée au jeu que l'on n'ait 31 ans accomplis.

Au Roi.

Mars 23-Avril 2, 1663.

Sire—Il semble que les arts et les sciences abandonnent quelques fois un pays, pour en aller honorer un autre à son tour. Presentement elles ont passés en France; et s'il en restent ici quelques vestiges, ce n'est que dans la mémoire de Bacon, de Morus, de Buchanan, et dans les derniers siècles d'un nommé Miltonius,[1] qui s'est rendu plus infame par ses dangereux escrits que les boureaux et les assassins de leur Roi.

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Londres, Avril 2-12, 1663.

Je ne scay, et le Duc de Buckingham ne scait pas luy même, par quel instinct il se trouva porté à se retirer à 9 heures, et souper avec madame sa femme. Le valet de son intendant, homme apparement sage et fidelle, croiant qu'il seroit retiré à sa chambre sur l'heure de minuit, puisqu'il s'étoit retiré de si bonne heure, sortit de sa chambre avec son épée; un homme qui couchoit avec lui, lui demanda où il alloit, et ce qu'il vouloit faire avec son épée. Il luy repondit, qu'il

[1] The Frenchman's contemptuous notice of Milton is very amusing.—B.

avoit ouï crier au voleur, et qu'il couroit au bruit. Il continua son voyage jusqu'à la chambre du Duc, croiant le trouver couché, mais ne luy ayant pas rencontré, il passa à l'apartement de la Duchesse. Il trouva un valet de chambre à la porte, qui le voiant avec son épée nue, eut assez de foiblesse pour mettre ordre à sa vie par la fuite, et laisser celle de son maître en danger. Il entra donc l'épée à la main, 4 valets présents, dont il y en avoit un qui avoit un épée, s'enfuirent. Le Duc se leva d'auprès de sa femme qu'il entretenoit auprès du feu, et luy demanda ce qu'il souhaitoit dans l'état auquel il étoit. Il repondit, "C'est toy que je cherche, et à qui j'en veux." A ces paroles, le Duc trouva un couteau sur la table, dont il se saisit, et se jeta sur le valet, avec assez de bonne fortune pour luy ôter son épée; et après l'avoir interrogé et l'avoir trouvé hors d'esprit et de bon sens, il vouloit se retirer auprès de la porte pour appeler quelques valets. Cependant le malheureux et méchant homme vouloit encore saisir de luy, et l'offenser avec un couteau qu'il avoit dans sa poche, et eut exécuté son dessein, sans le cry de la Duchesse qui fit retourner le Duc, qui alors luy donna quelques coups.[1] Voiez, Monsieur, ce que c'est que l'Angleterre! Quand je viens à faire réflexion que cette terre ne produit ni loups ni bêtes venimeuses, je ne m'en étonne pas, les hommes y sont bien plus méchants et plus dangereux, et s'il falloit se garder de tout avec précaution, le meilleur seroit de l'abandonner.

Mai 15, 1663.

Il est arrivé depuis trois jours une affaire assez plaisante en cette Cour. M. le Comte d'Oxford, un des plus qualifiez Seigneurs d'Angleterre, Chevalier de la Jarretière, et Mestre du Camp du Régiment de Cavalrie du Roy, pria à diner le Général Monck, le grand Chambellan du Royaume, et quelques autres Conseillers d'Etat. A ce nombre se joignèrent tous les jeunes gens de qualité. La débauche s'eschauffa à tel point que chacun y fut offenseur et offensé, l'on se gourma, l'on s'arracha les cheveux, et enfin deux de la troupe se battirent à coups d'épée. Mais heureusement cette escarmouche sépara la compagnie; chacun prit son parti selon son inclination, ceux qui s'en allèrent avec le Général demandèrent à boire, on leur en donna, ils poussèrent l'affaire jusques au soir, ce qui les obligea de demander à manger, estants eschauffez du matin et de

[1] It turned out that he was a fanatic.—B.

l'après dinée, chacun résolut de porter son compagnon par terre. Le Général, qui a sans doute la tête plus forte, fit un coup de maître, et leur présentant à chacun un *hanap*,[1] qui tenoit beaucoup, les uns l'avalèrent, les autres ne purent, mais généralement tous demeurèrent jusqu'au lendemain sans avoir conversation, quoiqu'en même chambre. Le seul Général alla au Parlement comme à son ordinaire, et n'en perdit ni le jugement ni l'esprit. Cela a fait rire la compagnie, et n'a passé que pour un emportement.

Au Roi.

Londres, Juin 25-Juillet 5, 1663.

Sire—Madame la Duchesse d'York est prête d'accoucher ; la Reine Mère se porte fort bien ; le reste va toujours à son ordinaire, quoiqu'il y ait eu depuis peu, grande querelle entre les Dames, jusques là que le Roy menaça la Dame où il soupe tous les soirs, de ne mettre jamais le pied chez elle si la demoiselle[2] n'y étoit. Cela fait qu'elle ne la quitte plus, ce que tout le monde trouve fort étrange, et moi je suis de contraire avis, car il me semble qu'elle ne sera jamais plus sûre de sa conquête qu'en tenant sa rivale par la main, si ce n'est aux heures de son triomphe. Le Roi a fait le jeune Barclay Milord : on l'a tenu quelque temps caché, de peur d'irriter la Chambre Basse qui en a témoigné hautement son déplaisir. L'affaire du Comte de St. Alban's s'est évanouie : il n'en est pas de même de celle de Bristol—il a été trois fois refusé chez Madame de Castlemaine, où il ne manquoit jamais d'aller souper avec le Roi.

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Juillet 2-12, 1663.

Je vous avois mandé que le Comte de Sunderland épousoit la fille du Comte de Bristol. Il se retira le soir qu'on devoit l'épouser, et donna ordre à un de ses amis de rompre le mariage. Le procédé surprit toute la Cour, et le Roi même s'en est moqué, et l'a blamé au dernier point.

[1] A large cup or bowl.—B.

[2] Miss Stewart.—B.

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Londres, Octobre 15-20, 1663.

La nuit de vendredi au samedi la Reine pensa mourir—elle reçut la viatique, fit son testament, et se fit couper les cheveux, après avoir donné ordre à ses affaires domestiques. Le Roi se jetta à ses genoux fondant en larmes ; elle le consola avec beaucoup de tranquillité et de douceur. Elle réjouit de le voir bientôt en état de se pouvoir marier avec une princesse d'un plus grand mérite, et qui put contribuer à sa satisfaction et du repos de l'Etat. Il fallut retirer le Roi de ce funeste spectacle, qui s'était attendri jusques à l'évanouissement : tout le jour se passa au crainte, le soir le sommeil lui donna quelque repos, la nuit se passa sans redoublement, et présentement elle est en meilleur état.

Au Roi.

Octobre 25-29, 1663.

Sire—Je sors présentement de Witthall où j'ay laissé la Reine dans un état où selon le jugement des médecins il y a peu de chose à espérer. Elle a reçu l'extrême onction ce matin ; et ensuite, elle a prié le Roi de deux choses—l'une que son corps fut renvoié en Portugal pour être enterré dans le tombeau de ses pères ; et l'autre qu'il conservait le souvenir de l'obligation où son honneur l'engageoit de ne se jamais séparer ses intérêts du Roi son frère, et de la protection d'un peuple affligé. Pour la dernière des prières, le temps nous en apprendra le succès, pour l'autre je ne doute pas que l'on n'y satisfasse très volontiers.

Le Roi me paroit fort affligé ; il soupa néantmoins hier au soir chez Mad. de Castlemaine, et eut conversations ordinaires avec Mademoiselle Stuard, dont il est fort amoureux.

Au Roi.

Londres, Octobre 26-Novembre 5, 1663.

Sire—Monsieur de Catteu arriva le vendredi au soir ; je ne perdis point de temps pour le conduire à Withall, où je scavois déjà que l'on s'empatientoit pour l'arrivée de quelque envoyé. Le Roi le reçut avec beaucoup de satisfaction, et voulut qu'il vit la Reine, mais comme elle reposoit, et qu'il étoit déjà fort tard, la visite fut remise

au lendemain. Je ne manquai pas de me rendre à l'heure ordonnée, et le Roi nous introduisit dans la ruelle [1] de son lit, et prit la peine de faire les complimens de V. M. et des Reines, avec assez de peine, parceque sa maladie l'a rendue tellement sourde qu'elle n'entend qu'à force de crier à ses oreilles, encore faut il s'en approcher de fort près.[2] Elle témoigna beaucoup de satisfaction, et repondit en peu de mots, mais fort intelligibles. Depuis ce temps elle s'est beaucoup mieux portée, et il me semble que le soin que V. M. a pris de l'envoier visiter, ait plus contribué à sa guérison, que tous les médecins. Ils nous font espérer qu'elle est hors de danger, néantmoins elle rêve encore assez souvent, ce qui marque que son cerveau est fort attaqué, puisque la fièvre n'est pas assez ardente pour produire cet effet. Il faut avoir été témoin de ce que j'ai vu pour le croire ; jusques au moindre courtisan se donnoit la liberté de marier son Maître : chacun selon son inclination, mais les plus confidens parloient de la fille du Prince de Ligne, à laquelle le Roi d'Espagne devoit faire des grands avantages. Je puis assurer V. M. que si la malade eschappe, qu'elle rompra bien des mesures, et que peu de gens en auront de la joye ; si ce n'est Monsieur, et Madame la Duchesse d'York, qui se voyaient bien éloignez des belles espérances des quelles apparement ils se peuvent flatter, puisque l'on dit que la Reine ne peut avoir d'enfans.

Au Roi.

Londres, Novembre 9, 1663.

Sire—Le Maître des cérémonies prit le soin de venir me prendre à huit heures, afin de me faire voir le commencement de la cérémonie,[3] qui se fait sur l'eau ; de-là il me conduisit dans la grande

[1] "Ruelle," espace qu'on laisse entre le lit et la muraille. On appelait autrefois "Ruelles" les Alcoves, et en général les lieux parés, où les Dames, soit au lit, soit debout, recevaient leurs visites.—B.

[2] This passage affords a curious specimen of the extent to which court etiquette and ceremony had been carried by Louis XIV. Catherine of Braganza was slowly recovering from a most dangerous fever, and yet she was compelled to give an audience in her bed to the French Ambassador ; and her deafness rendered it necessary that the King should bawl into her majesty's ear, before she could understand the compliments which de Comminges had been ordered personally to deliver. His assurance in attributing the improvement that had taken place in the queen's health to the interest which Louis had evinced in her welfare, rather than to the skill of her medical attendants, is also very characteristic.—B.

[3] The Lord Mayor's Show.

rue, où il m'avoit fait préparer une chambre, afin que plus commodement je visse la cavalcade, qui ne fut pas sitôt passé, que je monte en carosse pour prendre les devants par les rues destournées. J'arrivois une demi heure devant le Maire. Je fus reçu à la Maison de Ville avec tout l'accueil imaginable ; l'on m'ouvrit la porte pour faire entrer mes carosses. Je fus salué de la picque et du drappeau par les officiers qui se trouvèrent à ma descente.

Incontinent je fus reçu par d'autres bourgeois, qui me remirent sous la conduite d'autres, et ainsy de lieu en lieu l'on me conduisit jusques la salle du festin, où se trouvent M. le Chancelier et le Conseil du Roy, qui étoit déjà à table. Je fus surpris de cette grossière incivilité ; néantmoins, pour éviter de faire une affaire, je pris le parti de donner lieu à ces messieurs de réparer cette faute, sy elle s'étoit faite par ignorance, ou par mesgarde, ou d'éluder leur malice par un procédé franc et hardi. Je marchai droit à eux, à dessein de leur faire une raillerie de leur bon appetit ; mais je les trouve sy froids et sy interdis, que je juge à propos de me retirer ; le Chancelier et tous ses assistans ne s'estant pas levés pour me recevoir, à la réserve de Benet, qui me dit quelque chose à quoi je respondis avec mespris. Je retire, le Maître des cérémonies parloit au Chancelier, et l'on me vit partir sans que personne se mit en peine, ny de me faire excuses, ny civilités. Je dis de ceux du Conseil ; car pour les officiers de la Ville, et les principaux bourgeois qui attendoient le Maire pour diner, je ne vis jamais plus de tristesse ; chacun m'offrant des partis que je ne pouvois prendre avec bienséance. Ainsy je sortis, tout le peuple murmurant du peu de satisfaction que j'avois reçu dans un lieu où j'avois été convié avec toute la solemnité possible.

Je retourne diner chez moy, où deux heures après je fus visité par les deux mêmes prévosts qui m'avoient conviés, accompagnés de quelques bourgeois, et du peuple, qui demeura à ma porte. L'ordre qu'ils avoient du Maire et du Corps de Ville étoit de me faire des excuses de ce qui s'étoit passé, et ce que ne peuvent par leurs parolles, leur affection, et le temoignage de leur douleur suppléa au reste.

Ils tachèrent à rejetter l'affaire sur une surprise ; je leur fis voir que cette raison ne valoit rien à mon égard, et qu'ilz devoient percevoir qu'il n'y en eust pas, et qu'ayant été prié, ilz ne pouvoient douter que je n'y allasse, surtout leur ayant promis : ensuite, sur leur ignorance et peu de capacité à recevoir des personnes de ma qualité ; à

quoi je respondis qu'il y avoit trop peu de temps qu'ilz avoient faits cet honneur à un Ambassadeur d'Espagne pour avoir oublié ce qu'ilz doivent à un de France; et ne trouvant plus rien à dire, ils rejettèrent toute la faute sur le Maître des cérémonies. Je leur dis que cette raison étoit aussy mauvaise que les autres, puisque sa fonction ne s'étendoit point dans leurs festes, et qu'il étoit venu avec moi comme un particulier convié, pour la commodité de passer et d'entrer avec moins de peine. Pour conclusion: ils me prient de vouloir me satisfaire de leurs excuses. Je leur respondis que l'affaire avoit eu trop de témoins pour pouvoir se cacher, et que mon devoir m'obligeoit de rendre compte à V. M.; leur insinuant que ce n'étoit pas d'eux seulement que j'avois à me plaindre, et qu'ils avoient des complices de leur mauvaise conduite, ou de leur faute. Après cela, je les conduisis hors de ma salle, où je les arrête un peu; et pour leur faire plus de honte, je leur dis que je voulois passer plus avant, et payer un assez mauvais traitement par une civilité extraordinaire.

Au Roi.

Novembre 12-22, 1663.

Sire—Le lendemain à onze heures, l'on m'advertit que le Maire étoit parti de chez luy pour me rendre visite. Il arriva un moment après, suivi de dix ou douze carosses, et d'un assez grand troupe de peuple, qui suivoit de cortége par curiosité. Il entra chez moi, avec les marques de sa dignité, c'est-à-dire, l'épée et les masses, portées par des officiers de la Ville, la queue de sa robe par un autre, les Prévosts, les Aldermen, et plusieurs honorables bourgeois. Il arrêta quelques momens dans ma salle basse; peut-être en intention que je l'y allasse recevoir; mais un de mes sécrétaires lui aiant dit qu'il y avoit du feu dans la salle haute, et que je n'étois pas achevé d'habiller, aiant emploié toute la matinée à faire mes dépêches, il monta en haut, et sitôt je l'allois prendre pour le conduire dans ma chambre d'audience: je ne voulus point l'entendre, qu'il ne fut assis. D'abord il me témoigna qu'il étoit bien faché de ne pouvoir s'expliquer en François, mais qu'il avoit amené avec lui un interprète, qui m'expliqueroit le discours qu'il avoit à me faire, qui consistoit en deux points: le premier de les excuser et pardonner la faute qu'ils avoient faits, et l'autre de vouloir leur donner un jour pour la réparer; que de ma réponse dépendoit a

satisfaction ou honte éternelle de la Ville de Londres, et qu'en leur particulier leur disgrace étoit assuré, tant du coté de peuple que de celuy du Roi, qui ne leur pardonnerait jamais si je leur en donnois exemple. Je conduisis le Maire jusques à son carosse, luy donnant tousjours la porte, mais conservant tousjours la main droite. Le tout se passa avec satisfaction de tous cotéz.

Au Roi.

Londres, Decembre 10-20, 1663.

Sire—Le Chevalier de Grammont a été ravi da la nouvelle que je lui ai bonné, et il m'a dit plus de 1000 fois qu'il aimoit mieux servir V. M. pour rien, que tous les Rois du monde pour leurs trésors. Il va se prépare à prendre congé de Celui de la Grande Bretagne, auquel, sans doute, il a des grandes obligations pour la manière obligeante dont il été reçu et traité. Dans l'excès de sa joie il n'a pas pu me cacher sa surprise, ce qui me persuade que l'affaire est faite, et qu'il fera un grand sacrifice à V. M. d'abandonner ses nouveaux et légitimes amours ; car je crois qu'il se consolera bientôt, et que peut-être fera t'il voir la Cour de France à une belle Angloise,[1] qui pour le bien n'y trouvera point de difference à celle d'Angleterre. Il fait son compte de partir dans 4 jours.

Decembre 20-24.

Le Chevalier de Grammont devoit partir aujordhui, mais le Roi l'a retenu pour un jour, peut-être pour lui faire quelque présent, ou pour faciliter le paiement de 800 pièces qui lui sont dues par Madame de Castlemaine. Il laisse ici quelques autres debtes, qu'il prétend venir recueillir quand il se déclarera sur le sujet de Mlle. Hamilton, qui est si embrouillé que les plus clair voyans n'y voyent goutte. Il va faire sa confession générale à V. M.

Au Roi.

Janvier 25-Février 4, 1663-4.

Dimanche dernier le Comte de Bristol se présenta dans la paroisse d'Oulmilton[2] à 2 lieux de Londres, avec un notaire et des témoins,

[1] Miss Hamilton.—B.

[2] Major-General Lambert was Lord of the Manor of Wimbledon in 1656 ; but at the return of Charles II. it was restored to the Queen-Mother, Henrietta Maria,

et prit acte devant tout le peuple qu'il étoit Protestant, et que de bon cœur il renonçoit à la religion Catholique. Aprés il prit le ministre et quelques uns des plus honnêtes gens, et les mena diner chez lui, car cette maison lui appartient, l'aiant acheté de la Reine Mère. Le diner fini, il monta à cheval avec 4 cavaliers, et se retira. L'action est insolente et téméraire, et fait juger qu'il se présentera sitôt que le Parlement s'ouvrira. Chacun blame cette conduite, mais personne ne se met en peine de la punir. Ce navire d'Irlande,[1] qui avoit fait tant de bruit, et qui devoit à l'avenir servir de modèle pour la fabrique des vaisseaux, est enfin après 3 mois de navigation arrivé à Woolwich près de Greenwich. C'est bien la plus ridicule et inutile machine que l'esprit de l'homme peut concevoir ; le médecin qui l'a inventé retourne à son premier metier, et laisse la fabrique aux charpentiers.

Au Roi.

Londres, Mai 19-24, 1664.

Les calêches commencent à voir le jour ; et la Reine, avec toute sa suite, fait souvent des promenades à cheval. Les dames y paroissent à l'envie les unes des autres, mais cela ne produit point de jalousie. Je ne vis jamais deux rivales vivre en si bonne intelligence ; ce n'est pas que l'on les ménage beaucoup, et que l'on prenne grand soin de cacher ces larcins, mais c'est l'humeur du pais, qui n'a de sensible jalousie que contre la France. M. de Montagu, prémier écuyer de la Reine d'Angleterre, gentilhomme aussi bien fait et aussi spirituel qu'il y en ait dans cette Cour, a eu ordre de se retirer en province. L'on parle en secret de sa disgrace, mais l'on convient que ce nouveau Tantale n'a pu ménager ses regards, et qu'il les a poussez si haut qu'ils se sont allumez dans la source de la lumière. Le Chevalier de Grammont rend les derniers abois ; il a perdu en deux fois dix huit cent pièces, ce n'étoit pas véritablement de l'argent comptant ; mais Madame sa femme eut pu les retirer par parcelles, et s'en servir durant son absence pour les affaires domestiques. Je ne scais si cela ne retardera point son voyage, puisqu'un joueur ne se retire guères sur sa perte. Les malicieux pensent autrement, et disent qu'il a

of whom it was purchased, in 1661, by the Earl of Bedford and others as trustees for George Digby, Earl of Bristol, and his heirs.—Lysons's *Environs*. See also Rugge's *Diurnal*, Jan. 1660.—B.

[1] Sir W. Petty's double-bottomed vessel.—B.

autant de peine à quitter sa femme qu'il en a eu à l'epouser, à cause d'un beau cousin, fils du Duc d'Ormond, qui sous le prétexte de la parenté lui rend des visites fort assidues, qui n'ont pas suivi le mariage, mais qui l'avoient précédé.

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Londres, Juillet 7-17, 1664.

Pour ne vous pas laisser alarme de la maladie, vous sçaurais qu'il y a quatre ou cinq jours que le Roy avec les Reines allerènt en berges voir les vaisseaux qui sont sortis du Port de Chatam, et que durant la grande ardeur du soleil, le Roy quitta sa perruque et son pourpoint ; à son retour il se trouva fort enrhumé, ce qui obligea les médicins de le faire saigner. Le lendemain il se trouva avec un peu de fièvre, et ce matin il a beaucoup sué, et se trouve fort soulagé, et sans aucune chaleur.

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Londres, Aout 29-Septembre 8, 1664.

Madame la Comtesse de Grammont accoucha hier au soir d'un fils [1] beau comme la mère et galant comme le père : toute la Cour s'en est réjouie avec le Comte, que j'en trouve tout rajeuni, mais je croy que l'ésperance de retourner tôt en France a effacé les rides de ses yeux et de son front, et fait naître les lys et les roses sur ses joues.

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Londres, Septembre 14-24-Octobre 2, 1664.

Le Roi de la Grande Bretagne avec douze des principaux seigneurs de sa Cour ma fit l'honneur de souper lundy céans ; toutes choses s'y passèrent fort bien, et sans contrainte ; le santé du Roi fit le préambule de repas commencé par le Roi de la Grande Bretagne, qui obligea chacun de suivre son example, sans que les dames pussent rien exempter ; aussi, à dire le vray, ne se firent-elles pas presser. Le repas fut gai, et l'après soupé emploiée à ouir la musique, les violons et le Sieur Francisque, grand joueur de guitare.—Madame de Fienne étoit

[1] The child died young.—B.

de la partie, qui fit bien son devoir. Aujourdhuy le Roi est parti pour la chasse.

Il y a deux jours que Madame de Castlemaine sortant le soir de chez Madame la Duchesse qui demeure présentement à St. James, accompagnée d'une seule demoyselle et d'un petit page, fut recontrée par trois gentilshommes (ou de moins le pouvoit on ainsy juger à leur habillemens) masquéz, qui lui firent la plus forte et rude réprimande que l'on puisse imaginer, jusques à luy dire que la maîtresse d'Edouard IV. s'étoit morte sur un fumier méprisée et abandonnée de tout le monde. Vous pouvez penser sy le temps leur dura, car le parc est plus long que de chez Renard au Pavillon. Sitôt qu'elle fut dans sa chambre elle s'évanouit, le Roi qui en fut adverti courut au secours, et s'étant informé de l'affaire, fit fermer toutes les portes, et arrêter tout ce qui se trouva. Sept ou huit personnes quy s'y recontrèrent ont été confrontés et point reconnues: on a publié l'advanture, que l'on a bien voulu étouffer, mais je croy qu'il en sera difficile.

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Londres, Octobre 24-Novembre 3, 1664.

Le Comte de Grammont est parti aujourdhui avec sa femme, qui marche en équipage de nouvelle mariée. Il vous dira cent choses que je ne scaurois écrire, et je vous dirai pour finir, qu'il est affligé à la mort d'un mauvais office qu'on lui a rendu auprès du Roi—le taxant d'être blasphémateur. Il y a long-temps que je le connois, mais je ne le vis jamais sujet à ce vice; et de plus, je vous assure qu'il ne l'a pas appris ici, quisque l'on y jure moins qu'en ancun lieu, et que j'ai vu 4 gentilshommes, pour avoir blasphémés, etant ivres, condamnées à tenir prison, et payer chacun mille pièces, dont il y en a eu deux qui n'en sont sortis qu'après un long-temps, n'ayans pu fournir la somme qu'avec l'assistance de plusieurs de leurs amis.

A Monsieur de Lionne.

Londres, Octobre 27-Novembre 6, 1664.

Hier le Roi d'Angleterre me fit l'honneur de me mener avec lui voir mettre à la mer un vaisseau de 1200 tonneaux,[1] le plus beau

[1] For an account of this launch see Diary, 26th October, 1664.—B.

et le plus roial que j'aye jamais vu ; cependant que les peintres travaillent à l'embellissement des dehors et des chambres, l'on le maste, l'on y met les cordages et l'artillerye, qui est au nombre de 70 pièces. La batérie basse est de 4 pièces de 48 livres de bal, 6 de 36, et le reste de 24 ; et la haute de 6 de 24 et le reste de 18 : la plus grande partie de fonte, quoyque le fer ne vaille guères moins, et que l'on y fasse de calibre de 24 qui ne pesent pas un millier plus que celle de metal.

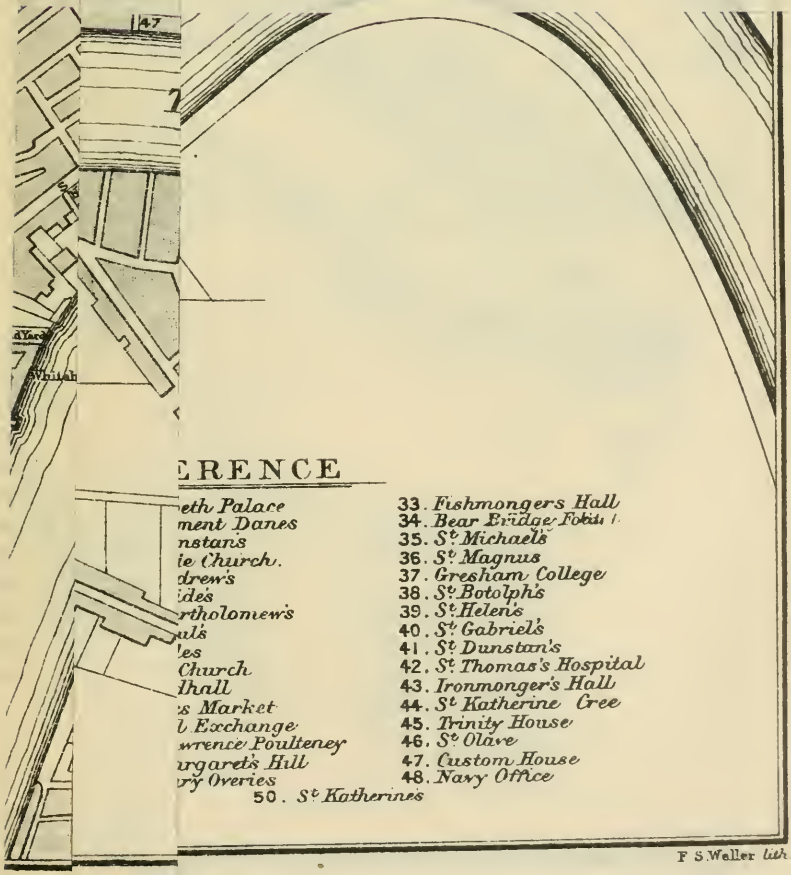
Nous vîmes dans ce lieu là, tous les vieux généraux et capitaines de Cromwel, qui sont fort affectionez et pleins de confiance, à cause de leur dernières victoires contres les Hollandois. Le Roi me dit devant eux qu'ils avoient tous eu la peste, mais qu'ils étoient parfaitement guéris, et moins susceptibles de maladie que les autres. Je vous avoue, Sire, qu'il n'y a rien de plus beau à voir que toute cette marine, rien de plus majestueux que ce grand nombre de vaisseaux faicts et à faire ; cette nombreuse quantité de canons, de masts, de cordages, de planches, et autres machines nécessaires à cette sorte de guerre. Le Roi nous fit dans un de ses yachts un magnifique repas, y but la santé de S. M., et commanda à la compagnie de la seconder, qui ne s'espargna pas à faire son devoir. Je fis le remercîment, et bus celle du Roi d'Angleterre. L'une et l'autre santé fut célébré de tant de coups de canon, que par son bruit il fit changer le temps.

Durant cette rejouissance qui commençoit à s'échauffer, la mer grossit, qui ne fit guère moins de malades que le vin : et la Reine, qui se trouvoit sur la rivière avec ses dames, fut bien exempte du mal, mais non pas de la crainte ; tout le reste s'en ressentit, et en donna des marques. Cette bourasque finie, le beau temps revient, qui en donna suffisament pour mettre le vaisseau à la mer, et en gouter le plaisir, sans incommodité de la grêle et de la pluie. La chose finie, la Reine prit les carosses préparez pour le Roi, qui faisant son plaisir de voir les autres malades dans la tempête, ne se soucia guères de nous y commettre. Nous ne pumes pourtant arriver à la ville dans la berge : il falut prendre des carosses et des chevaux à Grenwich, pour nous rendre à Whithall.

Au Roi.

Londres, Novre. 13, 1664.

Il y a quinze jours que le Maire destiné pour cette anné, m'envoia convier (dans la forme la plus honorable que se puisse pratiquer) de vouloir diner à la Maison de Ville le jour de sa reception, avec le Conseil du Roi d'Angleterre, m'assurant que toutes choses étoient si bien disposées et les mesures si justement prises, que l'on m'y rendroit d'un commun consentiment tout l'honneur et le respect qui étoit dû à mon caractère ; et que la faute, que le seul malheur avoit causé, seroit reparée par une reception que ne me donneroit pas moins de satisfaction, que celle de l'anné passé avoit donné de douleur à toute la Ville, qui ne pouvoit avoir de consolation, ni même de sureté de la parole que je luy avois donné, que V. M. n'en auroit jamais le moindre ressentiment qu'en me voiant satisfait, selon les desirs et souhaits du général et du particulier. Le lendemain le Roy m'envoia le Maitre des cérémonies me prier en son nom d'assister à la reception du Maire, ce que je fis d'assez bonne heure afin de ne laisser aucun pretexte à quelque nouvel accident. La chose n'avoit garde d'arriver, car jamais personne n'a été reçu avec plus d'honneur, tant par messieurs de la Ville que par messieurs du Conseil, dont les plus considérables, à l'envy les uns des autres, s'empressoient à me faire civilité et honneur. Enfin M. le Maire, par ordre de M. le Chancelier, m'addressa tous les complimens de la Ville ; qui n'avoient autre but que d'honorer V. M. Il me porta la santé du Roi d'Angleterre que je bus, et puis celle de V. M. à M. le Chancelier, qui s'en acquita dignement, et obligea tous ces seigneurs de la célébrer avec respect et joye. Après le repas, je fus conduit à mon carosse, et jamais M. le Chancelier ni tous ces messieurs ne voulurent se retirer, que je ne fusse parti. Si je parle de tous ces honneurs que l'on ma rendus, ce n'est pas que j'en veuille tirer ni vanité, ni avantage, c'est seulement pour faire scavoir à V. M. comme elle est honorée et estimée en cette Cour.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37. Gresham College
38. St Botolph's
39. St Helen's
40. St Gabriel's
41. St Dunstan's
42. St Thomas's Hospital
43. Ironmonger's Hall
44. St Katherine Cree
45. Trinity House
46. St Olave
47. Custom House
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Moor Fields
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THE TOWER
BANKSIDE
Bermondsey Abbey
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4 Berkshire House
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6 St Margarets
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16 Stangate
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22 St Brides
23 St Bartholomews
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