



Elizabeth Pepys, from an engraving by James Thomson after John Hayls's portrait
(Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge)

THE DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

A new and complete
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1. Up and at the office all the morning, and then dined at home. Got my new closet made mighty clean against tomorrow. Sir W. Penn and my wife and Mercer and I to *Poli-chenelly*, but were there horribly frightened to see young Killigrew come in with a great many more young sparks; but we hid ourselves, so as we think they did not see us.¹ By and by they went away, and then we were at rest again; and so the play being done, we to Islington and there eat and drank and mighty merry – and so home, singing; and after a letter or two at the office, to bed.

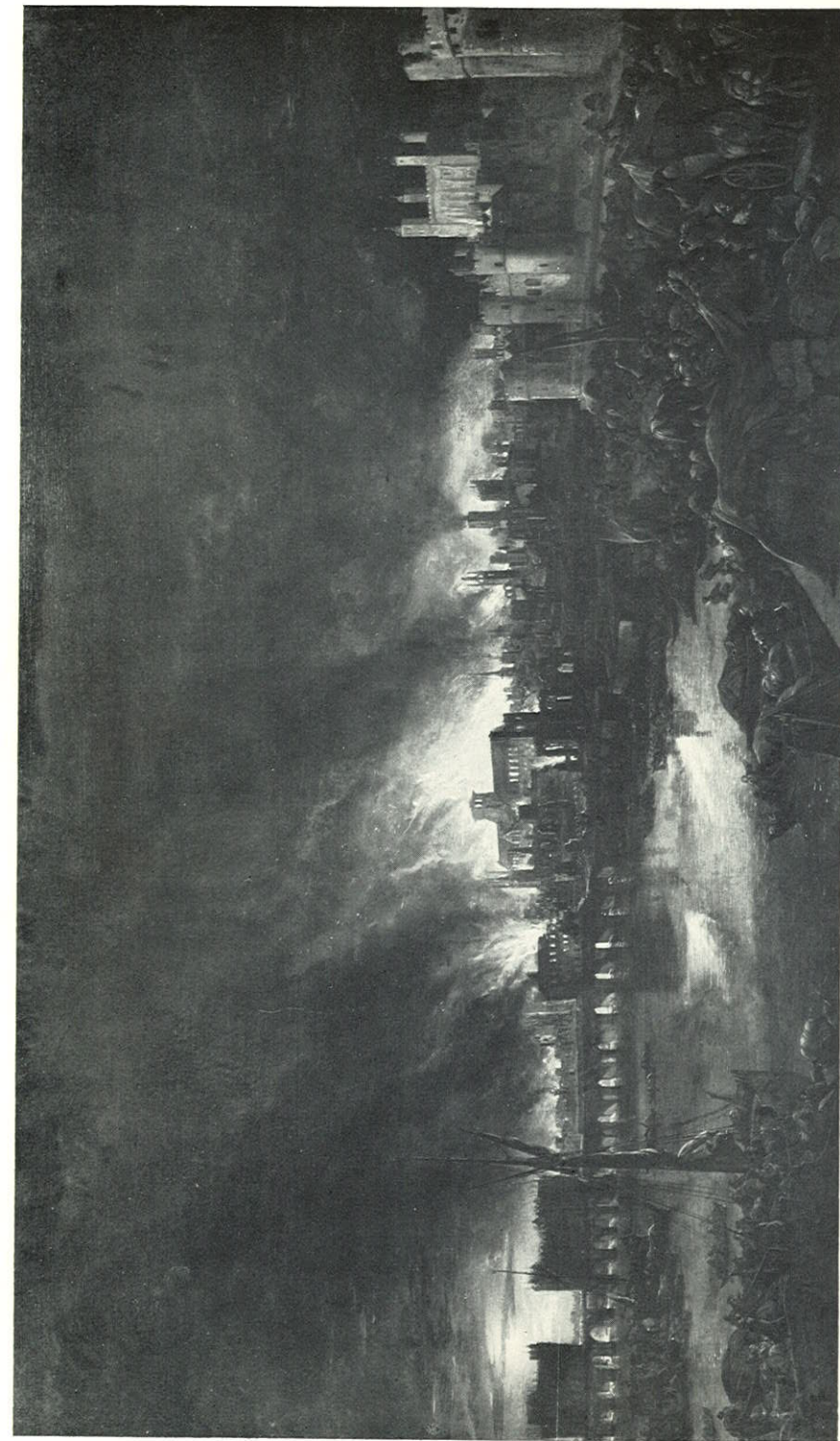
2. *Lords day.* Some of our maids sitting up late last night to get things ready against our feast today, Jane called us up, about 3 in the morning, to tell us of a great fire they saw in the City.²

1. Henry Killigrew (son of Thomas, the dramatist) was a Groom of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York; hence perhaps the Principal Officers' fear of being seen at a play: cf. below, p. 399 & n. 3. For the play, see above, p. 257, n. 2.

2. This was the Fire of London, which had begun about an hour before in Pudding Lane, near Fish Street Hill, not far from London Bridge (see map below, p. 430). It was to rage for four days and nights. Caused by an accidental fire in a bakery which spread quickly because of the dry season, it was widely believed to have been started deliberately by foreign enemies or Papists, or both. The worst was over after the east wind abated during the night of the 4th–5th. By then it is said to have destroyed c. 13,200 houses and levelled an area of c. 436 acres, leaving only about one-fifth of the city standing. Some 100,000 people were made homeless, but few lives were lost. Among the famous buildings which suffered were St Paul's

(which was gutted, along with 84 parish churches, three others being badly damaged), Guildhall, and the Royal Exchange. Four stone bridges (including London Bridge) suffered damage, and 52 Company Halls were destroyed. Pepys's house and the Navy Office were not touched, but his birthplace in Salisbury Court off Fleet St was burnt down. In the absence of fire insurance (which in England began only after this disaster) municipal enterprise played a great part in the rebuilding of the city. The process was necessarily slow and piecemeal: meantime some trade moved away to the West End. But the bulk of private building was completed or well under way by 1670; Guildhall and the Royal Exchange were rebuilt by 1671, 25 of the parish churches by 1683, the Company Halls by 1685, and St Paul's by 1710. See Bell, *Fire*; T. F. Reddaway, *Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire*, pp. 281+; Comp.: 'Fire'.

The Fire of London, by an anonymous artist
(The London Museum)



So I rose, and slipped on my nightgown and went to her window, and thought it to be on the back side of Markelane at the furthest;^a but being unused to such fires as fallowed, I thought it far enough off, and so went to bed again and to sleep. About 7 rose again to dress myself, and there looked out at the window and saw the fire not so much as it was, and further off. So to my closet to set things to rights after yesterday's cleaning. By and by Jane^b comes and tells me that she hears that above 300 houses have been burned down tonight by the fire we saw, and that it was now burning down all Fishstreet by London Bridge. So I made myself ready presently, and walked to the Tower and there got up upon one of the high places, Sir J Robinsons little son going up with me; and there I did see the houses at that end of the bridge all on fire, and an infinite great fire on this and the other side the end of the bridge – which, among other people, did trouble me for poor little Michell and our Sarah on the Bridge. So down, with my heart full of trouble, to the Lieutenant of the Tower, who tells me that it begun this morning in the King's bakers¹ house in Pudding-lane, and that it hath burned down St. Magnes Church and most part of Fishstreete already. So I down to the water-side and there got a boat and through bridge, and there saw a lamentable fire. Poor Michells house,² as far as the Old Swan, already burned that way and the fire running further, that in a very little time it got as far as the Stillyard while I was there. Everybody endeavouring to remove their goods, and flinging into the River or bringing them into lighters that lay off. Poor people staying in their houses as long as till the very fire touched them, and then running into boats or clambering from one pair of stair by the water-side to another. And among other things, the poor pigeons I perceive were loath to leave their houses, but hovered about the windows and balconies till they were some of them burned, their wings, and fell down.

^a repl. 'further'

^b repl. 'a'

1. Thomas Farriner, sen. The question of whether the fire was due to his carelessness is discussed in Bell, *Fire*, p. 22.

2. Probably in or near Old Swan Lane: for its rebuilding, see below, 19 March 1668. (R).

Having stayed, and in an hour's time seen the fire rage every way, and nobody to my sight endeavouring to quench it, but to remove their goods and leave all to the fire; and having seen it get as far as the Steeleyard, and the wind mighty high and driving it into the city, and everything, after so long a droughth, proving combustible, even the very stones of churches, and among other things, the poor steeple by which pretty Mrs. ¹ lives,^a and whereof my old school-fellow Elborough is parson, taken fire in the very top and there burned till it fall down – I to White-hall with a gentleman with me who desired to go off from the Tower to see the fire in my boat – to White-hall, and there up to the King's closet in the chapel, where people came about me and I did give them an account dismayed them all; and word was carried in to the King, so I was called for and did tell the King and Duke of York what I saw, and that unless his Majesty did command houses to be pulled down, nothing could stop the fire. They^b seemed much troubled, and the King commanded me to go to my Lord Mayor from him and command him to spare no houses but to pull^c down before the fire every way. The Duke of York bid me tell him that if he would have any more soldiers, he shall; and so did my Lord Arlington afterward, as a great secret. Here meeting with Captain Cocke, I in his coach, which he lent me, and Creed with me, to Pauls; and there walked along Watling-street as well as I could, every creature coming away laden with goods to save – and here and there sick people carried away in beds. Extraordinary good goods carried in carts and on backs. At last met my Lord Mayor² in Canning Streete, like a man spent, with a hankercher about his neck. To the King's message, he cried like a fainting woman, "Lord, what can I do? I am spent. People will not obey me. I have been pull[ing] down houses. But the fire overtakes us faster then we can do it." That he needed no more soldiers; and that for himself, he must go and refresh himself, having been up all night. So he left me, and I him, and walked home – seeing people all almost distracted

^a 'lives' repeated

^b MS. 'the'

^c MS. 'pulled'

1. Supply 'Horsley': above, p. 235. The church was St Lawrence Pountney.

2. Sir Thomas Bludworth.

and no manner of means used to quench the fire. The houses too, so very thick thereabouts, and full of matter for burning, as pitch and tar, in Thames-street – and warehouses of oyle and wines and Brandy and other things. Here I saw Mr. Isacke Houblon, that handsome man – prettily dressed and dirty at his door at^a Dowgate, receiving some of his brothers things whose houses were on fire; and as he says, have been removed twice already, and he doubts (as it soon proved) that they must be in a little time removed from his house also – which was a sad consideration.¹ And to see the churches all filling with goods, by people who themselves should have been quietly there at this time.

By this time it was about 12 a-clock, and so home and there find my guests, which was Mr. Wood and his wife, Barbary Shelden, and also Mr. Moone² – she mighty fine, and her husband, for aught I see, a likely man.³ But Mr. Moones design and mine, which was to look over my closet and please him with the sight thereof, which he hath long desired, was wholly disappointed, for we were in great trouble and disturbance at this fire, not knowing what to think of it. However, we had an extraordinary good dinner, and as merry as at this time we could be.

While at dinner, Mrs. Batelier came to enquire after Mr. Woolfe and Stanes (who it seems are related^b to them), whose houses in Fishstreet^c are all burned, and they in a sad condition. She would not stay in the fright.

As soon as dined, I and Moone away and walked through the City, the streets full of nothing but people and horses and carts loaden with goods, ready to run over one another, and removing goods from one burned house to another – they now removing out of Canning-street (which received goods in the morning) into Lumbard Streete and further; and among others, I now saw my little goldsmith Stokes receiving some friend's goods, whose house itself was burned the day after. We parted at Pauls, he

^a repl. 'receiving'

^b repl. 'acq'–

^c l.h. repl. s.h. 'Fish'

1. James Houblon sen., and all his sons, except James, lost their houses as a result of the fire. They probably moved temporarily to James's house

in Winchester St. Lady A. A. Houblon, *Houblon Family*, i. 145, 149.

2. Lord Belaysse's secretary.

3. See above, p. 242 & n. 4.

home and I to Pauls-Wharf, where I had appointed a boat to attend me; and took in Mr. Carcasse and his brother, whom I met in the street, and carried them below and above bridge, to and again, to see the fire, which was now got further, both below and above, and no likelihood of stopping it. Met with the King and Duke of York in their Barge, and with them to Queen-Hith and there called Sir Rd. Browne¹ to them. Their order was only to pull down houses apace, and so below bridge at the water-side; but little was or could be done, the fire coming upon them so fast. Good hopes there was of stopping it at the Three Cranes above, and at Buttolphs-Wharf below bridge, if care be used; but the wind carries it into the City, so as we know not by the water-side what it doth there. River full of lighter[s] and boats taking in goods, and good goods swimming in the water; and only, I observed that hardly one lighter or boat in three that had the goods of a house in, but there was a pair* of virginalls in it. Having seen as much as I could now, I away to White-hall by appointment, and there walked to St. James's Park, and there met my wife and Creed and Wood and his wife and walked to my boat, and there upon the water again, and to the fire up and down, it still increasing and the wind great. So near the fire as we could for smoke; and all over the Thames, with one's face in the wind you were almost burned with a^a shower of Firedrops – this is very true – so as houses were burned by these^b drops and flakes of fire, three or four, nay five or six houses, one from another. When we could endure no more upon the water, we to a little alehouse on the Bankside over against the Three Cranes, and there stayed till it was dark almost and saw the fire grow; and as it grow darker, appeared more^c and more, and in Corners and upon steeples and between churches and houses, as far as we could see up the hill of the City, in a most horrid malicious bloody flame, not like the fine flame of an ordinary fire. Barbary² and her husband away before us. We stayed till, it being darkish, we saw the fire as only one entire arch of fire from this to the other side the bridge, and in a bow

^a repl. 'little'

^b repl. 'this'

^c repl. 'till'

1. Alderman of the nearby Langbourn ward, and a colonel in the city militia.

2. Mrs Knepp: see above, p. 4. (E).

up the hill, for an arch of above a mile long. It made me weep to see it. The churches, houses, and all on fire and flaming at once, and a horrid noise the flames made, and the cracking of houses at their ruine. So home with a sad heart, and there find everybody discoursing and lamenting the fire; and poor Tom Hater came with some few of his goods saved out of his house, which is burned upon Fish-street hill.¹ I invited him to lie at my house, and did receive his goods: but was deceived in his lying there, the noise coming every moment of the growth of the Fire, so as we were forced to begin to pack^a up our own goods and prepare for their removal. And did by Moone-shine (it being brave, dry, and moonshine and warm weather) carry much of my goods into the garden, and Mr. Hater and I did remove my money and Iron-chests into my cellar – as thinking that the safest place. And got my bags of gold into my office ready to carry away, and my chief papers of accounts also there, and my tallies into a box by themselves. So great was our fear, as Sir W. Batten had carts come out of the country to fetch away his goods this night. We did put Mr. Hater, poor man, to bed a little; but he got but very little rest, so much noise being in my house, taking down of goods.

3. About 4 a-clock in the morning, my Lady Batten sent me a cart to carry away all my money and plate and best things to Sir W. Riders at Bednall greene;² which I did, riding myself in my nightgown in the Cart; and Lord, to see how the streets and the highways are crowded with people, running and riding and getting of carts at any rate to fetch away thing[s]. I find Sir W. Rider tired with being called up all night and receiving things from several friends. His house full of goods – and much of Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Penn's. I am eased at my heart to have my treasure so well secured. Then home with much ado to find a way. Nor any sleep all this night to me nor my poor

a repl. 'remove'

1. The street of that name immediately north of London Bridge.

2. Rider lived in a large Elizabethan mansion: see above, iv. 200 & n. 5.

He was a prosperous merchant and an associate of several officers of the Navy Board, including Pepys, on the Tangier and other committees.

wife. But then, and all this day, she and I and all my people labouring to get away the rest of our things, and did get Mr. Tooker¹ to get me a lighter to take them in, and we did carry them (myself some) over Tower-hill, which was by this time full of people's goods, bringing their goods thither. And down to the lighter, which lay at the next quay above the Tower-dock. And here was my neighbour's wife, Mrs. ², with her pretty child and some few of her things, which I did willingly give way to be saved with mine. But there was no passing with anything through the postern, the crowd was so great.

The Duke of York came this day by the office and spoke to us, and did ride with his guard up and down the City to keep all quiet (he being now General, and having the care of all).³

This day, Mercer being not at home, but against her mistress order gone to her mother's, and my wife going thither to speak with W. Hewer, met her there and was angry; and her mother saying that she was not a prentice girl, to ask leave every time she goes abroad, my wife with good reason was angry, and when she came home, bid her be gone again. And so she went away, which troubled me; but yet less then it would, because of the condition we are in fear of coming into in a little time, of being less able to keep one in her quality. At night, lay down a little upon a quilt of W. Hewer in the office (all my own things being packed up or gone); and after me, my poor wife did the like – we having fed upon the remains of yesterday's dinner, having no fire nor dishes, nor any opportunity of dressing anything.

4. Up by break of day to get away the remainder of my things, which I did by a lighter at the Iron-gate; and my hands so few, that it was the afternoon before we could get them all away.

Sir W. Penn and I to Tower-street, and there met the fire

1. River agent to the Navy Board.

2. Supply 'Buckworth'. She had a little boy of four: see below, pp. 419-20.

3. He had this day been put in charge of the fire-fighting, and gave tireless and distinguished service.

For the organisation he commanded, see CSPD 1666-7, pp. 94-5; T. F. Reddaway, *Rebuilding of London*, p. 24. He acted in the absence of Albemarle, Captain-General of the kingdom, who was away with the fleet until the 7th.

Burning three or four doors beyond Mr. Howells;¹ whose goods, poor man (his trays and dishes, Shovells &c., were flung all along Tower-street in the kennels, and people working therewith from one end to the other), the fire coming on in that narrow street, on both sides, with infinite fury. Sir W. Batten, not knowing how to remove his wind,* did dig a pit in the garden and laid it in there; and I took the opportunity of laying all the papers of my office that I could not otherwise dispose of. And in the evening Sir W. Penn and I did dig another and put our wine in it, and I my parmazan cheese as well as my wine and some other things.

The Duke of York was at the office this day at Sir W. Penn's, but I happened not to be within. This afternoon, sitting melancholy with Sir W. Penn in our garden and thinking of the certain burning of this office without extraordinary means, I did propose for the sending up of all our workmen from Woolwich and Deptford yards (none whereof yet appeared), and to write to Sir W. Coventry to have the Duke of York's permission to pull^a down houses rather than lose this office, which would much hinder the King's business. So Sir W. Penn he went down this night, in order to the sending them up tomorrow morning; and I wrote to Sir W. Coventry about the business,² but received no answer.

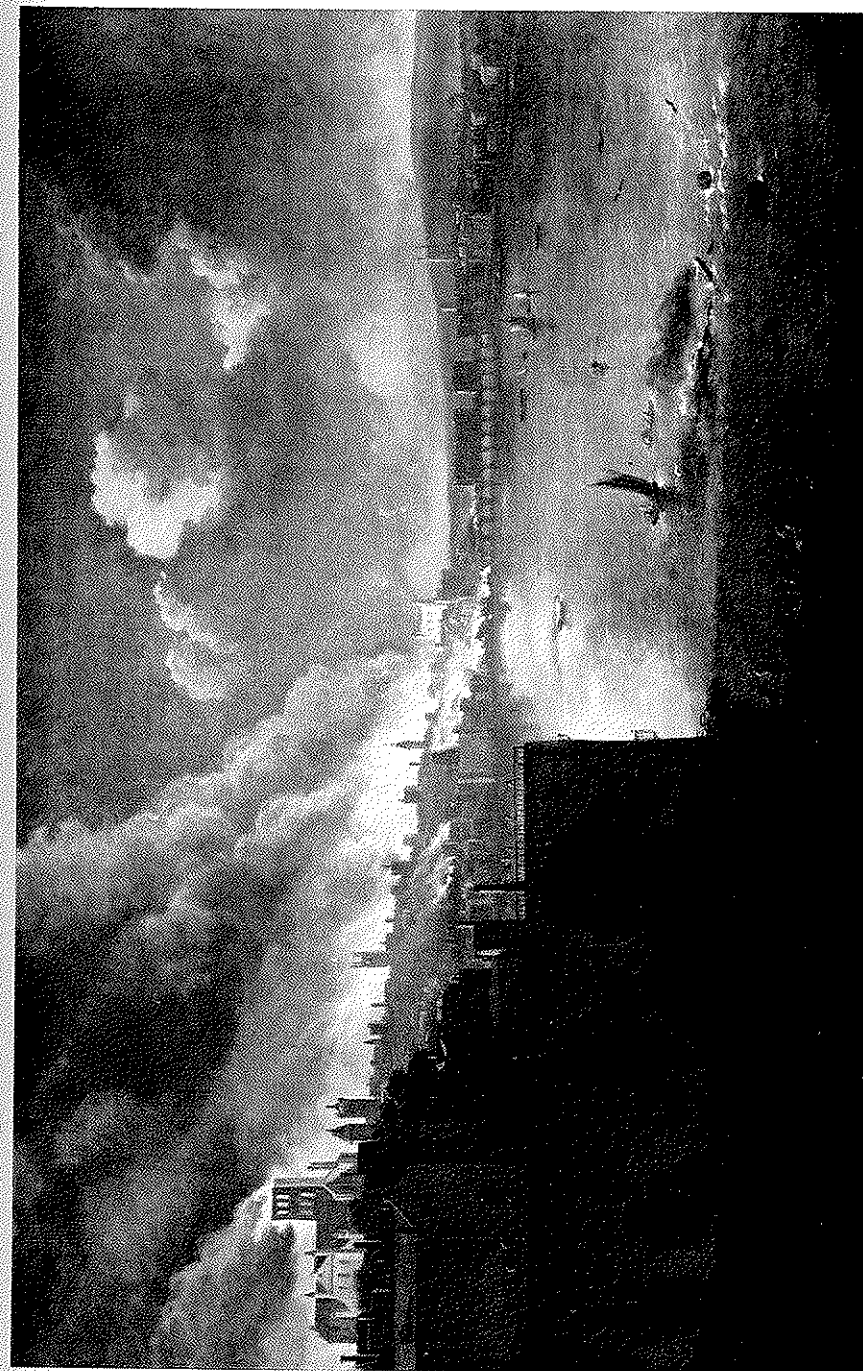
This night Mrs. Turner (who, poor woman, was removing her goods all this day – good goods, into the garden, and knew not how to dispose of them) – and her husband supped with my wife and I at night in the office, upon a shoulder of mutton from the cook's, without any napkin or anything, in a sad manner but were merry. Only, now and then walking into the garden and saw how horridly the sky looks, all on a fire in the night, was enough to put us out of our wits; and ended it was extremely dreadfull – for it looks just as if it was at us, and the whole heaven^b on fire. I after supper walked in the dark down to Tower-street, and there saw it all on fire at the Trinity house on that side and the Dolphin tavern on this side, which was very near

^a repl. 'pulled'

^b repl. 'sky'

1. Turner to the Navy Board.

2. NMM, LBK/8, p. 456 (copy in Pepys's hand).



The Fire of London, by Thomas Wyck
(His Grace the Duke of Beaufort)

us – and the fire with extraordinary vehemence. Now begins the practice of blowing up of houses in Tower-street, those next the Tower, which at first did frighten people more then anything; but it stop[ped] the fire where it was done – it bringing down the houses to the ground in the same places they stood, and then it was easy to quench what little fire was in it, though it kindled nothing almost. W. Hewer this day^a went to see how his mother did, and comes late home, but telling us how he hath been forced to remove her to Islington, her house in pye=Corner being burned. So that it is got so far that way and all the Old Bayly, and was running down to Fleetestreete. And Pauls is burned, and all Cheapside. I wrote to my father this night; but the post-house being burned, the letter could not go.

5. I lay down in the office again upon W. Hewer's quilt, being mighty weary and sore in my feet with going till I was hardly able to stand. About 2 in the morning my wife calls me up and tells of new Cryes of "Fyre!" – it being come to Barkeing Church,¹ which is the bottom of our lane. I up; and finding it so, resolved presently to take her away; and did, and took my gold (which was about 2350l), W. Hewer, and Jane down by Poundy's boat to Woolwich. But Lord, what a sad sight it was by moonlight to see the whole City almost on fire – that you might see it plain at Woolwich, as if you were by it. There when^b I came, I find the gates² shut, but no guard kept at all; which troubled me, because of discourses now begun that there is plot in it and that the French had done it.³ I got the gates open, and to Mr. Shelden's,⁴ where I locked up my gold and charged my wife and W. Hewer never to leave the room without one of them in it night nor day. So back again, by the way

^a repl. 'night'

^b repl. 'where'

1. All Hallows, Barking, which, until the making of Byward St curtailed Seething Lane, stood at its south-east end. (R).

2. Of the dockyard.

3. It was said that 50,000 French and Dutch had landed, and were

entering the city: Evelyn, 7 September; W. Sandys to Viscount Scudamore, n.d., qu. Bell, *Fire*, p. 317.

4. Clerk of the Cheque, Woolwich; Mrs Pepys's host during the Plague. She now appears to have stayed there until 13 September.

seeing my^a goods well in the lighters at Deptford and watched well by people. Home, and whereas I expected to have seen our house on fire, it being now about 7^b a-clock, it was not. But to the Fyre, and there find greater hopes then I expected; for my confidence of finding our office on fire was such, that I durst not ask anybody how it was with us, till I came and saw it not burned. But going to the fire, I find, by the blowing up of houses and the great help given by the workmen out of the King's yards, sent up by Sir W. Penn, there is a good stop given to it, as well at Marke-lane end as ours – it having only burned the Dyall of Barkeing Church, and part of the porch, and was there quenched.¹ I up to the top of Barkeing steeple, and there saw the saddest sight of desolation that I ever saw. Everywhere great fires. Oyle-cellars and brimstone and other things burning. I became afear'd to stay there long; and therefore down again as fast as I could, the fire being spread as far as I could see it, and to Sir W. Penn's and there eat a piece of cold meat, having eaten nothing since Sunday but the remains of Sunday's dinner.

Here I met with Mr. Young and Whistler; and having removed all my things, and received good hopes that the fire at our end is stopped, they and I walked into the town and find Fan-church-street, Gracious-street, and Lumbard-street all in dust.² The Exchange a sad sight, nothing standing there of all the statues or pillars but Sir Tho. Gresham's picture in the corner.³ Walked into Moore-fields (our feet ready to burn, walking through the town among the hot coles) and find that full of people, and poor wretches carrying their goods there, and everybody keeping his goods together by themselves (and a great blessing it is to them that it is fair weather for them to keep

a repl. 'on'

b repl. '6 a'-

1. Bell (*Fire*, pp. 160-1) gives reasons for doubting the statement about the porch.

2. Cf. Evelyn's account of his walk in the city on the 7th.

3. Along the sides of the quadrangle, above the arcades, had stood

statues of the sovereigns from Edward the Confessor to Charles II. All were destroyed – only that of Gresham, the founder, remained: a fact which provoked comment. Evelyn saw it on the 7th.

abroad night and day); drank there, and paid twopence for a plain penny loaf.¹

Thence homeward, having passed through Cheapside and Newgate-market, all burned – and seen Anthony Joyces house in fire. And took up (which I keep by me) a piece of glass of Mercer's chapel in the street, where much more was, so melted and buckled with the heat of the fire, like parchment. I also did see a poor Catt taken out of a hole in the chimney joyning to the wall of the Exchange, with the hair all burned off the body and yet alive. So home at night, and find there good hopes of saving our office – but great endeavours of watching all night and having men ready; and so we lodged them in the office, and had drink and bread and cheese for them. And I lay down and slept a good night about midnight – though when I rose, I hear that there had been a great alarme of French and Dutch being risen – which proved nothing. But it is a strange thing to see how long this time did look since Sunday, having been alway full of variety of actions, and little sleep, that it looked like a week or more. And I had forgot almost the day of the week.

6. Up about 5 a-clock, and there met Mr Gawden at the gate of the office (I intending to go out, as I used every now and then to do, to see how the fire is) to call our men to Bishoppsgate, where no fire had yet been near, and there is now one broke out – which did give great grounds to people, and to me too, to think that there is some kind of plott in this (on which many by this time have been taken, and it hath been dangerous for any stranger to walk in the streets);² but I went with the

1. The King made a reassuring speech to the crowds in Moorfields on the following morning: Evelyn, 7 September.

2. Suspicion fell on foreigners and dissenters of all sorts, but principally on the Catholics and the French. The latter were insulted in the streets and many were arrested and examined by the government. One demented Frenchman, Hubert, made a false confession of guilt. In January 1667 parliament concluded, after en-

quiry, that the papists were responsible (a view which Pepys shared: see below, 23 September 1667). The government however decided to see no more in it than the hand of Providence. Cf. *Verney Mem.*, ii. 254-5 (letter of 3 September about the attacks on foreigners); Evelyn, 7 September; W. Taswell, *Autobiography* (*Camden Soc. Misc.*, vol. ii, p. 11); HMC, *Portland*, iii. 298; Bell, *Fire*, ch. xi.

men and we did put it out in a little time, so that that was well again. It was pretty to see how hard the women did work in the cannells sweeping of water; but then they would scold for drink and be as drunk as devils. I saw good Butts of sugar broke open in the street, and people go and take handfulls out and put into beer and drink it. And now all being pretty well, I took boat and over to Southwarke, and took boat on the other side the bridge and so to Westminster, thinking to Shift myself, being all in dirt from top to bottom. But could not there find any place to buy a Shirt or pair of gloves, Westminster-hall being full of people's goods – those in Westminster having removed all their goods, and the Exchequer money put into vessels to carry^a to Nonsuch.¹ But to the Swan, and there was trimmed. And then to White-hall, but saw nobody, and so home. A sad sight to see how the River looks – no houses nor church near it to the Temple – where it stopped. At home did go with Sir W. Batten and our neighbour Knightly (who, with one more, was the only man of any fashion left in all the neighbourhood hereabouts, they all removing their goods and leaving their houses to the mercy of the fire) to Sir R. Ford's, and there dined, in an earthen platter a fried breast of mutton, a great many of us. But very merry; and ended as good a meal, though as ugly a one, as ever I had in my life. Thence down to Deptford, and there with great satisfaction landed all my goods at Sir G Carteret's,² safe, and nothing missed I could see, or hurt. This being done to my great content, I home; and to Sir W. Batten's, and there with Sir R. Ford, Mr Knightly, and one Withers,³ a professed lying rogue, supped well; and mighty merry and our fears over. From them to the office and there slept, with the office full of labourers, who talked and slept and walked all night long there. But strange it was to see Cloathworkers-hall

^a 'to carry' repeated

1. On 4 September the Exchequer of the Receipt and the Tally Office had been ordered to remove to Nonsuch House, near Epsom, their temporary home during the Plague: *CSPD* 1666-7, p. 99.

2. He had an official residence there, as Navy Treasurer.

3. Probably Robert Withers, ship-builder, of Bolton-le-Sands, Lancs.

on fire these three days and nights in one body of Flame – it being the cellar, full of Oyle.

7. Up by 5 a-clock and, blessed be God, find all well, and by water to Paul's wharfe. Walked thence and saw all the town burned, and a miserable sight of Pauls church, with all the roofs fallen and the body of the Quire fallen into St Fayths¹ – Paul's school also – Ludgate – Fleet street – my father's house, and the church, and a good part of the Temple the like. So to Creeds lodging near the New Exchange, and there find him laid down upon a bed – the house all unfurnished, there being fears of the fire's coming to them. There borrowed a shirt of him – and washed. To Sir W. Coventry at St. James's, who lay without Curtains, having removed all his goods – as the King at White-hall and everybody had done and was doing. He hopes we shall have no public distractions upon this fire, which is what everybody fears – because of the talk of the French having a hand in it. And it is a proper time for discontents – but all men's minds are full of care to protect themselves and save their goods. The Militia is in armes everywhere. Our Fleetes, he tells me, have been in sight one of another, and most unhappily by Fowle weather were parted, to our great loss, as in reason they do conclude – the Duch being come out only to make a show and please their people; but in^a very bad condition as to stores, victuals, and men. They are at Bullen, and our fleet come to St. Ellens.² We have got nothing, but have lost one ship, but he knows not what.³

Thence to the Swan and there drank; and so home and find all well. My Lord Brouncker at Sir W. Batten's, and tells us the Generall is sent for up to come to advise with the King about business at this juncture, and to keep all quiet – which is great

^a repl. 'against'

1. Cf. Evelyn, 7 September. 'St Faith's-under-St Paul's' was the popular name for the crypt under the choir of the cathedral. (R).

2. St Helen's Road, off the north-east coast of the Isle of Wight.

3. This encounter took place on 1

September off Calais. Rupert's slowness in giving the order to attack, as well as the storm, seems to have caused the failure to make contact. The English lost several ships, not one. Allin, i. 286+; *Naval Misc.* (Navy Rec. Soc.), iii. 32-3.

honour to him, but I am sure is but a piece of dissimulation.¹ So home and did give order for my house to be made clean; and then down to Woolwich and there find all well. Dined, and Mrs. Markeham came to see my wife. So I up again, and calling at Deptford for some things of W. Hewer, he being with me; and then home and spent the evening with Sir R. Ford, Mr. Knightly, and Sir W. Penn at Sir W. Batten's. This day our Merchants first met at Gresham College, which by proclamation² is to be their Exchange. Strange to hear what is bid for houses all up and down here – a friend of Sir W. Riders having 150l for what he used to let for 40l per annum. Much dispute where the Custome-house shall be; thereby the growth of the City again to be foreseen. My Lord Treasurer, they say, and others, would have it at the other end of the town. I home late to Sir W. Penn, who did give me a bed – but without curtains or hangings, all being down. So here I went the first time³ into a naked bed,^a only my drawers on – and did sleep pretty well; but still, both sleeping and waking, had a fear of fire in my heart, that I took little rest. People do all^b the world over cry out of the simplicity of my Lord Mayor in general, and more particularly in this business of the fire, laying it all upon him.⁴ A proclamation is come out for markets to be kept at Leaden hall and Mile-end greene and several other places about the town,

a repl. 'bod'

b 'do all' repeated

1. Albemarle, whose prestige with the London public was great, was sent for on the 4th from Portsmouth (where the fleet was fitting out), and arrived in London on the 7th: *CSPD* 1666-7, pp. 99, 102, 105. It was not true that this was 'a piece of dissimulation': see Arlington to Clifford, 4 September (*CSPD* 1666-7, p. 99).

2. Steele, no. 3473 (6 September).

3. I.e. since the Fire.

4. A MS. newsletter reported that on the first night of the disaster Bludworth refused to order the destruction of houses, saying that the

fire was slight and 'a woman might piss it out': qu. J. P. Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum* (1802-7), iv. 74. For his attempts to save his reputation, see his letter to Williamson, 29 September: *CSPD* 1666-7, pp. 167-8. He had been guilty of a certain indecision perhaps, and after the second day of the Fire had been displaced from control of affairs by the Duke of York. But no Lord Mayor could act as autocratically as the Privy Council. For a defence of him, and a criticism of Pepys's report, see Bell, *Fire*, pp. 344-7.

and Tower hill, and all churches to be set open to receive poor people.¹

8. Up, and with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Penn by water to White-hall, and they to St. James's. I stopped with Sir G^a Carteret, to desire him to go with us and to enquire after money. But the first he cannot do, and the other as little, or says, "When can we^b get any, or what shall we do for it?" He, it seems^c, is employed in the correspondence between the City and the King every day, in settling of things. I find him full of trouble to think how things will go. I left him, and to St. James's, where we met first at Sir W. Coventry's chamber and there did what business we can without any books. Our discourse, as everything else, was confused. The fleet is at Portsmouth, there staying a wind to carry them to the Downes or toward Bullen, where they say the Dutch fleete is gone and stays. We concluded upon private meetings for a while, not having any money to satisfy any people that may come to us. I bought two eeles upon the Thames, cost me 6s.² Thence with Sir W. Batten to the Cockpit, whither the Duke of Albemarle is come. It seems the King holds him so necessary at this time, that he hath sent for him and will keep <him> here. Endeed, his interest in the City, being acquainted, and his care in keeping things quiet, is reckoned that wherein he will be very serviceable. We to him. He is courted in appearance by everybody. He very kind to us. I perceive he lays by all business of the fleet at present and minds the City, and is now hastening to Gresham-College³ to discourse with the Aldermen. Sir W. Batten and I home (where met by my Brother John, come to town to see how things are with us). And then presently he with me to Gresham-College – where infinite of people; partly through novelty to see the new place, and partly to find out and hear what is become one man of

a repl. 'W'

b MS. 'we can'

c 'He, it seems' repeated

1. There were two proclamations, of 5 and 6 September: Steele, nos 3470, 3473.

2. Three times the price he paid on 13 June.

3. Used as both Guildhall and Royal Exchange as a result of the Fire.

another. I met with many people undone, and more that have extraordinary great losses. People speaking their thoughts variously about the beginning of the fire and the rebuilding of the City. Then to Sir W. Batten and took my brother with me, and there dined with a great company of neighbours, and much good discourse; among others, of the low spirits of some rich men in the City, in sparing any encouragement to the poor people that wrought for the saving their houses. Among others, Alderman Starling, a very rich man, without children, the fire at next door to him in our Lane – after our men had saved his house, did give 2s 6d among 30 of them, and did quarrel with some that would remove the rubbish out of the way of the fire, saying that they came to steal.¹ Sir W. Coventry told me of another this morning in Holborne, which he showed the King – that when it was offered^a to stop the fire near^b his house for such^c a reward, that came but to 2s 6d a man among the neighbours, he would give but 18d.² Thence to Bednall-green by coach, my brother with me, and saw all well there and fetched away my Journall-book to enter for five days past; and then back to the office, where I find Bagwells wife and her husband come home. Agreed to come [to] their house tomorrow,³ I sending him away back to his ship today. To the office, and late writing letters; and then to Sir W. Penn, my brother lying with me, and Sir W. Penn gone down to rest himself at Woolwich. But I was much frightened, and kept awake in my bed, by some noise I heard a great while below-stairs and the boys not coming up to me when I knocked.^a It was by their discovery of people stealing of some neighbours' wine that lay^e in vessels in the street. So to sleep. And all well all night.

a repl. 'ordered' b repl. 'a' c repl. '2s'
d repl. 'hear' e MS. 'lain'

1. His house (small for an alderman, having only nine hearths) was on the west side of Seething Lane. His will showed that he could be prudently generous. Pepys gave a tip of 5s. for the recovery of some books on 21 September. (R).

2. Sir Richard Browne is said to have given £4 to the men who risked their lives to rescue a chest containing £10,000: N. & Q., 15 April 1876, p. 306.

3. Apparently a mistake for Monday the 10th.

9. *Sunday*. Up, and was trimmed, and sent my brother to Woolwich to my wife to dine with her. I to church, where our parson made a melancholy but good sermon – and many, and most, in the church cried, especially the women. The church mighty full, but few of fashion, and most strangers. I walked to Bednall-green; and there dined well, but a bad venison pasty, at Sir W. Rider's. Good people they are, and good discourse. And his daughter^a Middleton, a fine woman and discreet. Thence home, and to church again, and there preached Deane Harding;¹ but methinks a bad poor sermon, though proper for the time – nor eloquent, in saying at this time that the City is reduced from a large Folio to a Decimo tertio. So to my office, there to write down my journall and take leave of my brother, whom I sent back this afternoon, though rainy – which it hath not done a good while before.² But I had no room nor convenience for him here till my house is fitted; but I was very kind to him, and do take very well of him his journey. I did give him 40s for his pocket; and so he being gone, and it presently rayning, I was troubled for him, though it is good for the Fyre. Anon to Sir W. Penn to bed, and made my boy Tom to read me asleep.

10. All the morning clearing our cellars and breaking in pieces all my old Lumber, to make room and to prevent fire. And then^b to Sir W. Batten and dined, and there hear that Sir W. Rider says that the town is full of the report of the wealth that is in his house, and would be glad that his friends would provide for the safety of their goods there. This made me get a cart; and thither, and there brought my money all away – took a hackney-coach myself (the hackney-coaches now standing at Allgate); much wealth ended there is at his house. Blessed be God, I got all mine well thence and lodged it in my office;^c but vexed to have all the world see it – and with Sir W. Batten,

a 'And his daughter' repeated
b repl. 'there hear that Sir' c repl. 'house'

1. Nathaniel Hardy, Dean of Rochester.

2. Dr D. J. Schove writes: 'In south-east England there had been little rain, except for a few thunderstorms, since October of the previous

year, and August had been particularly hot. The drought contributed to the destructiveness of the fire. Cf. Evelyn, iii. 451-2; Bell, *Fire*, pp. 17-18; D. J. Schove in *Weather*, 21/271+.

Inquisition – the English and Dutchmen that have been sent for to work being taken with a Psalm-book or Testament, and so clapped up and the house pulled down by the Inquisitors, and the greatest lord in Spain dare not say a word against it – if the <word^a> “Inquisition” be but mentioned.¹ At my Lord Treasurers light and parted with them, they going into Council, and I walked with Captain Cocke, who takes mighty notice of the differences growing in our office between Lord Brouncker and W. Batten, and among others also; and I fear it may do us hurt, but I will keep out of them. By and by comes Sir St. Fox,² and he and I walked and talked together on many things, but chiefly want of money and the straits the King brings himself and affairs into for want of it. Captain Cocke did tell me, which I must not forget, that the answer of the Dutch, refusing The Hague for a place of treaty and proposing The Boyse,³ Bredah, Bergen-op-Soomme, or Mastricht, was seemingly stopped^b by the Swedes Ambassador (though he did show it to the King, but the King would take no notice of it, nor does not) from being delivered to the King; and he hath wrote to desire them to consider better of it. So that though we know their refusal of the place, yet they know not that we know it, nor the King obliged to show his sense of the affront.⁴ That the Dutch are in very great straits, so as to be said

a l.h. repl. s.h. ‘word’

b repl. ‘sent’

1. Many foreigners, including Protestants from England and Holland, worked in Spain without taking up permanent residence, since the country was chronically short of labourers and technicians. But it was only the Catholic Italians and French who found life under the Inquisition comfortable.

2. Paymaster of the Army.

3. Bois-le-duc (’s Hertogenbosch). This and the other towns here mentioned were all in the United Provinces.

4. For the considerations involved in the choice of a place of meeting, see above, vii. 361, n. 3. For this

phase of the negotiations, see D’Estades, *Lettres* etc. (1709), iv. 56–8, 96–7; Arlington, *Letters to Temple*, i. 130; *CSPVen.* 1666–8, pp. 144, 146. The Dutch had (on 14/24 February) declined the English proposal (31 January/10 February) of The Hague, on the ground that it was ‘an open place’. (They feared the influence of the Orangists there.) Breda was ultimately chosen: see below, p. 124 & n. 2. The Swedes acted as mediators; their London ambassador, Coyet, had been a fellow-student of Jan de Witt at Leyden: A. L. Pontalis, *De Witt* (trans.), i. 280.

to be not able to set out^a their fleet this year.¹ By and by comes Sir Robt. Viner and Lord Mayor to ask the King’s direction about measuring^b out the streets according to the new Act for building of the City, wherein the King is to be pleased.² But he says that the way proposed in Parliament by Collonell Birch would have been the best, to have chosen some persons in trust and sold the whole ground, and let it be sold again by them with preference to the old owner;³ which would have certainly caused the City to be built where these trustees pleased; whereas now, great differences will be and the streets built by fits, and not^c entire till all differences be decided. This, as he tells it, I think would have been the best way. I enquired about the Frenchman that was said to fire the City, and was hanged for it by his own confession that he was hired for it by a Frenchman of Roane, and that he did with a stick reach in a Fireball in at a window of the house – whereas the maister of the house, who is the King’s Baker, and his son and daughter do all swear there was no such window – and that the fire did not begin thereabouts.⁴ Yet the fellow,^d who though a mopish besotted fellow did not speak like a madman, did swear that he did fire it; and did not this like a madman, for being tried on purpose and landed with his keeper⁵ at the Tower Wharf, he could carry the keeper to the very house.

a repl. same symbol badly formed

b repl. ‘metion’-

c repl. ‘great’

d repl. ‘fanlow’

1. This rumour was exaggerated, but they were having difficulties with equipment and recruitment: *CSPVen.* 1666–8, p. 144.

2. Cf. above, p. 72, n. 2.

3. I have not traced this proposal.

4. Robert Hubert, a London watchmaker and native of Rouen, had been tried at the Middlesex Michaelmas sessions of 1666 and executed on 27 October. The only evidence against him was his own confession, which he later recanted. It does not appear to be true that he was a Catholic, as he alleged. The fact that he was able to identify the site of the baker’s house proved nothing, since

for a long time it had been on public show. He was in fact mentally disordered and had landed in London from Sweden two days after the fire had started. BM, Add. 27962 R, ff. 480v–482r; HMC, *Portland*, iii. 301–2; *State Trials* (ed. Howell), vi. 807+; Bell, *Fire*, pp. 192–4. Pepys kept a print of the inscription put up at the spot in 1681 which recorded the story about Hubert: PL 2972, pp. 74–5. The King’s baker was Thomas Farryner.

5. The keeper of the prison in which he was lodged (the White Lion Gaol), John Lowman: Bell, *Fire*, pp. 193–4.

Asking Sir R. Viner what he thought was the cause of the fire, he tells me that the Baker, son, and his daughter did all swear again and again that their^a Oven was drawn by 10 a-clock at night. That having occasion to light a candle about 12, there was not so much fire in the bakehouse as to light a match for a candle, so as they were fain to go into another place to light it. That about 2 in the morning they felt themselves almost choked with smoke; and rising, did find the fire coming upstairs – so they rose to save themselves; but that at that time the bavons were not on fire in the yard. So that they are, as they swear, in absolute ignorance how this fire should come – which is a strange thing, that so horrid an^b effect should have so mean and uncertain a beginning. By and by called in to the King and Cabinet and there had a few insipid words about money for Tanger, but to no purpose. Thence away, walked to my boat at White-hall, and so home and to supper; and then to talk with W Hewer about business of the differences at present among the people of our office; and so to my Journall and to bed. This night, going through bridge by water, my waterman told me how the mistress of the Beare tavern at the bridge-foot did lately fling herself into the Thames and drowned herself; which did trouble me the more when they tell me it was she that did live at the White Horse tavern in Lumbard-street; which was a most beautiful woman, as most I have seen.¹ It seems hath had long melancholy upon her, and hath endeavoured to make away with herself often.

25. Lay long in bed, talking with pleasure with my poor wife how she used to make coal fires and wash my foul clothes with her own hand for me, poor wretch, in our little room at my Lord Sandwiches;² for which I ought for ever to love and admire her, and do, and persuade myself she would do the same thing

a repl. 'the'

b repl. 'a'

1. Cf. above, vii. 68 & n. 3. She was said to have committed suicide because of the destruction of the White Horse tavern in the Fire.

2. In Sandwich's lodgings in White-

hall Palace. It was possibly the room which Pepys kept, after moving to Axe Yard, until February 1660: cf. above, i. 186 & n. 1.

again if God should reduce us to it. So up, and by coach abroad to the Duke of Albemarle's about sending soldiers down to some ships; and so home, calling at a belt-makers to mend my belt, and so home and to dinner, where pleasant with my wife; and then to the office, where mighty busy all the day, saving going forth to the Change to pay for some things and on other occasions; and at my goldsmith's did observe the King's new Medall, where in little there is Mrs. Stewards face, as well done as ever I saw anything in my whole life I think – and a pretty thing it is that he should choose her face^a to represent Britannia by.¹ So at the office late very busy, and much business with great joy despatched; and so home to supper and to bed.

26. Up, and to the office, where all the morning. And here did receive another reference from Sir W. Coventry about the business of some of the Muster-maisters, concerning whom I had returned their^b small performances; which doth give me a little more trouble, for fear W. Coventry should think that I had a design to favour my brother Balty, and to that end to disparage all [the] rest – but I shall clear all very well; only, it doth exercise my thoughts more then I am at leisure for. At home find Balty and his wife, very fine; which I did not like, for fear he doth spend too much of his money that way and [not] lay up anything. After dinner to the office again, where by and by Lord Brouncker, W. Batten, J. Mennes and I met about receiving Carcasses answers to the depositions against him² – wherein I did see so much favour from my Lord to him that I do again begin to see that my Lord is not right at the bottom, and did make me the more earnest against him, though said little. But [my] Lord rising, declaring his judgment in his behalf and going away, I did hinder our arguing it by ourselves and so^c broke up the meeting; and myself went full of trouble to my office, there to write over the deposi-

a repl. 'place'

b repl. 's'–

c repl. 'up'

1. The medal is usually known as the Breda medal. Engraved by Jan Roettier, it was issued in copper, silver and gold, but not dated. The portrait of Frances Stewart as Britannia is on the reverse and is closely connected

with Roettier's portrait medal of her: BM, *Medallic Illust.*, i (1885), pp. 535–6, no. 186; G. Wilson Peck, *Engl. copper coins*, p. 110. (OM).

2. See above, p. 64, n. 1.

and others, but loves the King better than any of them and to better purpose. But yet he says that he is a very honest gentleman; and thence run into a hundred stories of his own services to the King, and how he at this day brings in the taxes before anybody here thinks they are collected – discourse very absurd to entertain a stranger with.¹ He being gone, and I glad of it, I home then to dinner. After dinner with my wife by coach abroad, and set Mr. Hunt down at the Temple and her at her brother's. And I to White-hall to meet W. Coventry, but found him not. But met Mr. Cooling,² who tells me of my Lord Duke of Buckingham's being sent for last night by a Serjeant-at-arms to the Tower for treasonable practices; and that the King is infinitely angry with him and declared him no longer one of his Council – I know not the reason of it, or occasion.³ To Westminster-hall and there paid what I owed for books; and so by coach took up my wife to the Exchange and there bought things for Mr. Pierces little daughter, my Valentine; and so to their house, where we find Knipp,^a who also challengeth me for her valentine. She looks well, sang well, and very merry we were for half an hour. Tells me Harris⁴ is well again, having been very ill. And so we home and I to the office; then at night to Sir W. Penn and sat with my Lady and the young couple⁵ (the husband <Sir William> out of town) talking merrily; but they make a very sorry couple methinks, though rich. So late home and to bed.

a repl. 'him there'

1. Story was collector of assessments and a farmer of the excise for Cambridgeshire. In June 1667 he was given command of a troop of horse in the county: *CSPD Add.* 1660-70, p. 725.

2. Secretary to Manchester, the Lord Chamberlain.

3. Since the autumn of 1666 Buckingham had led a fierce parliamentary attack on the government, charging them with inefficiency and corruption in the conduct of the war. Cf. above, vii. 309 & n. 1. Temporarily therefore out of royal favour (and Lady Castlemaine's), he had been dismissed

from office on 25 February and a warrant had been issued for his arrest: *CSPD* 1666-7, p. 532. For the charges of treason trumped up against him, see below, pp. 93-4 & n. After evading arrest and going into hiding, he gave himself up at the end of June and was committed to the Tower. But he was never tried, and was restored to office and favour in September. See Clarendon, *Life*, iii. 273+; A. Browning, *Danby*, i. 42+. 4. Henry Harris, the actor. (A). 5. Anthony Lowther and his newly-wed wife Margaret (Penn).

28. Up, and there comes to me Drumbleby with a flagelette made to suit with my former,¹ and brings me one Greeting, a master to teach my wife. I agree by the whole with him, to teach her to take out any lesson of herself for 4l. She was not ready to begin today, but doth tomorrow.² So I to the office, where my Lord Brouncker and I only, all the morning, and did business. At noon to the Exchange and to Sir Rob. Viner's about settling my accounts there. So back home and to dinner, where Mr. Holliard³ dined with us – and pleasant company he is. I love his company and he secures me against ever having the stone again. He gives it me as his opinion that the City will never be built again together as is expected while any restraint is laid upon them. He hath been a great loser, and would be a builder again; but he says he knows not what restrictions there will be, so as it is unsafe for him to begin.⁴ He gone, I to the office and there busy till night, doing much business; then home and to my accounts, wherein, beyond expectation, I succeeded so well as to settle them very clear and plain, though by borrowing of monies this month to pay D Gawden and chopping and changing with my Tanger money, they were become somewhat intricate. And blessed be God, upon the evening my accounts, I do appear 6800l creditor. This done, I to supper about 12 at night, and so to bed – the weather for three or four days being come to be exceeding cold again, as any time this year.

I did within these six days see smoke still remaining of the late fire in the City;⁵ and it is strange to think how to this very day I cannot sleep a-night without great terrors of fire; and this very night could not sleep till almost 2 in the morning through thoughts of fire.

Thus this month is ended with great content of mind to me –

1. See above, p. 53; below, p. 396. (E).

2. The lessons continued until 20 May 1667 and were resumed on 13 August 1668. Thomas Greeting was a court musician. (E).

3. Thomas Holliard, surgeon.

4. The widths of streets and the lines of frontages had been left by the recent rebuilding act for decision by the King and city: see above, p. 72,

n. 2. Rebuilding could not be undertaken in advance of their decisions. Holliard had property on the w. side of Warwick Lane. In 1669 the Royal College of Physicians bought a site from him there for £1200 on which they built the college which they occupied until 1825: Sir G. Clark, *Hist. R. Coll. Physicians*, i. 186, 329.

5. Cf. above, vii. 393, n. 1.

could do it, having no opportunity de hazer le, ainsy lost the todo afternoon; and so away and called my wife and home, where a little at the office and then home to my closet to enter my Journalls, and so to supper and to bed.

This noon came little Mis Tooker, who is grown a little woman; ego had l'opportunity para besar her and tocar la abaxo con my hand. She is pretty still, but had no mind to be vido, being not habilado as ella would be. My wife did tell me the other day that she heard she had had the gran pecho,¹ but I hope no such thing. I sum certain that I should have been glad para aver tempo and lugar to have hecho algo con her.

This morning I was called up by Sir Jo. Winter, poor man, come in his sedan from the other end of the town before I was up, and merely about the King's business; which is a worthy thing of him, and I believe him to be a worthy good man, and I will do him the right to tell the Duke of York of it, who did speak well of him the other day. It is about helping the King in the business of bringing down his timber to the sea-side in the Forest of Deane.²

16. Up, and to the office, where all the morning. At noon home to dinner; and then to the office again in the afternoon and there all day, very busy till night; and then having done much business, home to supper, and so to bed. This afternoon came home Sir J. Mennes, who hath been down, but to little purpose, to pay the ships below at the Nore. This evening, having done my letters, I did write out the heads of what I had prepared to speak to the King the other day at my Lord Treasurer's, which I do think convenient to keep by me for future use.³ The weather is now grown warm again, after much cold weather; and it is observable that within these eight days I did see smoke remaining, coming out of some cellars, from the late great Fire, now above six months since.⁴ There was this day at the office (as he is most days) Sir W. Warren; against whom I did manifestly plead, and heartily too, God forgive me – but the reason is because I do

1. The pox: see above, p. 79 & n. 1.

2. See below, p. 191 & n. 4.

3. 'The heads of what I delivered in discourse to his Ma^{ty} March 14th

1666...': copy (in Gibson's hand) in NMM, LBK/8, pp. 475-9; printed in *Further Corr.*, pp. 162-7.

4. Cf. above, vii. 393, n. 1.

find that he doth now wholly rely almost upon my Lord Brouncker, though I confess I have no greater ground of^a my leaving him then the confidence which I perceive he hath got in my Lord Brouncker, whose seeming favours only do obtain of him as much compensation, I believe (for he doth^b know well the way of using his bounties), as mine more real. Besides, my Lord and I being become antagonists, I do not think it safe for me to trust myself in the hands of one whom I know to be a knave and using all means to become gracious there.

17. *Lords day.* Up betimes with my wife, and by coach with Sir W. Penn and Sir Tho. Allen to White-hall; there my wife and I the first time that ever we went to my Lady Jemimah's chamber at Sir Edw. Carteret's¹ lodgings. I confess I have been much to blame and much ashamed of our not visiting her sooner, but better now than never. Here we took her before she was up, which I was sorry for, so only saw her and away to chapel, leaving further visit till after sermon. I put my wife into the pew below in the chapel; but it was pretty to see (myself being but in a plain band, and every way else ordinary) how the verger took me for her man I think; and I was fain to tell him she was a kinswoman of my Lord Sandwiches, he saying that none under Knight Baronets ladies are to go into that pew. So she being there, I to the Duke of York's lodging, where in his dressing-chamber he talking of his Journy tomorrow or next day to Harwich – to prepare some fortifications there;² so that we are wholly upon the defensive part this year; only, we have some expectations that we may by^d our squadrons annoy them in their trade by the North of Scotland and to the Westward. Here Sir W. Penn did show the Duke of York a letter of Hogg's about a prize he drove in within the Sound at Plymouth, where

a repl. 'of his desiring to make use of me'

b repl. 'did'

c MS. 'some there'

d MS. 'be'

1. Gentleman-usher to the King and great-uncle of Sir George Carteret, Pepys's colleague. Lady Jemimah Mountagu had married Philip, Sir George's son, in July 1665.

2. On 20-1 March the Duke, with

de Gomme the engineer, was busy at Harwich preparing plans for the construction of a second fort to secure the harbour: *CSPD* 1666-7, p. 577; BM, Egerton 2539, f. 91r.

hour's time without hurting it; and they tell me what I did not know, that a child (as this doth) will hunt and hunt up and down with its mouth, if you touch the cheek of it with your finger's end, for a nipple, and fit its mouth for suckeing; but this hath not sucked yet, she having no nipples. Here sat a while; and then my wife and I, it being most curious* clear evening after some rain today, took a most excellent tour by coach to Bow,^a and there drank and back again; and so a little at the office and home, to read a little and to supper and bed, mightily refreshed with this evening's tour, but troubled that it hath hindered my doing some business which I would have done at the office. This day the news is come that the fleet of the Duch, of about 20 ships, which came upon our coasts upon design to have intercepted our Colliers (but by good luck failed), is gone to the Frith¹ and there lie, perhaps to trouble the Scotch^b privateers which have galled them of late very much, it may be more then all our last year's fleet.

4. Up and to the office, where sat all the morning. Among other things, a great conflict I had with Sir W. Warren, he bringing a letter to the Board, flatly in words^c charging them with <their delays in>^a passing his accounts, which have been with them these two years² – part of which I said was not true, and the other undecent. The whole Board was concerned to take notice of it, as well as myself, but none of them had the honour to do it, but suffered me to do it alone; only Sir W. Batten, which did what he did out of common spite to him. So I writ in the margin of the letter, "Returned as untrue," and by consent of the Board did give it him again – and so parted. Home to dinner, and there came a woman whose husband I sent for, one Fisher, about the business of Perkins and Carcassee; and I do think by her that I shall find that business as bad as ever it was, and that we shall find Comissioner Pett a rogue, and using foul play in behalf of Carcassee. After dinner, to the office

a MS. 'bow'

b repl. 'their'
d repl. 'not'

c repl. 'word'

1. The Firth of Forth. Cf. the reports in *CSPD* 1667, pp. 56, 58; see below, 29 November 1668 & n. Rawl. A 195, ff. 152r, 181r.

2. The delays continued until 1675;

again and there late all the afternoon, doing much business; and with great content, home^a and to supper and to bed.

5. *Lords day.* Up; and going down to the waterside, I met Sir Jo. Robinson, and so with him by coach to White-hall – still a vain, prating, boasting man as ever I know, as if the whole City and Kingdom had all its work done by him. He tells me he hath now got a street ordered to be continued, 40 feet broad, from Paul's through Cannon-street to the Tower, which will be very fine.¹ He, and others this day where I was in the afternoon, doth tell me of at least six or eight fires within these few days, and continually stories of fires; and real fires there have been in one place or other almost ever since the late great fire, as if there was a fate over people for fire. I walked over the park to Sir W. Coventry; among other things, to tell him what I hear of people's being forced to sell their bills before September for 35 and 40 per cent loss; and which is worst, that there are some Courtiers that have made a knot to buy them, in hopes of some ways to get money of the King to pay them – which Sir W. Coventry is amazed at, and says we are a people made up for destruction; and will do what he can to prevent all this, by getting the King to provide wherewith to pay them. We talked of Tanager, of which he is ashamed; also that it should put the King to this charge for no good in the world, and now a man going over that is a good Souldier but a debauched man,² which that place needs not to have. And so used these words: "That this place was to the King as my Lord Carnarvan says of Wood; that it is an Excrecence of the earth provided by God for the payment of debts."³ Thence away to Sir G. Carteret, whom I find taking

a repl. same symbol badly formed

1. See the Lord Mayor's proclamation (29 April) and the King's proclamation (8 May) approving it: Steele, nos 3491-2. Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, had been Lord Mayor, 1663-4. For a similar project of his made during his mayoralty, see above, iv. 77 & n. 3.

2. The new Governor, the Earl

of Middleton, was reputedly a drunkard.

3. The maxim applied particularly to owners of entailed estates. The 2nd Earl of Carnarvon's estate (at Wing, Bucks.) had suffered from his father's royalism and his own hospitality. Cf. *VCH, Bucks.*, ii. 308, 311, etc.