

Samuel Pepys

Born 1633. Secretary of the Admiralty and diarist.
Available online at www.livesretold.co.uk



Contents

1. Introduction
2. 1660: Restoraton of Charles II
3. 1661: The Theatre is Legal Again
4. 1662: Early Rising and Building Works
5. 1663: Periwigs and a Cock Fight
6. 1664: An Execution, a Great Comet, and a Domestic Assault
7. 1665: Great Plague, Bookbinding, and Bedding Mrs. Batten
8. 1666: The Great Fire of London
9. 1667: Kissing Nell Gwyn
10. 1668: A Great Speech, a New Coach, and Serial Adultery
11. 1669: Eye Trouble, Chasing Deb, and the End of the Diary
12. After the Diary
13. One Month's Diary: September 1666
14. The Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge

The contents of this life story were archived in 2021, with acknowledgement and thanks, from the Samuel Pepys Diary website at www.pepysdiary.com. The website is produced as a personal project by the web designer and actor Phil Gyford.

1. Introduction



Samuel Pepys was born in London on 23 February 1633, the fifth of eleven children, although by the time he was seven only three of his siblings, all younger, had survived. He was sent to grammar school at Huntingdon during the English Civil War (1642-1651), returning later to London and attending St Paul's School. Following this he went to Cambridge where he attended Trinity Hall and then Magdalene colleges. Not long after taking his degree in 1654 he was employed as secretary in London by Edward Mountagu, a distant relative who was now a Councillor of State.

In 1655 Pepys married Elizabeth St Michel and at some point after 1656, while still attached to Mountagu's service, Pepys became clerk to George Downing, a Teller of the Receipt in the Exchequer. However, he and his wife separated for a while (for unknown reasons) and in 1658 he had a bladder stone removed in a dangerous operation. Later the same year Pepys and his wife moved from a single room in Mountagu's lodgings to Axe Yard near the palace of Westminster, where he was living when starting the diary in 1660.

Pepys was a practical man of business but also had a wide-ranging appetite for knowledge. His classical and mathematical education was the basis from which he explored the arts and sciences and he was an accomplished musician.

London offered him all the diversions he craved for: music and women (to the beauty of both he stood in a 'strange slavery'), friendships, the casual sociableness of the taverns, above all – what only a great town can give – the constant stimulus of new experience. Pepys was always 'with child to see any strange thing' – living and savouring every moment of his life with an intensity which never failed, despite occasional spasms of guilt. There

can have been few young men in London with an appetite for pleasure to compare with his in sharpness and range.

Events preceding the diary

Pepys begins his diary at a crucial point in Britain's history. In September 1658, Oliver Cromwell died, passing the title of Protector (king in all but name) to his son Richard. Pepys' employer, Edward Mountagu was closely associated with the Cromwells' reign and the 1656-7 attempt to make Oliver king (Oliver refused because he feared the army's republicanism). Following Richard's overthrow in April 1659 Mountagu found himself increasingly at odds with the government's growing republican elements.

The "Rump" parliament was in power from April, and favoured a parliamentary republic, but in October 1659 officers of the army took over, dismissing the Rump. It seemed like the only choice now was a military dictatorship or some kind of return to pre-Civil War monarchy, and the public feared another such war.

On 5 December the apprentices in [London] mobbed the soldiers. On the 13th the fleet in the Downs declared for a parliament, its example being followed soon afterwards by the Dublin garrison and most of the army in Ireland [Oliver Cromwell invaded Ireland in 1649-50]. On the 19th the Common Council of the city of London, already in touch with [General Monck who commanded the most powerful section of the army], secured a promise of a free Parliament from Fleetwood, Commander-in-Chief of the army, to whom a parliament now represented the only hope of pay for his men. On Christmas Eve the rank and file of some of the London regiments demonstrated in favour of a parliament, and on Boxing Day the Rump was allowed to reassemble. Finally, on 1 January 1660 Monck moved his leading troops over the Tweed [river], and began to march south.

London at this time had a population of around 500,000, more than half the total urban population of the country. It had a wide variety of shops and entertainment and was the centre of English politics and government, while still being small enough to allow inhabitants to enjoy the surrounding countryside.

2. 1660: Restoration of Charles II

This chapter and the following eight chapters summarise the contents of Samuel Pepys' diary for each month of the years (1660 to 1669) during which he wrote his daily diary.

January 1660

Despite turbulent times Pepys' social life in the early months of the diary sets a pattern that will become familiar. He has dinner and supper with friends, attends a party at the home of Navy surgeon James Pearse, which is a little too wild for Pepys and his wife, Elizabeth (24 January). He also hosts his own party for family and some friends at Mountagu's lodgings in Whitehall Palace (26 January).

Our diarist also visits pubs, often more than once a day, to drink, eat, trade news and occasionally make music with all sorts of men — including fellow clerks, soldiers, sailors, tradesmen and old school chums. Pepys reports the news in coded letters back to Mountagu in Hinchbrook, until Mountagu's return to London.

February 1660

In early 1660 General George Monck marches to London (arriving 3 February) and, with his army of 7,000 paid soldiers, holds the whip hand as the most powerful man in the country. He isn't all-powerful, however, and so he maneuvers politically among puritans in the Rump and in the Army on the one hand, and popular sentiment against the Rump and for restoring the monarchy on the other.

Monck eventually demands (11 February) that the moderate, "secluded" Presbyterian members of Parliament be allowed to take their seats. As a result, celebrations immediately explode that night across London and in the countryside, with bonfires and roasting rumps. The no-longer-secluded parliamentarians include Pepys's patron, Edward Mountagu, and Mountagu's father-in-law, John Crew. Mountagu is chosen for a seat on the Council of State (essentially, the Cabinet), and, shortly after he returns to London at the end of February, is given joint command of the Navy. New elections are planned.

As Pepys watches events unfold, his private life is filled with work for the household and business affairs of Mountagu and work for George Downing in the Exchequer Office, where Pepys is a part-time clerk. When Downing suggests that Pepys might be happier in another job, Pepys worries about being dismissed, but that doesn't happen, and Downing suddenly departs for Holland.

From 24-28 February, Pepys takes a trip to Cambridge University to help his brother, John, settle in. He comes home to find London celebrating a day of thanksgiving at the return of Parliament, and hopes running high that the monarchy will soon be restored.

March 1660

Mountagu regains his old position of General at Sea, and Pepys agrees to accompany him to sea as his secretary. Pepys spends most of March preparing for the journey; this includes making his will and providing for his wife in case he should not return.

Mountagu and Pepys begin their journey on 23 March, sailing down the Thames and into the English Channel. Mountagu keeps Pepys occupied preparing commissions for members of the fleet, with a strategy of moving Anabaptists out of positions of power. When not working, Pepys fills the time with political gossip, religious debates, music and the occasional game of ninepins.

April 1660

Mountagu and the fleet spend the month awaiting orders to cross the English Channel but Parliament is still undecided whether to invite Charles to England. In the meantime the ships sail between English ports and make brief voyages into the Channel. As Mountagu's secretary in preference to Creed, Pepys is at the centre of events and he records constant visits from politicians and the other ships' captains as well as his writing letters for Mountagu to London.

On one excursion on 8 April, he borrows a telescope to look at the "pretty handsome" women on board two ships sailing to the East Indies and the next day sees France, and Calais, for the first time in his life.

The political tide seems to be flowing in favour of restoration of the monarchy, and the escape from the Tower of London of the leading Parliamentarian, General Lambert, appears to be only a small setback, and indeed Mountagu (and Pepys) hear of Lambert's recapture on the 24th.

May 1660

On 29 April Pepys receives news of the Declaration of Breda, which is read to Parliament on 2 May. The next day Pepys reads the declaration to a hastily assembled council of war, who vote unanimously to accept it (though Pepys suspects some of them do so reluctantly.) Mountagu confides that, unknown to Monck, he has been corresponding with the king and the Duke of York for some time.

Parliament officially proclaims Charles II king on 8 May. Mountagu is ordered to sail to Holland to bring Charles home.

The entries from 14-20 May are taken up with Pepys' impressions of the Netherlands. On 17 May, after a few false alarms, Pepys meets the king for the first time, describing him briefly as 'a sober man.' He is forced to rethink his opinion, though, when Charles comes on board ship on 23 May.

The ship lands at Dover on 25 May. Pepys doesn't describe the king's reaction on returning to his kingdom; he's distracted by the prospect of gaining professional favours from the Duke of York, and by the fact that the king's dog has 'dirted' the boat. On 27 May Mountagu is made a Knight of the Garter.

June 1660

The party return to London on 9 June, although Pepys does not come back to his own house till 22 June.

Back home, Pepys is occupied with 'extremely much people and business.' He is shortly promised the position of Clerk of the Acts, despite opposition from Lady Monck.

July 1660

Pepys frets that his promised position is threatened by Thomas Barlow, the previous jobholder. But Barlow is easily bought off with an annuity, and on 17 July Pepys' position is secured. With the new job comes a new house in Seething Lane.

Mountagu takes his seat in the House of Lords on 26 July.

August 1660

The first part of the month is taken up with illness — first Mrs Pepys, then Pepys himself. By August 12, however, Pepys has recovered enough to be 'exceeding free in dallying' with Betty Lane, the linen-drapeer. This is the first definite record in the diary of Pepys' many infidelities.

October 1660

Most of this period sees Pepys using his newly-earned wealth to decorate and furnish his house, and keeping up with London gossip. The routine is broken in mid-October with the vividly described hanging, drawing and quartering of Thomas Harrison, John Carew and eight others for their part in the execution of Charles I. 'Thus,' Pepys observes, 'it was my chance to see the King beheaded at White Hall, and to see the first blood shed in revenge for the blood of the King at Charing Cross.'

On 30 October, Pepys sees *The Tamer Tamed*, John Fletcher's sequel to Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*.

November 1660

Much of November is taken up with Navy business, although Pepys does manage to see a couple more plays, including one at “the finest play-house, I believe, that ever was in England” on 20 November. On the 22nd the Pepys go to see the Queen (mother of Charles II) and the Princesses, having missed their arrival in the country on 2 November.

December 1660

Sam and Sir George Carteret draw up a proposal, to be presented to Parliament, to pay off the fleet expenses in two installments - half of it now and the other half in four months. On 4 December that same Parliament decides that the bodies of Oliver Cromwell and his fellow conspirators are to be taken from their graves and publicly dishonoured. On the 16th a plot against the King is foiled, and some forty people are arrested. In the meantime Sam has had the interior of his house repainted, and the overseeing of the workmen takes several days. On 24 December the Princess Royal dies from smallpox.

3. 1661: The Theatre is Legal Again

January 1661

Pepys starts the year with a brief summary of the state of his (and the country's) life. He appears happy with his own position and finances, but is worried about the "fractious" Parliament. On 2 January his sister, Pall, enters his service: "I do not let her sit down at table with me, which I do at first that she may not expect it hereafter from me." His rising status is also indicated on 12 January when, at a storekeeper's house, he is treated "with so much respect and honour that I was at a loss how to behave myself." Maintaining such appearances can prove difficult however, as on one of his theatre visits when he "was troubled to be seen by four of our office clerks, which sat in the half-crown box and I in the 1s. 6d."

A band of "fanatiques" took arms in the City against the King on the night before 7 January and again two nights later when, like the rest of the City, Pepys heads out in defence with his sword and pistol. Several men were killed and the remaining fanatiques later arrested and hanged.

30 January was a fast day to honour the "murder" of Charles I, the first time he had been honoured in this way. The bodies of Oliver Cromwell and two fellow republicans were hanged at Tyburn, having been exhumed two days earlier.

February 1661

The return to royalty has brought new fashions in its wake and on 3 February Pepys wears a sword in public for the first time and hears a new form of music with drumming that he dislikes. He is more pleased on 12 February to see a woman act on stage

March 1661

Much of this month's office work concerns the paying off of officers and seamen while the navy's future is decided. However on 12 March Pepys is himself paid more than he expected for his naval excursion to the Netherlands the previous year. There is much to learn and on 13 March he buys a seamen's dictionary.

Meanwhile he goes to the theatre at least nine times, taking pleasure in a recreation that had recently been illegal, and particularly enjoying 'The Bondman' starring Thomas Betterton (at this time his favourite actor). Pepys' increase in status continues to delight him: on 8 March he is a guest at a dinner at the Tower of London, which

April 1661

The month started unhappily, with Pepys trying to stop his parents arguing about their maid, leaving his mother in tears. Many days in April involved Pepys organising the workmen in his house and routine navy business. This daily routine was, however, punctuated with celebration.

On 20 April Charles Stewart created several Earls and Barons in the Banqueting House of Whitehall Palace. Two days later, 22 April, came the highlight of the month, the spectacular procession of Stewart from the Tower of London to Whitehall and then his coronation as Charles II the following day.

For the procession Pepys wore his velvet coat for the first time and declared that “it is impossible to relate the glory of this day.” He did his best, deciding: “So glorious was the show with gold and silver, that we were not able to look at it, our eyes at last being so much overcome with it.” There was much partying after the ceremony, resulting in a rather worse for wear (but still rejoicing) Pepys the next morning.

Earlier in the month, during a stay at a house in Chatham, Pepys found he was becoming used to his improving status, declaring on 9 April: “It was a great pleasure all the time I staid here to see how I am respected and honoured by all people; and I find that I begin to know now how to receive so much reverence, which at the beginning I could not tell how to do.”

May 1661

The first days of the month are spent in Portsmouth, checking out the navy stores there, selling old provisions, and other navy business. On 6 May the Duke of York’s son dies which Pepys believes “will please every body”.

Money matters, both his own and the navy’s, take up a lot of Pepys’ time this month, not to mention the continued overseeing of his workmen, who finish part of their work to his satisfaction on 16 May. His status seems to be rising, as the confrontation with the Committee of Lords on 15 and 16 May shows, and on 24 May Pepys finds himself “to be clearly worth 500l. in money, besides all my goods in my house, &c.”

Among other events this month, Pepys becomes a godfather to Mrs Browne’s child on 29 May, and witnesses Captain Ferrers jumping from a balcony after drinking too much on 19 May; Ferrers survives, but doesn’t recover until 27 May.

June 1661

Supervising the workmen who are renovating his house has by now become a daily necessary evil for Sam, and he is very pleased when on the 20th June the work is finally brought to its conclusion. There is of course the usual navy business, but by now “the credit of the office is brought so

low, that none will sell us any thing without our personal security given for the same” (11 June). On 10 June, Mountagu tells Pepys that he (Mountagu) is to go to Portugal to escort the Queen to London. In the meantime he sees to it that Pepys is instructed in the business of the Wardrobe, in case he has to take over in his Lord’s absence.

Pepys is considering a major personal investment through his uncle Robert, but on 26th June he receives news through his father that Robert is very ill, possibly dying, which causes Sam to contemplate matters of life and death — and his inheritance. He has a learned discussion with Greatorex about levers on Whitsunday — where he learns that “what is got as to matter of strength is lost by them as to matter of time” — and on 25 June has his first singing lesson, a very pleasing experience. He is also very pleased, and proud, when during his visit to Deptford on 13 June he receives a five-gun salute for the very first time. On 30 June he finds himself “lately under a great expense of money upon myself in clothes and other things”.

July 1661

This month is largely taken up with the death of Pepys’ uncle Robert in Brampton on 7th July. Pepys has mixed feelings, sad at the loss of a relative, but eager to find out what has been left him. Unfortunately Robert’s papers are a mess, the estate is smaller than anticipated and other relatives begin disputing what has been left them. “So,” says Pepys on 13 July, after a few days of sorting out his uncle’s things, “what with this, and the badness of the drink and the ill opinion I have of the meat, and the biting of the gnats by night and my disappointment in getting home this week, and the trouble of sorting all the papers, I am almost out of my wits with trouble.”

Pepys returns to London toward the end of the month, and continues to seek advice about the will from legally-minded friends and relatives, and on 24 July can’t resist exaggerating to colleagues about the money left to him.

August 1661

Throughout this month Sam’s chief personal worry is his inheritance, and the legal complications arising from it. He seeks legal council several times, but it becomes increasingly clear that settling these matters will be a long and difficult process. The first half of the month Pepys has also got his Lord’s health to worry about, who has fallen ill with a fever in Alicante. But a letter on the 14th from Creed (sent 15 July) and another one on the 26th from Mountagu himself (sent 22 July) finally confirm his recovery, much to Sam’s relief.

During a chance visit to Worcester House on 19 August Sam finds himself in the presence of “the King in a plain common riding-suit and velvet cap,

in which he seemed a very ordinary man to one that had not known him". That very same day Sam's aunt Fenner dies. On the 21st Sam learns that Lady Sandwich's daughter was born the previous day.

August appears to be a month ridden with sickness and death: as Sam puts it, "it is such a sickly time both in City and country every where (of a sort of fever), that never was heard of almost, unless it was in a plague-time [16th]".

Other matters also contribute to Sam's burden this month: Trying to find a suitable wife for his brother Tom (without success so far, 21st, 29); the prospect of having to send away his sister Pall (25th); losing his faithful maid Jane (26th); and his wife's plea for help for her brother Balty (27).

The Navy office is increasingly short of money and credit and Pepys, Batten and Penn are able to convince the Duke of York to present the matter to the King on the 14th. Worse, Sam finds himself "lately too much given to seeing of plays, and expense, and pleasure, which makes me forget my business, which I must labour to amend. No money comes in, so that I have been forced to borrow a great deal for my own expenses, and to furnish my father, to leave things in order." "Thus ends the month", he concludes, "In short, I see no content or satisfaction any where, in any one sort of people."

September 1661

Legal matters dominate the month for Sam. First, the continuing dispute following the death of his uncle Robert; the sons of his widow from her first marriage, Tom and Jasper Trice dispute what they are owed. Robert also left some land at Gravely, although on the 20th Sam had to attend court to find out who would inherit it (his uncle Thomas. Finally, Pepys is one of the executors of the will of his relative-by-marriage, Aunt Kite who dies on the 13th. All this results in his mind being "very full of business and trouble".

The month ends with excitement with an argument between the Ambassadors of Spain and France... an argument that resulted in dozens of foreign soldiers fighting in the London streets, and some being killed.

October 1661

The legal problems continue this month, and in the case of his inheritance Sam is admitted (by proxy) by the court on the 7th — whereas his cousin Tom is opposed as heir-at-law. Still a long way to go though, and much doubt remains as to the outcome, "which do trouble me much, but God

November 1661

Life is becoming expensive for Pepys. On top of his upwardly mobile lifestyle (including buying books and visiting the theatre) he has commissioned a painter to produce portraits of himself and his wife. Lady Mountagu also “earnestly” suggested Pepys should spend more money on Elizabeth (9th and 10th), with the result that he purchased some lace for a “very handsome” handkerchief (15th). Things could be worse though; on the 11th Pepys is taken to a gaming house, “where strange the folly of men to lay and lose so much money, and very glad I was to see the manner of a gamester

December 1661

As the weather gets worse Pepys and his wife start the days a little later during December: “Such a habit we have got this winter of lying long abed.” Once up they both spend some time this month sitting for their portraits. Pepys is worried about his at first (“I fear it will not be like me”) but Elizabeth’s gets off to a better start and by the end of the month they’re satisfied: “her picture I think will please me very well.”

Otherwise, Pepys is busy with Privy Seal business in December. He ends the year estimating that he’s “worth about 500l. clear in the world, and my goods of my house my own” although “I have for this last half year been a very great spendthrift in all manner of respects, that I am afeard to cast up my accounts ... I have newly taken a solemn oath about abstaining from plays and wine.” Other than his finances, his other main concern is to find a wife for his brother Tom.

4. 1662: Early Rising and Building Works

January 1662

The year begins without great drama, although Pepys' apprentice Will Hewer causes trouble when he's drunk on the 6th and is the subject of political suspicion on the 8th. A resolution of Pepys' dispute with Thomas Trice seems possible, as both sides would like to resolve their differences.

At home Pepys decides to learn musical composition from John Birchensha on the 13th and has several lessons. He pays for the paintings of himself and his wife on the 16th and at the end of the month orders workmen to make alterations to his cellar.

Finally, Pepys' concerns about finding a bride for his brother Tom diminish and he dismisses one potential woman as not being wealthy enough.

February 1662

Pepys settles the Sturtlow affair with his brother Tom on the 11th. There is further disagreement over the matter between Pepys and his uncle Thomas, which Pepys' legal-minded cousin Tom tries to clear up.

On the 15th Pepys was sworn in as a Younger Brother at Trinity House. The Pepys' portraits arrive at home on the 22nd although Samuel is still sitting for a miniature painting by the same artist this month. As well as his more usual practicing of playing music he shows a keen interest in composing songs.

He celebrates his birthday on the 23rd and says "if I have a heart to be contented, I think I may reckon myself as happy a man as any is in the world, for which God be praised."

March 1662

Pepys begins the month with a trip to see Romeo and Juliet, but is less than impressed: "It is a play of itself the worst that ever I heard in my life". On the 3rd he makes "some strict rules" for his future expenditure in the hope he can save enough to "grow rich". He spends much of the month working hard at the office, finding "great pleasure in it, and a growing content". On the 26th Pepys ex-maid, Jane, returns to the fold for wages of 3l. a year.

April 1662

With Jane returning to the Pepys household, their maid of six months, Nell, departs on the 1st. Pepys spends some time wondering how he can convince his wife to visit Brampton so it would be easier for him to make a trip to Portsmouth on navy business. She doesn't want to go and on the 21st he's forced to tell her of his leaving the following day without her. He

spends the rest of the month on the coast working and relaxing with colleagues who also travelled from London.

May 1662

Pepys returns to London, a journey of a couple of days by coach. The big event of the month is the return of the the Queen from Portugal. She arrives at Portsmouth before heading to Hampton Court where the royal court is now based. Tongues have been wagging more than usual about the King's pregnant mistress, Barbara Palmer and on the 21st Pepys describes the King's enjoyable visit to her house. But by the end of the month Pepys says "the King is pleased enough with [the Queen] which, I fear, will put Madam Castlemaine's [Palmer's] nose out of joynt."

Pepys' master, Sir Edward Mountagu also returns with the Queen and on the 23rd Pepys is pleased to see him home safe and sound.

June 1662

The midsummer month sees Pepys hard at work, often rising at 4am and avoiding the frivolities (such as wine and plays) that he's so enjoyed previously. Towards the end of the month he seems content with his new way of life:

My mind is now in a wonderful condition of quiet and content, more than ever in all my life, since my minding the business of my office, which I have done most constantly; and I find it to be the very effect of my late oaths against wine and plays, which, if God please, I will keep constant in, for now my business is a delight to me, and brings me great credit, and my purse encreases too.

One of the few breaks from work (apart from his Sunday attendance at church) is to witness the public beheading of the republican Henry Vane at Tower Hill on the 14th.

July 1662

In July Pepys continues working hard, avoiding all but the odd glass of wine. Mr. Creed tries to tempt him to see a play on the 5th, but he manages to resist the pastime he used to love so much. Much of his work this month involves learning about or testing various kinds of navy materiel: timber, hemp, tar and flags. He also begins to improve himself by taking regular lessons in mathematics from Mr. Cooper, beginning with learning his multiplication tables.

On the domestic front, work begins on expanding the Pepys household on the 14th, with workmen removing the tiles and building more rooms above the existing storeys. Unfortunately July sees some unseasonably bad weather — "it raining all day long as hard within doors as without" —

leaving the house wet and muddy. Because of the disruption and the state of the house Samuel and Elizabeth agree she should move temporarily to Brampton with a maid and the servant, leaving on the 28th.

August 1662

Much of last month's business continues through August: the workmen put the roof back on the house, but work continues; Elizabeth is still in the country; and Pepys continues to avoid much in the way of alcohol and entertainment in order to work hard. He had been staying at William Penn's house while Penn was away, but upon his return from Ireland on the 30th, Pepys finds new lodgings nearby while the builders continue work.

September 1662

Life continues much the same, and Pepys does an admirable job of summing things up on the final day of the month:

“My condition at present is this:— I have long been building, and my house to my great content is now almost done. But yet not so but that I shall have dirt, which troubles me too, for my wife has been in the country at Brampton these two months, and is now come home a week or two before the house is ready for her. My mind is somewhat troubled about my best chamber, which I question whether I shall be able to keep or no. I am also troubled for the journey which I must needs take suddenly to the Court at Brampton, but most of all for that I am not provided to understand my business, having not minded it a great while, and at the best shall be able but to make a bad matter of it, but God, I hope, will guide all to the best, and I am resolved to-morrow to fall hard to it. I pray God help me therein, for my father and mother and all our well- doings do depend upon my care therein. My Lord Sandwich has lately been in the country, and very civil to my wife, and hath himself spent some pains in drawing a plot of some alterations in our house there, which I shall follow as I get money. As for the office, my late industry hath been such, as I am become as high in reputation as any man there, and good hold I have of Mr. Coventry and Sir G. Carteret, which I am resolved, and it is necessary for me, to maintain by all fair means. Things are all quiett, but the King poor, and no hopes almost of his being otherwise, by which things will go to rack, especially in the Navy. The late outing of the Presbyterian clergy by their not renouncing the Covenant as the Act of Parliament commands, is the greatest piece of state now in discourse. But for ought I see they are gone out very peaceably, and the people not so much concerned therein as was expected. My brother Tom is gone out of town this day, to make a second journey to his mistress at Banbury, of which I have good expectations, and pray God to bless him therein. My mind, I hope, is settled to follow my business again, for I find that two days' neglect of business do give more discontent in mind than ten times the pleasure thereof can repair again, be it what it will.”

October 1662

Pepys hoped to settle some of the disputes arising from his uncle Robert's will, and this month he travelled to Brampton to attend a court hearing on the 14th, at which some matters were resolved. Not everything is settled however, with uncle Thomas still laying claim to property on the 29th. Also this month, the lengthy arrangements for brother Tom's marriage fell through, thanks to an error on the part of Mr Cooke, much to the annoyance of everyone concerned. At the end of the month, Pepys summarises his situation, and despite being tired of the continuing work on his home, he's otherwise happy:

In all other things as happy a man as any in the world, for the whole world seems to smile upon me, and if my house were done that I could diligently follow my business, I would not doubt to do God, and the King, and myself good service. And all I do impute almost wholly to my late temperance, since my making of my vowes against wine and plays, which keeps me most happily and contentfully to my business; which God continue! Public matters are full of discontent, what with the sale of Dunkirk, and my Lady Castlemaine, and her faction at Court; though I know not what they would have more than to debauch the king, whom God preserve from it! And then great plots are talked to be discovered, and all the prisons in town full of ordinary people, taken from their meeting-places last Sunday. But for certain some plots there hath been, though not brought to a head.

November 1662

Pepys is busy on both the domestic and professional fronts this month. Building and decorating work on his home finally comes to an end and eventually everything is clean and order. However, Elizabeth isn't happy — she wants someone to keep her company. Although Samuel has reservations, not least about the expense, he is surprisingly pleased with the likely candidate, Winifred Gosnell: "I am mightily pleased with her humour and singing." The legal proceedings concerning Uncle Robert's will rumble on throughout the month. On wider public matters, at the end of the month Pepys summarises:

Publique matters in an ill condition of discontent against the height and vanity of the Court, and their bad payments: but that which troubles most, is the Clergy, which will never content the City, which is not to be reconciled to Bishoppes: the more the pity that differences must still be. Dunkirk newly sold, and the money brought over; of which we hope to get some to pay the Navy

December 1662

Work is the main focus of Pepys' life in December, with plenty of tasks to complete. Homelife is, as ever, a distraction however and it's all change in

the Pepys' household. Sarah (the chamber maid) must leave, much to Pepys' regret, because his wife finds her "ill-natured". Jane is promoted to her place. Jane's brother, Wayneman is not so lucky and Pepys decides he must be let go for "his naughty tricks". Susan starts work on the 10th as "our cook-mayde, a pretty willing wench, but no good cook". Winifred Gosnell also stays for a few days as Elizabeth's companion, but although Pepys likes her, he is still wary of the expense. On the last day of the year he writes a lengthy summary of his position.

5. 1663: Periwigs and a Cock Fight

January 1663

A lot of Sam's time this month is spent on arranging provisions for Tangier, and finalizing his very own Navy manuscript. In the meantime he's feeling more and more at home at court, "walking among the courtiers, which I perceive I shall be able to do with great confidence, being now beginning to be pretty well known among them" — although to his dislike he finds "that there is nothing almost but bawdry at Court from top to bottom."

Both Sir W. Penn and "My Lord" Mountague fall ill this month, and Sam's wife complains about her lack of a female companion — something Sam will have to deal with soon. Pepys makes a promise to himself to "God willing, perfect and bind myself to, that so I may, for a great while, do my duty, as I have well begun, and increase my good name and esteem in the world, and get money, which sweetens all things, and whereof I have much need."

Over the first week of January Sam goes to see 'The Villaine', 'Claracilla', 'Twelfth Night' (again) and 'The Adventures of Five Hours' but then resolves to see no more plays before "Easter, if not Whitsuntide next, excepting plays at Court."

On 9 January an angry Sam burns Elizabeth's letters — "I and she never were so heartily angry in our lives as to-day almost" — but he repents afterwards and buys her a new "Moyre gown" to make up.

On 30 January Samuel makes up his account, and finds himself to be worth only £640, but then again: "I have had great expenses this month. I pray God the next may be a little better, as I hope it will."

February 1663

The Tangier business is again high on Sam's professional agenda this month. At home there is some regret about Jane, the maid, leaving her employment with the household over "some words she spoke boldly and yet I believe innocently and out of familiarity to her mistress about us weeks ago." But Mary Ashwell has arrived to keep Elizabeth company from now on.

The ongoing dispute over uncle Robert's inheritance, after months of long and difficult argument, finally ends with both Sam and Thomas Pepys signing an out-of-court settlement on the 14th although the terms and the financial implications are not very favourable to Sam.

On 21 February Sam is nearly arrested by the bailiffs, over some unpaid court fees in the Field business. The comical cat and mouse game lasts the entire day, before the matter is finally settled.

Sam's birthday sees him briefly breaks his vows and visit two plays. On the 27th he is treated to a learned lecture on "kidneys, ureters, &c", and in the dissecting room of "Chyrurgeon's Hall" is shown "very clearly the manner of the disease of the stone and the cutting."

On the last day of the month "making up my month's account", Sam finds that he is "at a stay with what I was last, that is 640l."

March 1663

This is a rather uneventful month for Sam, who spends most of his time on the usual Navy business, and the meetings of the Tangier Committee — where on the 30th "we all of us sealed and signed the Contract for building the Mole ... a thing which I did not at all understand, nor any or few of the whole board."

On 12 March Ashwell comes to live with the Pepyses. Sam finds her "a pretty ingenuous girl", which pleases him very well, and he hopes she "will be very good entertainment for my wife without much cost." On the 16th he also discovers "she do play pretty well ... upon the harpsicon."

On a national level, the King has asked for "Indulgence" for the "Papists", but this is being hotly opposed by Parliament on the 6th.

On the 26th it's "five years since it pleased God to preserve me at my being cut of the stone", but "because of my wife's being ill and other disorders by my servants being out of order" Sam isn't able to celebrate this in his usual manner.

On 29 March Sam finds himself "as I think, fully worth 670l."

April 1663

On the home front April finds Sam confronted with the hard task of making clear to his father that the old man is spending more money than he should, although (on the 20th) "he is not anything extravagant, and yet it do so far outdo his estate that he must either think of lessening his charge, or I must be forced to spare money out of my purse to help him through, which I would willing do as far as 20l. goes." Elizabeth has her first dancing lesson on the 25th.

Professionally, as well as his usual work with the Navy and Tangier Committee he must deal with the growing tension within the Navy Board, in particular between Sir William Batten and himself, which becomes apparent on the 25th.

The Duke of Monmouth is married on the 20th, and installed on the 23rd. Parliament, now with the full support of the King, continues to take a hard stand against the “Papists”, which is the subject of much heated debate. Against this background, the news of the Irish Catholics’ insurrection on the 3rd is all the more worrying.

On 4 April, with some delay Pepys is finally in a position to celebrate his annual feast for his cutting of the stone. On the 26th he finds himself “worth full 700l., for which I bless God, it being the most I was ever yet worth in money.”

May 1663

Sam continues his efforts to settle the estate at Brampton with meeting with Will Stankes and his father on the 1st. Sam explains to his father that he will have to limit his living expenses to £50 per year, and the reality of this restriction brings tears to Sam and his father.

Sam and Elizabeth have their share of turmoil this month beginning with an argument on 2nd May where Sam calls Elizabeth a “beggar” and she responds that he is a “pricklouse.” The following day Elizabeth expresses concern that Sam is paying too much attention to Ashwell and not enough to her. On 4th May Elizabeth starts her dancing lessons with Mr. Pembleton. Sam also joins the dance lessons, starting with instructions on a coranto. Sam takes the ladies (Elizabeth and Ashwell) to a play on the 8th and afterwards comments that he was a “little shamed that my wife and woman were in such a pickle, all the ladies finer and better dressed in the pitt than they used, I think, to be.” As the dancing lessons continue, Sam’s “old disease” of jealousy arises leaving Sam to spy on Elizabeth and Pembleton and on 15th May he wrote, “I am ashamed to think what a course I did take by lying to see whether my wife did wear drawers to-day as she used to do and other things to raise my suspicion of her, but I found no true cause of doing it.” By month end Sam has expressed his jealousy of Pembleton to Elizabeth and she shares her jealousy of his attentions towards Ashwell with him.

In work related activities, Deane of Woolwich introduces Sam to a new device, a “little sliding ruler,” which he uses to measure timber on the 11th. Tom Hater brings news of his dismissal to Sam, who spends much of the month trying to keep Hater employed. The great dispute about the value of the “pieces of eight” begins on the 11th and continues through the next day when Sam proudly announces that the parties have been brought over to his side of the debate. On the 19th Sam visits the Assay Office and records the detail of the making of money.

Court gossip includes concern on 14th May over the possibility that Charles II will put the “crown upon the little Duke,” Monmouth. The next day Sam voices greater concern that “The King do nothing but pleasure, and hates the very sight or thoughts of business, that my Lady Castlemaine rules him.” Sam also reports that “It seems the present favourites now are my Lord Bristol, Duke of Buckingham, Sir H. Bennet, my lord Ashley, and Sir Charles Barkeley; who, among them, have cast my Lord Chancellor upon his back.” Finally Louis XIV is reported ill and although there are rumors that he has been poisoned, by the 31st it is known that he had the measles.

Sam enjoys the gift of a blackbird from Rundell on the 22nd and is awoken the next morning by its beautiful tunes. He buys two books, “Improvement of Trade” and “Counsell to Builders” and reads a play called the “Five Houres Adventure.” The plays he sees this month include “the Humerous Lieutenant,” “Hamlett” and “The Slighted Mayde.” Much to his pleasant surprise, his wife’s former lady, Gosnell is on stage for the latter two plays, making her acting debut.

June 1663

The corruption of the Navy and conflicts consume much of Sam’s energies, including issues of Coventry’s censure of the House; Carteret and Creed’s ongoing issues with accounts, and Batten’s corruption. Sam works on developing his mathmatique skills with his sliding ruler, and on 9th June Creed explains to him Mr. Jonas Moore’s “duodecimal arithmetique.” On 13th June, while investigating different suppliers of tarr, Sam receives a barrel of sturgeon as a bribe from Batten and ponders if he will return it. Sam’s work on the purchase of hemp brings him pleasure when “the Duke do take notice of me.”

In family matters, Sam is “deadly mad” to discover that his wine cellar has been left ajar and half of his wine drunk. The mystery remains unsolved. Sam’s jealousy of Pembleton slowly declines as he prepares for Elizabeth and Ashwell to go to the country. The ladies leave mid-month and Sam fills his home time playing with a variety of his musical instruments, including the violin, pipe, triangle virginal and lute. At her request, Sam sends Elizabeth a lovely petticoat. On the 23rd, Sam has mixed feeling when Wayneman runs away. On the 29th, Sam has a dalliance with Mrs. Lane and notes that “I have used of late, since my wife went, to make bad use of my fancy with whatever woman I have a mind to, which I am ashamed of, and shall endeavor to do so no more.”

Sam enjoys the variety of seeing his first prize fight (1st June), watching the Russian Ambassador and his people “down lousing themselves” (6th), and hearing that the German Princess is cleared of charges (7th). He picks up books including the new “Concordance of the Bible”, and reads the

“History of England”. Sam comments to his enjoyment of Chaucer and before retiring one night has Will read part of a Latin chapter to him.

Sam ends the month with a lengthy summary of his situation and that of the country.

July 1663

The sound of heavy rain and Creed’s “business of his accounts” (1 July) begin the month; with these accounts more settled by the 6th. Sam takes satisfaction in listing the Kings ships in his Navy collection (6). Work with merchants continues much as usual through the month with Navy news of Carteret’s young daughter being married (30).

Sensational charges against Sir Charles Sedley and Lord Bristoll’s haranguing speech before the Commons House begin the month’s legal/political activities (1). On the 10th, Bristol “hath this day impeached my Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords of High Treason” (the chief articles of which Sam dutifully records in this Diary entry). The Lord’s House agrees that the charges are not treason, but vote a Committee to examine them further (14).

A letter from Sam further provokes the tension between Elizabeth, Ashwell, Pall and John Sr. in Brampton (1, 5, 8). On the 7th Sam spies Wayneman and has him stripped of his best suit, which he had taken when he ran away. Sam receives a visit from “my Jane” Birch, who begs him to reconsider taking back her wayward younger brother, but to no avail (28).

Sam’s wandering eyes have him plotting of ways to see Bagwell’s wife (9, 27). He is once again, ashamed of a tousing episode with Mrs. Lane (18). Sam appreciates a horse and foot march and discharge of guns for a French Marquise (4), while royal activities at Whitehall (13) leave Sam dreaming of “sporting” with the beautiful Frances Stewart (13) and the Queen (15). Other appetites are also indulged this month with Sam’s palate happily sated with the first cherries he’s eaten this year (7), eels, lobster, Mrs. Turner’s hot umble pie and homemade spirits (8), a 30 year old Malago Sack (20), cheesecake, tarts and custard (24), and a “brave dish of cream, the best I ever eat in my life” (25). Sam takes pleasure in reading Bacon’s “Faber fortunae” (20), Ben Johnson’s “Devil is an asse” (22) and “The Politician Cheated” (29).

August 1663

At the Ropehouses, Sam experiments to decide “which is stronger, English or Riga hemp, the latter proved the stronger, but the other is very good”. While at the yard, the accuracy of the Timber Measurer’s work displeases Sam (3rd). Sam picks up his measuring rule (7th) and studies it until his

head aches, returning to the yard to do his own measuring. Sam is very pleased with his rule and brings it to Greatorex's for engraving (10).

Family affairs are in disarray, beginning with Sam's letter from Elizabeth (4) expressing her concerns about Ashwell, who is let go by month's end (16, 17, 25). The joiners arrive midmonth and for six days Sam's house is continuously dirty as they do their work. Sam is disappointed in his brother John's lack of knowledge and calls him to task on his areas of studies (7, 8), later calling him an "Asse and coxcomb" (20), for which he is sorry. His midmonth visit with his brother Tom (10) adds to his upset as Sam "do fear that he do not understand his business, nor will do any good in his trade" and demands to see his brother's accounts (11).

Sam goes on a walk with Mr. Castel and receives a foreboding warning of things to come. On "our way met some gypsies, who would needs tell me my fortune, and I suffered one of them, who told me many things common as others do, but bade me beware of a John and a Thomas, for they did seek to do me hurt, and that somebody should be with me this day se'nnight to borrow money of me, but I should lend him none." (22)

Gossip abounds and Sam's concerns about Lord Sandwich's apparent interest in Mrs. Becke increases (10). Lord Bristoll flees when there are warrants issued for his arrest. Sam seems pleased that Lady Castlemaine, "who rules the King in matters of state," seems out of favor. Sam is pleased to hear that the Queen, who is in Tunbridge, is becoming a very debonair lady and more pleasing to the King (11). At month's end the King, Queen and their Courts moves to Bath.

September 1663

Sam shares a coach with the Lord Mayor riding to the Sessions House in Old Bayley, where they watch some "ordinary tryalls" and the share dinner (2). John brings Sam a letter from Thomas asking to borrow 20_l_, which Sam declines and then happily records that what the Gypsy told him in August was apparently true (3).

Sam enjoys furnishing his house and buys a chintz for Elizabeth (5) and assorted things for her closet including dogs, tongs and a shovel from the ironmongers (7). While managing his personal funds carefully, he also manages those of the King with great care as he contracts with Sir W. Warren for 3000l_ worth of masts (10).

Sam readies himself for his travels and asks Elizabeth "Well! Shall you and I never travel together again?" (13) to which she replies that she will join him. They leave the next day and on the journey Elizabeth takes violently ill, making Sam fearful of her life. Elizabeth mends enough to proceed to Brampton and then Hinchinbrooke and visits with Lady Sandwich. Sam and his father discuss finances (15). Sam takes a side trip to visit his Aunt

and Uncle Perkins whose off-beat lifestyle surprises Sam (17). Sam and Elizabeth return home and Sam catches up on his work with the mast contract. Sam ends the month with an illness (most likely a bad cold) which he believes he got after a frolic with Mrs. Lane which took place by an open window (27).

October 1663

Sam's interesting month begins with the return of the King and his Court and a series of full Navy Board meetings (1st). The board examines Cocke's second account, a bill to Captain Smith and issues regarding timber (6). In the midst of all of the official Navy duties Sam records another round in the ongoing differences between Mr. Coventry and Sir George Carteret (12). The Tangier and Africa Committees meet (14) to discuss Sally and then the Articles of Peace (16). Later in the month the board reviews accounts of Mr. Gauden's, who invites Sam to a wonderful dinner afterwards (17).

Sam's health takes a turn for the worse (7) and remains quite disturbed for a week. He details his illness (colic/constipation) with visits to Mr. Hollyard for assorted powders, drink, syrup, electuary and a glister, which finally offer him relief. He dutifully records the steps he will follow if ever found in this predicament again (13). While Sam is on the mend, he hears news that the Queen is "very sick, if not dead" (17) with an illness that will have her swaying between life and death for several weeks. Sam orders a velvet cloake and then puts a hold to his order the next day, until he sees if the Queen will live or die (21, 22). By month's end, Sam shows his fashionable new clothes and periwigs to Creed and balances his budget after his splurge (31).

The painter's work leaves the house in "the dirtiest pickle" (10) for Elizabeth. The two go church and Pembleton is there, but when Elizabeth points out his wife and the "good jewel at her breast" Sam is relieved of any lingering jealousy (18). Sam begins to teach Elizabeth arithmetic so she can study globes (21, 30). Other house issues involve Will's "corrupting the mayds by his idle talke and carriage" causing Sam to contemplate sending him out of his house (31).

Sam indulges in varying religious experiences when he reads the "Church History of Fuller's, and particularly Crammer's letter to Queen Elizabeth" (11) and then enjoys an unusual visit to a Jewish Synagogue (14).

November 1663

Much focus this month is on the fashion of periwigs, including the Duke who states that he will start wearing one, along with talk of the King's intention to do the same (2). The next day Sam allows his wig maker to cut off his hair (3) and then he buys a case to house his new fashion (4).

Throughout the month, Sam ponders how people will react to his periwig and even the Duke offers a fond joke on Sam's altered look (4, 8, 9).

Work has ongoing issues with masts, hemp and timber. Sam writes a letter regarding the mast contract to Sir George Carteret (14, 15, 16, 25), who assures Sam that "we may tell one another at any time any thing that passes among us at the office or elsewhere wherein we are either dissatisfied one with another, and that I should find him in all things as kind and ready to serve me as my own brother", a welcome compliment from the Treasurer of the Navy.

While work frictions play out through the month, more serious concerns cause worry regarding Sam's patron, Lord Sandwich. While My Lord and Sam share Court gossip about others (6), days later Mr. Pierce makes Sam aware that the King has noticed Lord Sandwich's absence from the Court (9). Sam shares his concerns with Mr. Moore (12) and then takes action by writing a letter of reproof to warn his Lordship of the gossip and perceived damage to his reputation (17, 18). Lord Sandwich, never one to lose his cool in a situation, addresses these issues with Sam to find out the background to the gossip and the people involved (22). By month end, Mr. Pierce confirms with Sam that Lord Sandwich "is resolved to go no more to Chelshy" (28), which is a blessing for all.

On the home front, Elizabeth Pepys finds herself with health problems with a most painful "hollow sore place" and receives care from Mr. Hollyard (12, 16, 17, 18). Sam hears that his former boy Wayneman has behaved so poorly with Mr. Davis that he is shipped off to Barbados (14). Sam writes to Will's uncle to hasten his removal from the house (4) and together they break the news to Will (9). Sam sees a weeping Will move out by midmonth, noting as he goes to bed "This night I think is the first that I have lain without ever a man in my house besides myself, since I came to keep any" (14).

December 1663

Sir George Carteret announces that the Navy is out of debt and the local talk is that the Navy's credit is as good as any other merchants upon the Change (3). Amidst this fiscally encouraging news Sam faces many personal conflicts this month as he receives gifts/payouts from the merchants whose contracts he has advanced (9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 29). Sam find that "So hard it is for a man not to be warped against his duty and master's interest that receives any bribe or present, though not as a bribe, from any body else. But she [Mrs. Russell in this case] must be contented, and I to do her a good turn when I can without wrong to the King's service" (10).

In family matters, brother Tom visits Sam to discuss the possibility of Wheatley's daughter for his wife (10, 13). Sam's cousin Edward Pepys dies (15) and Sam records the details of his passing and subsequent funeral (17, 23). No doubt Edward's death plants a seed of worry in Elizabeth's mind as she asks Sam what would become of her if he died. Sam writes that he will make up a will to provide for her (25).

Sam enjoys Mr. Coventry's "excellent stories" and lively tales from Mr. Harrington and some East country merchants (5, 11). Gossip about Louis XIV's "unduking" of dukes along with his preparations of ships against the Dutch creates uncertainty as Sam records that "The great talke is the designs of the King of France, whether against the Pope or King of Spayne nobody knows; but a great and a most promising Prince he is, and all the Princes of Europe have their eye upon him" (7,12, 31). Sam struggles throughout the month to figure out his own uncertainties as he wonders where he stands in the eyes of Lord Sandwich (7, 8, 14, 21, 22, 23).

Sam buys a copy of Cardinal Mazarin's will (11), enjoys his ongoing reading of Rushworth, and splurges on assorted reading (10) and a map (26). He struggles with his desire to see the much admired play Henry VIII, but does not succumb to the temptation (10, 22, 24). Sam finds a strange enjoyment in the oddity of seeing his first cock fight (21).

Sam's year ends with him expressing disappointment in his brothers Tom and John, and Elizabeth's brother Balty. He finds his value above 800l., living only with his wife Elizabeth and "Jane Gentleman, Besse, our excellent, good-natured cookmayde, and Susan, a little girle, having neither man nor boy, nor like to have again a good while, living now in most perfect content and quiett, and very frugally also; my health pretty good" (31).

6. 1664: An Execution, a Great Comet, and a Domestic Assault

January 1664

Sam's New Year begins with the "bill of exchange" from Deering via Luellin which finds an ebullient Sam 50l. richer, yet still rationalizing the ethics of this and potential future 'payments' (1, 5, 25). His New Year happily brings the end to his vow against plays. Sam's disappointment upon seeing the much touted "Henry VIII" (1) and "The Usurper" (2) are followed by a vow to limit the number of plays he will see per month (2). Not to be at a loss for "entertainment" Sam finds himself highly interested in the case of the stolen jewels of Mr. Tyran, an "old man, a merchant" (8). As the case unfolds, a Colonel Turner is accused, tried and hanged with an estimate of 12-14,000 people, including Sam, attending the execution (10, 16, 20, 21).

Sam's concern about his relationship with Lord Sandwich continues. He ponders inviting "my Lord" to dinner, but as their exchanges over the month unfold Sam thinks it best to "forbear my laying out my money upon a dinner till I see him in a better posture" (9, 20). Where his relationship with Sandwich feels unsure, his relationship with Mrs. Lane becomes more intimate (9, 11, 16). Although his visits to her bring Sam sexual fulfillment they also may be the cause of his growing but unfounded jealousy towards Elizabeth. His jealous concerns over Will and Pembleton (9, 17, 18, 28) leave Sam to confess his irrational fears: "God knows I have no reason to do so, or to expect her being so true to me as I would have to her (18). By month end he does follow through on his promise to Elizabeth and finishes his will (20, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30). While Sam's jealousy reigns against the younger men in Elizabeth's life Sam can only think good of Uncle Wight who seems mysteriously and overly interested to know if Elizabeth is with child. Sam hopefully believes that Uncle Wight intends to leave something to them in his will (12, 15, 21). In other family matters, brother Tom's health seems to have taken a turn for the worse, with worries that he is in a deep consumption (9, 10, 20).

In the Royal circles Sam watches the King's tennis match noting his disgust at the false flattery given the monarch "but to see how the King's play was extolled without any cause at all, was a loathsome sight, though sometimes, indeed, he did play very well and deserved to be commended; but such open flattery is beastly" (4). Sam is likewise unimpressed by the King's lewd response to a Quaker girl who has brought forth a warrant (11). Mr. Pierce tells Sam the seedy gossip that Lady Castlemaine is "out" as the King now dallies openly with Frances Stuart and that the Duke of Monmouth is treated like a "Prince of the Blood". Mr. Pierce shares the

flattering opinion that the Duke of York “do give himself up to business, and is like to prove a noble Prince” to which Sam heartily agrees that “I do from my heart think he will” (20).

February 1664

Talk of the growing tension between the English and the Dutch circulates (2, 9) with the Dutch proclaiming that they are the “Sovereigne of all the South Seas” (15). Business concerns include issues regarding the quality of masts (16, 17, 18, 21, 22); a letter on the behalf of Mr. Barrow (16); Mr. Maes’ customs issue (4, 10); hempe and trade (24); Creed and his pieces of eight (4, 10); a review of Lord Peterborough’s accounts (13, 18, 25, 26, 27) and a detailed report on the state of England’s Revenues by Sir Phillip Warwick, which totally captivates Sam (29). Sam benefits from his position through a gifts from Sir W. Warren (2), Mr. Falconer (11), and Mrs. Russell.

Elizabeth brings news that Balty and his wife will leave for his soldier duty in Holland (3). Uncle Wright’s “caresses” and private visits to Elizabeth leave Sam to believe that “it looks strange putting all together, but yet I am in hopes he means well” (19, 22, 26). The concerns that Sam had early in the month that he may have gotten Mrs. Lane pregnant (1) were not put at ease when the marriage that he was hoping to arrange between her and Hawley seems to fall apart (8). Sam vows that he is now “resolved wholly to avoid occasion of further ill with her” (29). He receives advice from Mr. Howe regarding his relationship with Lord Sandwich (3, 8). Howe “did of himself advise me to appear more free with my Lord and to come to him, for my own strangeness he tells me he thinks do make my Lord the worse.” (29)

Court gossip includes the Duke’s new perriwigg (15), Lady Castlemaine’s theater antics (1), the scathing condition of foreign policy, pathetic internal court politics, and a deep concern for the overall welfare of England under King Charles II (22). On a more playful note, Sam enjoys seeing “The Indian Queene” with Elizabeth (1), buying two books (22), observing sand, louse and mites under a microscope (13), watching marble being cut (24) and receiving a new mastiffe named “Towser” (17) who he thinks he will give to his father as a present (18).

March 1664

March begins on an upbeat note as Lord Sandwich praises Sam to Lord Peterborough and Povy (3). Lord Sandwich’s favour also yields Sam’s a role as an assistant under the Duke of York in the newly created Corporation of the Royal Fishery (10). Sam celebrates the new month by bending his vows to see two plays, “The Unfortunate Lovers” and “Heraclius” (7, 8).

Happiness is short lived when Tom takes a turn for the worse. When Mrs. Turner's son arrives with a note that Tom's illness may be the pox (13), Sam is rightly upset regarding such shameful accusations. Sam visits Tom several times over the following days as his health deteriorates. Sam assists as two different doctors check Tom's body for signs of the pox, but there are none, which offer Sam some relief (15). Meanwhile Sam starts to gather details regarding the nature of Tom's lifestyle, including his debts, mysterious meetings with Cave and Cranburne, and his bad husbandry (13, 14). Tom passes away, and amidst funeral preparations, Sam discovers among Tom's papers some back-stabbing letters written about him by his brother John (15). Sam's father arrives a "poor man, very sad and sickly," and has barely a moment to grieve before an angry Sam confronts him about the content of John's letters (16, 18, 19, 21). As the days progress, Sam seeks advice from Mr. Moore regarding who should administer Tom's estate (27).

Among the despair, a hilarious lightness is found when Sam decides that Mrs. Buggin's decidedly beautiful dog should mate with his bitch and he helps him along (23, 24). The month ends at Sam's house with a happy dinner gathering as Sam celebrates his "solemn feast" for the cutting of his stone (26).

April 1664

April brings continued efforts to settle brother Tom's estate (16) and the shocking surprise that Tom had fathered a daughter with his maid Margaret (6). Concerns over a potential Dutch war overwhelm many of Sam's conversations (4, 13, 20, 23). While Howe and others plot for a favored spot should war begin (12), Sam's fears for the safety of his accounts, which could be lost, should Lord Sandwich perish in battle (23, 25, 26). The month ends with a more impending concern over loss of life when Lady Sandwich, Sam's favourite, becomes ill with either the measles or, as Sam fears, perhaps smallpox (29, 30).

May 1664

Navy work includes Sam's ongoing disgust with Sir W. Batten (3, 5, 22, 26); discussions of the possibility of a Dutch War with Coventry (12, 18, 21, 22, 29); his bribe from Captain Taylor (27); his interest in shipbuilding (7, 13, 30); and his unusual role as a go-between to elicit Lord Sandwich (at Coventry's request) to see if he would go to sea under the Duke of York should war with the Dutch prevail (29,31).

In personal matters Sam is relieved to find Lady Sandwich on the mend (9, 12) and thrilled that work on his closet was done so well (6). On the more worrisome side, he notes the death of Uncle Fenner (24), his offer to take

Pall into his house to find her a husband (17, 20), his discussions about Tom's estate and condolences to his Cozen Scott at the loss of his wife (4) along with his illness (14, 15, 17, 19, 31). Uncle Wight reveals his true intentions as he expresses his desire to father a child with Elizabeth along with the bribe of "500l. money or jewels beforehand, and make[ing] the child his heir", thus leaving a most disturbed Sam to realize that "all of his kindness is but lust of her" (11).

June 1664

Tangiers is in the forefront with news of Lord Teviot's death (1, 15); poorly run committee meetings (3, 4, 10, 13); Sam's efforts to secure and provision the ships (16, 24) and a potential payout from Captain Taylor (3).

Concerns surround Lord Sandwich as Pepys and Lady Sandwich worry about his debts (23, 29). Sam moves to ensure the security of the Wardrobe position once promised to his father (4, 20). Sam (and possibly Lady Sandwich) meet Mrs. Becke, the rumored mistress of Lord Sandwich (14, 20).

Mr. Coventry gives Sam an interesting discourse on active and passive valour (4) while Mr. Pierce provides contrasts of another sort when he gives Sam a tour of the Queen's bedchamber and closet and the King's closet (24).

July 1664

Sam argues with Elizabeth about a pair of earring she has bought (4). The couple reconciles and visits Lord Sandwich aboard the Hope (4) prior to Elizabeth's departure to the country (9, 10, 11). Lord Sandwich shares details of his estate with Sam (15) and warns him of a situation where Sam has inadvertently angered the Lord Chancellor (14, 15, 16). Sam tries to resolve the conflict of the cutting of the timber from Clarendon Parke with the help of Sir George Carteret (18), but by month end, Mr. Coventry has placed Sam in a position of divided loyalty on this issue (23).

Sam records two lists including Dr. Burnett's health advice (1) and input about how to have children (26). Sam learns of Mrs. Lane's marriage (21), but later meets her for a pleasurable tryst (23). Sam is sworn in for the Committee for Fishing (7, 9) and works with Warren on a contract for 1,000 Gottenburg masts (21). By month end he finds himself joyfully over the 1,000l. level and has splurged on seeing two plays, including "Worse and Worse" and "The Bondman".

August 1664

Sam decides to secure a female companion for Elizabeth (1, 15, 23) and a boy for himself. By month end Tom Edwards is clothed for the job (24, 27)

and Will has brought forth a strong candidate for Elizabeth (29). Sam designates a room in his home for his “musique room” and the transformation works begins. Elizabeth’s return home (7) does not curb Sam’s appetite for a tryst with Mrs. Lane (15) who is now pregnant and finds her husband in need of a job. Troubles still brew with Tom’s illegitimate child (25).

Sam’s health remains a concern with his bothersome cold legs causing him to have a special coat made for indoors (1, 13, 14). Batten supplies Sam with Epsom water which helps him with his ongoing bowels issues (17, 21). Sam has a case made for his stone, costing him 24s., a large expense for such an item, but a precious reminder of surviving his dangerous operation (19, 27).

Sam rationalises his vow against plays (8). Between himself and Elizabeth they see: “Bartholomew’s Fayre” (2), “The Rivall Ladys” (4), “Flora’s Figary” (8), “Henry the Fifth” (8) and “The Court Secret” (18). Sam enjoys seeing paintings of the Queen and Frances Stewart (26). For his scientific interests he has his slide rule engraved (10, 13) and buys a microscope and a scotoscope (13).

September 1664

The recent arrival of Mary Mercer, Elizabeth’s new gentlewoman, and Tom, Sam’s ‘boy,’ creates a focus on the ‘family’. They enjoy trips to Bartholomew Fayre (2, 7), plays (10), shopping for the home (16), and a lovely family time where ‘my wife and Mercer and Tom and I sat till eleven at night, singing, fiddling, and a great joy it is to see me master of so much pleasure in my house, that it is and will be still, I hope, a constant pleasure to me to be at home” (9). Sam spends 10l. on new clothes for Elizabeth, and compliments her new suit of moyre (5, 19). Elizabeth believes she is with child (22), but by month’s end it’s clear that she is not. While Sam’s jealousy is needlessly piqued by Mr. Pen’s visits to Elizabeth (5, 14) he still indulges himself with his ladies, including news that Betty Lane wants him to assist her in finding a job for her new husband (5) and his secret trysts with Jane Welsh (11, 12, 18, 19). The month ends with a disagreement between Sam and Elizabeth over her household accounts (29).

Sam admits to himself that he has been remiss in his work this month (17) although Mr. Andrew’s victualling contract brings promises of a payment to Sam of 100l. War preparations continue with Prince Rupert readying the Henrietta (5, 6) and news of beating the Dutch in Guinny (29).

October 1664

Sam works on Warren’s timber contract (18, 25), Mr. Bridge’s calico contract (8, 12), the Fishery Committee (10, 25, 29) and experiments to test

the quality of cordage (3). As Sam welcomes Lord Sandwich on his return (17), the Dutch tension heats up and Rupert writes of the dangers to his fleet in Portsmouth (24). Sam and his extended family enjoy seeing the launch of a new ship (25).

Sam visits his parents while in Brampton (14) and his mother begs him to make peace with his brother John (15). Elizabeth is angered at Sam for “gadding abroad to look after beauties” (2). This has becoming a more consuming past time to Sam these days with his interactions with Mrs. Lane (1), the barber’s maid Jane (3), Mrs. Bagwell (3, 20) and an unknown beauty that he follows home from church (9). Mr Crocker brings Sam a globe of glasse intended to help with Sam’s eyesight (7).

November 1664

Sam sees Mr. Coventry off to sea with the Duke of York (4, 8) and is called before the King’s Cabinet Council and asked questions by the King himself (9). Sam presents a letter to Sir G. Carteret to show to the King regarding his desire to be a Commissioner of the Prize Office (22) and works with Carteret to prepare a well padded account of the cost of the war (23) with hopes that the House will supply desperately needed funding. The House approves 2,500,000l. for the Navy over three years.

Sam hears gossip that Lord Sandwich may be sent to be Governor of Tangier (3). He sees the Book of Heraldry and reads the entries of the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Sandwich (11). Susan becomes sick and Sam fears it is the measles or scarlet fever (10, 11). Tom also has pains which Dr. Holliard diagnoses as a bladder stone (22, 23). While Sam comments on Mrs. Lane’s sad state (25) his physical relationship with Mrs. Bagwell (3, 8, 15) escalates.

December 1664

At the start of the month, Sam is pleased that the Duke of York and Mr. Coventry have returned safely from sea (3, 5). Other pleasant conversations abound about the great Comet (15): Sam notes that Lord Sandwich (15), the King and Queen (17) have seen it, and eventually he sees it for himself (24, 27).

In a rash act of temper, Sam is angered at Elizabeth. He hits her soundly causing a painful and severely blackened eye (19). Elizabeth, still quite bruised, remains housebound throughout the Christmas holiday period (25) and Sam makes up an excuse for her not attending an unusual dinner invitation from the Battens (23, 25, 26). In spite of Sam’s being “vexed at my heart” over what he had done to Elizabeth, it does not stop him from pursuing Mrs. Bagwell. He continues to plot to be with her, finally finding a pleasing “success” when he “invites” himself to their house and then sends her husband away (15, 16, 19, 20).

In regards to finances, Sam has almost fully settled with Tom Trice (23). He buys himself a looking glass for the dining room (16, 17), some books and a silver sugar box, spoons and forks (14, 30). A sermon on “duty to parents” (11) seems to have hit home as Sam buys a gift of fruit for his father for Christmas (14, 15). Sam summarizes his year end status and is pleased to find himself worth 1349l. (31).

7. 1965: The Great Plague, Bookbinding, and Bedding Mrs. Batten

January 1665

A great frost welcomes the New Year (3) as Sam sets about his business of felling lumber (3, 12), discussing ships to be built (11), meeting with the King and Privy Council (15) and Povy's accounts (16, 18, 19, 20). The Dutch activity includes Holmes' imprisonment in the Tower (9), confusion over lost ships (13, 14) and a letter from Allin with his naval information (23). Sam is pleased to receive money from Sir George Carteret for work related to flags (28).

On the personal side, Sam and Elizabeth argue over their maid Jane (5, 6, 31) and Sam continues to be 'vexed' by women. He meets Bagwell (2, 23) and finally, after many attempts, finds himself alone with Gervais' Jane (27), who has pledged herself to a lowly fiddler (2, 13, 20). His cozen Percivall Angier and Dr. Tom Pepys both die this month (19).

Sam enjoys three plays, 'Love in a Tubb' (4), 'The Traytor' (13) and 'Vulpone' (14). He sees the Royal Society Charter and Law book (9), buys Hooke's Microscopicall Observations (20), and decides to have the books in his study all bound in the same binding (18).

February 1665

With Tangier related work (2, 6, 16), Povy's accounts (8, 16), Sandwich's naval fleet manoeuvres (3), false reports of Dutch activity (23, 27) and the King's passage of the 2,500,000l. bill (10) in the background, Sam juggles home stresses, indulges in a special interest and enjoys in court gossip.

Sam finds discord with Elizabeth (4, 28) over her handling of the termination of their maid Jane (3). When Batten becomes very ill, Sam ponders if he will live (6, 7) while the death of Mr. Barlow (9) leaves Sam richer as he is relieved of his payment obligations. In exchange for a letter requesting a better position for her husband, Sam once again delights in Batten's wife (14, 20).

Sam gladly writes of his new book bindings that it "is now a pleasant sight to see my whole study of almost one binding" (3, 5, 10). Sam is proud to take a draught of Portsmouth Harbour by Lord Sandwich off to be made into a chart as a gift for the King, Duke of York and Lord Sandwich himself (18, 27). Sam is admitted to the Royal Society and is fascinated by the work of Boyle and Hooke (15).

Lady Sandwich and Sam discuss potential husbands for her daughters, court stories of masquerades with vizards and the shameful antics of a court

beauty Miss Jennings (3, 21). Sam sees the beginning of the Lord Chancellor's new home, which has already been nicknamed "Dunkirke House" by the Chancellor's detractors (20).

March 1665

War is proclaimed (albeit unofficially) on the Royal Exchange (4) and Sam attends a farewell dinner for Holmes who is released from the Tower (14). The 'London', Sir Lawson's ship, sinks, killing about 300 people (8). Betty Martin (formerly Lane) gives birth to a son (9) and continues to beg Sam to find a job for her errant husband, who has been keeping a mistress in France.

Sam presents Lord Sandwich the chart which Sam had made for him. Lord Sandwich likes it "mightily" (5). Lady Sandwich continues discussions about the potential of Sir George Carteret's son as a husband for Lady Jemimah.

Sam gives Elizabeth 20l. for Easter clothing (1) and has his tailor see to it that his clothing is in order (21). Sharp appearance will no doubt come in handy as Sam finds himself in a position to replace Povy in the highly visible role of Treasurer to the Committee of Tangier. His placement is confirmed with a show of confidence among the Duke and other Committee members (20) and his contract with Povy is completed (27).

Sam celebrates his seven year anniversary of the cutting of his stone (26). He also attends several experiments and lectures as a member of the Royal Society (1, 8, 15, 22).

April 1665

Much of this month centers on the debts of the Navy and their need for additional funds (1, 10, 12). Sam continues to work on issues related to his new role as Treasurer to the Committee of Tangier (14, 15, 18, 19). Naval activities include Sam's studying of maps (16), payments to the merchant Andrews (20, 21) and the taking of three Dutch Men-of-War (16, 17).

Sam scores a major recognition (17, 28) when the King sees him in Whitehall and calls him by name and "did discourse with me about the ships in the River; and this is the first time that ever I knew the King did know me personally; so that hereafter I must not go thither, but with expectation to be questioned, and to be ready to give good answers." The downside of this recognition is that now Sam needs to be cautious that the King doesn't spot him 'in any pleasure' and upon spotting the King in the park (24) soon after, quickly departs to ensure that he keeps up appearances.

May 1665

Sam's work includes Tangiers victuals (7), striking 17,500l. of tallys (12), seeking advice regarding the Act for Land Carriages (13) and details of the Dutch fleet (23). A more somber piece of news is that the plague is "growing upon us in this towne" and there is debate over potential remedies for it (24).

Sam's mother comes for a visit (10) and has lunch with an old servant and Elizabeth (23). Ever fashionable Sam finds "the convenience of periwigs is so great" that he once again cuts off his hair (5), which cuts a fine figure with his new suit (21). Elizabeth starts to take lessons in limn (a form of illustration) from a Mr. Browne, without the usual arousal of any jealousy on Sam's behalf (7, 9).

Sam writes of John Evelyn's beautiful home and his hive of bees (1, 5). On a more outrageous note, Sam records the early antics of a young Lord Rochester and his kidnapping of Elizabeth Mallet, which leaves Lady Mountagu hoping that this could open the door for a potential wealthy mate for her son, Lord Hinchinbroke.

June 1665

June's flurry of activity begins with unfolding news of the English victory over the Dutch in the Battle of Lowestoft (3, 4, 5, 8). The fallout of the victory includes the good news of the men who performed well in action, like Lord Sandwich (23) along with the sad death of men including the Earl of Falmouth, Earl of Marlborough, Muskerry, Mr. Richard Boyle (8) and later Sir J. Lawson (25).

The plague continues to infiltrate the town with Sam seeing "two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and 'Lord have mercy upon us' writ there" (10). By the end of the month the mortality count is 267 (29). Throughout the town people are starting to leave in fear, including the Queen Mother (17, 29). Sam's mother, who wanted to extend her stay, also departs (22).

In the wedding bell area, there is gossip that perhaps Lord Rochester is declared out of hopes for Mrs. Mallet (6), which could bring an opportunity to Lady and Lord Sandwich. At Lord Sandwich's request, Sam begins to act as a go between to arrange the potential match of Lord Sandwich's daughter, Jemimah and Sir George Carteret's son Philip (23, 24, 25). The return of Balty (26), along with his new wife, "a pretty modest woman" moves Sam to promise that he will try to find something for him, not necessarily for the sake of Balty he writes, but for his pretty, discreet and humble appearing wife.

July 1665

The plague hits hard this month and London continues to clear out, including Elizabeth and “family” who move to Woolwich. In spite of the spreading disease and related fears Sam continues to work and visit his lady friends (11, 12, 19) without any seeming hesitation. Throughout the month Sam records the rising fatality counts, and notes that there are few coaches and the streets are “mighty thin of people” (22).

Sam grooms the awkward Philip Carteret with courting advice (9, 15, 16, 17) and is pleased to know that Lady Jemimah can “readily obey what her father and mother had done” (17). The mothers, Lady Sandwich and Lady Carteret, make plans for the wedding (12) and shorten the engagement period amid fears of the growing plague. A proud Sam, in his new coloured suit, enjoys the wedding (31) and is proud of having facilitated it.

In family matters, Sam enjoys Elizabeth’s fine pictures (18, 29). Sam jumps on the very recent death of Captain Harman’s wife by proposing a marriage between Harman and Pall, but fears that the price will be too steep for him to conclude this arrangement (21, 26). Once again, Sam ponders the never ending question of what to do for Balty (25).

August 1665

As the plague rages Sam watches pest coaches pick up a stricken maid (3), sadly recounts the ale-seller Will’s loss of his entire family (8), and the death of his physician Dr. Burnett (25). Sam notes, the “discourse in the streets is of death, and nothing else ... the towne is like a place distressed and forsaken” (30) and the plague is such a “cruel thing: this disease making us more cruel to one another than if we are doggs” (22). When Lord Hinchingbroke returns (4) and becomes ill there is a sense of relief that it is “just” small-pox (16). Sam pragmatically re-writes his will (10, 11) to ensure that his father and Elizabeth are provided for.

Leveraging off his new-found status with the Carterets, Sir George shares a rare glimpse of his own relationship with the King (14). In naval activity Sandwich’s fleet doesn’t fare well in their manoeuvres off of Bergen (16, 19). Sir George assures Sam (20) that Sandwich was blameless and was only following orders. There is an ominous tone that perhaps this will not prove to be so.

In spite of the devastating disease, Sam’s irrepressible nature and love of all things beautiful shines through. He is delighted in Elizabeth’s developing picture talents (5, 7, 21) and gives her the rare gift of a diamond ring (14). In a totally out of character moment he promises Elizabeth a pearl necklace of 60l. within two years if she continues to please him with her paintings. His rising admiration for his wife’s artistry doesn’t stop his ongoing ogling/dalliances with the ladies (6, 8, 11, 22, 23). Sam’s almost

comical erotic dream of Lady Castlemaine (15) provides a fitting summary of the plague times and his idea of an ideal afterlife, “what a happy thing it would be if when we are in our graves (as Shakespeare resembles it) we could dream, and dream but such dreams as this, that then we should not need to be so fearful of death, as we are this plague time.” (15)

September 1665

Plague concerns dominate this month with Sam’s total removal to Woolwich (1), discussions regarding the disease and how it is spread (3) and the futile burning of fires to stop it (6). A very passionate story emerges of a man passing his only surviving child stark naked into the arms of a friend for safekeeping with hopes of saving the child from impending death (3). The plague hits Sam’s household with the deaths of Will Hewer’s and Tom Edwards’ fathers (15, 21), as fear lingers for Elizabeth when her father becomes ill (10, 12).

While Sam complains of his “masters” that “no one is looking after business” he busies himself with Naval news including activities in Bergen (5), Lord Sandwich’s ship military movements (9, 10, 14) and the poor state of the fleet regarding provisions and supplies (18). Sam’s involvement with Lord Sandwich in the selling of Prizes takes an ominous centre stage (17, 18, 23, 24, 25) and greatly improves his wealth (30) during this time of great illness and loss to most.

Sam manages to find some pleasure with a quick tryst (2), his music (10, 17), his reading of plays (7, 16), and cards games and billiards (11). Elizabeth’s artistic talent blooms with the completion of her “picture of our Saviour, which is very pretty” (27).

October 1665

As the threat of the plague diminishes a new threat surrounds Lord Sandwich’s prizes (1, 9, 12, 16, 22, 28). An overly busy Sam attends to victualling of Tangier (4, 18), shares concerns with John Evelyn about providing for sick and wounded seamen (4, 7, 24), getting Balty a job (19) and his private accounts (9).

Sam agrees with work gossip against him that “I do take too much business upon me, more than I can do, and that therefore some do lie undone. This I confess to my trouble is true, but it arises from my being forced to take so much on me, more than is my proper task to undertake” (20). Work overload doesn’t stop Sam from his hopes of the place of “Surveyor-Generall of the Victualling, which will bring me 300l. per annum” (31).

Gossip of different nature is shared by Povy who laments the wanton ways of the King and his Court (16). Lord Sandwich ‘seconds the motion’ by

expressing his dismay on the Court politics (25). The King's laziness and wantonness aside, Parliament votes 1,250,000l. towards his war efforts.

Sam celebrates his ten year wedding anniversary a day late, noting only his 'extreme good condition of health and estate and honour' but somehow seems to totally forget any mention of Elizabeth (11)! Sam reveals an interesting glimpse into his diary writing habit when he writes that he is "late in the office entering my Journall for 8 days past, the greatness of my business hindering me of late to put it down daily, but I have done it now very true and particularly, and hereafter will, I hope, be able to fall into my old way of doing it daily" (16).

November 1665

Court politics abound as Sam starts the month with an admission that "little merit do prevail in the world, but only favour; and that for myself, chance without merit brought me in; and that diligence only keeps me so" (1). Knowing he is not as highly placed as others and being surrounded by lazy men, Sam tries to remain focused on his work amidst an uprising of sorts of 100 seamen wanting their pay (4). He busies himself with issues surrounding the Tangier boats, prize good profits (13) and the Hambro fleet (25). He does find time to share some enjoyable interactions with John Evelyn (2, 5, 24).

Politics do not shine so brightly on Lord Sandwich who finds himself under attack by many of the factions at Court (2, 17). Even with the aid of his new "relation" and friend Sir George Carteret, who tries to work the political factions in Sandwich's favor (6, 27, 28), things seem to be moving against Sandwich.

Sam is upset that Elizabeth has "put away" Mary (9, 10). Sam finds time to "make the rounds" with the ladies and partakes of little dalliances with Bagwell's wife, Mrs. Pennington, Sarah and the child Frances Tooker (8, 23, 26, 27).

The plague seems to be subsiding and Sam is hopeful that the first frost (22, 23) will be a "perfect cure of the plague". Sadly he hears that Luellin is dead of it (20), and in a letter from his father he also learns that his Aunt Bell has also succumbed to the deadly disease.

December 1665

In December Sam focuses on Tangier and his victualling business (1, 2, 8, 11, 13, 27). By the middle of the month he admits that his accounts are a mess and he spends Christmas Day pulling them into a better condition.

The plague seems to increase for a while (13, 17, 20, 22) but finally Sam sees a decline (29). In spite of the illness still lingering Elizabeth and her maids move back to London (2), unknowingly leaving Sam free to frolic with Madam Penington (4, 17, 20).

As a result of Sam's recommendation, Balty gets a job with the Duke of Albemarle's guards. Although glad that his stature won Balty a position, an astute Sam now has to worry that Balty "may carry himself that I may receive no disgrace by him" (4).

Sam's Christmas is spent at church where he watches a wedding ceremony and wonders how "strange to see what delight we married people have to see these poor fools decoyed into our condition, every man and woman gazing and smiling at them (25)."

Sam ends his year declaring that "I have never lived so merrily (besides that I never got so much) as I have done this plague time", with his net worth increasing from 1300l. to 4400l.. Although prize money issues still carry on for Sam (3, 5, 13) the year ends sadly for Lord Sandwich (6, 7, 8). Sam records that "The great evil this year, and the only one indeed, is the fall of my Lord Sandwich, whose mistake about the prizes has undone him, I believe, as to interest at Court, though sent (for a little palliating it) Ambassador to Spayne, which he is now fitting himself for." Sam ends the year with hopes for the plague to truly end and a bright eye for the return of business as usual.

8. 1666: The Great Fire of London

January 1666

Sam begins the New Year in the difficult position of being torn between political Navy factions. On one hand, he has loyalties to both Lord Sandwich, whose reputation has been tarnished by the Prize affairs (12, 17, 28), and to Sir George Carteret, who is rumoured to be losing his position to Lord Craven (7, 26). On the other side Sam is viewed favourably by their enemy Sir W. Coventry (6). “To see what difficulty I stand, that I dare not walk with Sir W. Coventry, for fear my Lord of Sir G. Carteret should see me; nor with either of them, for fear Sir W. Coventry should” (28). Feeling alone he admits that “I must now stand upon my own legs” (7). A very bright note is that both the King (28) and Duke of York (28, 29) are highly complimentary and supportive of Sam and his work, something he shares details of with Elizabeth (30).

On a positive note, Elizabeth works “like a horse” all month redecorating their bedchamber (7, 9, 26) with very pleasing results. Sam, through Kate Joyce and her husband, seems to be making some progress in arranging a match between Pall and Harman (14, 25). Most satisfying of all is that by month end Sandwich’s 1000l. bond to Sam’s cousin (to which Sam was bound in the event that Sandwich defaulted) has been paid by Lord Sandwich from his prize money.

February 1666

February sees a return to normal as Sam reconnects with those he hasn’t seen during the plague. He returns to church with Elizabeth (4), rearranges the books in his chamber to their pre-plague places (7), notes the return of Lady Batten (5), Sir Thomas Harvey (10) and Mr. Caesar his boy’s lute master (12). Sam watches the newly returned Queen and her ladies playing cards and notes that she looks well in spite of her recent miscarriage (19).

As Sam’s life settles in Lord Sandwich prepares to embark on a new phase of his career, as Ambassador to Spain (2, 16, 23, 25). Sam continues the delicate balance of the politics of the Sandwich, Carteret vs. Coventry situation (12, 14, 26). Other business surrounding the Navy continues (2, 6, 14) and Sam engages with the Houbland family (8, 9, 16) with hopes of gaining some payments along the way.

Elizabeth busies herself this month with the portrait painter Mr. Hales, who works on her portrait in the style of St. Katherine (14, 15, 27). Sam continues with his efforts to marry off his sister Pall (11), notes his brother John’s desire for a spiritual promotion (21), has a sad visit from Uncle Wight (18) and hears of the death of his Aunt James (4).

Sam's life may well be back to normal as he finds himself "beset with people to spend me money" (20) complaining of the expense of becoming the godfather to Captain Ferrer's daughter Katherine, the Valentine of Mrs. Pierce, the host of little Miss Tooker, and the source of a potential loan to Mrs. Lane.

March 1666

With Lord Sandwich on his way to Spain, Sam sets out to re-establish his 'good' relationships with the Duke of York (7) and Mr. Coventry (6, 7) and even suffers through a "dirty, nasty dinner" with Albemarle (9, 25) to do so.

Issues surrounding accounts overwhelm Sam this month. He advised Sir George Carteret to come clean and be very open with the Board review of his accounts. Meanwhile Sam struggles with his own personal and public accounts and finds his head 'confounded' after days of struggling with them (25).

Sam thoroughly enjoys Elizabeth's new portrait and starts to sit for his own (17). He finds a job for brother-in-law Balty, albeit a hazardous one as a Muster-Master at sea. He continues to negotiate with Harman as a potential husband for Pall although his father proposes a marriage with an unsuitable, albeit rather well off, drunk. He also receives news that his father is being sued for a debt of Tom's (19, 21).

Perhaps the highlight of the month is found in the self reflections that Sam shares on the 9th and 10th as he writes quite honestly of himself: "I do see that my nature is not to be quite conquered, but will esteem pleasure above all things, though yet in the middle of it, it has reluctances after my business, which is neglected by my following my pleasure. However musique and women I cannot but give way to, what my business is", and "The truth is, I do indulge myself a little the more in pleasure, knowing that this is the proper age of my life to do it; and out of my observation that most men that do thrive in the world, do forget to take pleasure during the time that they are getting their estate, but reserve that till they have got one, and then it is too late for them to enjoy it with any pleasure".

April 1666

Elizabeth visits Brampton to gather details about a potential husband for Pall (4, 19). Sam visits with Balty who prepares for his departure to sea as a Muster-Master aboard the Henry (27). Sam graciously sends some of his ruling work to Elizabeth's father, which will provide him with much needed money (28). Sam writes a rather sharp letter to his brother John, the first he's written to him since he become angry with him (28).

The most exciting family matter is that Sam acts on his August 1665 promise to buy Elizabeth a pearl necklace. Sam finds himself in a rather contented state in his marriage these days and finds himself “melancholy in the absence of my wife” (6) while she is away. His original promise was for a 60l. necklace, but he seems content to lay out 80l. Sam is pleased to record his net worth at 5200l. by month end.

With the Court in mourning at the death of Queen Catherine’s mother Sam dons his black coat (22) and notes how ordinary and plain Lady Castlemaine is in her black morning attire without her finery and makeup. The young Mrs. Stewart, however, still gets the nod of approval on her looks, even in her mourning attire (21).

May 1666

Health matters start with the illness of little Su, Elizabeth’s ‘bad cheek’ (8, 12), and end with Sam’s sore eye (30). Most upsetting is the still-born baby delivered by Balty’s wife, which Sam takes in stride as “there is no reason to be sorry because his staying without a child will be better for him and for her” (30).

Sam enjoys Elizabeth and the ladies but faces Elizabeth’s wrath as she calls Mrs. Pierce and Mrs. Knipp “whores” (9). Later, while discussing “the ladies” with Elizabeth, Sam admits that he is to blame for her upset here as Elizabeth “do find with reason, that in the company of Pierce, Knipp, or other women that I love, I do not value her, or mind her as I ought” (12).

Work worries surround Sam’s business, where “his defect in my duty of the Victualling, which lies upon me as a burden, till I get myself into a better posture therein, and hinders me and cast down my courage in very thing else that belongs to me, and the jealousy I have of Sir W. Coventry’s being displeased with me about it” (31).

June 1666

The guns of the fleet are heard as battle against the Dutch unfolds (2, 4). Early excitement about a win turns to disappointment at a loss due to the division of the fleet (7, 8, 24). Balty escapes unharmed (8) but Sir William Clerke (7), Sir Christopher Mings (10) and Sir William Barkeley (16) are among the many that lose their lives. Fallout and blame are the fodder of gossip with finger pointing at Albemarle’s poor leadership, the poor morale of the seamen and general bad management. Holmes, Spragg and Smith (10) are viewed as those that carry out the business of true fighting.

As the battle news and fallout unfolds, Sam entertains his father and brings him to Hales to have his portrait done (6, 11, 14). Sam and his father discuss business (17) including the latter's estate, Pall's proposed marriage arrangements, and his brother John who is still in Sam's bad graces (17). By month end much is settled with his father, but Sam's "extended family" has an upset with the temporary departure of Mercer (23) after a falling out with Elizabeth.

July 1666

Unruly men are pressed to sea (2) and the wives of those who have been held prisoner in Holland unnerve Sam as they shout out in anger and beg for money (10). Balty is among those who leaves for sea (19). The fighting begins along with worries about the state of the young gentlemen captains and their lack of ability (25). Sam's worry is for naught with news of a victory as the English Navy beats them into the Weelings (29). Sam believes that there is a double victory at the death of De Ruyter but is disappointed to find this rumour is false (31). While the brave fight Creed tells Sam that things are mighty dull at Court, where they lounge in bed and have no drive to do any work or any cares to be productive (7).

With good news comes the bad as Sam is asked to be the godfather to Mrs. Knipp's boy (6) followed by the sad news of the death of Mrs. Pierce's newly born son (26). Mercer is back in the fold (5) and all settles down with Sam's extended family this month.

August 1666

Sadly the plague advances in Greenwich, Deptford and Deal as many escape for London (6, 9). New plague deaths are also reported locally. Sir Minnes becomes ill of ague (20, 22) and Sam fears Sir W. Pen may become Minnes' replacement if he dies.

Sam and Elizabeth are at odds most of the month with arguments over Mrs. Knipp and Mrs. Pierce (6), Elizabeth's unauthorised expenditure on a handkerchief (12) and her "snappish" ways (21). Sam's only pleasure is in her painting of the Virgin head (9, 11) which he admires.

Naval news includes "Holmes' bonfire" which is his famous burning of the enemy's harbour and houses in Vile and Schelling (15). A friendly bet between Carteret, Batten and Sam about the action against the Dutch takes place (16). On a more stressful note, Sam is pulled in front of the King with little warning and must report on the want of victuals for the fleet (26). A few days later the King receives a letter from Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle complaining about their need for supplies which references Sam's accounts of what has been sent, which fall short of their needs (28).

September 1666

Jane awakens Sam and Elizabeth telling them of a “great fire” that she saw in the City (2). Sam leaves to White Hall with details of the fire to present to the King and Duke of York. Sam tells the King that unless he pulls down houses nothing will stop the fire. The King tells Sam to bring the Lord Mayor a command to spare no houses, but to no real avail as the fire begins to engulf the city over the next several days.

As the fire escalates Sam secures his belongings, carrying money and plate away in a cart loaned by Lady Batten, burying wine and Parmesan cheese in the garden (4) and locking up his gold (5) with strict orders for Elizabeth not to leave it alone. Over the next few days people and their goods are juggled throughout the city, from one “safe” place to another. Sam’s home remains as the fire subsides and he starts the slow process of moving back (13) and re-organising his home. In spite of all the work and dishevelled activity Sam is back in good form by month end (22) and pleased that his home is in as good condition as it ever was before the fire. Many in London are not in good shape and John Evelyn reports to Sam on the dismal state of the poor (22) and the lack of respect for the King.

November 1666

The “ill condition of things ... is the common subject of all men’s discourse and fears now-a-days” (12) with concerns of lack of money (27) and the sorry state of the Navy (17, 18, 25), and so Sam prepares his controversial “Great Letter” to the Duke of York detailing the dismal financial state of the Navy (16, 17, 18).

A fire erupts at White Hall and the whole city is once again in alarm (9), but this fire is contained. The Committee examining the Great Fire of September starts to place the blame on papist plots (5). Meanwhile the King starts to gather maps and information to look at the rebuilding of London (22).

Great festivities take place on the Queen’s birthday with all of the handsome courtiers and beautiful ladies dressed in their finery and dancing (15). On another fashion note there is gossip that the King of France has slighted King Charles II’s newest fashion, the vest, by dressing all of his footmen in vest attire. Although Sam sees it as an “ingenious kind of affront; yet it makes me angry, to see that the King of England is become so little as to have the affront offered him” (22). It seems that the King is lacking respect not only within his own country, but from afar.

December 1666

Many themes continue this month as the year comes to an end. The Catholics defend themselves in The Catholique’s Apology (1) which Sam

finds well written. A strangely ominous article that appeared in the London Gazette in April seems to add to the possible plots behind the Great Fire (13, 14).

The King's court causes ongoing gossip with the Duke of Monmouth's claims that he is the King's rightful son (16). The £30,000 debts of Lady Castlemaine are paid off by the King (12). Although her ranking in the King's affections seems to be falling, Sam is thrilled to purchase three prints of Lady Castlemaine and have one framed for himself (1, 21).

Sam hears that Lord Sandwich will be brought home (13) and writes him a long overdue letter (17). On the work front lack of money issues continue. A revolt of 1000 seamen brings fear to Sam (19) but the Duke of Albemarle steps in with forces to quell the uprising.

Sam starts to experience eye troubles and buys himself some spectacles with the hope that these will ease his pain (24, 27, 29). He writes his usual astute year-end summary showing overall disgust with the "public" state of the Kingdom but thankfulness for his robust estate and the well being of his family (31).

9. 1667: Kissing Nell Gwyn

January 1667

Sam's yearly vows, which include the usual restrictions on theatre visits (6, 7) are swiftly broken when he enjoys "The Numerous Lieutenant" (23) and is delighted to kiss the actress Nell Gwyn. Sam entertains and shows off his wonderful silver to his guests (4), although some realised that he may have acquired his flagons by dubious means (11).

Elizabeth talks to Sam's sister Pall about a potential marriage to Will Hwer, only to get a polite "thanks, but no thanks" (16, 18). Sam gets some hard-hitting news to his wallet, when the Poll Tax Bill passes (25). Sam hopes that the complex Bill may be too confusing to actually enforce.

Sir William Coventry resigns his post (8, 9) and his office is split (20, 25). The Duke of York is saddened at the rather sudden death of his mistress Lady Denham (7, 8) but forges on with his naval work. Under severe budget constraints, the Duke limits salary payments to only the top two Muster-Masters. Sam is happy and relieved that brother-in-law Balty is in the top slot and therefore will be paid (16). Court apprehensions about the French (2) continue along with gossip that in Spain, Lord Sandwich's men are involved in a deadly altercation with the French Ambassador's entourage (29, 30).

Prince Rupert becomes very ill and prepares to be trepanned (16, 28, 31). His illness, the budget constraints, and fears of the French add to Sam's worries that "Nobody knows who commands the fleete next year, or, indeed, whether we shall have a fleete or no" (31).

February 1667

Prince Rupert is trepanned and begins a slow recovery (2, 3, 5, 6, 11, 13). The loss of the St. Patrick (6, 17) adds to the Navy's fiscal stress. Sam hears that Lord Sandwich has achieved peace with Spain (5) and has been ordered home to take control of the fleet (11, 12). Sam hears that peace may be possible as King Charles II enters into discussions regarding a potential Treaty with the Dutch (14). While Sam enjoys his side deal with Gawden (4), the Duke of York comes to understand that without any money there will be no fleet (17). On an optimistic note, the plans for the rebuilding of the city get underway (24, 28).

Sam has a very musical/theatrical month (12, 16, 18) with lots of theatre talk and entertainment. He digs deep in his pockets and buys Elizabeth a watch (9) and also pays for a special splurge on Betty Mitchell (5), as well as his yearly Valentine gifts (16, 27). Sam gets a shock when his brother

John falls suddenly ill and is almost surprised to realise that he cares deeply for his brother (7, 8).

March 1667

The King juggles the politics of the French and Dutch, which leaves the merchants in a quandary, swaying between war or peace, and uncertain whether it's best to buy or sell (1, 3, 4, 6, 11, 15). The Duke of Buckingham is accused of the treasonable act of having the King's nativity calculated and seems destined for the Tower (3, 6, 9, 11). Lord Sandwich has returned to favour with the King (17), while the Duke of Richmond is betrothed to the apple of the King's eye, the lovely Mrs. Stewart (18, 20).

Sam meets a potential prospect for sister Pall (18). While Sam secures a Muster-Master position for Balty on Harman's upcoming voyage to the West Indies (27, 29), he side steps taking Balty's wife into his home while Balty is away. Sam's brother John sends an alarming letter that both their mother and father are ill with Margaret close to death (20, 21). As her health declines further, Sam has a troublesome dream of his mother (25) and decides to skip his yearly stone feast (26) due to fears of her death. Then a letter arrives of her passing and Sam and Elizabeth weep as they read that Margaret's last words are "God bless my poor Sam". He prepares to have the "extended family" properly suited for mourning, and when he attends church in his new periwig and mourning attire he notes that he "made a great shew" (31).

April 1667

Amidst anxieties over peace (7, 9, 11) and his naval work responsibilities, Sam enjoys a week's worth of plays, only to hear the gossip that his people find him minding his pleasure too much these days (19), something Sam vows to quickly correct (20).

Sam pays for his mother's mourning expenses (6) and is relieved that his father is on the mend (13). Sam gets Balty a position as Deputy Treasurer of the Fleete, which comes with a 1500l. salary, but in his wisdom, Sam puts the management of the money in Elizabeth's hands to care for her financially challenged parents (3, 4). Sam isn't so lucky in the financial area when the Collectors of the Poll money come to visit (5).

Sam's dear Betty Mitchell delivers a healthy baby girl (23, 26). John Evelyn defends the virtue of Frances Stewart, who recently married the Duke of Richmond (26), and shares his thoughts on other Court gossip. Lord Sandwich's family, always in bad financial straits (27) has some potential good news, with the hopeful return of Sandwich and the potential 10,000l. portion for the match between Lord Hinchingbroke and Lord Burlington's daughter (29).

May 1667

Life transitions as Betty Mitchell's daughter, Elizabeth, is christened (5) and the Duke of York loses one son to illness while the other struggles to stay alive (14, 23, 25, 27). The Lord Treasurer also passes away, leaving questions as to who will replace him (16). Lord Hinchingbrooke's business of marriage to Lord Burlington's daughter is concluded with the lady very pleased to hear the news (9, 15). Sam's household also changes, with a lying Barker and a drunken Luce let go (12, 13, 18) and two new arrivals to take their place (21).

Sam is angered at Elizabeth for her trendy white locks (11, 12) and her second mourning attire (29), and they exchange words. Sam's father arrives and Sam continues to worry about his health (14, 22, 23, 26).

While the Navy continues to struggle about how to pay their creditors (6, 8), Sam finds himself flush enough in his own finances to start planning to get a coach of his own and a stable to house it in (8, 11, 21). He enjoys a great gossip session with Mrs. Turner, who dishes on the Lord Brouncker, his whore Mrs. Williams and "the most false fellow" Sir W. Pen (21).

June 1667

The Dutch begin relentless naval attacks and victories against the English (8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 18, 27), who lack the ships and power to keep them at bay. Without any funds to pay them, and long overdue outstanding debts owed them, the seamen will not go forth to fight the Dutch and many people fear that they will defect, as they may get paid by the Dutch (14, 23, 25). During these attacks the King sups with Lady Castlemaine (21) which further ignites the fury of the people. Blame is passed out as Pett is made a scapegoat (19), Sir George Carteret swaps his Treasurer of the Navy job with Lord Anglesey and takes his position of Treasurer of Ireland (26). Sir William Coventry fears that he, along with the Lord Chancellor, Lord Arlington and the Vice Chamberlain are also at risk (29).

During this turmoil Sam fears for his life and his finances. He wisely sends Elizabeth and his father to the country to hide his money (12, 13, 14), but is angry with the lack of care taken in this task (19, 20). He makes his will, splitting his belongings equally between his father and Elizabeth (13). Sam turns down Lord Sandwich's request for a loan (17); with the banks in such disarray, he wants to protect his belongings.

There are two very sad, young losses this month with the death of Betty Mitchell's new daughter, Elizabeth (11, 15, 18) and the Duke of York's son, the Duke of Cambridge (6, 9, 22).

July 1667

The Dutch attacks and political fallout continue, with the people turning against the management of the Navy. As many shift in and out of favor, Sam is the “only happy man of the Navy” as not one bad word has been spoken about him (2, 3, 12). While Lady Castlemaine and the King argue about the paternity of the child she is carrying (27, 29), stories of the King’s lingering love for Frances Stewart continue (17), and court factions are ongoing (27). Sir George Carteret passes the Seal to Lord Anglesey. Sam resigns his victualling position (29), and loses the 300l. a year that goes with it. Peace finally is confirmed, leaving the people upset as they wonder what price their lackluster and highly disrespected King, has paid for it (11, 12, 13, 19, 29).

Betty Mitchell tells Sam she is pregnant and he fears it is his child (3). Three days later, when Betty finds she is not with child, Sam celebrates by buying wine for all (6). Later in the month he sprains his ankle and is in pain for several days (14, 15, 16, 17). On a happy note, Lady Jemimah gives birth to a son (6).

August 1667

Sam nervously waits for an official peace announcement and, like many, expresses his concern that he’s not sure if he is glad or sorry about the peace; although it’s necessary, the terms for it are not favorable (14, 16, 19, 22, 24). Sam continues his work on the large general accounts of expenses and debts of the Navy (4). Amid a growing anxiety over the economic instability, John Evelyn and Mr. Burges share a common concern that many are collecting their money either to have it in hand, or to get it out of the country and into safe keeping (8, 9).

Mid-month Sam returns to seeing plays with a wild vengeance, racking up about thirteen this month. He declares that his belly is “full with plays, that I do intend to bind myself to see no more till Michaelmas” (24), yet he’s back to the theatre 2 days later. Elizabeth has had her fill of Sam’s theatre antics with her well justified jealousy of his relationship with Mrs. Knipp (2).

The political fallout continues and divides many. The King goes after the seal of Lord Clarendon (father-in-law to the Duke of York, who supports him). By month end the King prevails and the Chancellor is sadly out of his position.

September 1667

Political fallout continues with the departure of the Chancellor (2). Sir Coventry leaves the Duke of York’s service and is replaced by Mr. Wren

(2, 4, 8) but Sam is upset to lose a man that he admired and sadly starts the transition period to Mr. Wren (10, 17).

Sam continues to sort through gossip versus facts this month. Truths include an Act of Council which called for the removal of all Papists from their offices (8), and peace with Spain (27). False rumours include the King setting Monmouth up for the Crown (14), Lady Castlemaine departing to Paris (5), and the barren Queen being sent to a nunnery (5, 16). Good news befalls the Duke of York as his wife gives birth to a son, Edgar (14).

Sam's eyes cause him a great pain and he relies on his family to read to him (22). He is pleased by Elizabeth's talents on the flageolet (11, 12) and disguises his pleasure at the arrival of Elizabeth's new companion, the pretty Deb Willet (27, 30).

October 1667

Sir W. Batten falls ill which trouble Sam "partly out of kindness, he being a good neighbour and partly because of the money he owes me, upon our bargain of the late prize" (3, 4). The next day, Batten is dead.

Sam doesn't stay around for the funeral but gathers up the ladies and heads off to Brampton to collect the gold that his father buried last June (7, 8, 9). He visits "my Lady" to hear the news of her family and discusses his family concerns with his father (9, 10). He begins the "great work to dig up my gold" which turns out to be a near nightmare (10, 11). Sam returns home with the gold and hears the news that Parliament has met.

Sam is pulled into several different examinations into the war. A committee to look into the miscarriages into the conduct of the entire war is created (17) and Sam finds himself losing sleep over the headaches of the payment of seamen via tickets.

November 1667

Political pundits, Parliament, and the Committees reviewing war-related issues "attack" the Naval Office and Sam's goal is to keep himself clean during the turmoil. Sir W. Coventry's conduct is criticized by the Narratives of the Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert (1, 4) and Sam fears what may befall Lord Sandwich (1, 3, 6, 13). The King's political pals work to impeach the Lord Chancellor (4, 9, 12, 15, 21).

Roger Pepys tips Sam off that "the Committee is mighty full of the business of buying and selling of tickets", but believes that they have found someone else to blame, so Sam may be safe (13). Prince Rupert's people, who are investigating the prize-good related activities, pull Poundy, the waterman, to bear witness against Sam (15). Sam receives an order to bring all the books to the Committee lead by Brookes (19), but he is careful to

review them before he delivers them (20), so that he can prepare his defense (24).

Sam's eyes continue to bother him and he visits the spectacle-maker (4). Sam replies to a letter from his father detailing what he will provide to a new potential husband for Pall (19). Sam once again vows to cut back on his play going (13), and a noise in the night reads like a comedy as Sam and his "extended family" fear that a thief is afoot (29).

December 1667

As Parliament continues to argue about what charges to bring against the Lord Chancellor (2), the wise Chancellor escapes (3). In retaliation, the Lords move to formally banish him (13). Sam is nervous as the committees established to look into the finances and administrations of the war have no members that understand the working of a naval operation (8). Sir W. Coventry, in his wisdom, cautions Sam that when he goes before Parliament he should "say little, and let them get out what they can by force" (3).

Sam begrudgingly helps out with Lord Sandwich's bill of exchange (13, 18). Sam discusses Pall's proposed match (21) with his wife Elizabeth who has endured a swollen face and horrible tooth ache for several days (21, 22, 23). Christmas Day is spent quietly at home. Sam ends the year with his usual worries for the nation and his more personal worries of where he will end up standing in his Office when the Committee of Parliament examines the Navy matters (31).

10. 1668: The Speech of a Lifetime, a New Coach and Serial Adultery

January 1668

Sam works on his Tangier Accounts (13, 20, 27) and his letter to the Commissioners of Acts, who call him before their Committee (27, 28, 31). Regarding the Chatham business, Sam hears he made “great ground in the Parliament” and that they will “never let me be out of employment” (5). While the Parliament takes things seriously, the King with his assorted actress mistresses (14), and the Duke of Buckingham with his infamous Lord Shrewsbury duel, leave Sam disgusted. “This will make the world think that the King hath good councilors about him, when the Duke of Buckingham, the greatest man about him, is a fellow of no more sobriety than to fight about a whore” (17).

Sam is at odds with Elizabeth when Will Hewer gives her a 40l. diamond locket, which Sam tells her she can not accept. Sam concludes that Pall will marry Jackson (10, 11), but when Sam suggests that his father comes to live with them after they wed, Elizabeth and Sam have a heated argument (12). Lord Hinchingbrooke is finally married, leaving Sam snubbed that he did not have a favour sent to him (17). On a sad family note, Anthony Joyce attempts suicide and dies shortly thereafter, leaving Kate Joyce and family at risk of losing their home to the Crown. Sam gets the approval of the King that the house will pass to the widow and children, but by month end this is still in flux (21, 22, 24, 30).

February 1668

Sam’s worries include “finishing my Tangier Accounts; of auditing my last year’s Accounts; of preparing answers to the Commissioners of Accounts; of drawing up several important letters to the Duke of York and the Commissioners of the Treasury; the marrying of my sister; the building of a coach and stables against summer, and the setting many things in the Office right; and the drawing up a new form of Contract with the Victualler of the Navy, and several other things, which pains, however, will go through with, among others the taking care of Kate Joyce in that now she is in at present for saving her estate.” (1).

Sam prepares for and presents to several Committees. The ticket issues are voted miscarriages, but no individual is named, thus leaving Sam unsure if he will lose his position (14, 18, 19, 23, 28). Sam is summoned to present on the prize issues and worries regarding how Lord Sandwich will fare on this matter (5, 11, 12, 25, 29). In Sandwich’s favor, he is credited with achieving peace between Portugal and Spain (10, 19). A lucky Duke of Buckingham and Lord Shrewsbury are pardoned for their duel (5, 6).

Sam picks Mercer and Elizabeth for his Valentines and buys Elizabeth a turquoise ring to add to her “collection” (14, 18, 23). He meets Pall’s intended husband, the quiet Jackson, “a plain young man, handsome enough for Pall, one of no education nor discourse” who passes muster (7) and Sam concludes the marriage settlement details by month end (10, 12, 29). He is relieved when the jury finds the cause of death for Anthony Joyce to be “fever”; therefore Kate Joyce keeps her estate (4, 18).

March 1668

Fearful that all of his office will be turned out, a highly stressed Sam prepares his defence of the business of the tickets (1, 2, 4). With encouragement from Elizabeth, a half-pint of warm sack and a dram of brandy, Sam faces the House and delivers the speech of a lifetime (5). His speech and his abilities become the talk of the town, with accolades coming from all over, including the King (5, 6, 8,9). Nevertheless, Sam’s worries continue with ongoing issues related to the prizes and a summons relating to the victuals (6, 31).

Sister Pall is finally married at Brampton (2). Sam meets the new Lady Hinchbrooke and is pleasantly impressed (14). Sam intercedes when he receives an unsigned letter telling him that Kate Joyce is contemplating an unfavorable marriage. At Easter she asks Sam if he will look into a potential partner that she might be contemplating before she chooses to wed (22).

April 1668

Sam develops a sexual interest in Deb (1, 2) who luckily departs for a country visit with Elizabeth and Jane (2). While the ladies are away Sam turns his attentions elsewhere and, with no fear of Elizabeth’s wrath, gets bold with Mrs. Knepp (21, 23). In other theatre-related news, Sir W. Davenant passes away and has a fine burial (6, 9).

Sam remains unscathed by the various Committee investigations but Harman is committed by Parliament (18), Sir W. Penn is impeached (21), and Henry Brouncker flees the country (20, 29). Sam’s worries about Lord Sandwich continue (27, 28). The Parliament still has not passed the much needed Act for 300,000l.. A small and lame fleete departs (3, 7, 30) and Balty returns home safe and sound (9, 17, 26).

May 1668

Sam enjoys a small reprieve from the Parliamentary stresses, but Sir W. Penn must answer to his impeachment charges (1). Sir Thomas Teddeman becomes ill and passes away with a well attended burial (3, 13, 15).

With Elizabeth away, Sam enjoys dalliances with Mrs. Knepp (6, 7, 16) and shares music and plays with Mercer and her friends (10, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 26, 28, 29). Mrs. Martin's daughter, Sam's godchild, dies (5) and Mrs. Martin gives Sam her coveted starling, which was formerly the King's bird (21, 22). Sam is perturbed to hear that his cousin Kate Joyce has remarried, although Sam was lax to inquire about the suitability and finances of her potential partner (11).

Sam heads off to Brampton for a short visit and spends time with his family and Lady Sandwich (23, 24, 25), only to return to his usual Tangier accounts and Council Chamber duties (28, 29).

June 1668

Sam departs for a little adventure, and leaves for Brampton to get the ladies and Will Hewer (4). His father tells Sam of Elizabeth's ill words (8), but the next day, the happy group of four leaves for a tour of Oxford, Salisbury, Bath, Wells and the county of Wiltshire (9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16).

Upon their return home Elizabeth sobs non-stop as Sam discovers that she has heard of his gadabout ways during her time away (18). The crying continues and Elizabeth requests that she be allowed to leave and go live in France. As her heartache unfolds, Elizabeth feels that Sam has a lot more pleasures than he allows her to have (19), and she is still distressed from the words that she shared with Sam's father.

The household is awakened by a fire in Mark Lane. Sam secures his gold, plate and papers, but all is safe (19). He presents Balty to Mr. Wren to ensure his position as a Muster-Master (22).

July 1668

Sam attends the Duke of York, who is "very hot for regulations of the Navy" (1) and he continues with his different groups of Commissioners (2, 3, 22).

Elizabeth sits for her portrait by the artist Coopers (8, 10, 13, 16, 18, 25). Betty Mitchell gives birth to a daughter, with Elizabeth the god mother (12). Sam buys an espinette, a small harpsichord (13, 15). Sam tries several different treatments for his steadily declining eyes, with limited success (3, 13, 15, 21, 23, 29). "The month ends mighty sadly with me, my eyes being now past all use almost; and I am mighty hot upon trying the later printed experiment of paper tubes" (31).

August 1668

Sam's deteriorating eyes make his office work more difficult. After a trial "of a tube-spectacall of paper" (11) he sets the women out to make him more tubes (12) with hopes that this may bring relief.

Sore eyes aside, Sam prepares his “great letter” for the Duke of York, which details the poor administration of Naval Office. Sam drafts the letter and reviews it with the Duke of York. The Duke has it re-written, signs it and presents it as if he wrote it himself. Sam cleverly removes himself from any public link to the letter, but fears that the offices suspect him of writing it (21, 22, 23, 25, 27, 29, 30). The Duke requests that the Naval Officers reply to the report with their recommendations for improvement. As this is going on, Sam hears rumors that the entire Naval Office will be turned out. Some of those conversations, with Captain Cocke and the Duke of York, exempt Sam from the group expected to lose their positions, but Sam still fears that they will all be let go (22, 23, 30).

In romantic news, Creed speeds his match with Mrs. Betty Pickering (13). Sam’s house is in disarray as Tom, who has made a marriage proposal to Jane and backed out, leaves a distraught Jane in agony (19).

September 1668

The ladies set out to visit Sam’s cousin Roger Pepys in Cambridge, to see the Stourbridge Fair (15), leaving Sam to deal with the fallout of the Duke’s recent letter. Mr. Wren tells Sam that “they all suspect” him of authoring the letter (8). The Officers send their defences to the Duke, who shares these with Sam in order to allow him to adjust his own defence to address any potential issues that are thrown his way by the other Officers (11, 13, 16, 18). The atmosphere at work has everyone being “mighty cautious” (17).

Sam hears that Lord Sandwich is in Cornwall, and Sam feels badly that he has not done more to assist in the management of his affairs (27, 28).

October 1668

Naval roles change. Sam secures a position for Mr. Turner as the Storekeeper (11, 13, 15). All Naval Officers are ordered to deliver their patents to the Commissioners of Acts (22) and Sir J. Mennes is made a bare Commissioner (24). An order from the King, which Lord Anglesey plans to refute, asks that Anglesey be suspended and replaced by Sir Thomas Littleton and Sir Thomas Osbourne (28, 31). Lord Sandwich is welcomed back kindly by the King, but his estate and debts are in dismal condition (17).

Sam starts a shopping adventure with a new periwig (22), plans for a new bed (19, 22) and a new coach (20, 24, 30). he may well need a new place to sleep after Elizabeth finds him in a sexually indecent embrace with Deb (25). As Elizabeth’s hurt and rage unfold (26, 27) a guilty Sam tries to minimise the damage and slips a note to Deb to align what he told

Elizabeth with what Deb may tell her (27). Sam ends the month sorry, ashamed and troubled for Deb's sake, knowing well that this will not bode well for her (31).

November 1668

Henry Brouncker returns and Sir W. Penn is removed from his position. All fear that the Duke of Buckingham rules the King and is a scheming force (4). Lord Sandwich is still the target of the Commissioners regarding the prizes (15).

Under Elizabeth's distraught and watchful eyes, Sam tries to conceal his anguish over Deb (1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9), slipping her a note telling her that he only admitted to kissing her and that she should do the same (9). An honest Deb confesses all (which is much more than just a kiss) to Elizabeth (10). Elizabeth explodes at her lying husband, and over the next days Deb is asked to leave (12, 13). Deb moves to an undisclosed place (16). Sam promises Elizabeth never to see her again. No sooner is Deb gone than Sam tracks her down, has an illicit sexual encounter with her in a coach and gives her 20s. He lies about his whereabouts to Elizabeth, who the next day discovers the truth (18, 19). Raging fights ensue (19, 20) and Elizabeth forces Sam to write Deb a note, calling her a "whore" and swearing he will never see her again. Elizabeth discloses the sordid mess to W. Hewer and asks him to deliver the note to Deb and to follow Sam everywhere he goes (20, 21, 23). A wise Hewer agrees, but never delivers the note to Deb, instead telling her that Sam would never see her again and offers her the "best Christian counsel" that he could (21). Hewer confirms Elizabeth's claims that she has always been faithful to Sam even when she had been pursued by other men (10, 20). By month end, Sam refers to his constant shadow, Hewer, as his "jailor" and "guard" (23, 30).

The only thing that seems to be going well for Sam is that he finally buys his new coach (1, 28, 29).

December 1668

Sam hopes that the naval turnover is done, "being now none left of the old stock but my Lord Brouncker, J. Mennes, who is ready to leave the world, and myself" (7). When the surveyor, Middleton, brings false accusations against W. Hewer, Sam explodes in anger, prepares a defense with Hewer and sees it through the Board that clears Hewer of any charges (8, 15, 18).

Sam enjoys his new coach and buys a beautiful pair of black horses (1, 12). While driving about he spies Deb on the streets and hopes that Elizabeth did not see her (7). Elizabeth hears that Deb is doing well and receiving money from someone. She accuses Sam of providing the money to her, a claim that he can honestly (for once) deny. (18).

Sam ends the year resolved never to bring sorrow to Elizabeth again, worried about his backwards accounts which he has not balanced in two years and worried about his eyes (31).

11.1669: Eye Trouble, Chasing Deb, and the End of the Diary

January 1669

Sam shows either guilt or thoughtfulness to Elizabeth with a cabinet for her New Year's gift and a 30l. allowance for clothing (1, 2, 3, 4). They spend time together riding about in their coach, having dinner guests and seeing plays. Elizabeth has a few jealous outbursts and one evening comes after Sam with hot tongs, while on another occasion she accuses him of having wandering eyes (10, 12, 20).

Sam spends time preparing for a great dinner at his house with Lord Sandwich, Peterborough, Sir Charles Harbourn, Lord Hinchinbroke, Mr. Sidney and Sir William Godolphin as his guests. He is extremely pleased with the meal and the entertainment afterwards (18, 22, 23). The next day he is awoken to a warrant calling for the Principal Officers to attend the King. The King is interested in finding out when all of his ships might be repaired and fit for service, but the King doesn't reveal why he needs to know (24).

February 1669

Sam is further plagued by his eyes, but forges on. He works on assorted Navy business with the Duke of York (10, 12, 14) and ensures a Muster-Master role for Balty (10). Sam buys himself a brass parallelogram (4) and has a plaster made of his face (10).

Elizabeth's suspicions of Sam now center on his relationship at home with Jane. Sam moves to have Jane and Tom leave by Easter (7, 8) in order to maintain a happier home. Elizabeth is wise to be suspicious, as Sam is almost tempted when he follows a pretty lady in mourning after the burial of Captain Middleton's wife. With his watchful boy at the gate, Sam's hopes are thwarted (17).

On a very cheery note, Sam finds that his cousin Roger Pepys has quietly remarried (8). Roger's daughters Bab and Betty arrive in town and stay with a receptive Sam (18). Over the next days they are whisked off to plays (20, 22), Westminster Abbey, where they see the tomb of Katherine of Valois, the making of glass at a Glass-House (23), and dinner at Will Hewer's impressive lodgings (24). By the end of their adventures Sam is happily referring to them as "my girls" (25).

March 1669

Lord Sandwich is so devastated at the death of his much beloved daughter, Lady Paulina Montagu, that he is unable to attend Sam when he comes to

comfort him (1). As Sandwich mourns, Sam finds that Sir. W. Coventry has been accused of an attempted duel with the Duke of Buckingham (1), is put into the Tower (4), removed from his Council (6), and finally released (20). The action against Coventry and the King's siding with his favorite, the Duke of Buckingham, only furthers the rift between the Duke of York and his brother, the King. The Duke of York determines that if he allows the King to fill a seat or two in the Navy that it may stop him from replacing the entire Navy (31). As this unfolds, Sam and Commissioner Middleton attend a Court Martial (19), which Sam finds interesting (19).

Elizabeth hears painful rumors that Deb is slandering her (12). The household prepares for the upcoming wedding of Jane and Tom, which takes place on the anniversary of Sam's "cutting of the stone" (26). Elizabeth seeks a replacement maid and debates if she should take the pretty girl or the one with marks all over her face from small pox (11, 12). Much to Sam's delight and excitement, Elizabeth welcomes Matt, the pretty one (29).

April 1669

Sam assists in a Court Martial (1, 10), attends a Council on war (3), settles matters to assign Customs between the Navy Office and Victualler (7), and attends to Tangier accounts (27, 28). Sir W. Coventry remains on poor terms with the King (17).

Sam's eyes continue to plague him and keep him from his diary for 14 days. In spite of a vizard mask with tubes (24) and potential eye water treatment (30), he struggles daily.

While with Hewer, his eyes are sharp enough to spot Deb at White Hall (13). He sends Hewer away, pursues Deb to find where she lives, returning home to Elizabeth and speaking "as innocent" of his day (13). He tracks down Deb, brings her to a blind alehouse, forces her to touch him, gives her 20s, and sets up another rendezvous (15). Sam cautiously fears Elizabeth (16), but feels bold enough to return in search of Deb at the date he set forth, only to find she is not there as he had hoped, so he turns to Doll for relief (19). Later that month, Sam sees Deb with a gentlewoman, but no contact is made (26).

May 1669

Sam works on the Instructions of the Commanders and discourses on the Council on trade (8, 10). The Duke of York hopes he has mastered his adversaries as the King is finally satisfied at the Constitution of the Navy, appointing Sir Jeremy Smith to Commissioner of the Navy, in place of Penn (10). The Duke of York is further pleased when the Duke of Buckingham is linked, via his whore, Lady Shrewsbury, to the near deadly

attack on Harry Killigrew and the death of his man (19). The Duke of York hopes this will bring about Buckingham's fall.

After the death of Paulina, Lord Sandwich returns and he shares a nice visit with Sam (2). Sam hears that Pall is pregnant (12).

Sam sends a porter to inquire about Deb, only to find that she has gone to Greenwich (4). He finds himself wanting to pursue her, but has the wisdom in "private vows last night in prayer to God Almighty cleared my mind for the present of the thoughts of going to Deb at Greenwich, which I did long after" (7).

Sam places his energies into planning for his trip with Elizabeth to France in the summer (7). He requests leave and the King showing true concern over Sam's eyes, "commanded me to give them rest this summer, according to my late petition to the Duke of York" for the time away (24).

At the end of the month, Sam closes the diary, his eyes no longer good enough to write it himself (31):

"And thus ends all that I doubt I shall ever be able to do with my own eyes in the keeping of my journal, I being not able to do it any longer, having done now so long as to undo my eyes almost every time that I take a pen in my hand; and, therefore, whatever comes of it, I must forbear: and, therefore, resolve, from this time forward, to have it kept by my people in long-hand, and must therefore be contented to set down no more than is fit for them and all the world to know; or, if there be any thing, which cannot be much, now my amours to Deb are past, and my eyes hindering me in almost all other pleasures, I must endeavour to keep a margin in my book open, to add, here and there, a note in short-hand with my own hand."

"And so I betake myself to that course, which is almost as much as to see myself go into my grave: for which, and all the discomforts that will accompany my being blind, the good God prepare me!"

12. After the Diary



Portrait of Samuel Pepys by John Hayls, 1666.

May 31, 1669 Diary Entry:

And thus ends all that I doubt I shall ever be able to do with my own eyes in the keeping of my journall, I being not able to do it any longer, having done now so long as to undo my eyes almost every time that I take a pen in my hand; and therefore, whatever comes of it, I must forbear; and therefore resolve from this time forward to have it kept by my people in long-hand, and must therefore be contented to set down no more than it is fit for them and all the world to know; or if there be anything (which cannot be much, now my amours to Deb are past, and my eyes hindering me in almost all other pleasures), I must endeavour to keep a margin in my book open, to add here and there a note in short-hand with my own hand. And so I betake myself to that course which is almost as much as to see myself go into my grave — for which, and all the discomforts that will accompany my being blind, the good God prepare me.

The “good God” had other plans for Pepys, and although Sam closed the Diary, God gave him another 34 years of life full of accomplishments, well earned promotions, political perils, and an assortment of interestingly diverse characters. Sam would find himself surviving the reigns of Charles II, James II and William III and would see James’s daughter Anne find her

way to the throne. Along the way he would continue to excel in his naval accomplishments, assorted MP positions, his role in the establishment of the Royal Mathematical School at Christ's Hospital, his Fellowship and role as President of the Royal Society, among the highlights. He would welcome new friends and bid sad farewells to many of those we came to know so well in his Diary. But, as the Diary ended, all of those things were in the future and Sam was more concerned with his immediate plans, his desire to share some pleasurable time with his wife Elizabeth.

I. Elizabeth



Portrait of Elizabeth Pepys. An 1825 engraving of a painting by John Hayls, 1666.

Shortly after the Diary ended, Elizabeth and Sam traveled together to Paris with her brother Balty. In preparation for that trip Sam and his friend John Evelyn exchanged letters regarding Sam's upcoming travels. In his letter to Sam dated 21 August 1669, John shared with Sam pages of wonderful "must see" locations and letters of introduction. A small excerpt is below and the full letter is located here (de la Bédoyère, *Particular Friends*, p.68):

Pray forget not to visit the Taille-Douce shops, and make Collection of what they have excellent, especially the Draughts of their Palaces,

Churches, and Gardens, and the particulars you will have seen; they will greatly refresh you in your Study, and by the fire side, when you are many years return'd. Israel, Sylvestre, Morin, Chaveau, are great Masters, both for things of the kind extant, and Inventions extreamly pleasant. You will easily be acquainted with the best Painters, especially LeBrun, who is chief of them; and it would not be amiss to be present at their Academie, in which Monsieur du Bosse (a principal member) will conduct you. For the rest, I recommend you to God's Almighty Protection; augure you in a happy journey, and kissing you Lady's Hands remain,

Sir, Your most humble and obedient Servant J. Evelyn

Without Sam's meticulous Diary, there is little known about their actual adventures, but as Diary enthusiasts can imagine, any adventure that included Balty must have been filled with tall tales, merriment and perhaps a few headaches for Sam. What is sadly known is that on the way home, while traveling through Flanders, Elizabeth became very ill with a fever. They arrived home in late October, as Elizabeth struggled with her illness. The severity of her situation obviously derailed the etiquette-aware Sam, as it was not until November 2, 1669 that Sam penned an apologetic letter to John Evelyn. In it he begged for forgiveness for not thanking him promptly and expressed his distress at Elizabeth's dire situation. This letter to a close and personal friend captures the severity of Elizabeth's illness and shows the emotional impact on Sam as he faced fears of her death (de la Bédoyère, *Particular Friends*, p.76):

SIR. I beg you to believe that I would not have been ten days returned into England without waiting on you, had it not pleased God to afflict mee by the sickness of my wife, who, from the first day of her coming back to London, hath layn under a fever so severe as at this hour to render her recoverie desperate; which affliction hath very much unfitted me for those acts of civilities and respect which, amongst the first of my friends, I should have paid to yourselfe, as he to whom singly I owe the much greater part of the satisfaction I have met with in my late voyage. Next to you, I have my acknowledgements to make to Sir Samuel Tuke, to whom (when in a condition of doing it) I shall beg your introducing me, for the owning of my obligations to him on the like behalfe. But, Sir, I beg you heartily to dispense with the ceremonie, till I am better qualified for paying it; and in the meane time receive the enclosed, which I should with much more satisfaction have delivered with my owne hand.

I am, Sir Your most obliged and obedient Servant. S. Pepys

I most humbly kiss you ladies hands, and pray my service may be presented to Sir Richard Browne [John Evelyn's Father-in-law, the diplomatist]

As Elizabeth neared death, Sam made arrangements for Milles, the Rector of St Olave's, to offer her a final sacrament. Although Elizabeth had professed her leanings towards Catholicism in the past (usually when angered by Sam), she received the Holy Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. She passed away shortly thereafter on November 10, 1669.

The man who offered us so much of his personal insights in the Diary remains sadly silent to us during such a devastating loss. Perhaps he chose to leave behind only his memories of her life and not her death. Ardent followers of the Diary no doubt can feel his pain as we remember their story in the pages of Sam's Diary. His entries, often filled with their arguments and jealousies, were also full of his loving reflections on Elizabeth's beauty and her dedication to him. After their difficulties of late over Sam's relationship with Deb Willet, Sam and Elizabeth seemed to be moving towards a closer relationship. Sam's 'poor wretch' was gone and the void she left was never filled.

Sam commissioned a monument of Elizabeth as "immortalised" at St. Olave's (below) which captured her beauty and spirit. It was set at St. Olave's to face the Navy pew, where it remains today. Although we don't have the Diary to express Sam's loss, we do have the Latin epitaph that Sam wrote as a farewell to his beloved wife.



Photo by Graham Travis at Flickr.

A group translation by our annotators of her epitaph reads:

HERE LIES
ELIZABETH PEPYS

To Whom

Somerset gave her cradle, Octob: 23, 1640,

Andegavia gave	Cumbria gave
Her Father of the glorious house of St. Michel,	Her Mother of the noble stock of the Cliffords,

Wife of Samuel Pepys (who serves the Royal Navy)
She was educated first in a convent, and then in a seminary of France.
She was distinguished by the excellence of both at once;
Gifted with beauty, accomplishments, tongues;
She bore no offspring, for she could not have borne her like.
At length, when she had bidden the world a gentle farewell,
(After a journey completed through, we may say, the lovelier sights of Europe)-
A returning pilgrim, she took her departure to wander through a grander world.

She died the 10th of November In the 29th year of her age,
In the 15th year of her marriage,
In the year of our Lord 1669.

A selection from a belated letter which Sam sent to Captain Elliot dated 3 March 1670, to thank him for supporting him in his unsuccessful election contest some 4 months later follows. It gives an indication of the extent of the ongoing emotional impact of Sam's loss (de la Bédoyère, *Letters of Samuel Pepys*, p.84).

CAPTAIN ELLIOT, I beg you earnestly to believe that nothing but the sorrow and distraction I have been in by the death of my wife, increased by the suddenness with which it pleased God to surprise me with therewith, after a voyage so full of health and content, could have forced me to so long a neglect of my private concernments; this being, I do assure you, the very first day that my affliction, together with my daily attendance on other public occasions of his Majesty's, has suffered me to apply myself to the considering any part of my private concernments; among which, that of my doing right to you is no small particular: and therefore, as your charity will, I hope, excuse me for my not doing it sooner, so I pray you to accept now, as late as it is, my hearty thanks for your multiplied kindness in my late affair at Aldborough...

Sam continued to support Elizabeth's parents Alexandre and Dorothea St. Michel, her brother Balty and his family throughout his life. His unwavering devotion and loyalty to her memory is reflected in his generosity to her family.

Coinciding with her illness and subsequent death, Sam found himself being pulled into the defense of the Navy Office against the Brooke House Commission's accusations of corruption and inefficiency. After he buried Elizabeth at St. Olave's, he set out to successfully repudiate the claims against the Navy as well as those levied against him directly (accepting illegal fees). The Brooke House sittings went on for two months, as Sam awaited his fate.

Of his fellow officials at the Navy Board during the war, Batten was dead and Penn close to death — he died in September 1670. Coventry and Carteret had left the board in 1667, Pett had been pushed out, and Sir John Mennes was not held responsible for anything — he died February 1671. Only Brouncker and Pepys remained of the old guard to take the blame. Neither lost his job. (Tomalin, p.281)

Life in Sam's personal circle moved on, as his sister Pall (married to John Jackson) delivered a son, whom she named Samuel. In 1670 Sam helped secure Balty a permanent position as a Muster-Master at Deal and helped his brother John to be appointed as Clerk to Trinity House (the seaman's foundation). Shortly thereafter Sam was admitted as an Elder Brother at Trinity House and in 1676 become a Master. Sam once again began to enjoy the friendships he had with John Evelyn, Anthony Deane, and the Houblon family, who were merchants in the shipping and trade business, becoming closest to James (who would prove a true friend to the end). Around this time, Sam took in a housekeeper, Mary Skinner and the relationship developed into an affair. Sam would never marry her, but she would remain his faithful mistress, until his death. Of course, without his Diary, it's hard to know how 'faithful' Sam was to her.

II. Lord Sandwich and the Third Dutch War

With the death of his beloved daughter Paulina in February 1669, Lord Sandwich left London and returned to Hinchinbrooke where he spent two months grieving among his family. To paraphrase Ollard (*Cromwell's Earl*, p.248), since Sandwich's return from abroad his eldest son and heir Ned had married the loveable daughter of Lady Burlington, bringing great joy to the family. There were four boys of school age or younger. Of the daughters, the family was pleased when Anne married Sir Richard Edgecumbe in January 1671. During that month Sydney, Sandwich's favorite son, returned from his grand European tour. After Sandwich's death Sydney would marry the great heiress Anne Wortley. Of the marriage between Philip Carteret and Jemimah, which Sam helped orchestrate and so well recorded, there were three grandchildren added to the family: "George was born in 1667, Philip in 1669 and Edward in 1671. The birth of this last child cost Jemimah her life. She was buried at Hawnes Church on 21st November, and her baby was christened a week later." (Balleine, p.162).



Portrait of Edward Montagu, 1st Earl of Sandwich, by Sir Peter Lely, 1666.

The Third Dutch War began in 1672, and Sandwich was called upon to command the flagship the *Royal James*. During the battle at Sole Bay on May 28th Sandwich had been wounded slightly in the arm and thigh. His companions urged him to jump and swim for it but his bulk and general unwieldiness disinclined him. Perhaps the constricting formality of his clothes he had put on, the caparison of a commander leading his men into battle, further inhibited him.

When his body was found in the water thirty miles away near a fortnight later he was still wearing his Garter ribbon. He had still been on board when everyone else who could stand had left the ship but the corpse showed no sign of scorching or singeing. The recognition that had been denied him in life was granted in death. [The King] gave orders that he should be buried at Westminster Abbey with the magnificence of a great public occasion.” (Ollard, *Cromwell’s Earl*, p.262).

John Evelyn, upon the loss of his esteemed friend, recorded his thoughts in his Diary entry of May 31, 1772:

My L: Sandwich was prudent as well as Valiant, & allways govern’d his affairs with successe, and little losse, he was for deliberation & reason... Thus this gallant Person perish’d ... & deplorable was the losse, of one of

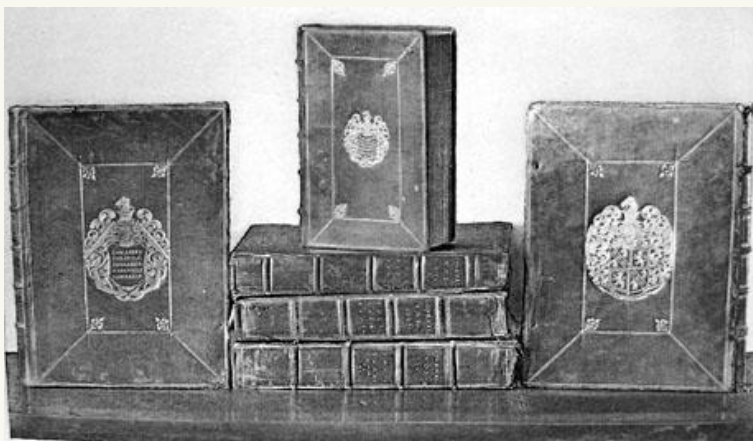
the best accomplish[ed] persons, not onely of this Nation but of any other: He was learned in Mathematics, in Musique, in Sea affaires, in Political: Had ben divers Embassies, was of a sweet obliging temper, Sober, Chast, infinitely ingenious & a true noble man, an ornament to the Court & his Prince, nor has he left any that approach his many Virtues behind him ... I am yet heartily griev'd at this mighty losse, nor do I call it to my thoughts without emotion.

Although the friendship between Lord Sandwich and Sam had cooled over the years, perhaps due to a combination of Sam's independent rising in stature and lingering resentment of Sam's "great letter of reproof", Sam walked as a banner-bearer in the funeral processions, but Lord Sandwich did not mention him in his will.

Another loss of life aboard the *Royal James*, was Sandwich's son-in-law Philip Carteret (husband of the late Jemimah) who was Sandwich's Lieutenant on the ship. Upon his death, the three children of the Carteret-Sandwich union were now orphaned. Sir George Carteret and Lady Carteret moved to Hawes (Philip's residence) and lived there with their grandchildren for the rest of their lives. Lady Sandwich left Hinchinbrooke, her home of thirty years, and went to live with her daughter Anne, where she died two years later.

III. Secretary of the "New" Admiralty

1672 brought the death of Elizabeth's father, Alexandre St Michel and Sam's Uncle Wight. Shortly thereafter Mary Mercer, Elizabeth's Diary companion was gone. A loss of a different nature was brought about by the fire at the Navy offices in early 1673. Sam's house was burnt to the ground, but somehow he saved the six volumes of his Diary, if little else. The home he enjoyed for so many years of the Diary, where he rose in his career, built up his proud possessions, shared times with friends, and which held memories of his wife, was now gone.



Bound volumes of Samuel Pepys' diary.

The year did bring some good news as Pall gave birth to her son John Jackson. Sam became involved in the establishment of the Royal Mathematical School at Christ's Hospital, and was soon after appointed Governor of the hospital. After the fire, the Navy moved him to Winchester Street. With the introduction of the Test Act, which excluded Catholics from office, James II was forced to resign as the Lord High Admiral of the Navy. The King replaced the Duke's position with a group of Admiralty Commissioners. Pepys was appointed Secretary of the Admiralty and in 1674 moved to the Admiralty Office at Derby House. His old position as Clerk of the Acts was split between his brother John and Tom Hayter. Pepys asserted his role and used his exceptional public speaking abilities to present an account of the navy and to secure the £600,000 needed for thirty new ships. His major accomplishment was his proposal that

no one should be appointed as lieutenant until he had served for three years, received a certificate from his captain and passed an examination in navigation and seamanship at the Navy Office... Pepys had made history at a stroke, bringing about a revolution in the way the navy was run, fired by his belief that education and intelligence were more useful to the nation than family background and money; and that however courageous 'gentlemen' captains might be, the service needed to be professionalized. (Tomalin, p.297).

The King apparently agreed with Sam's thoughts on the necessity of education in naval affairs and also granted his later request of funds for a mathematical endowment for Christ's Hospital School where boys could be properly prepared for the navy.

Sam's accomplishments and positions increased as he was elected MP for Castle Rising, Norfolk, appointed a Governor of Christ's Hospital, elected a Master of Trinity House and soon after elected a Master of the Clothworkers Company. Amidst all of this good news, Sam was to suffer unexpected sadness at the loss of his brother John, who died in the spring of 1677. Shortly thereafter, Sam's old amour of the Diary, Deb Willet, who had married and remained in London, died. There is correspondence to show that while she was alive, Sam assisted her husband, a theology graduate, to obtain a position as a ship's chaplain. It is not known if Sam continued any type of sexual or other relationship with Deb, but it seems quite plausible.

IV. Perils of the Popish Plots

The changing political scene and the rise of anti-Catholic activities began to turn against Sam. Throughout Charles II's reign, a political plot worked against James, the Duke of York and a number of other Papists in high places (including Queen Catherine). The plots were intended to discredit

Catholics who were close to the King, with the hope to gain control of the succession of the Crown.

In 1678, these clandestine plans would prove “personal” (Heath, p.xiii) and involve Sam, with the hopes to reflect poorly upon his patron, James, the Duke of York. This activity was part of the overall Popish Plots. During this time, the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, a well known Protestant magistrate, opened a huge opportunity for the conspirators to blame the Papists for his death. Helen Heath explains that the original plan may have been to implicate Sam in the murder of Godfrey. Luckily, Sam was away at the time of the murder so the conspirators went after his clerk, Samuel Atkins. The evidence proved so false that the boy was released.

As the political players shifted, Sam was no longer wanted as MP at Castle Rising, but was elected along with Anthony Deane as MP at Harwich (Tomalin, p.311). The Admiralty Commission was dissolved and a new one appointed with people who were not favorably disposed towards Sam. In a political move, the King sent his brother the Duke of York abroad, which did not bode well for Sam, who was to become the next target.

Hooligans, who were believed to have been bribed by those working on the behalf of Lord Shaftesbury, were pulled together to bring false charges against Sam and Deane which included providing information to the French (treason), piracy, and in Pepys’ case, being a Catholic. Sam’s accuser on the treason charges was Colonel John Scott. The piracy charge (more directed toward Deane) was brought by Captain Moore and the accusations of being a Catholic came from a former servant of Sam’s, John James. As Sam was sent to the Tower, he resigned as the Secretary of the Admiralty and the Treasurer of Tangier.

As a response to the accusations of Catholicism, Balty penned a letter, with the intent of “proving” that the charges of Popery in Sam’s home were false and misleading. Although the readers of the Diary will all know that Elizabeth had a leaning towards Catholicism, the letter provided Sam with an endorsement and allows readers to hear the incredibly melodramatic “voice” of Balty at his best.

Sam, who has been a faithful servant to King Charles, was left without any public support from the King he served so well. Charles, who was solely interested in maintaining the throne, had to let the proceedings carry out without intervention. Charles only intervened with an uncharacteristic and vehement support when his neglected Queen Catherine was falsely accused of involvement in an attempted murder plot against him. Charles publicly defended her and as her letters reveal (Davidson, p.456) Charles went so

far as to secure a secret getaway to France if it appeared that the opposing forces would try to imprison her.



Titus Oates accused James I's secretary, Edward Coleman, of being involved in the Popish Plot. This picture of Coleman appeared on the songsheet, The Plotter Executed (1678)

For Sam, now in prison, there was no such royal support and a desperate need to clear his name. From behind the Tower walls, Sam realised he needed to manage his own defence. From his cell, Sam was left to rely on his network of friends, professional and political contacts (many of whom had to work undercover so as not to be associated with an accused traitor), and someone who could infiltrate the world of the slippery Colonel Scott. There was a need for “spy” work to be done in France in order to discredit and prove his accuser, Colonel Scott a liar. To his credit, and, most likely to the amazement of many Diary readers, Balty rose magnificently to the occasion and herein proved his greatest service to Sam. In spite of all his flaws and failures he went to France to pursue “a sort of double life between the wealthy merchants of Pepys’ acquaintance, on the one hand, and the rogues and vagabonds who consorted with the nefarious Colonel Scott on the other” (Heath, p.xxv). Balty enjoyed an ‘all expenses paid’ vacation and Sam had his French spy, looking for credible enemies of Scott (there were plenty) who would come forth to speak out and discredit him.

As 1679 progressed, Sam’s friends, among them James Houblon, put up bail. Sam left the Tower and went to live with Will Hewer, who was already providing housing for Balty’s wife and children while Balty was in France. As evidence against John Scott began to pile up, he went abroad. John James, who was ill and perhaps wanted to die with a clear conscience, gave a statement that he had been paid to bring false statements against Sam. Without any concrete evidence against him, by June of the next year all proceedings against Sam were finally dropped.

Sam's moment of relief was not long enjoyed, as his brother-in-law John Jackson and then his father died by the end of the year, leaving Sam estates to settle, a house to care for and a widowed sister with two sons who would no doubt need his oversight. Sam found schooling for Pall's sons, he secured a position for Balty in Tangier and set his wife Esther and children to live in Brampton. Sam remained in London, living with his friend Will Hewer, who by now had amassed significant money from his dealing in trade. Hewer, whose fortunes would grow substantially over the years, continued to graciously welcome Sam and his circle into his homes.

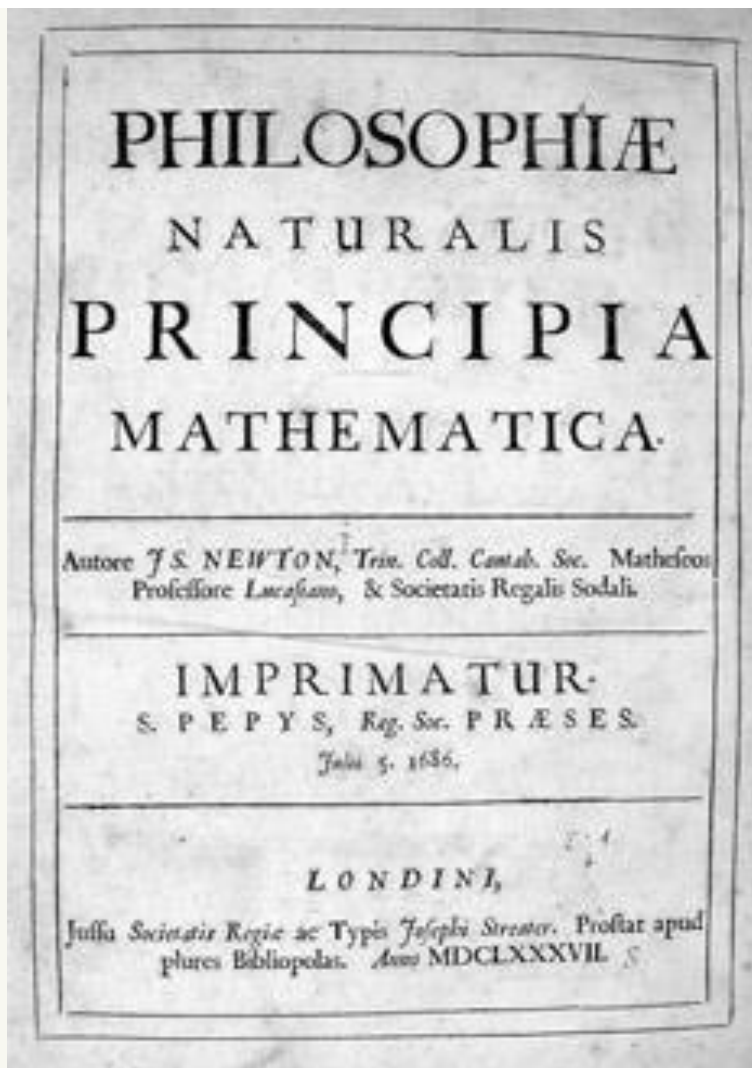
In 1681, upon the death of her husband Tom Edwards, Sam's beloved Jane returned to his service in order to support her two children. Sam took good care to get her eldest son and his godson (also named Samuel) a place in Christ's Church to study mathematics. Jane married but was soon widowed again. As a statement of his devotion to his old friend, in 1690 Sam "settled an annuity of £15 a year on her" (Tomalin, p.244).

Now, Sam found himself unemployed. He spent the next years rather out of the public eye, but did attend the King and Duke of York in Newcastle, where he recorded the King's great escape from the Battle of Worcester. He also attended the Duke of York on several occasions.

V. Return to Public Service

In 1683 the King sent Sam on an undisclosed trip accompanying Lord Dartmouth. Sam was able to take Will Hewer and they departed, only later to find that the secret purpose was to evacuate Tangier and destroy everything that remained behind. As that operation progressed Sam and Will took a side trip to Spain, which was miserable weather wise, but which added some rarities for his library. Sam received his first pay in years and was given £1000. More important he was given an entrée back into the navy. In 1684 the King determined that he would take the role Lord High Admiral and would be assisted by the Duke of York. In June Sam was given a new position created for him by the King as the Secretary of the Affairs of the Admiralty.

That year, Sam, who had been a member of the Royal Society since 1665, was elected as President, a role that he maintained for two years. Although not a scientist by nature, Sam's administrative talents were a welcome contribution. The Royal Society was an excellent place for Sam to indulge his curiosity, enjoy interesting conversations and mix with such prominent scientists of the day such as Sir Issac Newton, Robert Boyle, Robert Hooke and Christopher Wren). During his presidency, Newton's *Principia Mathematica* was published and its title page included Pepys' name.



Principia Mathematica title page

King Charles II died in 1685 and was succeeded by his brother James. Sam attended the Duke of York's coronation as King James II as a Baron of the Cinque Ports. Sam maintained his Secretary position for James II. He was reelected MP for Harwich and appointed a Deputy Lieutenant for Huntingdonshire. By July he was appointed a Master at Trinity House for a second time (Ollard's Chronology from *Pepys*, p.378).

In January 1686, Sam presented James II with a review of the navy which criticised those who had run it in his absence. He requested and was granted a "Special Commission" to make well managed and necessary ship repairs. The Commission would sit for three years. Sam drafted the terms of the Commission and handpicked its Commissioners who included those he knew he could rely on (Anthony Deane, Will Hewer and rather surprisingly Balty). The Special Commission first sat in March 1686. John Ehrman's quote (Ollard, *Pepys: A Biography*, p.311) details the rebuilding of the fleet:

The outstanding work of the Commission, however, lay in its programme of repair. Its success rested upon three distinct achievements. First, the

repairs were fully and efficiently carried out; secondly, they did not exceed the original estimate of their cost; and thirdly, they were completed in less than the original estimate of time required. All of these facts were later questioned, but all were finally established by the Parliament inquiry of 1691-2, in its election of a defence of their work from Deane and Hewer, the two men principally concerned, and in the detailed acknowledgement of its validity by the Parliamentary Commissioners themselves.

Altogether the Special Commission repaired 69 ships and rebuilt twenty. It also built the three fourth-rates promised, and a hoy and two lighters. By the time it came to a close, only four ships remained and their repairs not completed, and four more with their repairs not begun. In addition to the work on these 96 ships, a further 29 were repaired which had been at sea when the Commission was inaugurated, and had not been included in the original programme. Pepys's intentions were therefore more than fulfilled in the number of vessels which were tackled.

Meanwhile, Tomalin (p.337-8) offers a wonderful account of the status of Sam's personal circle during this time, as paraphrased here. Sam succeeded in getting Balty installed in the former Treasurer's House in Deptford. "This was the high point of Balty's career, and at the end of 1686 Pepys urged him to take responsibility for his own future, warning him that he himself had lost strength and was suffering from a new kidney stone and ulcer."

At this point, his wife Esther who was pregnant with their seventh child, died in childbirth. Balty had neither the skills nor inclination to manage his financial future and would continue to rely on Sam. Sam's sister Pall remained in Brampton and of her two sons, Samuel, who was a less than a stellar learner, was sent to sea at age fifteen. The younger son John Jackson, who showed promise, was entered a pensioner at Magdalene. From all indications, John was aware that he needed to work hard and was capable of doing so.

Of his 'extended family', Sam saw Jane [Birch] Edward's son "presented to the king and the lord mayor along with other boys of the mathematics department". Of the next generation of children (Balty's and Pall's), John Jackson was emerging in Sam's eyes as the most promising.

On a sad note, the year brought the loss of two old friends, first Sam's respected and dignified friend William Coventry and later, a friend of an altogether totally different ilk, the 'pleasurable' Betty Martin.

The Special Commission was dissolved ahead of schedule in October of 1688, due to its considerable success. Although Sam had intended these upgrades in support of James II, in November William of Orange landed in Torbay and by December James II had fled. As can be expected William's

reign brought a quick purge of those loyal to James II. Sam lost his MP role for Harwich and resigned as Secretary of the Admiralty and from his Trinity House position. Deane and Hewer also resigned their naval positions, while Balty was dismissed.

Balty married Margaret Darling, a widow with two children of her own. He now had 9-10 (sources vary) children to provide for and had no job, savings, or pension. On Balty's behalf, Sam wrote several letters, which led to the King's letter to the Commissioner of the Navy, requesting that they examine the case of Balty's service and find employment for him. This request was unsuccessful. During this time, there appears to have been a falling out between Sam and Balty, for which most biographers conjecture was due to an argument over the position of Sam's housekeeper, Mary Skinner. This letter from Balty to Sam perhaps caused or further widened the breach between them. (Heath, p.223-4):

Deptford, May 28, 1689

Honoured Sir:

After my late haveing groaned under Sume trubles (on my private Account) which at this unfortunat juncture of time have prooved extream heavy and Grivious to me; I understand that by the malicious inventive ill Offices of a female Beast, which you keepe, I am like allsoe to lye under your Anger and disgrace (to me more insuportable than the former) but I hope, and humble pray, (though she tould me impudently, and arogantly, you Scorned to see me) that with your Generous Usual goodness, wisdom, manhood, and former kindness you will not damn him Unheard who Shoulde Joy to hazard (as in duty bound) his dearest Bludd for your Service. The meane while, returning your honour my most humble and harty thanks for the Petition you sent me, and for all other your many favours I remaine

Your Ever Dutifull and most faithfull humble Servant B ST MICHEL

From this time on Balty was not welcome. Recorded letters to date seem to indicate that Sam stopped writing to Balty. From Balty's letters he was soon reduced to begging: "if you have any Spare Cast-off Morning Gowne, Peruiques, and Some like Cast off large Cloake-Coate, which things you could Spare without the least inconveniency to you, if you would Spare them to your Afflicted Servant they would be very welcome and with Milions of thanks..." (Heath, p.229). Although it's not clear what allowances Sam may have made for Balty over the continuing years, what is known is that Sam continued (although unsuccessfully) to write letters on Balty's behalf with the intent to have his old age officially provided for.

Sam had two short imprisonments during the French invasion scares of 1689 and 1690. In November of 1689, Pall died and was buried at

Brampton. Sam “had a memorial stone put up in the aisle of Brampton Church — it can still be seen there” (Tomalin, p.347). Sam also let out Brampton. In December of 1690 Sam published his *Memoirs of the Royal Navy 1679-88*.



Portrait of Samuel Pepys by Sir Godfrey Kneller, 1689

VI. Sam’s Last Chapter

With retirement, Sam turned his focus to the things he truly treasured: wonderful conversations with friends, collecting his notes for a (never published) *History of the Navy* and working on his beloved library. Pall’s youngest son, John Jackson, whom Sam had a sincere affection for, had finished his time at Magdalene college and now moved into Sam’s home in the York Buildings to be his personal clerk, copying manuscripts and assisting with the library. There is an indication that the relationship between John and Mary Skinner was not always smooth (perhaps mistrust between them), so one can assume that retirement did not bring Sam total household peace.

In September of 1693, Sam had an unsettling experience while on the way to Chelsea. Sam, his lady friends and John, were robbed by two masked men. Although they were quite frightened, they were not harmed. Two of the robbers were caught, tried and hanged.

By 1694, Sam saw John elected to the Royal Society. Pall's oldest son, Samuel, had returned from his ship duties and managed the Brampton estate. Coinciding with these events, Sam began to face several periods of illness and traveled back and forth to the country (Will Clapham's estate) where he would find rest and recovery. Will, Sam's devoted lifelong friend, always made sure he was warmly welcomed and cared for. Will kept actively involved in his trade business, becoming Director of the old East India Company from 1698-1703.



Portrait of Samuel Pepys by John Closterman, 1690s

Sam continued to correspond and enjoy the company of friends as he was able. He put his energies into planning John's "Grand Tour" of Europe. The intent of a young man's tour of this type was to broaden their education and provide introductions to prominent people. In the case of this trip, John was also given the task of collecting books for Sam's growing library, which would eventually include more than three thousand volumes. Sam's friend James Houblon was instrumental at providing itineraries, guides, and introductions for John's adventures.

John departed in 1699. Sam, whose fondness for John had grown, missed him dearly. While Sam filled his time having a desk and bookcase built for his library, the two corresponded frequently. Sam, who may have been

reminiscing of the past, sent a rather touching note to John in regards to the Dowager Queen Catherine of Braganza. In 1700, while John was in Portugal, Sam asked him to “wait on Lady Tuke, and if the honour of kissing the hand of the Queen-Dowager were offered him, to be sure to present to that royal lady, whom he [Sam] held in great honour, his profoundest duty.” (Davidson, p.481).

Sam’s dear friend James Houblon, whose wife Sarah had recently died, sadly joined her. Of this significant loss, Sam wrote “one of the longest and well as most approved friends till now left me in the world” (Tomalin, p.362). In 1701, there was another loss, for which Sam may have had a private smile, knowing he outlived his rival of the Diary, John Creed.

In June of 1701, Sam, who had spent his retirement traveling back and forth between London and Clapham, permanently moved to Clapham. Sam was very ill and wrote to John requesting his return. John arrived back in August and was put in charge of Sam’s library.

In August 1701, Sam wrote his will, leaving Hewan as executor and providing him £500. He noted his annuity to Jane and left Brampton to his nephew Samuel. Shortly thereafter, Sam angrily discovered that Samuel had married without his consult or consent, a choice that would later cost him dearly.

In 1702 the massive task of relocating Sam’s library to Clapham was successfully completed. Sam was now surrounded by the people he most loved; John, Mary and Will, along with the collection he cherished. He would live out his remaining days with his Diary close by.

Sam outlived William III, and Queen Anne was crowned. By 1703, it appeared that Sam knew he was not long for this world. He turned his attentions to take care of those he loved and those he still felt an obligation towards. The last letter Sam wrote was to Sir George Rooke, Commander in Chief of the Fleete, where he made a last plea for a pension for Balty. It is not known if the two ever reconciled or if Balty visited Sam in his last days.

As he was nearing the end, Sam made dramatic changes to his will with two major codicils. The first codicil took away Brampton from Samuel and gave it to John. Sam then settled on a £40 annuity a year for Samuel. The major part of Sam’s estate went to John. Sam’s library was put into Trust and John and Will Hewan would have joint responsibility for it. Upon John’s death, the library was to be left for posterity. The collection was to remain intact and go to a university, preferably the library of Magdalene, with the stipulation that the

collection must be kept entire and separate, in a room to be chosen by Jackson in the new building, no one allowed to remove any books except

the master, and he only as far as to his lodge. [Sam] proposed a system of annual visitation by Trinity to check that his instructions were being obeyed in perpetuity, giving them the right to the library if they found any infringement by Magdalene” (Tomalin, p.367).

The second codicil acknowledged his companion, Mary Skinner:

Whereas I hold myself obliged on this occasion to leave behind me the most full and lasting acknowledgement of my esteem respect and gratitude to the Excellent Lady Mrs. 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 Mrs. Mary Skyner One Annuity or yearly payment of Two hundred pounds of lawful money of England for and during the terms of her natural Life. (Tomalin, p.367-8)

A smaller codicil provided £50 of plate for Mary, Will and John, and left pictures to Mary. Sam also had an estimated £28,000 due to him from the Crown which was never to be paid, and therefore never dispersed per the directives he set forth.

On May 14th John Evelyn, Sam’s last remaining friend of his intimate circle, now 82, visited Sam for the last time. John was recovering from a broken leg. This friendship, so wonderfully recorded in the letters between them through the years, remained solid until the end.

As death neared, Sam was constantly cared for by Will, Mary and John. On Monday, May 26th Dr. Hickes, who would also conduct Sam’s funeral, arrived to give Sam his final sacraments. He later wrote to his friend Charlett (Ollard, *Pepys: A Biography*, p.368):

The greatness of his behaviour, in his long and sharp tryall before his death, was in every respect answerable to his great life; and I believe no man ever went out of this world with greater contempt of it, or a more lively faith in every thing that was revealed of the world to come. I administered the Holy Sacrament twice in his illness to him, and had administered it a third time, but for a sudden fit of illness that happened at the appointed time of administering of it. Twice I gave him the absolution of the Church, which he desired, and received with all reverence and comfort; and I never attended any sick or dying person that dyed with some much Christian greatnesse of mind, or a more lively sense of immortality, or so much fortitude and patience, in so long and sharp a tryall, or greater resignation to the will, which he most devoutly acknowledged to be the wisdom of God; and I doubt not but he is now a very blessed spirit, according to his motto, ‘Mens cujusque is est quisque’.

Perhaps there is no one better than John Evelyn to leave behind a touching eulogy for a life so fully lived. Evelyn's May 26, 1703 Diary entry on the death of his friend Samuel Pepys (Bastable, p.266):

May 26th. 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 perform'd 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 affaires, he liv'd at Clapham with his partner Mr. Hewer, formerly his clerk, in a very noble house and sweete place, where he enjoy'd the fruits of his labours in greate prosperity. He was universally belov'd, hospitable, generous, learned in many things, skill'd 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. Beside what he publish'd of an account of the Navy, as he found and left it, he had for divers yeares under his hand the History of the Navy, or Navalia as he call'd it; but how far advanc'd, and what will follow of his, 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 return's with extraordinary accomplishments, and worthy to be heir. Mr. Pepys had been for neere 40 years 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 in my indisposition hinder'd me from doing him this last office.

Sam's funeral took place on the evening of June 4th. Per Sam's directive he was to be buried alongside his wife, Elizabeth. Sam was buried in front of the altar at St Olave's ... Elizabeth's bust looked down on a gathering of representatives of almost every stage and facet of her husband's career. Balty was there, supported by one of his daughters. The second Earl of Sandwich and his brother the Dean of Durham sat next to them. A host of Pepys's relations and connections echo the pages of the Diary. His doctors, his banker his book-binder, his lawyer: the Clapham household, the Hewer clan, the President and many of the Fellows of the Royal Society, the Dean of Christ's Church and the Master of Trinity, even the venerable Dr. Wallis swelled the crowd. The Board of the Admiralty were there in force and both the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, though it was the non-juror Hicke who took the service. As in life, so at the commendation of his soul to God there was room for the people who had loved and served him as well as for the famous and the talented. (Ollard, *Pepys: A Biography*, p.369).



Photo by Graham Travis at Flickr

VII. Final Farewells

After Sam's death, John Jackson moved to the Hewer household and took formal responsibility for the library. Per Sam's request, he contacted and then visited Magdalene to select the rooms for the library. "During 1705 the catalogue was completed, the last bookcases installed, and the whole of Pepys collection, including his model shops, portraits and some of his furniture, put on display in Clapham" (Tomalin, p.372).

Sam's friend John Evelyn outlived Sam by three years, spending his final years with his wife Mary at his house in Dover Street, London. He was buried at Wotten Church, where his wife joined him three years later.

In 1712, John Jackson married Will Hewer's niece, Ann Edgerly. Will provided Ann with £3000 as her marriage portion. No doubt as Will smiled from earth at this union, Sam most surely smiled from above. The bond between Will and Sam was now cemented by marriage and their legacy of friendship lived on through the couple's many children.



William Hewer by Sir Godfrey Kneller, 1689

After Sam's death, Mary left Clapham and established herself in comfortable lodgings. She remained close to her sister and foster-sister. She died in her early sixties in 1715. John Jackson was the executor of her will and she left most of the items that Sam had given her to John and his family.

For all of the adventures Balty provided throughout Sam's Diary, little is known of his life or his family after Sam's death. Sadly, the last traces of Balty were petitions to the Cabinet in 1710, looking for their support (work or a pension). The man who had put Sam through perhaps the longest and most stressful test of family obligation ever recorded is best eulogised in one sentence from Ollard, "If Balthasar St. Michel had not existed only Dickens could have invented him" (*Pepys: A Biography*, p. 71).

Will Hewer continued in his trade business, and twice was the Deputy Chairman of the old East India Company. Will ceased to hold office in 1712. Will, who never married, lived until 1715. His memorial is in Clapham Church in the gallery which he had built. His books were sold by auction in 1730 (Lantham, p.184). Upon his death most of his property passed to his godson Hewer Edgerly, who was the son of his cousin Ann. The one condition Will requested was that he changed his surname to Hewer. His godson obliged and was further known as Edgerly Hewer.

Will provided Edgerly Hewer's sister Ann (John's wife) with a dying bequest of £1000. John Jackson remained at Clapham and by all indications enjoyed raising his family. He died in 1724, at age fifty-one. Among his seven children, his daughter Frances, who inherited both the Pepys and the Hewer fortunes, founded the present Pepys Cockerell family" (Heath, p.xxxi).

In July of 1724, the library, including the six volumes of the Diary, left Clapham and made its way to Magdalene, where it resides today.



The Pepys Library in Magdalene College, Cambridge, by Andrew Dunn

13. One Month's Diary

To give a flavour of the actual diary, this chapter reproduces the diary entries for one month - September 1666. The period includes the drama of the Great Fire of London. The full diary, covering the years 1660 to 1669, comprises more than 2,500 pages.

Saturday 1 September 1666

Up and at the office all the morning, and then dined at home. Got my new closet made mighty clean against to-morrow. Sir W. Pen and my wife and Mercer and I to "Polichinelly," 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. 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.

Sunday 2 September 1666

(Lord's day). Some of our mayds sitting up late last night to get things ready against our feast to-day, Jane called us up about three in the morning, to tell us of a great fire they saw in the City. So I rose and slipped on my nightgowne, and went to her window, and thought it to be on the backside of Marke-lane at the farthest; but, being unused to such fires as followed, I thought it far enough off; and so went to bed again and to sleep. About seven 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 closett to set things to rights after yesterday's cleaning. By and by Jane comes and tells me that she hears that above 300 houses have been burned down to-night by the fire we saw, and that it is now burning down all Fish-street, 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. Robinson's 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 baker's house in Pudding-lane, and that it hath burned St. Magnus's Church and most part of Fish-street already. So I down to the water-side, and there got a boat and through bridge, and there saw a lamentable fire. Poor Michell's house, 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 Steeleyard, 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 stairs by the water-side to another. And among other things, the poor pigeons, I perceive, were loth to leave their houses, but hovered about the windows and balconys till they were, some of them burned, their wings, and fell down.

Having staid, 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 Steele-yard, and the wind mighty high and driving it into the City; and every thing, after so long a drought, proving combustible, even the very stones of churches, and among other things the poor steeple by which pretty Mrs. ——— lives, and whereof my old school-fellow Elborough is parson, taken fire in the very top, an there burned till it fell 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 Kings closett in the Chappell, where people come about me, and 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 Yorke what I saw, and that unless his Majesty did command houses to be pulled down nothing could stop the fire. They seemed much troubled, and the King commanded me to go to my Lord Mayor —[Sir Thomas Bludworth. See June 30th, 1666.]— from him, and command him to spare no houses, but to pull 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 afterwards, as a great secret.¹

Here meeting, with Captain Cocke, I in his coach, which he lent me, and Creed with me to Paul's, and there walked along Watlingstreet, as well as I could, every creature coming away loaden with goods to save, and here and there sicke people carried away in beds. Extraordinary good goods carried in carts and on backs. At last met my Lord Mayor in Canningstreet, like a man spent, with a handkercher 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 pulling down houses; but the fire overtakes us faster than 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, 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 tarr, in Thames-street; and warehouses of oyle, and wines, and brandy, and other things. Here I saw Mr. Isaake Houblon, the handsome man, prettily

dressed and dirty, at his door at 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. 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 twelve o'clock; and so home, and there find my guests, which was Mr. Wood and his wife Barbary Sheldon, and also Mr. Moons: she mighty fine, and her husband; for aught I see, a likely man. But Mr. Moone's design and mine, which was to look over my closett 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 come to enquire after Mr. Woolfe and Stanes (who, it seems, are related to them), whose houses in Fish-street are all burned; and they in a sad condition. She would not stay in the fright.

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-streets (which received goods in the morning) into Lumbar-streets, 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 Paul's; he home, and I to Paul's Wharf, where I had appointed a boat to attend me, and took in Mr. Carcasse and his brother, whom I met in the streets 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 Queenhith and there called Sir Richard Browne to them. Their order was only to pull down houses apace, and so below bridge 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 Buttolph's 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 do there.

River full of lighters 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 Parks, 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 encreasing, 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 shower of firedrops.

This is very true; so as houses were burned by these 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 ale-house on the Bankside, over against the Three Cranes, and there staid till it was dark almost, and saw the fire grow; and, as it grew darker, appeared more 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. Barbary and her husband away before us. We staid 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 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 ruins.

So home with a sad heart, and there find every body discoursing and lamenting the fire; and poor Tom Hater come with some few of his goods saved out of his house, which is burned upon Fish-streets Hill. I invited him to lie at my house, and did receive his goods, but was deceived in his lying there, the newes coming every moment of the growth of the fire; so as we were forced to begin to pack up our owne goods; and prepare for their removal; and did by moonshine (it being brave dry, and moon shine, 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 tallys into a box by themselves. So great was our fear, as Sir W. Batten hath 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.

Sir William Coventry wrote to Lord Arlington on the evening of this day, "The Duke of York fears the want of workmen and tools to-morrow morning, and wishes the deputy lieutenants and justices of peace to summon the workmen with tools to be there by break of day. In some churches and chapels are great hooks for pulling down houses, which should be brought ready upon the place to-night against the morning" ("Calendar of State Papers," 1666-66, p. 95). ↵

Monday 3 September 1666

About four o'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. Rider's at Bednall-greene. Which I did riding myself in my night-gowne 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 things.

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's and Sir W. Pen'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 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. Tooker 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 next quay, above the Tower Docke. And here was my neighbour's wife, Mrs. ———, 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 any thing through the postern, the crowd was so great.

The Duke of Yorke of 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 Generall, and having the care of all).

This day, Mercer being not at home, but against her mistress's 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 than it would, because of the condition we are in, fear of coming into in a little time of being less able to keepe one in her quality. At night lay down a little upon a quilt of W. Hewer's in the office, all my owne 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 any thing.

Tuesday 4 September 1666

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. Pen and I to Tower-streete, and there met the fire burning three or four doors beyond Mr. Howell's, whose goods, poor man, his trayes, 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 streete, on both sides, with infinite fury. Sir W. Batten not knowing how to remove his wine, 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. Pen 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 Yorke was at the office this day, at Sir W. Pen's; but I happened not to be within. This afternoon, sitting melancholy with Sir W. Pen 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 Yorke's permission to pull down houses, rather than lose this office, which would, much hinder, the King's business. So Sir W. Pen he went down this night, in order to the sending them up to-morrow morning; and I wrote to Sir W. Coventry about the business, but received no answer.¹

This night Mrs. Turner (who, poor woman, was removing her goods all this day, good goods into the garden, and knows 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 any thing, 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, indeed, it was extremely dreadful, for it looks just as if it was at us; and the whole heaven on fire. I after supper walked in the darke down to Tower-streete, and there saw it all on fire, at the Trinity House on that side, and the Dolphin Taverne on this side, which was very near us; and the fire with extraordinary vehemence.

Now begins the practice of blowing up of houses in Tower-streete, those next the Tower, which at first did frighten people more than anything, but it stopped 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 went to see how his mother did, and comes late home, telling us how he hath been forced to remove her to Islington, her house in Pye-corner being burned; so that the fire is got so far that way, and all the Old Bayly, and was running down to Fleete-streete; and Paul's is burned, and all Cheapside. I wrote to my father this night, but the post-house being burned, the letter could not go.

A copy of this letter, preserved among the Pepys MSS. in the author's own handwriting, is subjoined:

SIR, The fire is now very neere us as well on Tower Streete as Fanchurch Street side, and we little hope of our escape but by this remedy, to ye want whereof we doe certainly owe ye loss of ye City namely, ye pulling down of

houses, in ye way of ye fire. This way Sir W. Pen and myself have so far concluded upon ye practising, that he is gone to Woolwich and Deptford to supply himself with men and necessarys in order to the doing thereof, in case at his returne our condition be not bettered and that he meets with his R. Hs. approbation, which I had thus undertaken to learn of you. Pray please to let me have this night (at whatever hour it is) what his R. Hs. directions are in this particular; Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten having left us, we cannot add, though we are well assured of their, as well as all ye neighbourhood's concurrence.

Yr. obedient servnt. S. P.

Sir W. Coventry, Septr. 4, 1666.

J. Hickes wrote to Williamson on September 3rd from the "Golden Lyon," Red Cross Street Posthouse. Sir Philip [Frowde] and his lady fled from the [letter] office at midnight for: safety; stayed himself till 1 am. till his wife and childrens' patience could stay, no longer, fearing lest they should be quite stopped up; the passage was so tedious they had much ado to get where they are. The Chester and Irish, mails have come-in; sends him his letters, knows not how to dispose of the business ("Calendar of State Papers," 1666-67, p. 95).

Wednesday 5 September 1666

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 two in the morning my wife calls me up and tells me of new cryes of fire, it being come to Barkeing Church, 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 Proundy's boat to Woolwich; but, Lord! what sad sight it was by moone-light to see, the whole City almost on fire, that you might see it plain at Woolwich, as if you were by it.

There, when I come, I find the gates shut, but no guard kept at all, which troubled me, because of discourse now begun, that there is plot in it, and that the French had done it. I got the gates open, and to Mr. Shelden's, 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, or day. So back again, by the way seeing my 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 seven o'clock, it was not.

But to the fyre, and there find greater hopes than I expected; for my confidence of finding our Office on fire was such, that I durst not ask any body how it was with us, till I come and saw it not burned. But going to the fire, I find by the blowing up of houses, and the great helpe given by the

workmen out of the King's yards, sent up by Sir W. Pen, there is a good stop given to it, as well as at Marke-lane end as ours; it having only burned the dyall of Barking Church, and part of the porch, and was there quenched. I up to the top of Barking steeple, and there saw the saddest sight of desolation that I ever saw; every where great fires, oyle-cellars, and brimstone, and other things burning.

I became afeard 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. Pen'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 Fanchurch-streete, Gracious-streete; and Lumbar-streete all in dust. The Exchange a sad sight, nothing standing there, of all the statues or pillars, but Sir Thomas Gresham's picture in the corner. Walked into Moorefields (our feet ready to burn, walking through the towne among the hot coles), and find that full of people, and poor wretches carrying their good there, and every body keeping his goods together by themselves (and a great blessing it is to them that it is fair weather for them to keep abroad night and day); drank there, and paid two-pence for a plain penny loaf.

Thence homeward, having passed through Cheapside and Newgate Market, all burned, and seen Anthony Joyce's House in fire. And took up (which I keep by me) a piece of glasse of Mercers' Chappell in the streete, where much more was, so melted and buckled with the heat of the fire like parchment. I also did see a poor cat 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 heard 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 always 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.

Thursday 6 September 1666

Up about five o'clock, and where met Mr. Gawden at the gate of the office (I intending to go out, as I used, every now and then to-day, to see how the fire is) to call our men to Bishop's-gate, 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 plot¹ in this (on which many by this time have been taken, and, it hath been dangerous for any stranger to walk in the streets), but I went with the men, and we did put it out in a little time; so that that was well again. I

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 handsfull 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 to Nonsuch; 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 thereabouts, 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 indeed 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 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, 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 on fire these three days and nights in one body of flame, it being the cellar full of oyle.

The terrible disaster which overtook London was borne by the inhabitants of the city with great fortitude, but foreigners and Roman Catholics had a bad dime. As no cause for the outbreak of the fire could be traced, a general cry was raised that it owed its origin to a plot. In a letter from Thomas Waade to Williamson (dated "Whitby, Sept. 14th") we read, "The destruction of London by fire is reported to be a hellish contrivance of the French, Hollanders, and fanatic party" ("Calendar of State Papers," 1666-67, p. 124).

Friday 7 September 1666

Up by five o'clock; and, blessed be God! find all well, and by water to Paul's Wharfe. Walked thence, and saw, all the towne burned, and a miserable sight of Paul's church; with all the roofs fallen, and the body of the quire fallen into St. Fayth's; Paul's school also, Ludgate, and Fleet-street, my father's house, and the church, and a good part of the Temple the like.

So to Creed's 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 every body had done, and was doing. He hopes we shall have no publique distractions upon this fire, which is what every body fears, because of the talke 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 every where. Our fleetes, he tells me, have been in sight one of another, and most unhappily by fowle weather were parted, to our great losse, as in reason they do conclude; the Dutch being come out only to make a shew, and please their people; but in very bad condition as to stores; victuals, and men. They are at Bullen; and our fleet come to St. Ellen's. We have got nothing, but have lost one ship, but he knows not what.

Thence to the Swan, and there drank: and so home, and find all well. My Lord Bruncker, 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 honour to him, but I am sure is but a piece of dissimulation. So home, and did give orders for my house to be made clean; and then down to Woolwich, and there find all well.

Dined, and Mrs. Markham come to see my wife. So I up again, and calling at Deptford for some things of W. Hewer's, he being with me, and then home and spent the evening with Sir R. Ford, Mr. Knightly, and Sir W. Pen at Sir W. Batten's. This day our Merchants first met at Gresham College, which, by proclamation, is to be their Exchange. Strange to hear what is bid for houses all up and down here; a friend of Sir W. Rider's: 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 towne.

I home late to Sir W. Pen's, who did give me a bed; but without curtains or hangings, all being down. So here I went the first time into a naked bed, only my drawers on; and did sleep pretty well: but still hath sleeping and waking had a fear of fire in my heart, that I took little rest. People do all 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. A proclamation¹ is come out for markets to be kept at Leadenhall and Mileendgreene, and several other places about the towne; and Tower-hill, and all churches to be set open to receive poor people.

On September 5th proclamation was made “ordering that for supply of the distressed people left destitute by the late dreadful and dismal fire... great proportions of bread be brought daily, not only to the former markets, but to those lately ordained; that all churches, chapels, schools, and public buildings are to be open to receive the goods of those who know not how to dispose of them.” On September 6th, proclamation ordered “that as the markets are burned down, markets be held in Bishopsgate Street, Tower Hill, Smithfield, and Leadenhall Street” (“Calendar of State Papers,” 1666-67, pp. 100, 104).

Saturday 8 September 1666

Up and with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen by water to White Hall and they to St. James’s. I stopped with Sir G. 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 we can get any, or what shall we do for it?” He, it seems, 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 every thing else, was confused. The fleete is at Portsmouth, there staying a wind to carry them to the Downes, or towards 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 six shillings. Thence with Sir W. Batten to the Cock-pit, 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. Indeed, 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 every body. He very kind to us; I perceive he lays by all business of the fleete at present, and minds the City, and is now hastening to Gresham College, 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 infinity of people, partly through novelty to see the new

place, and partly to find out and hear what is become one man of 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's, 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 thirty of them, and did quarrel with some that would remove the rubbish out of the way of the fire, saying that they come to steal. Sir W. Coventry told me of another this morning, in Holborne, which he shewed the King that when it was offered to stop the fire near his house for such a reward that came but to 2s. 6d. a man among the neighbours he would, give but 18d.

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 Bagwell's wife, and her husband come home. Agreed to come to their house to-morrow, I sending him away to his ship to-day.

To the office and late writing letters, and then to Sir W. Pen's, my brother lying with me, and Sir W. Pen 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. It was by their discovery of people stealing of some neighbours' wine that lay in vessels in the streets. So to sleep; and all well all night.

Sunday 9 September 1666

(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, specially 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, Middleton, a fine woman, discreet.

Thence home, and to church again, and there preached Dean Harding; 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 decimotertio. 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. But I had no room or 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. Pen's to bed, and made my boy Tom to read me asleep.

Monday 10 September 1666

All the morning clearing our cellars, and breaking in pieces all my old lumber, to make room, and to prevent fire. And then to Sir W. Batten's, and dined; and there hear that Sir W. Rider says that the towne 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 indeed there is at his house. Blessed be God, I got all mine well thence, and lodged it in my office; but vexed to have all the world see it. And with Sir W. Batten, who would have taken away my hands before they were stowed. But by and by comes brother Balty from sea, which I was glad of; and so got him, and Mr. Tooker, and the boy, to watch with them all in the office all night, while I upon Jane's coming went down to my wife, calling at Deptford, intending to see Bagwell, but did not 'ouvrir la porte comme je' did expect. So down late to Woolwich, and there find my wife out of humour and indifferent, as she uses upon her having much liberty abroad.

Tuesday 11 September 1666

Lay there, and up betimes, and by water with my gold, and laid it with the rest in my office, where I find all well and safe. So with Sir W. Batten to the New Exchange by water and to my Lord Bruncker's house, where Sir W. Coventry and Sir G. Carteret met. Little business before us but want of money. Broke up, and I home by coach round the town. Dined at home, Balty and myself putting up my papers in my closet in the office. He away, I down to Deptford and there spoke with Bagwell and agreed upon tomorrow, and come home in the rain by water. In the evening at Sir W. Pen's; with my wife, at supper, he in a mad, ridiculous, drunken humour; and it seems there have been some late distances between his lady and him, as my [wife] tells me. After supper, I home, and with Mr. Hater, Gibson, and Tom alone, got all my chests and money into the further cellar with much pains, but great content to me when done. So very late and weary, to bed.

Wednesday 12 September 1666

Up, and with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen to St. James's by water, and there did our usual business with the Duke of Yorke. Thence I to

Westminster, and there, spoke with Michell and Howlett, who tell me how their poor young ones are going to Shadwell's. The latter told me of the unkindness of the young man to his wife, which is now over, and I have promised to appear a counsellor to him. I am glad she is like to be so near us again. Thence to Martin, and there did 'tout ce que je voudrais avec' her, and drank, and away by water home and to dinner, Balty and his wife there.

After dinner I took him down with me to Deptford, and there by the Bezan loaded above half my goods and sent them away. So we back home, and then I found occasion to return in the dark and to Bagwell, and there ... did do all that I desired, but though I did intend 'pour avoir demeurais con elle' to-day last night, yet when I had done 'ce que je voudrais I did hate both elle and la cose', and taking occasion from the occasion of 'su marido's return ... did me lever', and so away home late to Sir W. Pen's (Balty and his wife lying at my house), and there in the same simple humour I found Sir W. Pen, and so late to bed.

Thursday 13 September 1666

Up, and down to Tower Wharfe; and there, with Balty and labourers from Deptford, did get my goods housed well at home. So down to Deptford again to fetch the rest, and there eat a bit of dinner at the Globe, with the master of the Bezan with me, while the labourers went to dinner.

Here I hear that this poor towne do bury still of the plague seven or eight in a day. So to Sir G. Carteret's to work, and there did to my content ship off into the Bezan all the rest of my goods, saving my pictures and fine things, that I will bring home in wherrys when the house is fit to receive them: and so home, and unload them by carts and hands before night, to my exceeding satisfaction: and so after supper to bed in my house, the first time I have lain there; and lay with my wife in my old closett upon the ground, and Balty and his wife in the best chamber, upon the ground also.

Friday 14 September 1666

Up, and to work, having carpenters come to helpe in setting up bedsteads and hangings; and at that trade my people and I all the morning, till pressed by publique business to leave them against my will in the afternoon: and yet I was troubled in being at home, to see all my goods lie up and down the house in a bad condition, and strange workmen going to and fro might take what they would almost.

All the afternoon busy; and Sir W. Coventry come to me, and found me, as God would have it, in my office, and people about me setting my papers to rights; and there discoursed about getting an account ready against the Parliament, and thereby did create me infinite of business, and to be done on a sudden; which troubled me: but, however, he being gone, I about it late, and to good purpose. And so home, having this day also got my wine

out of the ground again, and set in my cellar; but with great pain to keep the porters that carried it in from observing the money-chests there. So to bed as last night, only my wife and I upon a bedstead with curtains in that which was Mercer's chamber, and Balty and his wife (who are here and do us good service), where we lay last night. This day, poor Tom Pepys, the turner, was with me, and Kate Joyce, to bespeake places; one for himself, the other for her husband. She tells me he hath lost 140l. per annum, but have seven houses left.

Saturday 15 September 1666

All the morning at the office, Harman being come to my great satisfaction to put up my beds and hangings, so I am at rest, and followed my business all day. Dined with Sir W. Batten, mighty busy about this account, and while my people were busy, wrote near thirty letters and orders with my owne hand. At it till eleven at night; and it is strange to see how clear my head was, being eased of all the matter of all these letters; whereas one would think that I should have been dazed. I never did observe so much of myself in my life.

In the evening there comes to me Captain Cocke, and walked a good while in the garden. He says he hath computed that the rents of houses lost by this fire in the City comes to 600,000l. per annum; that this will make the Parliament, more quiet than otherwise they would have been, and give the King a more ready supply; that the supply must be by excise, as it is in Holland; that the Parliament will see it necessary to carry on the warr; that the late storm hindered our beating the Dutch fleete, who were gone out only to satisfy the people, having no business to do but to avoid us; that the French, as late in the yeare as it is, are coming; that the Dutch are really in bad condition, but that this unhappinesse of ours do give them heart; that there was a late difference between my Lord Arlington and Sir W. Coventry about neglect in the last to send away an express of the other's in time; that it come before the King, and the Duke of Yorke concerned himself in it; but this fire hath stopped it.

The Dutch fleete is not gone home, but rather to the North, and so dangerous to our Gottenburgh fleete. That the Parliament is likely to fall foul upon some persons; and, among others, on the Vice-chamberlaine, though we both believe with little ground. That certainly never so great a loss as this was borne so well by citizens in the world; he believing that not one merchant upon the 'Change will break upon it. That he do not apprehend there will be any disturbances in State upon it; for that all men are busy in looking after their owne business to save themselves.

He gone, I to finish my letters, and home to bed; and find to my infinite joy many rooms clean; and myself and wife lie in our own chamber again. But

much terrified in the nights now-a-days with dreams of fire, and falling down of houses.

Sunday 16 September 1666

(Lord's day). Lay with much pleasure in bed talking with my wife about Mr. Hater's lying here and W. Hewer also, if Mrs. Mercer leaves her house. To the office, whither also all my people about this account, and there busy all the morning. At noon, with my wife, against her will, all undressed and dirty, dined at Sir W. Pen's, where was all the company of our families in towne; but, Lord! so sorry a dinner: venison baked in pans, that the dinner I have had for his lady alone hath been worth four of it. Thence, after dinner, displeased with our entertainment, to my office again, and there till almost midnight and my people with me, and then home, my head mightily akeing about our accounts.

Monday 17 September 1666

Up betimes, and shaved myself after a week's growth, but, Lord! how ugly I was yesterday and how fine to-day! By water, seeing the City all the way, a sad sight indeed, much fire being still in. To Sir W. Coventry, and there read over my yesterday's work: being a collection of the particulars of the excess of charge created by a war, with good content.

Sir W. Coventry was in great pain lest the French fleete should be passed by our fleete, who had notice of them on Saturday, and were preparing to go meet them; but their minds altered, and judged them merchant-men, when the same day the Success, Captain Ball, made their whole fleete, and come to Brighthelmstone, and thence at five o'clock afternoon, Saturday, wrote Sir W. Coventry newes thereof; so that we do much fear our missing them. Here come in and talked with him Sir Thomas Clifford, who appears a very fine gentleman, and much set by at Court for his activity in going to sea, and stoutness everywhere, and stirring up and down.

Thence by coach over the ruines, down Fleete Streete and Cheapside to Broad Streete to Sir G. Carteret, where Sir W. Batten (and Sir J. Minnes, whom I had not seen a long time before, being his first coming abroad) and Lord Bruncker passing his accounts. Thence home a little to look after my people at work and back to Sir G. Carteret's to dinner; and thence, after some discourse; with him upon our publique accounts, I back home, and all the day with Harman and his people finishing the hangings and beds in my house, and the hangings will be as good as ever, and particularly in my new closet.

They gone and I weary, my wife and I, and Balty and his wife, who come hither to-day to helpe us, to a barrel of oysters I sent from the river today, and so to bed.

Tuesday 18 September 1666

Strange with what freedom and quantity I pissed this night, which I know not what to impute to but my oysters, unless the coldness of the night should cause it, for it was a sad rainy and tempestuous night. Soon as up I begun to have some pain in my bladder and belly, as usual, which made me go to dinner betimes, to fill my belly, and that did ease me, so as I did my business in the afternoon, in forwarding the settling of my house, very well. Betimes to bed, my wife also being all this day ill in the same manner. Troubled at my wife's haire coming off so much. This day the Parliament met, and adjourned till Friday, when the King will be with them.

Wednesday 19 September 1666

Up, and with Sir W. Pen by coach to St. James's, and there did our usual business before the Duke of Yorke; which signified little, our business being only complaints of lack of money. Here I saw a bastard of the late King of Sweden's come to kiss his hands; a mighty modish French-like gentleman.

Thence to White Hall, with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen, to Wilkes's; and there did hear the many profane stories of Sir Henry Wood damning the parsons for so much spending the wine at the sacrament, cursing that ever they took the cup to themselves, and then another story that he valued not all the world's curses, for two pence he shall get at any time the prayers of some poor body that is worth a 1000 of all their curses; Lord Norwich drawing a tooth at a health.

Another time, he and Pinchbacke and Dr. Goffe, now a religious man, Pinchbacke did begin a frolick to drink out of a glass with a toad in it that he had taken up going out to shit, he did it without harm. Goffe, who knew sacke would kill the toad, called for sacke; and when he saw it dead, says he, "I will have a quick toad, and will not drink from a dead toad."¹ By that means, no other being to be found, he escaped the health.

Thence home, and dined, and to Deptford and got all my pictures put into wherries, and my other fine things, and landed them all very well, and brought them home, and got Sympson to set them all up to-night; and he gone, I and the boy to finish and set up my books, and everything else in my house, till two o'clock in the morning, and then to bed; but mightily troubled, and even in my sleep, at my missing four or five of my biggest books. Speed's Chronicle and Maps, and the two parts of Waggoner, and a book of cards, which I suppose I have put up with too much care, that I have forgot where they are; for sure they are not stole.

Two little pictures of sea and ships and a little gilt frame belonging to my plate of the River, I want; but my books do heartily trouble me. Most of my gilt frames are hurt, which also troubles me, but most my books. This day I

put on two shirts, the first time this year, and do grow well upon it; so that my disease is nothing but wind.

Thursday 20 September 1666

Up, much troubled about my books, but cannot imagine where they should be. Up, to the setting my closet to rights, and Sir W. Coventry takes me at it, which did not displease me. He and I to discourse about our accounts, and the bringing them to the Parliament, and with much content to see him rely so well on my part.

He and I together to Broad Streete to the Vice-Chamberlain, and there discoursed a while and parted. My Lady Carteret come to town, but I did not see her. He tells me how the fleete is come into the Downes. Nothing done, nor French fleete seen: we drove all from our anchors. But he says newes is come that De Ruyter is dead, or very near it, of a hurt in his mouth, upon the discharge of one of his own guns; which put him into a fever, and he likely to die, if not already dead.

We parted, and I home to dinner, and after dinner to the setting things in order, and all my people busy about the same work. In the afternoon, out by coach, my wife with me, which we have not done several weeks now, through all the ruines, to shew her them, which frets her much, and is a sad sight indeed. Set her down at her brother's, and thence I to Westminster Hall, and there staid a little while, and called her home.

She did give me an account of great differences between her mother and Balty's wife. The old woman charges her with going abroad and staying out late, and painting in the absence of her husband — and I know not what; and they grow proud, both he and she, and do not help their father and mother out of what I help them to, which I do not like, nor my wife.

So home, and to the office, to even my journall, and then home, and very late up with Jane setting my books in perfect order in my closet, but am mightily troubled for my great books that I miss, and I am troubled the more for fear there should be more missing than what I find, though by the room they take on the shelves I do not find any reason to think it. So to bed.

Friday 21 September 1666

Up, and mightily pleased with the setting of my books the last night in order, and that which did please me most of all is that W. Hewer tells me that upon enquiry he do find that Sir W. Pen hath a hamper more than his own, which he took for a hamper of bottles of wine, and are books in it. I was impatient to see it, but they were carried into a wine-cellar, and the boy is abroad with him at the House, where the Parliament met to-day, and the King to be with them.

At noon after dinner I sent for Harry, and he tells me it is so, and brought me by and by my hamper of books to my great joy, with the same books I missed, and three more great ones, and no more. I did give him 5s. for his pains, and so home with great joy, and to the setting of some off them right, but could not finish it, but away by coach to the other end of the town, leaving my wife at the 'Change, but neither come time enough to the Council to speak with the Duke of Yorke, nor with Sir G. Carteret, and so called my wife, and paid for some things she bought, and so home, and there after a little doing at the office about our accounts, which now draw near the time they should be ready, the House having ordered Sir G. Carteret, upon his offering them, to bring them in on Saturday next, I home, and there, with great pleasure, very late new setting all my books; and now I am in as good condition as I desire to be in all worldly respects. The Lord of Heaven make me thankfull, and continue me therein! So to bed. This day I had new stairs of main timber put to my cellar going into the yard.

Saturday 22 September 1666

To my closet, and had it new washed, and now my house is so clean as I never saw it, or any other house in my life, and every thing in as good condition as ever before the fire; but with, I believe, about 20l. cost one way or other besides about 20l. charge in removing my goods, and do not find that I have lost any thing but two little pictures of ship and sea, and a little gold frame for one of my sea-cards.

My glazier, indeed, is so full of worke that I cannot get him to come to perfect my house. To the office, and there busy now for good and all about my accounts. My Lord Brunck come thither, thinking to find an office, but we have not yet met. He do now give me a watch, a plain one, in the roome of my former watch with many motions which I did give him. If it goes well, I care not for the difference in worth, though believe there is above 5l.. He and I to Sir G. Carteret to discourse about his account, but Mr. Waith not being there nothing could be done, and therefore I home again, and busy all day.

In the afternoon comes Anthony Joyce to see me, and with tears told me his losse, but yet that he had something left that he can live well upon, and I doubt it not. But he would buy some place that he could have and yet keepe his trade where he is settled in St. Jones's. He gone, I to the office again, and then to Sir G. Carteret, and there found Mr. Wayth, but, Lord! how fretfully Sir G. Carteret do discourse with Mr. Wayth about his accounts, like a man that understands them not one word. I held my tongue and let him go on like a passionate foole.

In the afternoon I paid for the two lighters that carried my goods to Deptford, and they cost me 8l.. Till past midnight at our accounts, and have brought them to a good issue, so as to be ready to meet Sir G. Carteret and

Sir W. Coventry to-morrow, but must work to-morrow, which Mr. T. Hater had no mind to, it being the Lord's day, but, being told the necessity, submitted, poor man! This night writ for brother John to come to towne. Among other reasons, my estate lying in money, I am afeard of any sudden miscarriage. So to bed mightily contented in dispatching so much business, and find my house in the best condition that ever I knew it. Home to bed.

Sunday 23 September 1666

(Lord's day). Up, and after being trimmed, all the morning at the office with my people about me till about one o'clock, and then home, and my people with me, and Mr. Wayth and I eat a bit of victuals in my old closet, now my little dining-room, which makes a pretty room, and my house being so clean makes me mightily pleased, but only I do lacke Mercer or somebody in the house to sing with.

Soon as eat a bit Mr. Wayth and I by water to White Hall, and there at Sir G. Carteret's lodgings Sir W. Coventry met, and we did debate the whole business of our accounts to the Parliament; where it appears to us that the charge of the war from September 1st, 1664, to this Michaelmas, will have been but 3,200,000l., and we have paid in that time somewhat about 2,200,000l.; so that we owe above 900,000l.: but our method of accounting, though it cannot, I believe, be far wide from the mark, yet will not abide a strict examination if the Parliament should be troublesome.

Here happened a pretty question of Sir W. Coventry, whether this account of ours will not put my Lord Treasurer to a difficulty to tell what is become of all the money the Parliament have 'give' in this time for the war, which hath amounted to about 4,000,000l., which nobody there could answer; but I perceive they did doubt what his answer could be. Having done, and taken from Sir W. Coventry the minutes of a letter to my Lord Treasurer, Wayth and I back again to the office, and thence back down to the water with my wife and landed him in Southwarke, and my wife and I for pleasure to Foxhall, and there eat and drank, and so back home, and I to the office till midnight drawing the letter we are to send with our accounts to my Lord Treasurer, and that being done to my mind, I home to bed.

Monday 24 September 1666

Up, and with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen to St. James's, and there with Sir W. Coventry read and all approved of my letter, and then home, and after dinner, Mr. Hater and Gibson dining with me, to the office, and there very late new moulding my accounts and writing fair my letter, which I did against the evening, and then by coach left my wife at her brother's, and I to St. James's, and up and down to look [for] Sir W. Coventry; and at last found him and Sir G. Carteret with the Lord Treasurer at White Hall, consulting how to make up my Lord Treasurer's general account, as well as

that of the Navy particularly. Here brought the letter, but found that Sir G. Carteret had altered his account since he did give me the abstract of it: so all my letter must be writ over again, to put in his last abstract. So to Sir G. Carteret's lodgings, to speak a little about the alteration; and there looking over the book that Sir G. Carteret intends to deliver to the Parliament of his payments since September 1st, 1664, and there I find my name the very second for flags, which I had bought for the Navy, of calico; once, about 500 and odd pounds, which vexed me mightily. At last, I concluded of scraping out my name and putting in Mr. Tooker's, which eased me; though the price was such as I should have had glory by.

Here I saw my Lady Carteret lately come to towne, who, good lady! is mighty kind, and I must make much of her, for she is a most excellent woman. So took up my wife and away home, and there to bed, and...

Tuesday 25 September 1666

...up betimes, with all my people to get the letter writ over, and other things done, which I did, and by coach to Lord Bruncker's, and got his hand to it; and then to the Parliament House and got it signed by the rest, and then delivered it at the House-door to Sir Philip Warwicke; Sir G. Carteret being gone into the House with his book of accounts under his arme, to present to the House.

I had brought my wife to White Hall, and leaving her with Mrs. Michell, where she sat in her shop and had burnt wine sent for her, I walked in the Hall, and among others with Ned Pickering, who continues still a lying, bragging coxcombe, telling me that my Lord Sandwich may thank himself for all his misfortune; for not suffering him and two or three good honest fellows more to take them by the throats that spoke ill of him, and told me how basely Lionell Walden hath carried himself towards my Lord; by speaking slightly of him, which I shall remember.

Thence took my wife home to dinner, and then to the office, where Mr. Hater all the day putting in order and entering in a book all the measures that this account of the Navy hath been made up by, and late at night to Mrs. Turner's, where she had got my wife and Lady Pen and Pegg, and supped, and after, supper and the rest of the company by design gone, Mrs. Turner and her husband did lay their case to me about their lodgings, Sir J. Minnes being now gone wholly to his owne, and now, they being empty, they doubt Sir T. Harvy or Lord Bruncker may look after the lodgings.

I did give them the best advice, poor people, that I could, and would do them any kindnesse, though it is strange that now they should have ne'er a friend of Sir W. Batten or Sir W. Pen to trust to but me, that they have disoblighd. So home to bed, and all night still mightily troubled in my sleepe, with fire and houses pulling down.

Wednesday 26 September 1666

Up, and with Sir J. Minnes to St. James's, where every body going to the House, I away by coach to White Hall, and after a few turns, and hearing that our accounts come into the House but to-day, being hindered yesterday by other business, I away by coach home, taking up my wife and calling at Bennet's, our late mercer, who is come into Covent Garden to a fine house looking down upon the Exchange; and I perceive many Londoners every day come; and Mr. Pierce hath let his wife's closett, and the little blind bed chamber, and a garret to a silke man for 50l. fine, and 30l. per annum, and 40l. per annum more for dieting the master and two prentices.

So home, not agreeing for silk for a petticoat for her which she desired, but home to dinner and then back to White Hall, leaving my wife by the way to buy her petticoat of Bennet, and I to White Hall waiting all day on the Duke of Yorke to move the King for getting Lanyon some money at Plymouth out of some oyle prizes brought in thither, but could get nothing done, but here Mr. Dugdale I hear the great loss of books in St. Paul's Church-yard, and at their Hall also, which they value about 150,000l.; some booksellers being wholly undone, among others, they say, my poor Kirton. And Mr. Crumlu all his books and household stuff burned; they trusting St. Fayth's, and the roof of the church falling, broke the arch down into the lower church, and so all the goods burned. A very great loss. His father hath lost above 1000l. in books; one book newly printed, a Discourse, it seems, of Courts.

Here I had the hap to see my Lady Denham: and at night went into the dining-room and saw several fine ladies; among others, Castlemayne, but chiefly Denham again; and the Duke of Yorke taking her aside and talking to her in the sight of all the world, all alone; which was strange, and what also I did not like. Here I met with good Mr. Evelyn, who cries out against it, and calls it bitchering, —[This word was apparently of Evelyn's own making.]— for the Duke of Yorke talks a little to her, and then she goes away, and then he follows her again like a dog.

He observes that none of the nobility come out of the country at all to help the King, or comfort him, or prevent commotions at this fire; but do as if the King were nobody; nor ne'er a priest comes to give the King and Court good council, or to comfort the poor people that suffer; but all is dead, nothing of good in any of their minds: he bemoans it, and says he fears more ruin hangs over our heads.

Thence away by coach, and called away my wife at Unthanke's, where she tells me she hath bought a gowne of 15s. per yard; the same, before her face, my Lady Castlemayne this day bought also, which I seemed vexed for, though I do not grudge it her, but to incline her to have Mercer again,

which I believe I shall do, but the girle, I hear, has no mind to come to us again, which vexes me.

Being come home, I to Sir W. Batten, and there hear our business was tendered to the House to-day, and a Committee of the whole House chosen to examine our accounts, and a great many Hotspurs enquiring into it, and likely to give us much trouble and blame, and perhaps (which I am afeard of) will find faults enow to demand better officers. This I truly fear.

Away with Sir W. Pen, who was there, and he and I walked in the garden by moonlight, and he proposes his and my looking out into Scotland about timber, and to use Pett there; for timber will be a good commodity this time of building the City; and I like the motion, and doubt not that we may do good in it. We did also discourse about our Privateer, and hope well of that also, without much hazard, as, if God blesses us, I hope we shall do pretty well toward getting a penny. I was mightily pleased with our discourse, and so parted, and to the office to finish my journall for three or four days, and so home to supper, and to bed. Our fleete abroad, and the Dutch too, for all we know; the weather very bad; and under the command of an unlucky man, I fear. God bless him, and the fleete under him!

Thursday 27 September 1666

A very furious blowing night all the night; and my mind still mightily perplexed with dreams, and burning the rest of the town, and waking in much pain for the fleete. Up, and with my wife by coach as far as the Temple, and there she to the mercer's again, and I to look out Penny, my tailor, to speak for a cloak and cassock for my brother, who is coming to town; and I will have him in a canonical dress, that he may be the fitter to go abroad with me.

I then to the Exchequer, and there, among other things, spoke to Mr. Falconbridge about his girle I heard sing at Nonsuch, and took him and some other 'Chequer men to the Sun Taverne, and there spent 2s. 6d. upon them, and he sent for the girle, and she hath a pretty way of singing, but hath almost forgot for want of practice. She is poor in clothes, and not bred to any carriage, but will be soon taught all, and if Mercer do not come again, I think we may have her upon better terms, and breed her to what we please.

Thence to Sir W. Coventry's, and there dined with him and Sir W. Batten, the Lieutenant of the Tower, and Mr. Thin, a pretty gentleman, going to Gottenburgh. Having dined, Sir W. Coventry, Sir W. Batten, and I walked into his closet to consider of some things more to be done in a list to be given to the Parliament of all our ships, and time of entry and discharge. Sir W. Coventry seems to think they will soon be weary of the business, and fall quietly into the giving the King what is fit. This he hopes. Thence I by

coach home to the office, and there intending a meeting, but nobody being there but myself and Sir J. Minnes, who is worse than nothing, I did not answer any body, but kept to my business in the office till night, and then Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen to me, and thence to Sir W. Batten's, and eat a barrel of oysters I did give them, and so home, and to bed.

I have this evening discoursed with W. Hewer about Mercer, I having a mind to have her again; and I am vexed to hear him say that she hath no mind to come again, though her mother hath. No newes of the fleete yet, but that they went by Dover on the 25th towards the Gunfleete, but whether the Dutch be yet abroad, or no, we hear not. De Ruyter is not dead, but like to do well. Most think that the gross of the French fleete are gone home again.

Friday 28 September 1666

Lay long in bed, and am come to agreement with my wife to have Mercer again, on condition she may learn this winter two months to dance, and she promises me she will endeavour to learn to sing, and all this I am willing enough to.

So up, and by and by the glazier comes to finish the windows of my house, which pleases me, and the bookbinder to gild the backs of my books. I got the glass of my book-presses to be done presently, which did mightily content me, and to setting my study in a little better order; and so to my office to my people, busy about our Parliament accounts; and so to dinner, and then at them again close.

At night comes Sir W. Pen, and he and I a turn in the garden, and he broke to me a proposition of his and my joining in a design of fetching timber and deals from Scotland, by the help of Mr. Pett upon the place; which, while London is building, will yield good money. I approve it. We judged a third man, that is knowing, is necessary, and concluded on Sir W. Warren, and sent for him to come to us to-morrow morning. I full of this all night, and the project of our man of war; but he and I both dissatisfied with Sir W. Batten's proposing his son to be Lieutenant, which we, neither of us, like. He gone, I discoursed with W. Hewer about Mercer, having a great mind she should come to us again, and instructed him what to say to her mother about it. And so home, to supper, and to bed.

Saturday 29 September 1666

A little meeting at the office by Sir W. Batten, Sir W. Pen, and myself, being the first since the fire. We rose soon, and comes Sir W. Warren, by our desire, and with Sir W. Pen and I talked of our Scotch motion, which Sir W. Warren did seem to be stumbled at, and did give no ready answer, but proposed some thing previous to it, which he knows would find us work, or writing to Mr. Pett to be informed how matters go there as to cost

and ways of providing sawyers or saw-mills. We were parted without coming to any good resolution in it, I discerning plainly that Sir W. Warren had no mind to it, but that he was surprised at our motion.

He gone, I to some office business, and then home to dinner, and then to office again, and then got done by night the lists that are to be presented to the Parliament Committee of the ships, number of men, and time employed since the war, and then I with it (leaving my wife at Unthanke's) to St. James's, where Sir W. Coventry staid for me, and I perused our lists, and find to our great joy that wages, victuals, wear and tear, cast by the medium of the men, will come to above 3,000,000; and that the extraordinaries, which all the world will allow us, will arise to more than will justify the expence we have declared to have been at since the war, viz., 320,000l., he and I being both mightily satisfied, he saying to me, that if God send us over this rub we must take another course for a better Comptroller.

So parted, and I to my wife [at Unthanke's], who staid for the finishing her new best gowne (the best that ever I made her) coloured tabby, flowered, and so took it and her home; and then I to my people, and having cut them out a little more work than they expected, viz., the writing over the lists in new method, I home to bed, being in good humour, and glad of the end we have brought this matter to.

Sunday 30 September 1666

(Lord's day). Up, and to church, where I have not been a good while: and there the church infinitely thronged with strangers since the fire come into our parish; but not one handsome face in all of them, as if, indeed, there was a curse, as Bishop Fuller heretofore said, upon our parish. Here I saw Mercer come into the church, which I had a mind to, but she avoided looking up, which vexed me.

A pretty good sermon, and then home, and comes Balty and dined with us. A good dinner; and then to have my haire cut against winter close to my head, and then to church again. A sorry sermon, and away home. [Sir] W. Pen and I to walk to talk about several businesses, and then home; and my wife and I to read in Fuller's Church History, and so to supper and to bed.

This month ends with my mind full of business and concernment how this office will speed with the Parliament, which begins to be mighty severe in the examining our accounts, and the expence of the Navy this war.

14. The Pepys Library, Magdalene College Cambridge



The following was archived in 2021, with acknowledgement and thanks, from the website of Magdalene College Cambridge which is at www.magd.cam.ac.uk.

Samuel Pepys, Secretary to the Admiralty, Member of Parliament, President of the Royal Society, was born in 1633 and died in 1703.

Pepys was a scholar of Magdalene College, and by codicils added to his will directed that his library – the collection of a lifetime – should pass into its possession and be housed in this building after the death of his nephew and heir, John Jackson (1723). The 3000 volumes (mostly bound especially for him) are to stand here, without addition or subtraction, ‘for the benefit of posterity’. They are kept as he left them – arranged ‘according to

height' in the book-presses which he had made for him in a naval dockyard. His catalogue, shelf-list and library desk are still present.

A private library, wrote Pepys, should comprehend 'in fewest books and least room the greatest diversity of subjects, stiles and languages its owner's reading will bear'. The contents of his own library in fact reflect a remarkably wide range of interests. Literature, history, science, music and the fine arts are strongly represented. One of the treasures of the library is the series of diaries Pepys kept from 1660-1669.

Although it is unlikely to have been planned before 1640, the Pepys building was probably not completely finished until after 1700, battling against changes in fashion which overtook it. The original plan was probably a more modest, all-brick building in two wings with only a skeletal link between them. This languished for want of money, but the project was revived after advice was sought from Robert Hooke (architect and founder of modern structural engineering) in 1677. The main new idea was to bring the front forward by several feet, and create a large room or series of rooms over a loggia in the central link. This may have been specifically envisaged for library use: it seems that the books bequeathed by the then Master, Prof. James Duport, at his death in 1679 were kept there until 1834. He had contributed substantially to the cost of the building.

Samuel Pepys made three subscriptions to the building fund, although there is no formal evidence of his intention to bequeath his Library to the College, and of his hope to have it placed in 'the new building', until his will, dated 1703, just before his death. If the plan was changed in this way in the late 1670s, this would explain why there is such a dichotomy between the back and the front of the Pepys Building: the back is like a Jacobean manor house, while the front is neo-classical and in Ketton stone (it is indeed the only part of the College not in brick). It might also explain some of the other abounding anomalies, such as the facts that Second Court is some ten feet short of a square, and that the east end of the northern boundary wall has been re-built at an angle in order to give access to the Garden. It would also make it easier to understand why the internal brickwork in the front of the building is of inferior quality to the rest.

However, it has to be stressed that the exact history of the building is unknown, and it remains full of puzzles. The least of these is the irregular ground-plan: the south wing was deflected northwards because it abutted the College Brew-house, which had been rebuilt as recently as 1629. It is less easy to explain why the dormers are not uniform, or why the south wing is two feet shorter than the north. Much of the carpentry is shoddy. The staircases might well be pleasingly up to standard for the 1670s, but the whole construction in the garrets is surprisingly sketchy for collegiate

use. The west front is delightful, but only a moment's considered contemplation is needed to reveal a lopsided rhythm in it, since it is in fact slightly asymmetric: the middle window on the first floor is not central, the distance between the second and third windows is greater than that between their equivalent pair on the other side, and so on.

The frieze inscription 'Bibliotheca Pepysiana 1724' records the date of arrival of the Pepys Library; above it are painted Pepys's arms and his motto *Mens cujusque is est quisque* (taken from Cicero's *De re publica*, 'The mind's the man'). To the left and right appear the arms of two College benefactors, though neither contributed to this building: Sir Christopher Wray, to the upper left, and Peter Peckard (quartering Ferrar) to the right, both of which were added much later (1813?). The two busts are pseudo-antique.

