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SUBJECT: THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE DIARIES
OF SAMUEL PEPYS AND JOHN EVELYN.
(1660 - 1670.)

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THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE DIARIES OF SAMUEL PEPYS AND JOHN EVELYN.
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Section I: Introduction; Biographies; Characteristics of Pepys and Evelyn.

Samuel Pepys commenced his diary January 1, 1660. Until 1752 the year did not legally begin until March 25, but Pepys and many others considered it to begin January 1.¹ Owing to failing eyesight, Pepys discontinued his diary May 31, 1669. John Evelyn commenced his diary in 1641 but prefaced it with a short account of his family and of events from his birth in 1620 until 1641. The last entry in his diary occurs on February 3, 1706, and he died on the 27th of this month. Pepys wrote quite voluminously in shorthand every day; Evelyn, on the other hand, did not write daily but often at intervals of some weeks. In order to compare and collate the diaries, Evelyn's will be considered only in that part which covers the period 1660-1669 when Pepys wrote.

Samuel Pepys was born February 23, 1633. His father was a tailor in London and Pepys spent his early life fairly equally in town and country. He first attended school at Huntingdon but later transferred to St. Paul's School, London. In 1650 he entered Magdalene College, Cambridge, where he obtained a fair amount of classical learning and love of letters. His conduct was not always scholarly for there is a record that he was admonished for being drunk. In 1653 he received the degree of B.A. On December 1, 1655, according to register (though Pepys in later years thought it was October 10) he married Elizabeth St. Michel, a girl of fifteen whose father was a Huguenot. At this time Pepys had no settled means of support but through the kindness of a relative, Sir Edward Montague (afterwards Earl of Sandwich), the couple started married life living at his house where Pepys acted in the capacity of his agent. In 1659 he obtained an appointment as clerk in the office of Mr., afterwards Sir, George Downing of the Exchequer. Soon a great change took place in his fortunes for he was made, in March 1660, Secretary to Sir Edward Montague in his expedition to bring about the restoration of Charles II. He made various excursions to

1. In every case in this thesis the modern dating will be used.

Holland and describes them in a humorous manner in the diary. On their return from Holland, Montague obtained for Pepys the office of Clerk of the Acts, though Pepys had to pay Thomas Barlow (Clerk of the Acts in pre-Commonwealth days) an annuity of £100 to prevent him from pressing his claims to the office. This office Pepys held during the whole period of the diary, and he had to fight continually to maintain his rank as a Commissioner of the Navy, as some of the other members wished to reduce his status to that of a mere secretary. He received a salary of £350 a year, but to this must be added fees and other indirect means which were at Pepys' disposal and largely augmented his income. During and after the Dutch War the House of Commons continually criticized the naval administration and the whole labour of defense fell upon Pepys who made out his case with great skill and spoke before the bar of the House for three hours, March 5, 1668. He was highly praised for his speech and no further proceedings were taken in Parliament against the officers of the navy, so it may be considered that Pepys was entirely successful. That part of Pepys' life after he discontinued the diary need not be considered in detail. His wife died November 10, 1669. His successful speech before the House of Commons made him anxious to become a member and he was elected in 1673 for Castle Rising. He was soon after charged with Roman Catholic tendencies but there were evidently no grounds for such a charge. In 1673 Pepys was promoted to the office of Secretary of the Admiralty. In 1679 he was elected member for Harwich but almost immediately was sent to the Tower because of alleged connection with the Roman Catholic party. He with some difficulty vindicated himself and obtained his discharge. After being out of office for some time he was reappointed Secretary of the Admiralty in 1684 and ably filled that office until February 1689 when he retired. In 1690 he was again prosecuted, this time for alleged treason but there was no evidence of any kind against him. In 1690 he published a valuable work "Memoirs of the Navy." He died May 26, 1703.

Pepys possessed an alert, observing eye, and his perpetual curiosity led him to investigate everything that came within his reach. This greatly enhances his dependability as a chronicler of history. He was an average man, a representative of the English middle class, the holder of an important office. He was always himself and possessed shrewd common sense. He would talk with anyone on any subject in order to increase his knowledge. There is sometimes a strange lack of proportion in his dealing with large or small matters. Sometimes his brain is very acute; at other times he shows the simplicity and credulity of a child. Though he was outwardly willing to do homage to worldly wealth and success, he inwardly reserved a very independent outlook. He was humane and tolerant at a time when these virtues were exceptional. He possessed great ability, though not a great brain; indefatigable energy and ardent interest were welded into a whole by his exceedingly shrewd common sense. There was very little of the romantic or poetic in Pepys. He had an excellent opportunity to obtain inside information concerning affairs of importance as he frequented the court, was engaged in important public business and a member of the Royal Society. The style of his writing is very vivid and there is therefore fulness and detail in his diary.

John Evelyn was born October 31, 1620. He attended school at Southover and in May 1638 entered Balliol College, Oxford, but left before taking his degree. In 1640 he decided that the "national calamities were but in their infancy" and that it would be more prudent to absent himself from England than to run the risk of being drawn into the vortex. So he set out for Holland, returning to London October 1641. He remained in England two years, being exceedingly careful of his actions all the while. But in October 1643, he again obtained a license to travel from Charles I, then at Oxford. For three years he made a tour of Europe. In June 1647 he married the daughter of Sir Richard Browne, the English

resident at Paris. She did not come to England until some years later. Evelyn alternated between England and France, being on intimate terms with the exiled English royal family at Paris. In 1652 Evelyn and his wife moved to England and lived quietly at Sayes Court where he busied himself with gardening and writing and kept himself out of public affairs as much as possible. After the death of Cromwell, when the restoration appeared to be within measurable distance, Evelyn's literary efforts were frankly royalist. These included an "Apology for the Royal Party." He was invited to go to Holland and participate in the triumphant return of Charles II but was ill at the time. The enthusiasm of Evelyn for Charles grew out of a certain similarity in tastes; while the Charles who was restored in 1660 was a better man than the Charles who died in 1685. With most good men Evelyn lamented the gradual deterioration of Charles' character. He says in 1685: "He was ever kind to me, and very gracious upon all occasions." From 1660 Evelyn was frequently at Court. He was a member at different times of various Commissions. He was a member of the Council of the Royal Society, founded by Charles in 1662. A number of his literary productions are directly connected with the Society. In December 1685 after the accession of James II, Evelyn was made one of the Commissioners of the Privy Seal, but it is probable that he was pleased when he was relieved of his duties, for James was in the transition stage to Roman Catholicism, and Evelyn remained a staunch member of the Church of England. He never quite approved, however, of the forced abdication of James so the remaining years of his life were spent among his books and gardens in retirement and study. He died February 27, 1706. Throughout his life he had studiously declined honours and titles. He found that public business entailed complications of a kind which were not always to his liking, so he gracefully refused to become conspicuous in public affairs. His diary is rather in the nature of memoirs than a daily record of events such as Pepys has given us.

In many cases his entries have been carefully considered for some time before being entered; in other cases they have later been elaborated upon, sometimes mentioning matters which had not at that date occurred. Nearly one-third of the diary describes his travels in Europe; after 1676 the diary grows gradually briefer in style and less fruitful in personal details. Evelyn is an example of the true English gentleman. He was a philosopher, an enthusiast and a scholar. His scholarship was much superior to that of Pepys and he excelled Pepys both in dignity and virtues. Both men were royalists, though in his youth Pepys was a Roundhead and always feared someone might have remembered his youthful aridour against the king. Pepys' diary is the fruit of unrestrained freedom and a mirthful mind and is therefore quite spontaneous; Evelyn's is the product of cultured leisure and a refined literary method; he was one of the most expressive among Charles II's courtiers. He was either very optimistic or intensely pessimistic: he did not do anything by halves. He considered that all who were not royalists were rebels, yet his own zeal for the king was always tempered with a vast amount of caution and prudence. He had served in many public and other distinguished offices with zeal, ability, integrity and success. In a corrupt and profligate age his character stood out unsullied; so much cannot be said for Pepys. In an age of bigotry and intolerance both men showed considerable tolerance towards those whose religious views differed from their own. To a great extent Evelyn tried to shut his eyes to the dissolute behaviour of the court, so imbued was he with respect for royalty; Pepys, on the other hand, had the middle-class admiration for titles and highly enjoyed the splendour and display and any gossip which he could pick up in the neighbourhood of the Court. It is probable that Evelyn refrained from writing down much that was in his mind, but Pepys, writing in obscure short-hand and entirely for his own benefit, poured out his thoughts without any restraint. Each diary is valuable in its own way.

Perhaps Pepys' might be compared to the daily newspaper; Evelyn's to the weekly or monthly magazine. Pepys writes down everything every day; Evelyn writes summaries at intervals.

Section II : The History of London.

The most important events in the history of London during the years 1660-69 were undoubtedly the Dutch naval raid up the Thames, the Great Plague and the Great Fire. The first of these will be considered under Section IV, the others under Section II. All of them are carefully noted in the diaries and especially in that of Pepys.

(a) The Great Plague.

In 1665 England was visited by a devastating plague which originated in Asia and gradually engulfed most of Europe. On June 7, 1665, Pepys notes: "This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doore, and "Lord have mercy upon us" writ there; which was a sad sight to me, being the first of the kind that, to my remembrance, I ever saw." Evelyn makes no mention of the plague until July 16 when he records: "There died of the plague in London this week 1100, and in the week following above 2000. Two houses were shut up in our parish." Both Pepys and Evelyn followed closely the Bills of Mortality as published each week. Under date of August 12 Pepys says: "The people die so, that now it seems they are fain to carry the dead to be buried by daylight, the nights not sufficing to do it in." And my Lord Mayor commands people to be within at nine at night all, as they say, that the sick may have liberty to go abroad for air..... The King and Queen are speedily to be all gone to Milton. God preserve us !" On September 7, he says: "To the Tower, and there sent for the weekly Bill, and find 8,252 dead in all, and of them 6,978 of the plague; which is a most dreadful number, and shows reason to fear that the plague hath got that hold that it will yet continue

among us." On the same day Evelyn describes the unusual appearance of the streets all the way from Kent Street to St. Jame's, where it was "dangerous to see so many coffines exposed in the streets, now thin of people; the shops shut up, and all in mournful silence, as not knowing whose turn might be next." Pepys describes the plague at its height under date of September 20: "But Lord ! what a sad time it is to see no boats upon the river; and grass grows all up and down White Hall court, and nobody but poor wretches in the streets ! And, which is worst of all, the Duke showed us the number of the plague this week, brought in the last night from the Lord Mayor; that it is increased about 600 more than the last, which is quite contrary to all our hopes and expectations, from the coldness of the late season. For the whole general number is 8,297, and of them the plague 7,165, which is more on the whole by above 50, than the biggest bill yet; which is very grievous to us all." In October Evelyn was "environed with multitudes of poor pestiferous creatures begging almes" on several occasions when alighting from his coach. But the plague was gradually abating and Evelyn does not again mention it. It was to be followed by another catastrophe - the Great Fire of 1666 - which destroyed much of the city where the plague had been worst, and so perhaps prevented further visitations of disease.

(b) The Great Fire of 1666.

Early Sunday morning September 2, 1666, Pepys was aroused from bed by a servant to look at a fire which appeared far off in the center of the city. "So", he writes, "I made myself ready presently, and walked to the Tower, and there got up upon one of the high places....; and there I did see the houses at the end of the bridge all on fire, and an infinite great fire on this and the other side of the end of 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..... Everybody endeavouring to remove their goods, and flinging them into the river or bringing them into lighters that lay off." Pepys' description of the fire stands out among the most vivid sections of the diary. His curiosity led him wherever it was possible to go, and afterwards he went to White Hall and gave the king a first-hand account of what he saw. An effort was made by the Mayor to have houses pulled down before the fire reached them but the fire was too fast for even this device. Pepys gives us perhaps the best eye-witness account of the fire, as he stayed to watch it far into the night and was on hand again during the following days. Evelyn looked upon the fire (as upon the Dutch invasion of 1667 and the plague of the previous year) as a judgment of God upon the people of England for their evil lives. He notes on September 3 that the night was as light as day for ten miles round about; and that a heavy east wind drove the fire on rapidly. "The conflagration was so universal," he says, "and the people so astonished, that from the beginning, I know not by what despondercy or fate, they hardly stirred to quench it, so that there was nothing heard or seen but crying out and lamentation, running about like distracted creatures, without at all attempting to save even their goods..... Oh the miserable and calamitous spectacle!.... All the skie was of a fiery aspect like the top of a burning oven, and the light seen above 40 miles round about for many nights. God grant mine eyes may never behold the like, who now saw above 10,000 houses all in one flame.... The cloudis also of smoke were dismal and reached upon computation near 56 miles in length. Thus I left it this afternoone, a resemblance of Sodom, or the last day. London was, but is no more ! " Evelyn's scientific bent is shown in this quotation. The fire was scarcely over before he had (September 13) prepared and presented the king with a survey of it and a plan for rebuilding the city. Pepys observed on January 16, 1667, the smoking remains of the fire in many places; and on

March 16 he noticed smoke still coming out of some cellars. Evelyn especially regretted the loss of St. Paul's which was "a sad ruine." Pepys had a great taste for coincidence and curious happenings, and he did not fail to write in his diary: "It is observed, and is true, in the late fire of London, that the fire burned just as many parish churches as there were hours from the beginning to the end of the fire; and next, that there were just as many churches left standing as there were taverns left standing in the rest of the city that was not burned, being, I think, thirteen in all of each; which is pretty to observe."

(c) Transportation; Highways; Lawlessness and Riots.

The streets of London were at this time in poor condition. This, together with extremely inadequate police service and very poor street lighting, made travelling by coach in the city hazardous, more especially at night. Robberies were frequent but the criminals were seldom apprehended. Evelyn writes on February 15, 1663: "This night some villains brake into my house and study below, and robbed me to the value of £.60 in plate, money and goods. This being the third time I have been thus plundered." When one travelled by coach at night it was necessary to hire men to carry torches, as some protection against thieves. Guards were often hired to accompany men going about the city, even in daylight. The Thames was a great highway in these days and Pepys and Evelyn often travelled to the center of the city by boats which made a business of this passenger service. Hackney coaches were first placed on hire in London in 1634 and Pepys used them continually until he felt able to afford a coach of his own in 1668. After the fire a number of the streets remained in very bad condition for some time and Pepys occasionally mentions having to go a roundabout way in order to avoid pitch-holes or debris on certain streets. Almost all the streets were

gambling: November 11, 1661: "Captain Ferrers and I went together, and he carried me the first time that ever I saw any gaming house, to one, entering into Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, at the end of Bell Yard, 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's life, which I see is very miserable, and poor, and unmanly." After the Restoration there was a strong reaction against Puritanism in conduct, and sports and amusements of all types flourished. Cock-fighting and bear-baiting were among the lower forms of sport quite popular at the time: December 21, 1663: "To Shoe-Lane to see a cocke-fighting at a new pit there, a spot I was never at in my life: but Lord! to see the strange variety of people, from Parliament man to the poorest 'prentices, bakers, brewers, butchers, draymen and what not; and all these fellows one with another cursing and betting. I soon had enough of it. It is strange to see how people of this poor rank, that look as if they had not bread to put in their mouths, shall bet three or four pounds at a time and lose it, and yet bet as much the next battle, so that one of them will lose £10 or £20 at a meeting." Evelyn occasionally played at Bowls and Pepys mentions observing the king and some of the nobility play at tennis. Skating was introduced from Holland about this time. Evelyn notes, December 1, 1662: "Saw an exhibition of sliders on the Thames with sचेets after the manner of the Hollanders." With reference to gambling he says in January 1668: "I saw deepe and prodigious gaming at the Groome-Porters, vast heaps of gold squandered away in a vaine and profuse manner. This I looked on as a horrid vice, and unsuitable in a Christian court..... Went to see the Revels at the Middle Temple, which is also an old but riotous costome, and has relation neither to virtue or policy." A few years later he says: "I went with some friends to the Bear Garden, where was cock-fighting, dog-fighting, bear and bull baiting, it being a famous day for all these butcherly sports, or rather

barbarous cruelties..... I was most heartily weary of the rude and dirty pastime, which I had not seen, I think, in twenty years before."

After the repression of the theatre in Commonwealth days there was a great reaction in the early years of the restoration. Censorship, if any, was very lax, and many plays produced were considered indecent even according to the lax standards of the period. Among the innovations was the appearance of women on the stage. Pepys mentions, January 3, 1661: "To the theatre where was acted "Beggars' Bush," it being very well done; and here the first time that ever I saw women come upon the stage." That this was detrimental to public morality is certainly the opinion of Evelyn who wrote (just after the plague and^{the} fire), October 18, 1666: "This night was acted my Lord Broghill's tragedy called "Mustapha," before their majesties at court, at which I was present, very seldom going to the public theatres for many reasons, now as they were abused to an atheistical liberty, fowle and undecent women now (and never till now) permitted to appear and act, who inflaming several young noblemen and gallants, became their misses, and to some their wives, witness the Earle of Oxford, Sir R.Howard, Prince Rupert, the Earle of Dorset, and another greater person than any of them who fell into their snares, to the reproach of their noble families, and ruine of both body and soule. I was invited by my Lord Chamberlaine to see this tragedy, exceedingly well written, though in my mind I did not approve of any such pastime in a season of such judgments and calamities." Pepys and Evelyn both reflect the taste of the Restoration period when they dislike the plays of Shakespeare. Evelyn says, November 26, 1661, : "I saw "Hamlet, Prince of Denmark" played, but now the old plays began to disgust this refined age, since his Majesty's being so long abroad." Pepys rather liked "Hamlet" but thought "Othello" "a mean thing," and "A Midsummer Night's Dream" "the most insipid ridiculous play that ever I saw." "Macbeth" he thought " a most

excellent play in all respects," "Henry VIII" and the "Taming of the Shrew" impressed him as "simple" and "mean" respectively. Pepys saw some 135 plays during the period of the diary; many of these he saw several times as he attended the theatre 351 times in that time. For more than twelve months during the plague and fire the theatres were closed. We learn something of the prices of admission for Pepys says they varied from 1s. to 2s.6d. Until he was quite wealthy (in 1667) he did not obtain the best seats but was content usually with the cheaper. Pepys represents, perhaps, the average playgoer rather than the critic, so that his judgment of the worth of plays is not at all dependable. The comfort of his seat, the prettiness of the actresses or of women in the audience, were to him much more enjoyable than the pure poetry of an author like Shakespeare. He did not enjoy the merely indecent, however, and thought the plays of Dryden and others who wrote in a similar vein simply silly. Other developments in the theatre during the years of the diary were a great development in the use of scenery and in the musical accompaniment of plays. Better lighting in the theatres was another improvement.

In the consideration of the History of London during the years of the diaries it is impossible to trace all aspects of it but merely certain of the most outstanding. Further references will be made, of course, in the remaining sections of this thesis.

Section III: Manners, Customs and Fashions of the Time.

(a) The Punishment of Criminals.

At this period the punishment of criminals was very severe. Capital punishment was the penalty for a large number of crimes. Burning at the stake was not uncommon; Evelyn notes: "Passing by Smithfield I saw a miserable creature burning who had murdered her husband." He also mentions having seen a man tortured by

stretching, but this was in Paris. On another occasion (and this was in England) he noted that a thief was pressed to death for refusing to plead. The heads, and often the bodies, of executed criminals were usually exposed to the public view, and often for long periods. Pepys mentions having seen major-general Harrison "hanged, drawn and quartered" at Charing Cross. This was, of course, a part of the revenge at the Restoration. After the execution, Pepys says: "his head and heart were shown to the people, at which there was great shouts of joy." On October 20, 1660, he notes that he saw "the limbs of some of our new traitors set upon Aldersgate, which was a sad sight to see; and a bloody week this and the last have been, there being ten hanged, drawn and quartered." The object of the public executions with their extreme cruelty was, of course, the example to potential criminals; therefore the heads or bodies were always placed in a most conspicuous place. One other quotation will suffice to shew the severity of the criminal law. Pepys says, September 8, 1667, that a criminal was condemned at Salisbury for a small matter and that the judge was considering transporting him in order to save his life, when "the fellow flung a great stone at the judge, that missed him but broke through the wainscoat. Upon this he had his hand cut off, and was hanged presently."

(b) Amusements; Music and Entertainment.

The theatre and other public amusements were considered in Section II (d). It is the intention here to note a few of the forms of entertainment popular in the seventeenth century home. There was a vast difference in what Pepys and Evelyn enjoyed: Evelyn is certainly a higher type of Christian gentleman than Pepys. Quotations from the diaries are interesting in this connection. Evelyn says, December 2, 1673: "I dined with some friends, and visited the sick; thence to an alms-house where was prayers and relief, some very ill and miserable. It was one of the best daies I ever spent in my life." One of Pepys' most

enjoyable days stands out in deep contrast: "March 2, 1669: "After dinner we fell to dancing, and continued, only with intermission for a good supper, till two in the morning, the musick being Greeting and another most excellent violin, the best in town. And so with mighty mirth, and pleased with their dancing of jigs afterwards several of them, and among others Betty Turner, who did it mighty prettily; and then to a country-dance again and so broke up with extraordinary pleasure, as being one of the daies and nights of my life spent with the greatest content; and that which I can but hope to repeat again a few times in my whole life." It is probable that dancing was very popular among the average people of the time (of which Pepys is a good representative) but Evelyn frowned upon it at all times, and was especially troubled at the prevalence of amusements during the period of the plague, fire and Dutch invasion. Pepys describes another type of amusement which would appear to us as rather childish. Under date of August 14, 1666, he says: "Then about nine to Mrs. Mercer's gate, where the fire and boys expected us, and her son had provided abundance of serpents and rockets; and there till about twelve at night, flinging our fireworks and burning one another, and the people over the way.... and at last we went into Mrs. Mercer's, and there mighty merry, smutting one another with candle grease and soot, till most of us were like devils." And after this they went to Pepys' house, dressed up in masquerade costume, and danced until three or four in the morning! Pepys was exceedingly fond of music - "Musique is the thing of the world that I love most." At times he speaks of himself as being "in extasy almost," so great was the power of music over him. His diary enables one to describe musical instruments popular at the time, as he names a great many now out of fashion. Wind instruments of various kinds were very popular, and Pepys was especially fond of singing, composing several songs. This taste for music was widely spread but had been strictly controlled under the Puritan regime. Coffee-houses,

ale-houses, inns and barber shops often provided music for the benefit of their customers. Pepys himself played the lute, the viol, the flageolet, the triangle and several other instruments. He also paid considerable attention to the theory of music. A recent book describes 17th.Century music entirely from the references to it in Pepys' diary. As to other entertainment there were occasional recitals by distinguished musicians, and often these were provided at private homes. Pepys entertained his friends in this manner at times in his later life. The English have long been noted for their love of walking. Pepys often mentions his pleasure at walking into the country (which was then not far distant from what is now the center of London). One of the best pieces of description in the diary describes a walk on Epsom Downes, and his conversation with a shepherd and his little son whom he found tending their sheep. On this occasion he notes that there were many people "walking with their wives and children to take the ayre." Evelyn also was fond of walking in the country, as also of music and the more sober forms of entertainment. Books and gardens were, however, his paramount interest.

(c) Eating and Drinking.

Under this section we must refer largely to Pepys. It must be remembered that Evelyn does not commonly write in his diary about ordinary matters, while Pepys notes everything. As has been mentioned before, drinking wine was one of Pepys' weaknesses, which he tried to control but without success. He was also fond of good meals and was quite disgusted if invited to a poor dinner. One example will suffice: "Very merry at, before, and after dinner, and the more for that my dinner was great, and most neatly dressed by our own only maid. We had a fricasee of rabbits and chickens, a leg of mutton boiled, three carps in a dish, a great dish of a side of lamb, a dish of roasted pigeons, a dish of four lobsters, three tart a lamprey pie (a most rare pie), a dish of anchovies, good wine of several sorts, and all things mighty noble and to my great content."

If all men ate such meals it is no wonder that gout, gallstones and other diseases were much more prevalent then than now.

Another aspect of drinking (and one evidently a custom at that time) is interesting if not pleasant. Evelyn says, March 18, 1669: "I went with Lord Howard of Norfolk to visit Sir William Ducie at Charlton, where we dined; the servants made our coachmen so drunk that they both fell off their boxes on the heath, where we were fain to leave them, and were driven to London by two servants of my Lord's. This barbarous custom of making the masters welcome by intoxicating the servants had now the second time happened to my coachmen."

(d) Dress and Fashions.

Pepys and his wife were both fond of dress and followed the fashions very closely. The Royal family and the Court commonly set the fashion, although many innovations originated among visitors from foreign countries. Pepys (who, of course, writes more about clothes than Evelyn) was as interested in his wife's clothes as in his own, and often tried to have them suit his taste or caprice rather than hers. About 1660 it became the fashion for the ladies to wear black beauty spots. Pepys was evidently against them at first but soon allowed his wife to follow the fashion, for he says, November 4, 1660: "My wife seemed very pretty to-day, it being the first time I had given her leave to wear a black patch." On June 9, 1661, he notes: "This day my wife put on her black silk gown which is now laced all over with black gimp lace, as the fashion is, in which she is very pretty." In 1667 many of the court ladies appeared with their hair done up in "puffes" but Pepys says: "I do not like it; but my wife do mightily; but it is only because she sees it is the fashion." One other extract from the diary will show Pepys' vanity and fondness for display: May 1, 1669: "At noon home to dinner, and there find my wife extraordinary fine, with her flowered tabby gown that she made two years ago, now laced exceeding pretty; and indeed was fine all over; and she would have me put on

my fine suit, which I did. And so anon we went alone through the town with our new liveries of serge, and the horses' manes and tails tied with red ribbons, and the standards there gilt with varnish, and all clean, and green reins, that people did mightily look upon us; and the truth is, I did not see any coach more pretty, though more gay, than ours, all the day." In 1664 Pepys first began to shave with a razor, having used pumice stone and other methods previously. He found it very pleasant and a saver of money and time.

(e) Marriage and Funeral Customs.

At this time marriages were arranged between the parents, financial considerations being exceedingly important. Two extracts from Pepys are illuminating: December 31, 1661; "My chiefest thought is now to get a good wife for Tom, there being one offered by the Joyce's, a cozen of theirs, worth £200 in ready money." October 10, 1667: "Up, to walk up and down in the garden with my father, to talk of all our concerns: about a husband for my sister, whereof there is at present no appearance; but we must endeavour to find her one now, for she grows old and ugly." It was the custom at this period to marry very early. Evelyn's wife was but thirteen when married but she remained at home some years before going to England with him. Evelyn describes in his diary the marriage of Lord Arlington's daughter to one of the king's illegitimate sons. The bride was only five years old. Seven years later they were re-married. The marriage was entirely arranged by the king, and Evelyn, who was present both times, "took no great joy at the thing for many reasons." These exceedingly early marriages must be taken as exceptional. Financially arranged marriages were so common that Evelyn mentions as something quite extraordinary that a friend of his had decided to allow his daughter to show an inclination for some young man, before attempting to make any arrangements for her marriage.

Funeral customs were not greatly different from what they are at present. Chief mourners were usually sent complete mourning

outfits: Evelyn received this when Pepys died. It was usual for the minister to extol the virtues of the deceased, as is sometimes done at the present day. Thus the Rev. Mr. Turner preached a funeral sermon for Pepys' Uncle and "spoke not particularly of him anything, but that he was one so well known for his honesty that it spoke for itself above all that he could say for it. And so made a very good sermon." At this funeral the guests were supplied with "ribbands and gloves" as well as refreshments. It was evidently a custom to do this: in "Hamlet" reference is made to "the funeral baked meats."

(f) Literature and Science; The Royal Society; Art.

The two diarists were interested in Literature, Science and Art, but Evelyn had a much deeper and more intelligent interest than Pepys. Both men were authors apart from their diaries but again Evelyn was the greater. Pepys was remarkable as a collector of old ballad poetry, of old maps of London, of models of ships, etc., etc., and made a real contribution to historical knowledge in this respect. His library of about 3000 volumes is still intact. He was fond of good bindings and often bought a book more for this than its contents. He spent a great deal of time numbering and cataloguing his books: this he did a number of times. His books cover a wide field for Pepys had most varied interests. Pepys' miscellaneous curiosity led to a vast interest in Science. A history of the monstrosities of the animal world could be written from the pages of the diary. Inventions of all kinds attracted Pepys: pumping engines, guns, weather-glasses, and all manner of new processes are mentioned in the diary. This insatiable curiosity gave Pepys the reputation of a man of science and in his later life he was a member of the Royal Society, founded by Charles II at the Restoration. Evelyn also was a member of the Society and published a number of essays on scientific subjects under its direction. The important meetings of the Society are often mentioned in Evelyn's diary, as

also in Pepys' after February 15, 1665, when he was elected a fellow. Under date of June 8, 1664, Evelyn writes: "Went to our Society, to which his majesty had sent that wonderful horne of the fish which struck a dangerous hole in the keel of a ship in the India Sea, which being broke off with the violence of the fish and left in the timber, preserved it from foundering."

Evelyn's appreciation of art was much better than that of Pepys. He was well versed in the art of England and Europe, having travelled for some years and visited most of the art galleries. Pepys, on the other hand, was not a connoisseur in the field of art and so not much concerning it occurs in his diary.

(g) Manners of the Period; Laxity of Conduct.

One or two miscellaneous customs may be noted here. It seems to have been the custom for each man to pick out a lady (not his wife) as his valentine, and to send her a gift. Pepys very often notes who his valentines were and how many pairs of silk stockings or gloves he gave them. On February 22, 1661, he notes: "Then my wife to Sir W. Batten's, and there sat awhile; he having yesterday sent my wife half a dozen pairs of gloves, and a pair of silk stockings and garters, for her Valentine's gift." A gift of the latter part of this present would hardly be considered in good form to-day. There was, however, great laxity of conduct in the Restoration period, when judged by modern standards. It was evidently quite proper for men to enter ladies' dressing rooms, as may be seen from the following from Evelyn's diary: "Following his Majesty this morning through the gallerie, I went, with the few who attended him, into the Dutchesse of Portsmouth's dressing-rooms within her bed-chamber, where she was in her morning loose garment, her maids combing her, newly out of her bed, his Majesty and the gallants standing about her; but what engaged my curiosity was the rich and splendid furniture of this splendid apartment whilst her Majesty's does not exceed some gentleman's ladie's in furniture and accomodation." Pepys often mentions very free behaviour of

men in ladies' dressing rooms. The licentiousness of the times was previously noted under Section II (d). The king set an exceedingly bad example to his subjects in the scandalous private life he led: all was carried on so openly that everyone must have known the truth. Even Pepys (who was by no means a model in his private life) continually refers to the shameful conduct of the Court. Such conduct was the more extreme because of the reaction of the Restoration period from the repressive legislation under the Puritan regime.

Section IV : Political and Constitutional History.

In this section six of the more important subjects of historical interest in the years 1660-1669 have been chosen. In some of these sections more than one subject is considered, but in that case they are inter-related. In each case quotations will be given from both diaries so that the one will be seen to corroborate the other, and perhaps throw some extra light on the subject.

(a) The End of the Commonwealth; Richard Cromwell; General Monk.

After Cromwell's death the Commonwealth broke up with great rapidity. His son Richard proved weak and vacillating and soon retired. Evelyn says, April 25, 1659: "A wonderfull and suddaine change in the face of the publiq; the new Protector Richard slighted; several pretenders and parties strive for the government: all anarchy and confusion; Lord have mercy on us!" May 29: "The Nation was now in extreme confusion and unsettled, between the Armies and Sectaries, the poor Church of England breathing as it were her last, so sad a face of things overspread us." October 11: "The Armie now turned out the Parliament. We had now no Government in the Nation; all in confusion; no Magistrate either own'd or pretended but the Souldiers, and they not agreed." These events occurred before Pepys commenced his diary, but he says under date of June 21, 1660: "Thence back to Whitehall, where, the king being gone abroad, my Lord ¹ and I walked

1. The Earl of Sandwich who was instrumental in arranging the restoration of Charles II; also a relative and benefactor of Pepys.

a great while discoursing of the simplicity of the Protector, in his losing all that his father had left him." In an entry occurring previous to the above Pepys speaks of Richard as being "scarce able to talk sense with a man." It is from estimates such as these that we get an idea of Richard's true character.

With reference to the arrival of General Monk from Scotland, Evelyn says, February 3, 1660: "General Monk came now ^{out of Scotland} to London, / but no man knew what he would do or declare, yet he was met on all his way by the Gentlemen of all the counties which he passed, with petitions that he would recall the old long interrupted Parliament and settle the nation in some order, being at this time in most prodigious confusion and under no government, everybody expecting what would be next and what he would do." Pepys puts a little more of the colourful in his notes on the same events. On the same day he says: "General Monk was newly come, and we saw all his forces march by in very good plight and stout officers..... After dinner I went to hear news, buy only found that the Parliament House was most of them with Monk at White Hall, and that in his passing through the town he had many calls to him for a free Parliament, but little other welcome. I saw in the Palace Yard how unwilling some of the old soldiers were yet to go out of town without their money, and swore if they had it not in three days, as they were promised, they would do them more mischief in the country than if they had staid here; and that is very likely, the country being all discontented. The town and guards are already full of Monk's soldiers." On the tenth Evelyn notes that Monk's soldiers broke down the gates of London "which exceedingly exasperated the City, the souldiers marching up and down as triumphing over it, and all the old army of the phanatics put out of their posts, and sent out of town." On the eleventh he heads his notes, "A signal day," and writes as follows: "Monk, perceiving how infamous and wretched a pack of knaves would have still usurped the supreame power, and having intelligence that they intended to take away his commission, repenting of what he had don to the City, and where he and his

forces quartered, marches to White Hall, dissipates that nest of robbers, and convenes the old Parliament, the Rump Parliament (so called as retaining some few rotten members of the other) being dissolved; and for joy whereof were many thousand of rumps roasted publicly in the streets at the bonfires this night, with ringing of bells, and universal jubilee." So ended the tyrannical Rump Parliament: Monk rendered England a good service, and his act was exceedingly popular, as the diary shows.

(b) The Restoration of the Monarchy; The Declaration of Breda; Charles' Entrance into London and his Reception.

Evelyn was always a staunch loyalist, and an important figure in the party instrumental in securing the return of the king. As usual he kept himself out of the front line, but sickness was the cause more than his retiring disposition in this particular instance. Concerning the Declaration of Breda, which was a necessary step before the king could return, Evelyn says under date of May 3, 1660: "Came the most happy tidings of his Majesty's gracious declaration and applications to the Parliament, Generall, and People, and their dutiful acceptance and acknowledgment, after a most bloody and unreasonable rebellion of neere 20 years. Praised be for ever the Lord of Heaven, who onely doeth wondrous things, because his mercy endureth forever!" Pepys, as usual, gives us more detailed information. On the same day he writes: "This morning my Lord showed me the King's declaration and his letter to the two generals to be communicated to the fleet. The contents of the letter are his offer of grace to all that will come in within 40 days, only excepting them that Parliament shall hereafter except. That the sales of lands during these troubles, and all other things, shall be left to Parliament, by which he will stand. The letter dated at Breda April $\frac{4}{14}$, 1660, in the 12th year of his reign. Upon the receipt of it this morning by an express, Mr. Phillips, one of the messengers of the Council from General Monk, my Lord summoned a council of war and in the meantime did dictate to me how he would have the vote

ordered which he would have pass this council. At the Council I read the letter and declaration; and while they were discoursing upon it, I seemed to draw up a vote, which being offered, they passed. Not one man seemed to say no to it, though I am confident many in their hearts were against it. After this was done I went up to the quarter-deck with my Lord and the commanders, and there read both the papers and the vote; which done and demanding their opinion, the seamen did all of them cry out, "God Bless King Charles" with the greatest joy imaginable My Lord seemed to put great confidence in me, and would take my advice in many things. I perceive his being willing to do all the honour in the world to Monk, and to let him have all the honour of doing the business, though he will many times express his thoughts of him to be but a thick-sculled fool. So that I do believe there is some agreement more than ordinary between the king and my Lord to let Monk carry on the business, for it is he that must do the business, or at least that can hinder it, if he be not flattered and observed." The latter part of this quotation is perhaps the most valuable historically as indicating the undercurrent of motives, which Pepys, as secretary to his relative the Earl of Sandwich, had a most excellent opportunity of observing. On May 29, 1660, Charles II entered London. Evelyn describes the decorations for the occasion, the ceremonial dress of the various officials, and the crowds of people "even so far as from Rochester, so as they were seven hours in passing the city, even from 2 in the afternoon until 9 at night. I stood in the Strand and beheld it, and blessed God. And all this was done without one drop of blood shed and by that very army which rebelled against him." And he goes on to say that such a wonderful restoration was certainly an act of Providence. Pepys was at sea with the fleet, as he was all this month, and merely states that he hears the king is to enter the city on the 29th May. On June 1 he writes: "At night Mr. Cooke comes from London with letters, leaving

all things very gallant and joyful. And brought us word that the Parliament had ordered the 29th of May, the King's birthday, to be forever kept as a day of thanksgiving for our redemption from tyranny, and the king's return to his Government, he entering London that day." The reception to the king was evidently widespread and enthusiastic. On June 4 Evelyn notes the "infinite concourse of people" eager to see his Majesty and kiss his hands, so that "he had scarce leisure to eat for some days, coming as they did from all parts of the Nation..... and the king would have none kept out, but gave access to all sorts of people." On June 21 he notes: "The Warwickshire gentlemen (as did all the shires and chief towns in all the three Nations) presented their congratulatory Adresse." This shows that the welcome to Charles was not confined to any section of the nation, nor to any particular class of citizens. A couple of quotations from Pepys present us another aspect of Charles' reception. On July 4 he notes: "It was strange to see how all the people flocked together bare, to see the king looking out of the Council window." And the next day he says that the city entertained the King and Parliament with great pomp. There is no doubt that Charles made a good impression on his subjects, and an auspicious start of his actual reign. While always retaining a certain popularity, it was not long before his life disgusted even Loyalists as staunch as Evelyn.

(c) The Execution of the Regicides; Disinterment and Indignity to the bodies of Bradshaw and Cromwell.

Revenge against those responsible for the execution of Charles I was soon forthcoming. Evelyn notes that on October 11, 1660, those who had sat at the king's trial were themselves committed for trial. On the 14th six of them were executed, and four more on the 17th. He says: "I saw not their execution, but met their quarters mangled and cut and reeking as they were brought from the gallows in baskets on the hurdle. Oh the miraculous providence of God!" On the 13th Pepys saw Major-General Harrison executed, and notes the great shouts of joy of the people who

observed it. On the 20th he writes: "This afternoon I saw the limbs of some of our new traitors set upon Aldersgate, which was a sad sight to see; and a bloody week this and the last have been, there being ten hanged, drawn and quartered."

To wreak vengeance on the living is perhaps customary and possible of defence to some extent; but to remove the bodies of the dead from their graves seems an indignity not only senseless but most unfortunate and unchristian. Evelyn, as usual, praises God for this supposedly notable achievement, and moralizes at the close of his description of the hanging of the bodies of Cromwell, Bradshaw and Ireton at Tyburn: "Fear God and honor the King; but meddle not with them who are given to change!" Pepys mentions the circumstances more fully. On December 4, 1660 he notes: "This day Parliament voted that the bodies of Oliver, Ireton, Bradshaw, etc., should be taken up out of their graves in the Abbey, and drawn to the gallows, and there hanged and buried under it; which do trouble me that a man of so great courage as he was should have that dishonour, though otherwise he might deserve it enough." On January 30, 1661, he notes that the day was declared one of fasting and prayer because of the hanging of the bodies at Tyburn; and on February 5 he saw their heads set up in Westminster Hall. Some years later there was considerable reaction in Cromwell's favour. Pepys says, February 8, 1667: "At dinner we talked much of Cromwell; all saying he was a brave fellow, and did owe his crowne he got to himself as much as any man that ever got one." The greatly increased expenses of the monarchy under Charles II, together with the inaction and general lack of policy of the government, led to considerable disappointment at the results, and further enhanced Cromwell's memory and reputation. Pepys says, July 12, 1667: "It is a strange how everybody do nowadays reflect upon Oliver, and commend him, what brave things he did, and made all the neighbour princes fear him; while here a prince, come in with all the love and prayers and good liking of his people, who have given greater signs of loyalty and willingness to serve him with their estates than ever

On the 20th he wrote: "This afternoon I saw the
lamps of some of our new friends for your assistance, which was
a sad sight to see, and a bloody war like and the least have been
there being ten hundred, seven and departed."

To what purpose on the living in our hands
possibilities of defence to some extent; but to remove the
the fact from their minds seems an indignity and only
but most unfortunate and wretched. Truly, as usual, practice
God, for this supposedly social achievement, and witness at the
close of his description of the height of the tower of Cromwell,

Richard and John at Tyburn "that day and hour the high,
could not with them who are given to change." Page 100
the circumstances were fully. On December 4, 1659 he wrote: "This
day Parliament voted that the bodies of Oliver, John, Richard,

etc., should be taken up out of their graves in the Abbey, and
drawn to the gallows, and their bodies and put under the
the gallows for that a man of so good courage as he was should have
his dishonour, though otherwise he might have been." On

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101, February 5, 1667: "At dinner we talked much of Cromwell; all
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increased expense of the country under Charles II, together with

the reaction and general lack of policy of the government, led to
Cromwell's disreputation at the court, and further enhanced
Cromwell's name and reputation. Thus says, July 15, 1667: "It is
a strange how everybody is running to meet Oliver, and count

his, that have taken in his, and made all the without business
less than; call him a prince, and in with all the love and prayers
and good kind of his people, and have given greater signs of
loyalty and willingness to serve him with their estates than ever

was done by any people, hath lost all so soon, that it is a miracle what way a man could devise to lose so much in so little time."

(d) The War with Holland.

Through his connection with the navy, Pepys was well posted on the developments in the relations between England and Holland. His diary resembles a newspaper in this respect, much of the news of the day being reported, and it quite often happened that reports proved untrue. On February 22, 1664, he notes: "All the court are mad for a Dutch war." The king could not depend on Parliament to second him in his efforts to force war upon Holland: this is seen from an entry on March 30, 1664: "It seems the King's design is by getting underhand the merchants to bring in their complaints to the Parliament, to make them in honour begin a war, which he cannot in honour declare first, for fear they should not second him with money." Evelyn wrote a history of the war, and consequently does not discuss it very fully in his diary. On April 5, 1665, he says: "This was a day of public humiliation and for success of this terrible war, begun doubtless at secret instigation of the French to weaken the States and Protestant interest. Prodigious preparations on both sides." From what Pepys says of the causes of the war it would not appear that the French need be blamed for it, but that king and court and other classes of the community were eager for it. As to the war itself much of the news which Pepys records was hearsay and later denied. In England there was continual uncertainty as to the progress of naval engagements between the fleets. The efficiency of the navy was greatly lessened by feuds between the genuine seamen and the fine court gentlemen who owed their commands to wealth or favour, but seldom to ability. Pepys' friends, the Earl of Sandwich and Sir William Coventry, were among the "gentlemen commanders" who acquitted themselves well in subsequent naval battles, and particularly in that of Lowestoft on June 3, 1665. The second notable battle of the war was the famous four days' fight of June 1-4, 1666. In the end it was a victory for

the Dutch who made the British fleet under Albemarle retreat. Pepys' diary at this time shows us the rumours and uncertainties by which the people were perplexed and worried. The guns could be heard in London, and Pepys notes that he saw hundreds of people in Hyde park listening to them. After this unsatisfactory engagement an effort was made to sufficiently reinforce the fleet by the use of the press-gang. Pepys found this duty very distasteful. The diary gives a clear conception of the poor condition of the naval affairs of England. On July 25, however, the Dutch were defeated and lost about twenty ships. Both sides were tired of war and negotiations towards a peace were commenced at the end of 1666. But so over-confident and inefficient were the rulers of the navy that the Dutch were able to strike a sudden and very acute blow: they burned and destroyed English ships in the Thames and Medway. Pepys' criticism of Prince Rupert and other commanders brought him into some disfavour at this time. His diary as well as that of Evelyn, and all other records of the time show the panic and sense of shame into which the country was thrown. Evelyn, on June 10, speaks of the "disgrace and incredible mischief" done by the Dutch, and the "unaccountable negligence" of the English causing "panic, fear and consternation such as I hope I shall never see more." The peace terms signed at Breda, August 24, 1667, closed the war, and England secured the right of her flag to salute from the ships of other nations in the Narrow Seas. There was, however, general dissatisfaction among Englishmen, largely, as Pepys says, because "we are not able to make the Dutch keep it, when they have a mind to break it." No money was available to pay the seamen, and everything was in a state of turmoil; but nothing could induce the king and court to take matters seriously. Pepys' final conclusion concerning the war was that "in all things, in wisdom, courage, force, knowledge of our own streams, and success, the Dutch have the best of us." And so it happened a little later that Pepys was called upon to defend his administration of his office before Parliament - for someone had

to be blamed for the disasters. Some further consideration of this subject will be given under section (f). Evelyn speaks of the Dutch invasion as "a dreadful spectacle as ever Englishmen saw, and a dishonour never to be wiped off!" (June 28, 1667.)

(e) The Court; Public Characters of the Time.

The glamour of the Restoration was wearing thin by 1667. The disasters of the Dutch war, religious dissensions, the disgraceful life of king and court, and the poverty and pinching in matters of State together with wild extravagance at court, all combined to cause a certain restlessness and contempt among the more serious-minded subjects. The respective attitudes of Evelyn and Pepys towards the degradation of the court are illuminating. Evelyn was a landed gentleman, so high-minded and also so imbued with respect for Royalty that he walked about the court trying hard not to see the things that displeased him. But at times he censures king and court in measured words. On August 27, 1667, he refers to a visit he made to the Lord Chancellor, whom the king had asked to resign his office. Evelyn says: "I found him in his bed-chamber very sad. The Parliament had accused him, and he had enemies at Court, especially the buffoons and ladies of pleasure, because he thwarted some of them and stood in their way; I could name some of the chief." As a rule, however, Evelyn tried to see only the better aspect of affairs, speaking little of the king's mistresses or his extravagant conduct, and more about his interest in the Royal Society, chemical experiments, art and literature. The case of Pepys was different. He was not a court gentleman but a member of the middle class with a great admiration for titles. He thoroughly enjoyed both the splendour and scandal of the court: but at the same time he deprecated the extravagance which was so noticeable there, and thought it most unfortunate that no one about the court paid any attention to business or affairs of State. A few quotations will show Pepys' attitude. October 24, 1662: "This noon came to see me and sat with me a little after dinner Mr. Pierce,

the chyrurgeon, who tells me how ill things go at court: that the king do show no countenance to any that belong to the Queen.... But he tells me that her own physician did tell him within these three days that the Queen do know how the King orders things, and how he carries himself to my Lady Castlemaine and others, as well as any body; but though she hath spirit enough, yet seeing that she do no good by taking notice of it, for the present she forbears it in policy; of which I am very glad." This quotation together with that of Evelyn previously quoted ¹ where he refers to the plain furnishings of the queen's apartments compared to the splendour of those of Lady Castlemaine, give us some idea of the unhappy life of England's Queen. Usually Pepys summarized the condition of the state at the end of each year; on December 31, 1662 he gives us the following informative account: "Publique matters stand thus: the King is bringing, as is said, his family, the Navy, and all other his charges, to a less expence. In the meantime, himself following his pleasures more than with good advice he would do; at least, to be seen to all the world to do. His dalliance with my Lady Castlemaine being publique, every day, to his great reproach; and his favouring of none at court so much as those that are the confidants of his pleasure, as Sir H. Bennet and Sir Charles Barkeley; which good God! put it into his heart to mend before he makes himself too much contemned by his people for it! The Duke of Monmouth is in so great splendour at Court, and so dandled by the King, that some doubt, if the king should have no child by the Queen (which there is yet no appearance of), whether he would not be acknowledged for a lawful son; and that there will be a difference follow upon it between the Duke of York and him; which God prevent!" Again, on May 15, 1663, he says: "The King do mind nothing but pleasures and hates the very sight or thoughts of business..... If any of the sober counsellors give him good advice, and move him in anything that is to his good and honour, the other part which are his counsellors of pleasure, take him when

1. See Section III (g).

he is with my Lady Castlemaine, and in a humour of delight, and then persuade him that he ought not to hear or listen to the advice of these old dotards or counsellors that were heretofore his enemies: when God knows! it is they that nowadays do most study his honour." On November 9, 1663, Mr. Pierce again reports to him "how loose the court is, nobody looking after business, but every man his lust and gain." After the plague, fire and Dutch war the condition of the state was much worse. Pepys writes as a summary at the end of 1666: "Thus ends this year of publick wonder and mischief to this nation, and, therefore, generally wished by all people to have an end Publick matters in a most sad condition; seamen discouraged for want of pay, and are become not to be governed: nor, as matters are now, can any fleete go out next year. Our enemies, French and Dutch, great, and grow more by our poverty. The Parliament backward in raising, because jealous of the spending of the money; the City less and less likely to be built again, everybody settling elsewhere, and nobody encouraged to trade. A sad, vicious, negligent court, and all sober men there fearful of the ruin of the whole kingdom this next year; from which, good God deliver us!"

(f) Financial Condition of England; The Navy.

During these years England was by no means poor, nor was Parliament stingy in the granting of money, except at such times as they were sure it was being wasted at Court. It may be seen from a quotation from Pepys in Section IV (e) that while the king was willing to cut down expenditure wherever it did not affect him personally, the extravagance of the Court went on unchecked. As early as 1660 Pepys mentions that the scarcity of money for the navy was so great that there was a suggestion that the seamen should be paid "half in ready money and tickets for the other half, to be paid in three months after." Again in 1661, on June 11, he notes: "At the office this morning, Sir G. Carteret with us; and we agreed upon a letter to the Duke of York, to tell him the sad condition of this office for want of money; how men are not able

to serve us more without some money, and that now the credit of the office is brought so low, that none will sell us anything without our personal security given for the same." Evelyn found conditions much the same. During the course of the Dutch war he was made a commissioner with certain duties connected with the establishment and maintenance of hospitals for the wounded, and also with the care of prisoners captured during the war. At the time the plague was at its height, a fact which greatly increased his responsibilities. Under date of September 25, 1665, he writes: "My Lord Admiral being come from the fleet to Greenwich, I went thence with him to the Cock-pit to consult with the Duke of Albemarle. I was peremptory that unless we had £10,000 immediately, the prisoners would starve, and 'twas proposed it should be raised out of the East India prizes now taken by Lord Sandwich. They being but two of the Commission, and so not impowered to determine, sent an expresse to his Majesty and Council to know what they should do. In the meantime I had 5 vessels with competent guards to keepe the prisoners in for the present, to be placed as I should think best." Three days later he says: "To the General againe, to acquaint him of the deplorable state of our men for want of provisions; return'd with orders." Next day he mentions receiving £5000, a quarter of the money received from the sale of some rich Dutch prizes, the money to be used for the work of his department. The unfortunate state of England's finances was further aggravated by graft and theft. Under date of November 27, 1665, Evelyn notes that there was a strong suspicion that many captains had appropriated large stores of jewels, silks, etc., to themselves, instead of the cargoes of the prizes going to the State. On February 20, 1666, he notes another great waste, both in money and lives: "To the Commissioners of the Navy, who having seene the project of the Infirmary, encouraged the work, and were very earnest it should be set about immediately; but I saw no money, tho' a very moderate expense would have saved thousands to his Majesty, and been much more

commodious for the cure and quartering our sick and wounded, than the dispersing them into private houses, where many more chirurgeons and attendants were necessary, and the people tempted to debaucherie." The great naval battle in June 1666 greatly increased the work of Evelyn's department. The first news of this battle gave it the appearance of a great victory, but a few hours later heavy English losses were reported "which exceedingly abated our former joy..... God knows it was rather a deliverance than a triumph." On June 17 the results of the battle are reported by Evelyn: "At Sheerness I beheld a sad spectacle, more than halfe that gallant bulwark of the kingdom miserably shattered so cruelly had the Dutch mangled us... We lost 9 or 10 ships, and neere 600 men slain and 1100 wounded, 2000 prisoners; to ballance which perhaps we might destroy 18 or 20 of the enemy's ships and 7 or 800 poore men." Pepys gives similar accounts of the great shortage of money and all facilities for carrying on the work of the navy during the period of the Dutch War. He writes, March 5, 1667: "Up and to the office, where met and sat all the morning, doing little for want of money, but only bear the countenance of an office." At numerous other times he mentions the insufficiency of money for naval expenses. On March 22, 1667, he mentions suggested fortifications at various ports to oppose the Dutch if they invaded "which is to us a sad consideration, and shameful to the nation, especially after so many proud vaunts as we have made against them." Unfortunately these wise suggestions were not adopted and the Dutch had little difficulty in destroying ships and ports in the Thames and Medway.¹ It seems to have been true of this war, as of others in more recent history, that the English muddled their way through to a finish, in spite of inefficiency, waste and extravagance on the part of king and government.

1. See Section IV (d)

Section V: Conclusions.(a) Examples of Authors who quote Pepys and Evelyn.

To make a list of all the historical works which quote Pepys or Evelyn would be an almost impossible task. It is the intention here to give a few examples of the portions of the diaries most often quoted. In G.M. Trevelyan's "England Under the Stuarts" there are the following references to, or quotations from, Pepys:

- (1) The Execution of the Regicides, October 13-17, 1660.¹
- (2) The War with Holland, October 31, 1665; December 8, 19, 31, 1666; January 7, 1667; April 24, 1667; June 14-17, 1667.²
- (3) The Revival of Puritanism, July 12, 1667; September 4, 1668.³

In Firth's "Cromwell" reference is made to Pepys' account of the disinterment and hanging of the body of Cromwell, December 4, 1660.⁴ Evelyn's description of the entrance of Charles II into London, May 29, 1660, is also quoted.⁵

In Jenk's "Constitutional Experiments of the Protectorate" Evelyn is quoted to show that Royalists had considerable freedom under Cromwell's regime.⁶

Green, in his "Short History of the English People," quotes Pepys with reference to (1) Shaftesbury,⁷ (2) The change in feeling towards Cromwell and Puritanism,⁸ (3) The character of Charles II,⁹ (4) The Triple Alliance,¹⁰ about which Pepys says it was the general opinion that it was "the only good public thing that hath been done since the King came to England."

As an example of less-known books quoting the diaries we will take James Elmes' "Sir Christopher Wren and His Times." This author quotes both Pepys and Evelyn with reference to the court of Charles II, the hanging of the bodies of Cromwell and the Regicides, and in connection with numerous other events of the Restoration period.¹¹

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| 1. Page 333. | 2. Pages 355-6. | 3. Page 361. | 4. Page 388. |
| 5. Page 449. | 6. Page 21. | 7. Page 625. | 8. Page 613. |
| 9. Page 613. | 10. Page 620. | 11. Page 137 et seq. | |

Besides these quotations largely dealing with constitutional and political history, the Diaries have been exhaustively studied and quoted with reference to the history of the city of London, the manners and customs of the period, the lives of numerous public characters of the time, the drama, literature, science, art, music and all the other things which go to make up human life. Large numbers of books and essays have been, and are being, written concerning the varied aspects of life as mirrored for us by Pepys and Evelyn.¹

(b) Consideration of the Reliability and Credibility of the Diaries.

In estimating the historical value of a diary it is important to know the diarist's reason for keeping it, the secrecy with which it was kept, and the general manner in which it was written. Evelyn says, under the date of 1631: "In imitation of what I had seen my father do, I began to observe matters more punctually, which I did used to set downe in a blanke almanac." It was some years later, however, before his memoirs assumed the shape of a diary. Pepys does not give any reason for having started to keep a diary, but we must presume that it was solely for his own enjoyment that he recorded all the minute details of his daily life. Pepys mentions having shown his method of keeping his journal to one person only, his friend Sir W. Coventry, and he afterwards felt sorry that he had done so; we do not know that Evelyn mentioned the fact to any one, and it is unlikely that either of them, though friends, disclosed any part of his diary to the other. Evelyn wrote his diary in a small, close long-hand, while Pepys employed an out-of-date system of shorthand. When Pepys wished to keep anything particularly concealed he wrote his cipher, generally in French, sometimes in Latin or Greek or Spanish. Afterwards he changed his plan and used dummy letters.²

1. See Bibliography.
diary 1875-9 (notes).

2. Rev. Mynors Bright's edition of the

It would appear certain, then, that both diaries were almost entirely secret, even as to their existence, and entirely so as to their contents. It is also quite evident that publication of the diaries was not intended nor even thought of.¹ Pepys left a key to his cipher among his papers, but it is thought he intended to destroy both it and his diary but delayed carrying out his resolve until it was too late.

In connection with the reliability of the diaries there are a few points worthy of note. The motive in keeping them and the secrecy with which they were kept adds greatly to our estimate of the sincerity and truth of the statements contained therein. In Evelyn's diary the notes of historical importance are commonly short and give hints of events rather than complete accounts. His occasional practice of adding to his entries at a later date detract from the value of these particular entries. This, however, can only be traced in a few instances. Less fault can be found with Pepys' method, for his entries are much fuller and there is no evidence that he ever changed or added to former entries. In Pepys' diary considerable gossip and hearsay was recorded, often to be denied at a later date. This is particularly true of the entries during the course of the Dutch War.² The less frequent entries of Evelyn have seldom this fault.

Both diaries show how insensible contemporaries of great transactions are of their importance, for there are few particulars of moment to show the anxiety which must have been universal just before and during the Restoration.³ We find that Evelyn's views on politics were often biased by his Royalist sympathies, but he by no means condoned the arbitrary acts of the Stuarts. It is usually difficult to gauge Pepys' personal bias on political matters, so careful was he in his diary to record varying phases and points of view. In spite of these limitations, however, there

1. Preface to Evelyn's Diary - Dobson edition, 1908.

2. See Section IV (d).

3. Edinburgh Review 1825. P.183, by Lord F. Jeffrey.

is very little in the diaries which does not give us clear and undistorted glimpses into the true English life of the times. ¹

(c) Quotations Suggesting the Historical Value of the Diaries.

Pepys and Evelyn were friends but we do not know that either knew the other was keeping a diary. Each had a considerable fondness for the other, as may be seen from their mention of one another in the diaries. In addition these extracts from the diaries give us a contemporary opinion of both men. Pepys speaks of Evelyn as "a very fine gentleman," "a most excellent person," "a man so much above others," and "a most excellent-humoured man, and mighty knowing." On still another occasion he refers to a visit he paid Evelyn, and says: "He being come home, he and I walked together in the garden with mighty pleasure, he being a very ingenious man; and the more I know him, the more I love him." Evelyn's estimate of Pepys is written over thirty years after the period of the diary, and on the day Pepys died: May 26, 1703: "This day died Mr. Samuel Pepys, a very worthy, industrious and curious person, none in England exceeding him in knowledge of the navy, in which he had passed through all the most considerable offices, Clerk of the Acts and Secretary of the Admiralty, all which he performed with great integrity..... He was universally beloved, hospitable, generous, learned in many things, skilled in music, a very great cherisher of learned men of whom he had the conversation." So much for the diarists' opinions of one another. With reference to the diaries, the fact that they are historically valuable is so obvious as to be unnecessary of proof. The extent of their value may be gauged from a study of a few of the foremost critics. Chambers' Encyclopaedia states that Evelyn's diary is "of inestimable value." The same authority speaks thus of Pepys' diary: "As a picture of the Court and times of Charles II this

1. See Section V (c).

diary is invaluable; it was written in perfect confidence and secrecy; the events, characters, follies, vices and peculiarities of the age are presented in true and lively colours, and the work altogether is one of the most racy, unique, and amusing books in the language." The Encyclopaedia Britannica described Evelyn's diary in the following words: "His diary is a valuable chronicle of contemporary events from the standpoint of a moderate politician and a devout adherent of the Church of England. He had none of Pepys' love of gossip, and was devoid of his all-embracing curiosity, as of his diverting frankness and self-revelation." With reference to Pepys' Diary the same authority says: "If there is in all the literature of the world a book which can be called "unique" with strict propriety it is this. The diary is a thing apart by virtue of three qualities which are rarely found in perfection when separate, and nowhere else in combination. It was secret; it was full; and it was honest..... It is a "human document" of amazing vitality." Lastly we will quote the Quarterly Review, No. 66, with reference to Pepys' Diary: "If, quitting the broad path of history, we seek for minute information concerning ancient manners and customs, the progress of arts and sciences, and the various branches of antiquity, we have never seen a mine so rich as the columns before us. The variety of Pepys' tastes and pursuits led him into almost every department of life. He was a man of business; a man of information, if not of learning; a man of taste; a man of whim; and to a certain degree, a man of pleasure. He was a statesman, a bel esprit, a virtuoso, and a connoisseur. His curiosity made him an unwearied as well as a universal learner, and whatever he saw found its way into his tables."

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