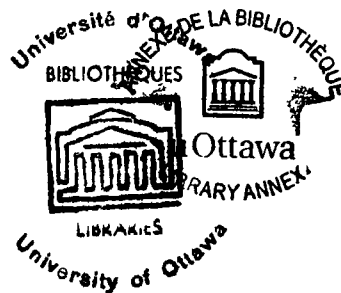


THE CHANGE IN SAMUEL PEPYS
DURING THE PERIOD UNDER RESTORATION INFLUENCE
AS SHOWN IN THE DIARY

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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this work is to determine from a study of the Diary, and supplementary sources concerning the Diary and the Commonwealth and early Restoration periods, to what degree Pepys changed during the period under Restoration influence.

For this purpose it is necessary to establish first what his Puritan background was and how closely the Pepys of 1660 conformed to it, then to survey the Restoration world to which he became exposed, and finally to establish the point of view he adopted towards this world and the extent to which he conformed to it in his mode of life.

Samuel Pepys reached adulthood as an obscure clerk in the Puritan Commonwealth of the years 1649-1660, but during the years 1660-1669 he held the appointment of Clerk of the Acts of the Navy in which office he was under the influence of the anti-Puritan Restoration milieu. He lived in a period characterized by corruption, licentiousness, war, plague, and the Great Fire. From the 1st of January, 1660 (when he was twenty-seven years of age), to the 31st of May, 1669, he kept a diary which demonstrates in detail and with unreserved frankness many aspects of his life and times.

Since Pepys kept his diary in Thomas Shelton's system of shorthand, all published editions are transcripts.

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From the first of 1825 all have been abridged. However, the edition edited by Wheatley in 1893 included all except a few entries apparently omitted in error, and some parts of entries (scattered throughout the Diary and amounting to about twenty pages in all) which Wheatley and all subsequent editors have considered unsuitable for publication. The sense of these omissions has been incorporated in recent biographies and interpretations of Pepys.

CHAPTER I

PEPYS'S PURITAN BACKGROUND

To assess the extent of a transition in Pepys from a Puritan to a "Restoration man" it is first of all necessary to establish that he began life as a Puritan. The purpose of this chapter is to determine the orientation of Samuel Pepys to the world he lived in before the Restoration. There were at least eight pertinent influences: first; the world about him; second, his family background; third, home environment, childhood experiences, and schooling; fourth, early employment; fifth, his wife, Elizabeth, and the tenor of their early marriage; sixth, his relationship with other women; seventh, his religious position; and eighth, his position relative to the mores of the times. These are each considered in turn.

1. England of the Commonwealth.

Pepys was born, in 1633, into a troubled world. The conflict between King and Parliament was beginning to boil. Pepys was seven years old when the Long Parliament met to force the issue with Charles I. He was nine when the Civil War began. At fifteen he saw the execution of the King. In the ensuing period men were cut loose from the older moorings of authority. Religion was no longer a unitive force but had

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become divisive. Law had been subjected to different interpretations. Not only was the King dead but the very office of king had been abolished.¹ The old order, recapitulated by E.M.W. Tillyard in The Elizabethan World Picture, had been shattered.

The new order was Puritanism. This had begun as a movement inside the Church of England aimed at the elimination of the remnants of Roman Catholic ritual, stressing individual rather than Church interpretation of the Bible, and teaching that the road to salvation was via good works and austerity in daily living.² By 1592 it had also come to mean "excessive (or affected) strictness or preciseness like that of the Puritans".³ By Pepys's time it had an extensive secular connotation; for when the Puritans gained political power they banned most pleasure including dancing and singing, church organ music, fairs, and May-poles. By this time religious festivals such as Christmas were prohibited.⁴ Adultery was punishable by death. Drunkenness and swearing

1. Margaret Judson, "Commentary", in The Restoration of the Stuarts, Blessing or Disaster?, Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library, 1960, p. 90.

2. Maurice Ashley, Life in Stuart England, London, Batsford, 1964, p. 107.

3. The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary.

4. John Harold Wilson, The Private Life of Mr. Pepys, New York, Farrar, 1959, p. 25.

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became offences. Walking abroad on the Sabbath except to go to church was punishable. It was prohibited to go to a neighbouring parish even to attend a sermon. All ornaments were prohibited on male and female attire.¹ Despite the individualism of their faith they were intolerant of individualism in behaviour.

This intolerant practice reflected the Puritan stress on order. They stood for uniformity, for one religion -- the "true religion" of the Scriptures -- with the powers of the State employed to protect it. However, having overthrown both the Established Church and the Monarchy, the Puritans split into two parties, and engaged in a bitter conflict only terminated by Cromwell's army.² These uneasy years of political and personal oppression created in the majority of Englishmen a morality of cynicism and irresponsibility.³ When Cromwell died in 1658 even the unity imposed by his army was broken in the scramble for mastery among his followers.

1. Winston S. Churchill, A History of the English Speaking Peoples, Vol. 2, The New World, Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1956, p. 311.

2. Clarence Henry Faust, "Puritanism", Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 18, 1960, p. 778-780.

3. C.V. Wedgwood, "'Good King Charles's Golden Days'", in The Restoration of the Stuarts, Blessing or Disaster?, Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library, 1960, p. 22.

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England finally grew weary of anarchy and experiment, and ripe for the old ways of King, Lords, and Commons.¹

The Puritans succeeded in establishing a discipline and unity in the administration and the armed forces of England; but they were never able to suppress the volatility of London. Despite the pressure of Puritanism it was a rough, disorderly city of drunkenness, blasphemy, and uproar, coarse with brutality, vibrant with colour, and exciting in its variety.

2. Family Background.

Pepys's family descended from the ancient family of the Pepys of Cottenham in the fen country six miles north of Cambridge. Originally they had been villeins in breed and tenure. By industry and thrift they had risen from this class of manual labourers to middle class yeomen, reeves, bailiffs, barristers, and businessmen. For some two hundred and fifty years a long line of Pepys office holders provided the Abbey of Crowland with its clerical and agricultural needs. By the sixteenth century they were numerous and respectable but undistinguished. As Pepys says, "I believe, indeed, our family were never considerable "(Diary 10 Feb 62). However, they were sufficiently substantial to survive the fall of the

1. John Harold Wilson, op. cit., p. 20-21.

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monasteries, and competent enough to benefit in the ensuing era of free competition. Some, by virtue of place or property, became entitled to sign themselves "gent".. One, Pepys's great-aunt Paulina, became a lady through marriage to Sir Sidney Montagu of Hinchinbroke, near Huntingdon. Late in the sixteenth century John Pepys of Cottenham bought the Manor of Impington. One of his grandsons, John Pepys, Samuel's father, finding Cottenham restrictive, went to London in 1615 at age fourteen as a tailor's apprentice, and in due time became master. In 1626 he married a former wash-maid, Margaret Kite. On his mother's side Samuel Pepys's relatives included a butcher, a blacksmith, a leather-seller, and an alehouse keeper.^{1,2}

Pepys took most pride in his more prosperous relatives. He carefully notes what his uncle Roger tells him: ". . . my great grandfather, had £800 per annum, in Queen Elizabeth's time, in the very town of Cottenham"; but of some of his less prosperous relatives he comments slightly: ". . . to see my uncle and aunt Wight, and there staid and talked and supped with them, and were merry as we could be in their company" (Diary 27 Oct 61, 12 Jun 67).

1. Ibid., p. 6

2. Arthur Bryant, Samuel Pepys, the Man in the Making, New York, Macmillan, 1933, p. 2-3.

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In his youth Pepys had most contact with his poorer relatives who were of the same careful and pious nature as his own parents. His uncle, Thomas Pepys, was a close cunning fellow who brought up his children in the strictest school of Puritan fanaticism. His father's half-brother, Mr. Wight the fishmonger, was sober and substantial. His mother's poor relatives, Kite the butcher and Fenner the blacksmith, were sober men with sober wives. His aunt, James, was ". . . a poor, religious, well-meaning, good soul, talking of nothing but God Almighty . . ." (Diary 30 May 63). These he mostly encountered on Sunday at dinner, or round the supper table after the afternoon service. He also knew such well-to-do relatives as John Pepys of Salisbury Court who kept his own coach and had a country estate at Ashted to which the young Pepys went now and then for an outing.

3. Home, Childhood, and School.

John Pepys, Samuel's father, not being London born and therefore excluded from the privileged Guild of Merchant tailors, was tolerated as a tailor in the neighbourhood of Blackfriars and Salisbury Court. He was a meek and patient man who worked hard but prospered so little that on his retirement to a modest inheritance his son found ". . . that all he hath in money of his own due to him in the world is but £45, and he owes about the same sum" (Diary 26 Aug 61).

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He was so honest that Pepys got a creditor to confess ". . . that in all his lifetime he never knew my father to be asked for money twice, nay, not once . . ." (Diary 25 Aug 64).

Pepys had a sincere affection for him: ". . . my father, and a man that loves me, and hath ever done so, is also, at this day, one of the most carefull and innocent men in the world" (Diary 13 Jun 66).

His mother was improvident and quarrelsome, so insufferably foolish, as Pepys notes (Diary 31 May 61), that it made his father an unhappy man.

There were eleven children. Samuel, the fifth, was born above his father's shop on the 23rd of February, 1633, and eight days later was baptized into the Anglican communion.¹ His home was decent, sober, frugal, and reasonably pious, entailing at least outward respect for things godly. The routine was mainly work, religious service, and domestic economy, lightened by music; for even the Puritans delighted in music, and his father played the bass viol with Samuel an apt pupil. But it was darkened by tragedy. He notes in his own childhood the death of a sister and four brothers (Diary 31 Dec 64), with only one sister and two brothers besides himself surviving at the date of entry.

1. Ibid., p. 4.

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It was a Puritan home. Young Pepys was trained to be industrious, respectable, watchful of his integrity. The comments made in the Diary in later years reveal the home environment of his youth. He is troubled, for example, to hear that his brother Tom is becoming disrespectful to their parents, and that his sister Pall is growing proud and idle. He is vexed to discover his brother John, a student at Cambridge, still in bed at eight o'clock in the morning. He is vexed with Tom when Tom's servants disrespectfully fail to attend church, writing: ". . . so much unlike my father, that I cannot endure it in myself or him" (Diary 10 Sep 62). He is careful about accepting financial responsibility relative to Tom's illegitimate child. He is troubled as much as his father is when Tom stays out all night. He prays God to forgive him for the sin of making up his accounts on a Sunday; and is twenty-eight years old before he appears before his father with liquor on his breath and then feels it a significant enough event to warrant being recorded in his Diary. After he has been married and set up his own household he notes how pleased his father is at finding his son's house in a neat and tidy condition. Attendance at Sunday service was a regular practice, all the family going; and the young Pepys learned the Psalms of David so well that he says later: "I wonder that there should be a tune in the Psalms that I never heard of" (Diary 9 Aug 63).

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Activities in his childhood which were sufficiently impressive to warrant later comment in the Diary were mostly those of innocent youth. He speaks of the Beargarden where the yelping curs were tossed high by bulls; the Bankside playhouses where Shakespeare was staged, and the Red Bull where melodrama prevailed -- ". . . out to the Red Bull (where I had not been since plays come up again) . . ." (Diary 23 Mar 61). He speaks of almost being prevailed upon to play a woman's part in Philaster at the home of the wealthy Sir Robert Cooke's; of wading in the Thames; of family excursions to Islington fields; of games in the churchyard at home. He recalls such free sights as public hangings, fires, street brawls; and such festivals as Holy Thursday when it pleased him to see the little boys walk up and down in procession as he had himself long ago. There was also the annual Fair of St. Bartholomew with its apes dancing on ropes, girls in tights, and men walking on their hands.

One event stood out most vividly. When he was fifteen and witnessed the execution of Charles I, he had boasted to his fellows that if he were to preach over the dead King his text would be "The memory of the wicked shall rot" (Diary 1 Nov 60).

About his tenth year Pepys was sent to the Free School at Huntingdon, a provincial grammar school, where he was in contact with the rest of the Pepys family. The

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revolution was now under way and the Pepys family were separating into those for the King and those for the Commonwealth; but his closest relatives were Puritan: his father and mother; an uncle, Robert of Brampton, who became a captain in the Parliamentary army; his first cousin one remove, Edward Montagu, who followed Cromwell into the field and quickly rose to high place. The young Pepys was easily oriented to the point of view he expressed at the execution of his king.

However, Pepys was back in London before Charles's death, and entered the school of St. Paul's, founded by Dean Colet as a seminary for the New Learning, five generations before. The school was now presided over by the Puritan antiquary Dr. Langley who struck respect and fear into his pupils. At this "most Puritan of English schools"¹ Pepys grew to love books and acquired a sufficient basis of learning to enable him later to read Cicero for pleasure, to correct his brother John's Greek orations, and to entertain in Latin a Dutch admiral who knew neither English nor French.

From the age of fifteen until he had turned twenty-one Pepys was at Cambridge on scholarships, studying Latin and Greek; reading in the classics; furthering his love of books and music. Little is known about his career at college. The Registrar's Book of his College, Magdalene,

1. Ibid., p. 18.

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shows that on the 21st of October, 1653, he and a companion were solemnly admonished for having been "scandalously over-served with drink";¹ but the absence of any second entry, coupled with Pepys's Puritan childhood, probably indicates that this was an infrequent lapse by an otherwise conscientious student. The Diary reveals that he made many friends at this time, including many who subsequently rose to prominence, and that he retained a warm feeling for both school and college. It also shows that he learned a lewd song or two, took a normal interest in young women, and even tried to write a romance.

4. Early Employment.

Soon after leaving Cambridge Pepys was in the service of his cousin, Edward Montagu, who thereafter was his patron. Montagu was now a member of Cromwell's Council of State, a Commissioner of the Treasury, and an Admiral, with lodgings at Whitehall Palace. Pepys, in his capacity of steward, and of intelligence agent for Montagu when the latter was away from London, lodged with Montagu. In 1658, while continuing to act as Montagu's agent, Pepys was appointed as a clerk in the Commonwealth Exchequer with

1. Henry B. Wheatley, ed., The Diary of Samuel Pepys, New York, Random, 1946, p. xiii.

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£50 additional income a year.

Meanwhile the political tide was turning. In 1660 Montagu asked Pepys to serve as his secretary at sea, hinting that the King would soon be back bringing gain and advancement to the faithful; and Pepys turned Royalist.¹ This was in March. Soon Pepys says: "Everybody now drinks the King's health without any fear, whereas before it was very private that a man dare do it" (Diary 6 Mar 60). His was not an instant conversion; for he records: ". . . did talk of our old discourse when we did use to talk of the King, in the time of the Rump, privately" (Diary 19 Jul 60). Thus, over the period 1659-60 Pepys shifted from a Commonwealth supporter to a Royalist; and by May, 1660, was sufficiently changed to say that the first of May, the day on which Parliament had voted to invite Charles II to the throne, ". . . will be remembered for the happiest May-day that hath been many a year to England" (Diary 2 May 60). He may still have had reservations; for on the same date he writes of the great joy in London: bonfires, ringing of bells, ". . . drinking of the King's health upon their knees in the streets, which methinks is a little too much".

1. John Harold Wilson, op. cit., p. 23.

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5. Elizabeth and Early Married Life.

Pepys married when he was twenty-two years of age and his bride, Elizabeth, not yet fifteen. She was a gentlewoman, proud of her aristocratic French-Irish lineage, raised in the genteel tradition to look down upon those lower in the social scale, of whom her husband was one.¹ She was very handsome, and the nine years of the Diary offer many testimonials to her beauty. For example, Montagu, then the Earl of Sandwich, says in Pepys's presence that ". . . he hath a great beauty to his wife. Upon my word he hath" (Diary 15 Jun 63); and Pepys himself, on the occasion of a great wedding, says: "Among all the beauties there, my wife was thought the greatest" (Diary 10 Jul 60). More oblique evidence is offered in the many attempts on her virtue, including those by Montagu, by Lord Hinchinbroke, by Pepys's Uncle Wight, and by Captain Holmes.

The marriage was out of context with the Pepys tradition. Elizabeth brought no dowry and was still a child, whereas the Pepyses customarily haggled for the best possible advantage of dowry and secured competent if often unpleasant wives.² The motives for this marriage are not revealed, but

1. Ibid., p. 12.

2. Arthur Bryant, op. cit., p. 26.

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some may be inferred. Pepys, as the Diary well illustrates, was sexually drawn to youthful, attractive, full-breasted women, as from her portraits Elizabeth was. He was also drawn to people of higher social status; and she, if penniless, was of aristocratic heritage. That he was exposed in 1655 in the Montagu household to sexual temptation is implied in his later comment that when alone with Montagu's housekeeper, Sarah, he "played and talked with her" for an hour or two (Diary 7 Sep 62). His marriage could thus have been a release for his Puritan-restrained impulses.

But there was an additional factor which most commentators label "love". Pepys records, as he left for sea: ". . . very sad in mind to part with my wife, but God's will be done" (Diary 16 Mar 60). That his emotion is more than mere sexual disappointment is evident from the repeated Diary entries revealing a sense of affection and devotion towards his wife. For example, of the sound of music at a play, he writes:

. . . so sweet that it ravished me, and indeed, in a word, did wrap up my soul so that it made me really sick, just as I have formerly been when in love with my wife; that neither then, nor all the evening going home, and at home, I was able to think of any thing, but remained all night transported . . . (Diary 27 Feb 68).

Of another marriage he says: ". . . methinks none of the kindness nor bridall respect between the bridegroom and bride, that was between my wife and I, but as persons that

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marry purely for convenience" (Diary 5 Jul 63). Again of his wife he says: "My heart exceeding heavy for not hearing of my dear wife, and indeed I do not remember that ever my heart was so apprehensive of her absence . . ." (Diary 3 Apr 60); and later he records:

After with great pleasure lying a great while talking and sporting in bed with my wife (for we have been for some years now, and at present more and more, a very happy couple, blessed be God . . . (Diary 24 Oct 62).

As shown in Chapter IV this solicitous attitude towards his wife continued even after he began to seek sexual adventure outside his marriage and differs markedly from his attitude towards his extra-marital partners.

That this feeling was reciprocated may be inferred from the Diary. For example, Elizabeth cherished his early love-letters until he destroyed all but his first one to her in a fit of temper (Diary 9 Jan 63). Again, when he returned from a trip and went to his father's where Elizabeth was staying, she let him go off alone and disconsolate for her to their own house after supper; but she had second thoughts and as Pepys records: ". . . she, poor wretch, followed me as far in the rain and dark as Fleet Bridge to fetch me back again, and so I did, and lay with her tonight . . ." (Diary 14 Apr 61).

They began their married life in a garret; but Elizabeth was unprepared for such a life. She knew nothing

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of housekeeping, had never been taught the simple virtues of thrift and frugality. She had been brought up to grace a salon and wanted fine society, servants, ease, and pleasure. Pepys notes that she was "out of herself for joy almost" when he decided to keep a coach of his own (Diary 21 Oct 68). Moreover, she was not able to satisfy his sensuality. He comments:

. . . I have lain with my moher¹ as a husband more times since this falling out than I believe twelve months before. And with more pleasure to her than I think in all the time of our marriage before (Diary 14 Nov 68).

There is evidence in the Diary that this was at least partially a result of physical ailment on her part; but whether physical or psychological, her husband exercised but little sympathy. He says on one occasion that her illness makes him impatient, on another that her illness is a pain to him. Thus, she failed to meet his need for a housewife in the Puritan tradition of thrift, and to satisfy his demanding sensual hunger.

This dichotomy was not restricted to the period of emotional immaturity on both their parts at the time of marriage but continues through the period of the Diary. The story is all one-sided, for "search has revealed so far not

1. Italics mine.

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one scrap of writing in her hand".¹ Nevertheless, the cumulative evidence shows a marked incompatibility in temperament and inclination. She was bilingual and able to read and write; but Pepys complains about her inability to spell; and her only reading was the lengthy French romances of the day. Her conversation was confined to the gossip current about her and the repetition of long stories taken from her latest novel. Pepys accuses her of being careless, untidy, and indolent; of being incapable even with the help of two maids of neatness or good taste in dress; of being useless at accounts and falsifying a balance in her household books if she could not legitimately arrive at one. He complains of her lack of tact and shows that she was forever quarrelling with her maids and companions, and even of coarse language and blows to himself. She was aware of his jealous nature, and perhaps incited it, for instance in inviting her dancing master to attend her at times when she knew her husband would be absent.

However, all was not black. There is no indication that she was unfaithful. Although Pepys says that he would rather talk with anyone but her, he also says that she is a good companion when well; and that they were at times very

1. Helen Truesdell Heath, ed., The Letters of Samuel Pepys and His Circle, Oxford, Clarendon, 1955, p. xviii.

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good friends. He tried to interest her in music and painting, in both of which she made some progress to please him. Many entries show a pleasant evening together after a busy day: he has a bite of supper with her; writes a few letters; reads; plays on his flageolet; walks in the garden with her, chatting as they stroll; says prayers "and so to bed". And he misses her whenever they are apart: the entry ". . . sad for want of my wife, whom I love with all my heart, though of late she has given me some troubled thoughts" (Diary 15 Jun 63) is but typical of many.

When they were first married, in 1655, Pepys took his bride to his chambers at Montagu's at Whitehall where they lived some three years until his appointment at the Exchequer enabled them to move to a small house in nearby Axe Yard and to keep a maid. These were frugal years. "Dined with my wife", he writes, "on pease porridge and nothing else" (Diary 1 Feb 60). Writing to his sister-in-law about domestic economy, he points out that when he and Elizabeth were first married they had to manage on a bare twenty shillings a week for a total budget, and that she had to account for every farthing, "even to a bunch of carrot and a ball of whiteing"; yet he had not been ashamed of this manner of life.¹ He notes:

1. Ibid., p. 188.

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Lay long in bed, talking with pleasure with my poor wife, how she used to make coal fires, and wash my foul clothes with her own hand for me, poor wretch! in our little room at my Lord Sandwich's" (Diary 25 Feb 67).

However, for persons in their position it was a normal life. They had a wide circle of acquaintances, including relatives, associates at the Exchequer, neighbours at Axe Yard, other members of the Montagu household, and people encountered by Pepys about London. He mentions the shoemaker, Wotton, with whom he discussed the theatre of the days before the Commonwealth; Henry Moore, the lawyer, and William Fuller, later Bishop of Limerick, along with Dr. Thomas Fuller, with whom he discoursed on more intellectual topics. He also writes of women shopkeepers, such as Mrs. Lane with whom he later became intimate. He joined heartily in the companionship and social life of his fellow workers, ready for an evening of pot venison, ale, and a round of song. Such outings frequently kept him late. On such occasions he would excuse himself to Elizabeth, blaming his tardiness upon the pressure of work. On the whole it was a quiet life. He mentions his work, playing the flageolet, strolling about the fashionable parts of the town, and shopping with Elizabeth. On Sundays they went to church and visited with relatives.

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6. Pepys and Women.

The Pepys of the Commonwealth period conformed to the contemporary attitude towards women:

Kisses meant little in an age when a hearty buss was the common salutation between a man and a woman. Even the fanatics had failed to outlaw the custom. And a little amorous dalliance -- an arm about a waist, or fingers tickling a bare neck, or playing with the palm of a white hand -- was expected by a pretty maidservant, a barmaid, or a shopgirl.¹

He was much more demure when Elizabeth was present, but away from her played the gallant. For example, on a trip to Cambridge he writes that in the evening at the inn he was ". . . playing the fool with the lass of the house at the door of the chamber"; that he ". . . kissed the daughter of the house, she being very pretty"; and that at Epping on the way home he had ". . . some merry talk with a plain bold maid of the house" (Diary 26,27 Feb 60).

As a young boy he had been attracted by feminine beauty. He mentions meeting Elizabeth Whittle whom he had long known when she was a maid and, he says, ". . . had a great opinion of, and did make an anagram or two upon her name when I was a boy" (Diary 7,11 Nov 60). Being at Epsom Wells he recalls his old walks there:

1. John Harold Wilson, op. cit., p. 22.

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. . . where Mrs. Hely and I did use to walk and talk, with whom I had the first sentiments of love and pleasure in woman's company, discourse, and taking her by the hand, she being a pretty woman (Diary 26 Jul 63).

"Mrs." being the abbreviation for "mistress" as well as for a married woman, Mrs. Hely's matrimonial status is unknown.

This inclination continued at Cambridge. He mentions ". . . the fair Betty [Archer], whom I did admire at Cambridge" (Diary 25 Nov 61). He cherished her memory for years. It was at Cambridge that he attempted the prose romance Love a Cheate. Here, also, he met the less respectable Mrs. Aynsworth, ". . . that, among other things, was great with my cozen Barnston, of Cottenham, and did use to sing to him, and did teach me 'Full forty times over', a very lewd song" (Diary 7 Oct 67).

Pepys does not express his state of innocence at the end of the Commonwealth period; but it may be inferred from the episodes recorded while he was in Holland about the business of bringing home Charles II, where he was under no restraint or surveillance. He notes that a friend took him to a Dutch house ". . . where there was an exceeding pretty lass, and right for the sport . . ." (Diary 19 May 60); but though the friend took advantage of the situation, Pepys went home to bed. Then, the next day, he was resting in a room ". . . where in another bed there was a pretty Dutch Woman in bed alone"; but, says Pepys:

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Though I had a month's-mind I had not the boldness to go to her. So there I slept an hour or two. At last she rose, and then I rose and walked up and down the chamber, and saw her dress herself after the Dutch dress, and talked to her as much as I could, and took occasion, from her ring which she wore on her first finger, to kiss her hand, but had not the face to offer anything more.

7. Pepys's Religious Position.

Though Pepys was raised in the Puritan tradition, its influence was weak. His father reveals no spiritual gifts in any letter to his children.¹ The regularity of church attendance by the family might have been as much for diversion as for piety; for Pepys reveals that his parents shopped about in their worship, seeking out such fashionable churches as St. Dunstan's. He says: ". . . I went, and crowded in at a back door among others . . . the first time that I have done so these many years since I used to go with my father and mother . . ." (Diary 17 Aug 62). Nor does Pepys exhibit religious fervour himself. Of a Puritan service he says: ". . . staid to hear a sermon; but, it being a Presbyterian one, it was so long, that after an hour of it we went away . . ." (Diary 2 Apr 62). He favoured the form of service of the Anglican Church in which he had been baptized, although he was cautious enough to express his views within the safety

1. Helen Truesdell Heath, op. cit., p. xx.

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of his family circle: "To my mother again, and after supper she and I talked very high about religion, I in defence of the religion I was born in" (Diary 4 Mar 60). After the Restoration he expressed a dislike for the ornate form of the Anglican service at the chapel at Whitehall Palace.

Pepys was inclined to scepticism. He notes that Montagu ". . . is, I perceive, wholly sceptical, as well as I, saying, that indeed the Protestants . . . are wholly fanatiques; he likes uniformity and form of prayer" (Diary 15 May 60). After the Anglican service had been restored he notes that the service in the Abbey is full when the King is there but otherwise thinly attended and comments: "I see that religion, be it what it will, is but a humour . . ." (Diary 2 Oct 60). On the other hand, during the Commonwealth period of the Diary Pepys repeatedly refers to his prayers, and he repeatedly writes down pious ejaculations. From the tone of these entries it would seem that his religious convictions outweighed his scepticism.

The Diary shows no rejoicing at the restoration in 1660 of the Anglican Establishment. He was as little impressed by the new clergy as he had been by the Puritan ministers. He decries their self-importance, regrets "that Clergy should meddle with matters of state" (Diary 8 Jul 60, 9 Aug 63). When the Act of Uniformity became effective on the 24th of August, 1662, he was fearful of a resurgence of

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the old chaos: "I pray God keep peace among us, and make the Bishops careful of bringing in good men in their rooms, or else all will fly a-pieces" (Diary 17 Aug 62). He reveals that he had only taken the Sacrament "but once or twice" and that at Cambridge (Diary 30 Mar 62).

8. The Pepys of 1660.

During his college days Pepys had "kicked up his heels", if only on the one occasion of his reprimand. During his Exchequer days he joined in with his associates at the ale house. On his trip to Cambridge in February, 1660, he was at the Rose Tavern and "drank till sermon done", then later in the day ". . . sat drinking the King's and his whole family's health till it began to be dark". Later still he went again to the tavern, this time with his father, though he refrained from telling his father that he had spent most of the day there already -- and this on a Sunday.

On the other hand, at a wedding celebration he notes with distaste the "great deal of fooling among them" and the "swearing and singing as if they were mad" (Diary 24 Jan 60). He notes carefully that the King's proclamation, at his restoration, against drinking, swearing, and debauchery "gives great satisfaction to all" (Diary 4 Jun 60). He is ashamed of the behaviour at a party at Montagu's house. "Well", he says, "they all went down into the dining-room, where it was

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full of tag, rag, and bobtail, dancing, singing, and drinking . . ." (Diary 6 Mar 60). He himself never danced in company until 1666. When he visited a girls' dancing school in 1661 he comments: ". . . I do not in myself like to have young girls exposed to so much vanity" (Diary 11 Nov 61). He was unable to play even cribbage on the voyage to Holland in 1660, although he was introduced to ninepins by Montagu and lost five shillings in the venture. He was averse to gambling as to dancing, and comments on his first visit to a gaming house: ". . . 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" (Diary 11 Nov 61). He was equally against frippery, saying, on the occasion of spending £6 for lace for his wife that he was glad it came to no more, £6 being too much: ". . . I pray God keep me so to order myself and my wife's expenses that no inconvenience in purse or humour follow this my prodigality" (Diary 11 Nov 61). Moreover, despite the record of his own gallantry with the ladies, he objected to any overt display of such activities in others. For example, calling with Mr. Lucy to take Mr. Pierce with them to Cambridge, they found Mrs. Pierce not yet up ". . . with whom", says Pepys, "Mr. Lucy methought was very free as she lay in bed . . ." (Diary 24 Feb 60).

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9. Summary and Conclusions.

Pepys reached adulthood in a period in England when Puritanism and republicanism were yielding to cynicism and a preference for restoration of monarchy. He was well aware of the failure of the Puritan ideal. He admired social success and position, and knew that some in his own family had risen in the world by means of industry and thrift. He was well indoctrinated with the domestic discipline and economy of a Puritan household, and well imbued with Puritan traits of order, industry, respectability, and integrity. Experience in childhood and school reinforced this training and made the young Pepys an ardent Roundhead. However, about this time, especially through the patronage of Montagu, he gradually shifted, with some reservations, towards the Royalist cause.

He married a girl who wanted things from life other than the Puritan background from which he had come would allow him to provide. They shared a strong mutual affection but were maladjusted in habits and inclinations, nor did she satisfy his sexual demands. Aside from this, his early married life was normal for the times.

He was sensually attracted to women but was, from the available evidence, faithful to his wife at this time despite contrary inclinations and her lack of satisfying sexual response.

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At this time in his life, in addition to spiritual motives, Pepys attended church for diversion and as a matter of family custom. He preferred the Anglican service. Although he prayed regularly he was guided more by his background than by faith in his religious activities.

By 1660 he was morally conservative and a Puritan in regard to many contemporary social diversions.

CHAPTER II

THE RESTORATION WORLD

Pepys at the close of the Commonwealth Period was morally conservative and Puritan concerning many contemporary social activities. To determine how much he altered under the influence of the world of the Restoration, it is necessary to consider what that world involved. The following aspects will be considered in turn: first, the general social mores of the times; second, the particular environment of the Court; third, some of the individuals with whom Pepys associated; and fourth, the influences in his daily life.

1. Restoration Mores.

In England, in May, 1660, there was a thankfulness that the change from Commonwealth to Monarchy had been bloodless, but the preceding turmoil had created a cynicism and irresponsibility which the new regime did little to temper. There was fear that the old troubles might return.¹ The Treasury lacked money: the standing Army and Navy, the myriad petitions for reimbursement or for positions by those who

1. C.V. Wedgwood, "'Good King Charles's Golden Days'", in The Restoration of the Stuarts, Blessing or Disaster?, Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library, 1960, p. 10.

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felt that the new government was obligated to them for past services to the Crown, the immediate requirements of Government and Court . . . all involved sums of money which were not available. Moreover, Charles expended much of the money that was available in rewards to those who had been in exile with him or had actively helped in his return. The wealthy merchants declined to give credit to a Government of such financial irresponsibility.¹

Since official salaries could not be paid, the incumbents took money wherever it was to be found, and amid the self-seeking Government departments grew inconceivably corrupt. The Crown became a source of profit regardless of the means: its servants stole the very sails off the King's ships and sold them back as new. Attempts to check this were nullified by the fact that as long as the servants of the state were unpaid, however corrupt, they could not easily be dismissed. Public opinion favoured the cheater. One honest official who tried to reclaim stolen property was beaten and locked up by the villagers involved in the theft.²

The decline in public morality affected all classes. The nobility often set the example. The gentry had the same

1. Arthur Bryant, Samuel Pepys, the Man in the Making, New York, Macmillan, 1933, p. 114, 215.

2. Ibid., p. 5-6.

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ambitions, conventions, and tastes as the nobility. The middle and lower classes followed their example. In all places the line between what was and what was not legitimate was blurred.¹ Corruption was everywhere; great and small alike sought to make what they could. When the chief officers of the Navy tried to prevent the sale of some captured hemp and timber knowing that they would later have to buy back the same goods at exorbitant prices, Lord Ashley, who was determined to make a profit from the transaction, refused to obey the King's orders and completed the sale (Diary 15,16 Jan 67).

It was an age when gratuities were commonly paid in return for official duties. For example, those to whom the Government owed money could get paid only at private goldsmith shops and they had to pay the goldsmith fifteen to twenty per cent out of the money they were to receive (Diary 19 Jan 63).

Despite this corruption, the ordinary life of the nation was not radically altered. Rural manners changed little from previous modes. At the Restoration the Puritan prohibitions were washed away; but though many in the Court circles turned to frivolity and debauchery, most London citizens were scandalized by the behaviour of the lewd young

1. Maurice Ashley, Life in Stuart England, London, Batsford, 1964, p. 1,18,68.

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cavaliers. The cavaliers for their part regarded the respectable middle-class citizens "with contempt and considered their wives and daughters fair game".¹ Across the country most people -- not only the Puritans -- were obsessed by a feeling that activities indulged in primarily for enjoyment were sinful and that they would be punished for them.²

Restoration of Monarchy meant also restoration of the Established Church, and it proved intolerant. Jails were filled with Nonconformist preachers who refused to acquiesce. The Anglicans associated the Nonconformists with revolution, regicide, and republicanism; the Catholics with treason.³

London was more boisterous than ever. Its population increased sharply during the period, despite the Plague and the Great Fire. It was still a walled city with gates which were shut at night; its streets were narrow, unclean, ill-lit; the Thames was the main thoroughfare; there was no regular police force; among its gentry duels were frequent.^{4,5}

1. Samuel Holt Monk, "The Restoration and the Eighteenth Century", in The Norton Anthology of English Literature, edited by M.H. Abrams, et al., Vol. 1, New York, W.W. Norton, 1962, p. 1131.

2. Maurice Ashley, op. cit., p. 1.

3. Samuel Holt Monk, op. cit., p. 1127.

4. Arthur Bryant, op. cit., p. 87.

5. E. Hallam Moorhouse, Samuel Pepys, Administrator, Observer, Gossip, London, Chapman and Hall, 1909, p. 52.

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Pepys mentions several, including one involving the Duke of Buckingham which was fought "about a whore" (Diary 17 Jan 68). Excessive drinking was common, as was brutality. It was an age of cruelty to animals, of public executions, of such indifference that Pepys can record:

I was much troubled to-day to see a dead man lie floating upon the waters, and had done (they say) these four days, and nobody takes him up to bury him . . . (Diary 4 Apr 62).

As corruption increased Navy personnel ceased to be paid. Pepys records occasions when they refused to obey orders and rioted outside the Treasury, and one incident when some lay starving outside his own office (Diary 12 Mar 67). Together with this squalor and danger was the lavish extravagance of a dissolute Court where tolerance of vice was more common than appreciation of virtue.¹

Intellectually there was a trend towards greater freedom. As Monk observes, throughout the Restoration era the philosophic materialism taught by Hobbes, the philosophical skepticism of Montaigne, and new ideas in science propounded by men like Newton and Boyle were influencing the way men regarded the human scene; and, Monk goes on, "perhaps the most important aspect of the period is the increasing challenge of various forms of secular thought to the old

1. Arthur Ponsonby, Samuel Pepys, London, Macmillan, 1928, p. 150.

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religious orthodoxies . . .".¹

2. The Restoration Court.

London was the nerve centre of England: Whitehall was the focal point of London and the rallying point for all who had ambitions or claims. The Court included embittered old cavaliers seeking rewards for past services, new courtiers ready to do anything for money, politicians ready to put personal interest before that of their country, and ladies ready to make capital of their beauty.² Parliament was overwhelmingly anti-Puritan.³ In the Court Charles was initially surrounded by men whom he had inherited as loyal servants from his father, or who had assisted in his restoration. These were gradually replaced by less scrupulous politicians who knew how to pander to the King's pleasure.⁴

Charles set the example for the conduct which has made the Restoration infamous. In exile he had sunk into indifference, had become reckless and nonchalant, seeking whatever pleasure he could. He fathered an illegitimate

1. Samuel Holt Monk, op. cit., p. 1132-1133.

2. E. Hallam Moorhouse, op. cit., p. 168.

3. Sir Winston Churchill, A History of the English Speaking Peoples, Vol. 2, The New World, Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1956, p. 335.

4. Maurice Ashley, op. cit., p. 98.

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child when only eighteen. His exiled court was dissolute and quarrelsome and always haunted by debts and poverty.¹ He opened his reign with a proclamation against vicious or debauched persons frequenting the Court, but then he himself immediately took Barbara Palmer for a mistress and rewarded her complaisant husband with the Earldom of Castlemaine.² His Court grew coarse in language and manners. Charles never stood by anyone at any cost to himself.³ He was without faith in honour among men or virtue in women, and he took religion lightly.⁴ He set the country an example in lascivious behaviour, and was impervious to better ways, so shamelessly hardened that appeals to his honour and dignity had no effect.⁵ Moorhouse says of him:

One of the few occasions in which he was at all moved was by a Dutch cartoon at the time of the War depicting him standing between two women, each of whom had a hand in his pockets.⁶

1. Arthur Bryant, op. cit., p. 87.

2. C.V. Wedgwood, op. cit., p. 17.

3. E. Hallam Moorhouse, op. cit., p. 159.

4. Henry B. Wheatley, Samuel Pepys and the World He Lived In, 4th ed., London, Swan Sonnenschein, 1895, p. 159.

5. E. Hallam Moorhouse, op. cit., p. 169.

6. Ibid.

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His courtiers followed his example. The first half of Charles's reign represents the reaction against the preceding twenty years. The prevalent attitude is reflected in the literature of the era -- to indulge the known joys of music, wine, and women, being sure of what is on earth but not of what will come after. It was an attitude peculiar to the fashionable world; and the literature and drama, much of it written by this small group, mainly reflected their own mores.¹ This attitude grew out of the experiences of both the older and the younger generations of Royalists, in the Commonwealth and in exile. The Royalists who remained in England during the Commonwealth became disillusioned and anti-idealist. As expressed by Alexander Brome:

Each wise man first best loves himself,
Lives close, thinks and obeys;
Makes not his soul a slave to's pelf
Nor idly squanders it away
To cram their maws that taxes lay
On what he does or says:
For those grand cords that man to man do twist
Now are not honesty and love
But self and interest.²

Those in exile, subject to poverty and loss of dignity, developed the same mood of selfishness and irresponsibility. By 1660 the older generation of Royalists were at an age when

1. Sir Charles Petrie, The Stuarts, London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1958, p. 227.

2. Quoted by C.V. Wedgwood, op. cit., p. 19.

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with youth behind them they would under normal conditions of state have been assuming responsibility; but these men felt that they must make up for lost pleasure and set themselves at once to do so. Their younger peers, equally the product of a war-disturbed era, and with the example of King and older courtiers to follow, behaved no better.¹ Thus the King and many of his courtiers, freed of poverty and above punishment or criticism, lived for the pleasure of the moment.

As Pepys observes their behaviour was exceptional. They seduced maids, wives, widows, and other men's mistresses, ran riot in the streets by night, broke windows, fought duels, beat up the watch, and reeled drunkenly to bed at dawn. Sir Charles Sedley and Lord Buckhurst could run naked through the streets, yet the constables who arrested them were themselves the sufferers for it. Pepys himself with his wife and maid is frightened in the public gardens when he sees young courtiers. It is a mad world, he says, "God bless us out of it!" (Diary 23 Oct 68). He tells of a parson's daughter who died trying to escape one of the King's noble procurers; of young gallants who sought to force a woman even in public. He tells of young gallants intruding on the privacy of curtained coaches to ogle the gentlewomen within -- to the consternation of one group during the plague when

1. C.V. Wedgwood, op. cit., p. 18-19.

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the occupant turned out to be a corpse. The roughest also amused themselves at gambling, cock-fighting, sword-fighting, and bear-and-bull baiting -- all common enough in London after the Restoration.¹ The more gentle diverted themselves at Court balls, bowling, tennis, horse races, hunting, and the theatres. Libertinism became so much the fashion that the sober Chancellor, Lord North, was seriously advised "that he should keep a whore . . . because he was ill looked upon for want of doing so".² His moral rectitude was considered a reproach to the Court. That gentlemen should keep mistresses and frequent bawdy-houses was commonly accepted. Venereal disease was made light of, indeed, one was hardly considered a man until he had contracted the "pox" at least once. After 1660 bawdy houses multiplied. Almost any coffee house or ale-house might be one in disguise with girls on call; and the playhouses were notorious as much for the easy virtue of actresses, such as Nell Gwynn³, as for the prostitutes soliciting in the pit. But more serious amid this suspension of moral restraint was the loss of honesty and competence. Says Pepys: ". . . how loose the Court is, nobody looking

1. E. Hallam Moorhouse, op. cit., p. 9.

2. John Harold Wilson, The Private Life of Mr. Pepys, New York, Farrar, 1959, p. 29.

3. Sir Winston Churchill, op. cit., p. 341.

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after business, but every man his lust and gain" (Diary 9 Nov 63).

The morality of the men of this set was equalled by that of the women, for example Lady Castlemaine was at fifteen "a lecherous Little girl".¹ Later, as the King's mistress, she regarded the national funds as her privy purse -- money voted for the Navy went to buy jewels for her. Many noblemen at Court were willing to sacrifice wife, sister, or daughter for their own ends; and the husband who held his wife dear and cherished her chastity was exceptional in the Court circle.² For example, Pepys tells of the astonishment at Court when the husband of Lady Robertes, to deny her to the Duke of York, rejected offers of preferment and secluded her in Wales; in contrast to Roger Palmer who was much admired when he accepted rewards in return for his consent that his wife should become one of the King's mistresses. Pepys records that:

. . . the good Queen will herself stop before she goes sometimes into her dressing-room, till she knows whether the King be there, for fear he should be, as she hath sometimes taken him, with Mrs. Stewart (Diary 8 Feb 64).

Pepys's gossip reflects the popular opinion based on general knowledge of the flagrant and brazen immorality of the Court.

1. Sir Charles Petrie, op. cit., p. 231.

2. John Harold Wilson, op. cit., p. 98.

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It was a peculiar world with which Pepys came into contact, one which blighted kindness and charity, was dangerous when its interests were threatened, and was bent on amusing itself. From King to page its aim was pleasure, its effects wantonness, waste, folly, and lust.¹

3. Pepys's Chief Associates.

Lord Sandwich, Pepys's patron, had fought in the Puritan-Parliamentary cause and had been very close to Cromwell. At twenty he was a colonel in the Commonwealth Army. Under Charles he rose much higher: an earl, an ambassador, a special envoy to bring home the future Queen, a deputy chancellor, a vice-admiral, a Knight of the Garter. Initially he seemed to Pepys, eight years his junior, an august authority, dignified, mature, aloof, and a kind patron -- the embodiment of eminence and stability. Lord Sandwich had behaved with decorum during the Commonwealth; but a few months after the Restoration he was relating Court scandal to Pepys in a way that made Pepys record: "I perceive my Lord is grown a man very indifferent in all matters of religion, and so makes nothing of these things" (Diary 7 Oct 60). Later Pepys says he does not wonder at Sandwich's

1. Gamaliel Bradford, The Soul of Samuel Pepys, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1928, p. 27, 141.

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transgressions, his Lord ". . . being a man amorous enough, and now begins to allow himself the liberty that he says every body else at Court takes" (Diary 10 Aug 63).

Lord Sandwich had given Pepys his first employment, from which Pepys did not make much money; but from 1660 on his patron began to indoctrinate him with Restoration morality in the acquisition of wealth. As a result of the voyage to bring home the King, Pepys secured £30 directly from the King's largess besides many smaller sums, and a sense of further favours to come. As Lord Sandwich advanced, Pepys pursued him assiduously, seeing in his patron the model of how to succeed. His suit was successful for during the winter 1660-61 both Lord and Lady Sandwich made much of Pepys socially and invited him and Elizabeth to dinner. Indeed, Lord Sandwich told Pepys that he would help him and that if Pepys would have patience they would rise together. Meanwhile he indoctrinated his apt pupil. On one occasion he showed Pepys a bill by which the King had granted Sandwich £4000 annually for life, and intimated that it was in expectation of such reward that he had come over to the King's side. He told Pepys that it was best to secure money first, by whatever means, and to get the King's agreement afterwards, since it was easier to keep money already held than to get paid after services had been rendered.

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Pepys found Lord Sandwich to be a sceptic. He learned from him that he should act with prudence:

. . . never trust too much to any man in the world, for you put yourself into his power; and the best seeming friend and real friend as to the present may have or take occasion to fall out with you, and then out comes all (Diary 15 Jul 64).

The essence of Lord Sandwich's teaching was that it was not the salary of any position that made a man rich, but the opportunity of using the position once secured to make as much money as possible from it.

Lord Sandwich followed the courtier tradition. He thought it better if nothing but homilies were to be read in church. He hid a gentleman in his house who had killed a soldier in the street. He was one of a committee formed to procure Mrs. Stewart for the King's pleasure. He was an assistant in the King's liaison with Lady Castlemaine, and Pepys even records a rumour that his patron was among those said to be sharing her favours with the King. Lord Sandwich openly kept a mistress himself. He and his Lady took French servants, as was the fashion. When Lady Sandwich told Pepys that she could get a good merchant as a husband for her daughter Jem, Lord Sandwich rejoined that he would rather ". . . see her [Jem] with a pedlar's pack at her back, so she married a gentleman, than she should marry a citizen [that is, a merchant]" (Diary 20 Oct 60). Pepys as a citizen could feel his own position keenly in this. He had other motives

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to free himself from his patron, for Lord Sandwich was a gambler and heavily in debt. He insisted on one occasion that Pepys raise £1000 for him, for which Pepys himself had to go surety, and on another occasion Pepys had to produce £500 for him in ready money.

It was perhaps the result of Lord Sandwich's influence that led Pepys as early as May, 1660, to speak for himself: "I spoke with the Duke of York about business, who called me Pepys by name, and upon my desire did promise me his future favour" (Diary 25 May 60).

Up until this time Pepys's principal associates had been of his own plebian class. Now, under Lord Sandwich's patronage, he was appointed Clerk of the Acts, one of the chief officials of the Navy. His associates in office were of a higher social order. All but one had a title; and the exception, Pett, was head of a prosperous family of ship-builders. All were wealthy, with country estates or London houses. Pepys now took little joy in the mean company of his former acquaintances, preferring his new colleagues and the other people with whom his new dignity brought him into contact. Of his colleagues he liked best the Comptroller, Colonel Slingsby, an old Royalist who had fought for Charles the First, been imprisoned, lost his fortune, gone into exile with the present King, and was restored to fortune at the Restoration. Pepys mentions Slingsby some fifty times in the

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Diary, though Slingsby died within a year of Pepys coming to know him.

With others among his fellow officers he was less closely associated. These included Sir George Carteret, Sir John Minnes, Lord Berkeley, Pett, Coventry, and Lord Brouncker. Sir George Carteret, the Treasurer, was an old Royalist who had been in exile and was well regarded by Charles. He was able, honest, and kind, a man of authority and integrity whom Pepys honoured and by whom he was honoured in turn; for Carteret selected Pepys to negotiate the marriage of his son to Lord Sandwich's daughter. But Carteret was sixty-one years of age to Pepy's twenty-seven and they shared little in common. Pepys was as little familiar with Slingsby's successor, Sir John Minnes, again an old Royalist, whom Pepys calls an "old cockscomb" (Diary 21 Feb 63) and a "doating fool" (Diary 2 Apr 64), though at the same time he liked him for his excellent company. Lord Berkeley, one of the three Commissioners, was a prominent noble at Court and a confidant of the King. His wealth became great enough that he was later able to build a London home which cost £30,000. Pepys speaks of his display, good luck, loyalty to the King, aristocratic manner, and intemperate habits. With Pett, also a Commissioner, who lived at the Dockyard at Chatham, Pepys had little to do, though he was much impressed by Pett's home and garden. The Admiral's

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Secretary, Coventry (Mr., later Sir William), was above Pepys's station, but a man whose attributes were similar enough to Pepys's that a mutual respect existed. Pepys says that Coventry:

. . . pleased me mightily . . . that he was resolved, whatever it cost him, to . . . see whether it was possible for a man to keep himself up in Court by dealing plainly and walking uprightly, with any private game a playing . . . and never to baulke taking notice af any thing that is to the King's prejudice, let it fall where it will I do see more reall worth in him than in most men that I do know (Diary 30 Oct 62).

Lord Brouncker, who joined the office as a fourth Commissioner in 1664, openly kept a mistress and introduced her socially.

With two of his fellow officers, Sir William Penn and Sir William Batten, Pepys was quite closely associated because they were neighbours in the official married residences in Seething Lane adjacent to the Navy Office. Sir William Penn, twelve years older than Pepys, was a Commissioner. He had turned Royalist, assisted in the Restoration, and been knighted by Charles. He was wealthy, with an estate in Ireland and a country house at Walthamstow in England. He liked salacious stories, bawdy songs, and drinking. Pepys calls him a very merry fellow but later sees him as a man of duplicity. He mentions him six hundred and thirty times in the Diary. Despite his animosity towards Penn, Pepys lived on amicable terms with him, and at the close of the Diary

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they were partners in financial enterprises. They sat together at church, played cards, and dined, walked, and visited together. His other neighbour, Sir William Batten the Admiral, was a former sea-officer, also wealthy with an estate in the country. Batten was not particularly pleasant company, being coarse in character, actions, taste, speech, and thought, and being also some thirty-six years older than Pepys; but when drinking he could be a merry companion. The two Sir Williams kept their own coaches. Samuel and Elizabeth were invited to their country homes and shared many of their daily social activities in London.

4. Other Influences.

From the beginning of the Restoration Pepys was exposed to success. The times were propitious for advancement, fortitled ranks were being extended by shrewd and industrious people who originally had no claim to a title. Pepys saw men of even humbler birth than himself, Sir William Batten for example, attain high position. In January, 1660, Montagu offered him the position as his secretary on the voyage to bring Charles home. Pepys was in a quandary, faced on the one hand with his actual income in the Commonwealth Exchequer, and on the other with the possibility of much better fortune should he accept Montagu's offer. He was worried about what to do; for should Charles be restored, his

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own position in the Exchequer would be in danger. He talked the matter over with Elizabeth and with several others, including a friend who explained to him how he might enrich himself in Montagu's employment. Finally Pepys accepted the office. His friend's advice proved sound, for when Pepys went to sea he had only some £25 of his own, but when he came home he had nearly £100. In addition to the money he had experienced opportunity, contact with nobility, the power of being in an important position, as well as good food and wine and merry company. "Strange thing", he says, "how I am already courted by the people Strange how these people do now promise me anything" to do them favours (Diary 14, 22 Mar 60).

He was much impressed with this experience. He was intensely proud to receive a letter addressed to "Samuel Pepys, Esquire"; to be given precedence at dinner in the ship's cabin; to be accepted by the ship's Captain as a drinking companion. "I was infinitely pleased", he writes, ". . . to see what a command I have, to have every one ready to come and go at my command"; and he adds, ". . . a very brave sight to visit all the ships, and to be received with the respect and honour that I was on board them all" (Diary 20 Apr, 3 May 60). He carefully added his own name to the declaration of the mission of the fleet to be read out on all the ships, and was highly pleased to hear his name when the

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declaration was read. It was a wonderful and almost to Pepys a miraculous position for one who two months before had been proud to go dining with a few senior clerks.

Back in London he was soon exposed to the temptations and corruption of the Restoration world. The new Government was trying to please everyone, but the largess went first to those most adept at flattery or persuasion, for favouritism and patronage took precedent over merit. Pepys lived in fear that Lord Sandwich would fall from favour. Promised the position of Clerk of the Acts in the Navy Office, he went through anguish until his position was at last confirmed, and in the process learned some of the chicanery of position-hunting. Of one official Pepys says: ". . . I did give him two pieces, after which it was strange how civil and tractable he was to me" (Diary 13 Jul 60). In all, his position with its salary of £350 a year cost him £40 to obtain and in addition he had to pay £100 a year to the man who had held the position under Charles I to induce him to relinquish his claim to the appointment. Once in office he was tempted to sell it, receiving offers as high as £1000. Lord Sandwich also secured for him an additional position as Clerk of the Privy Seal, but Pepys found that of the £132 profit from this up to September, 1660, he had to pay out £25 in lawyer's fees, involved in getting the appointment.

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Temptations were many. Lady Pickering, asking his help, gave him £5 on account. Once he came home and found a quantity of chocolate left anonymously for him. There was a gift of a pair of silk stockings, another of five pieces of gold. Pepys himself asked £100 from a man who wanted a job in the Navy Office.

On one occasion he offered a financial agent £50 for handling a £4000 transaction for Lord Sandwich; but the agent demanded £100. Of another financial errand for his patron he comments:

Strange it was for me to see what a company of small fees I was called upon by a great many to pay there, which I perceive, is the manner that courtiers do get their estates (Diary 4 Jan 61).

As his own tenure in office extended he found himself in the same tempting position of being able to gain a great deal of money by accepting gifts, or by exerting veiled coercion, in compensation for favours, such as the awarding of a contract which Pepys in his official capacity would be able to effect. But as his wealth grew so did his sense of insecurity. In addition to his fear that Lord Sandwich might fall, he feared that he himself might be displaced in favour of someone who had never served under the Commonwealth. "I must look about me", he reflects, "to get something more than just my salary, or else I may resolve to live well and die a beggar" (Diary 31 Oct 63). Feeling that "every body is liable to be envied

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and supplanted", he becomes full of projects to help himself from the Government purse (Diary 13 May 64).

He was also tempted by matters apart from finance. His way of life brought him into contact almost daily with those who equated love to lust, to whom the relations between the sexes was the raw material for bawdy jokes. The theatre dealt suggestively with sex intrigue and seduction. Prostitutes solicited openly in public places. The female style of dress was disconcertingly open at the bosom. In the taverns there was overt sexual display. In Pepys's own circle ladies in the morning received male callers in their bedrooms.¹ Pepys mentions a cousin, Mrs. Turner, who in dressing displayed her leg for him. Of a gentlewoman visited by himself and a friend he says:

. . . sat talking and playing with Mrs. Penington, whom we found undrest in her smocke and petticoats by the fireside, and there we drank and laughed, and she willingly suffered me to put my hand in her bosom very wantonly, and keep it there long. Which methought very strange, and I looked upon myself as a man mightily deceived in a lady . . . (Diary 13 Nov 65).

Wherever he turned Pepys was tempted. He Comments: "I am sorry that I am not at London, to be at Hide-parke tomorrow, among the great gallants and ladies, which will be very fine" (Diary 30 Apr 61). The two theatres, the King's

1. John Harold Wilson, op. cit., p. 45.

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and the Duke of York's, were the social centres of the Restoration upper classes, places resorted to as much to be seen and to observe others as for the plays, but from which most ordinary citizens stayed away.¹ Those who did attend reflected the prevailing decadence; for the theatre was the microcosm of the new era, its provocatively available actresses looking down on approving gentlemen.² Day says that "all the comedy of the era was bawdy", a reaction of self-conscious indecency to Puritanism and prudery; and that it "went out of its way to flaunt Commonwealth and Puritan principles", and was uninhibited by any concern for established moral values.³ Pepys was much drawn to such social displays as Hyde Park and the theatres and was thus exposed to their influence.

5. Summary and Conclusions.

Pepys, fundamentally a Puritan in 1660, was with the Restoration exposed to a world predominantly anti-Puritan. It was a world in which there was fear of a recurrence of the strife of the Civil War and the Commonwealth; one which presented a dichotomy in the upper class between the old guard

1. John Harold Wilson, op. cit., p. 38.

2. Arthur Bryant, op. cit., p. 141.

3. Martin S. Day, History of English Literature 1660-1837, New York, Doubleday, 1963, p. 21.

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Royalist and the new favourites of the King. In public morality there was a blurring of the line between what was and what was not legitimate conduct in public business. In private morality an unusually large proportion of the upper class, both men and women, and mainly in London, were devoting their lives and the public money to selfish ends. The result was a cynicism and irresponsibility towards public business. Although there was a trend towards greater intellectual freedom, the State attempted to suppress it and the Established Church was intolerant towards all dissenters.

Pepys's closest associates were socially superior and materially more successful. He admired position and success and wanted to emulate his associates. They for the most part reflected the new world of the Restoration. His own environment at work and diversion was a strong influence in favour of the new attitude, so different from that of his Puritan childhood and youth. Thus, the influence of his associates and of his own environment tended to effect his transition to a typical "Restoration man".

CHAPTER III

PEPYS'S VIEW OF THE RESTORATION WORLD

Pepys's basically Puritan nature has been demonstrated. The anti-Puritan environment to which he became exposed from 1660 on has also been shown. The purpose of this chapter is to show that his reaction to the public environment and to his immediate associates led to a hedonism tinged with a degree of cynicism in his outlook on life.

1. Pepys and the Public Environment.

The public environment was to Pepys the Court, around which his life revolved. It fascinated him and the Diary reflects his fascination. He writes of the immense satisfaction he derived from the voyage with Montagu to escort Charles II home in May, 1660. With even more pleasure he details the splendid ceremony of the coronation a year later. In the early years of the Restoration he comes to feel so closely allied with the Court circle that he finds excuses for its immorality, saying: "It is the effect of idleness, and having nothing else to employ their great spirits upon" (Diary 3 Nov 62). He was impressed by the fine furnishings in the royal apartments, by the fashions in dress, and by the elegant mode of living. Very often he walked in St. James

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Park where he could see and overhear notables of the Court. He was highly receptive to gossip about the Court; and although many of the incidents he records in the Diary are untrue, as shown by the editor's footnotes, they were of sufficient currency for Pepys to record them as though they were true. The beauty of the Court mistresses and the glamour of their activities so impressed him that he describes the Court ball in December, 1662, with praise, omitting any mention of the implicit impropriety.

His early uncritical appreciation soon altered: his praise turns to censure. He reports that venereal disease is as common at Court as eating and swearing, that the lewdness and beggary will bring ruin. He reports that for lack of money for the Navy its own bills are "offered to be sold upon the Exchange at 10 per cent. loss" (Diary 31 Aug 61); and that:

At Court things are in very ill condition, there being so much umulacion, poverty, and the vices of drinking, swearing, and loose amours, that I know not what will be the end of it, but confusion In short, I see no content or satisfaction any where, in any one sort of people (Diary 31 Aug 61).

A few years later he is even more disturbed. He is troubled at the brazenness of vice in public places and reports that people consider Whitehall a great bawdy house. He quotes a courtier saying of the Court: ". . . of all places, if there be hell, it is here. No faith, no truth, no love, nor any

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agreement between man and wife, nor friends" (Diary 31 Jul 66).

The same shift in appreciation appears in Pepys's view of the King. At first he is highly impressed. He records the King saying that he loved the Bible above all else, records that the King has a most noble appearance, and that he is very kind to the Queen. Though early critical of the courtiers, he was at the same time a perfectly loyal subject to the King, even to admiring his mistresses. At this time everything about the King excited his admiration, perhaps his envy. Pepys was a busy man; yet despite the myriad events in his own daily life he takes particular care to record the King's beautiful women, fine clothes, wit, elegance, and private wealth. He thinks it very prettily said when one of the courtiers tells him. ". . . it was not a thing to be said of any Sovereigne Prince, be his weaknesses what they will, to be called a sot . . ." (Diary 26 Oct 63).

The change in Pepys's view of Charles II began as early as the voyage home from Holland when on the occasion of the King's dog dirtying the boat they were in, Pepys says: ". . . methink that a king and all that belong to him are but just as others are . . ." (Diary 25 May 60). The same feeling is repeated later: "Methought it lessened my esteem of a King, that he should not be able to command the rain" (Diary

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19 Jul 62). He records other symptoms of disrespect: for example, he condemns as gross flattery the praise which the courtiers give to the King's tennis playing; he objects to the King betting with his courtiers over which gander will mate which goose in the pond in St. James Park; he objects to the idle and bawdy talk of King and courtiers, to card playing at Court on Sunday; and he derides the King's public speaking abilities.

This ambivalent attitude continues throughout the Diary. On the one hand Pepys is never so happy as when the King acknowledges him, for instance when Charles calls him by name, or praises him personally. Again, when a play is produced which reproaches the King for his misbehaviour, Pepys is displeased that the King should be publicly reprimanded. On the other hand he is himself critical of the King. He notes that no benefit could come to the State from having a sovereign so devoted to pleasure. He notes that Charles's behaviour to the Queen gives discontent to the public. He even let his usual caution slip and criticizes the King openly to a friend, for which he suffers misgivings. His sense of the duality of his superiors, and his own ambivalence towards them, is summed up in one entry:

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And God forgive me! though I admire them with all the duty possible, yet the more a man considers and observes them, the less he finds of difference between them and other men, though (blessed be God!) they are both [the King and the Duke of Monmouth] princes of great nobleness and spirits (Diary 26 Jul 65).

Pepys's attitude towards Court immorality is influenced by various factors. The Puritan shows when he writes of the King spending his time with his mistresses, "feeling and kissing them naked" (Diary 16 Oct 65); of the Duke of York flirting wantonly in chapel with Lady Castlemaine, or amorously sporting with his Duchess before the eyes of all at the theatre; or when he commends Mrs. Stewart's chastity despite the King's pursuit of her. And perhaps it is the Puritan who objects when the King gives all his Christmas presents from his peers to Lady Castlemaine so that at the great Court ball she is adorned with more jewels than are the Duchess of York and the Queen together. But there is a touch of cynicism in evidence when he writes of "the damned Duchesse" of Albemarle interfering with State affairs (Diary 10 Jan 66); or when he records of the rumour of Lady Castlemaine's fall: ". . . if the King do it to leave off not only her but all other mistresses, I should be heartily glad of it, that he may fall to look after business" (Diary 3 Jul 63). The same mood appears when he laments that the King ". . . is at the command of any woman like a slave . . ."

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(Diary 27 Jul 67) and is unable to control himself in the presence of a woman who attracts him.

Pepys's attitude towards the King's favourites is equally cynical. At Court, he says, the young men get uppermost and the serious lords are out of favour: "But, Lord!" he cries, "to see what a young simple fantastique coxcombe is made Deputy Governor [of the Tower], would make one mad"

(Diary 30 Oct 62). Of the King's guard he says:

Yet methought all these gay men are not the soldiers that must do the King's business, it being such as these that lost the old King all he had, and were beat by the most ordinary fellows that could be (Diary 4 Jul 63).

His attitude towards the new courtiers is demonstrated when he shows the old guard officers Sir George Ayscue and Sir Christopher Mings refusing to share in the plunder of ships captured from the Dutch, and portrays touchingly the request of Ming's old crew to be given a ship that they may avenge his death against the Dutch.

Pepys does not object to the new courtiers themselves but to the effect they have on public business. By the time he begins seriously to object to them he is some three years into the Restoration. His growing wealth and dignity, coupled with a feeling of insecurity and a pride in his professional competence as a Navy official, begin to make him indignant at the course of public affairs. A fight among the

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courtiers such that Lord Monk had to send for troops to restore order brings Pepys to write:

To such a degree of madness the nobility of this age is come! . . . that the King do mind nothing but pleasures, and hates the very sight or thoughts of business; that my Lady Castlemaine rules him 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 he is with my Lady Castlemaine, and in a humour of delight, and then persuade him that he ought not to hear nor listen to the advice of those old dotards or counsellors that were heretofore his enemies: when, God knows! it is they that now-a-days do most study his honour (Diary 15 May 63).

Over and over again Pepys records the same theme: that all will come to ruin again; that the Navy has neither money, credit, nor stores; and that the cause lies in the dissolute and corrupt King and Court. As he feels himself more secure in position and wealth, his dissatisfaction centres more on the neglect of the Navy. There was scandal over the plunder of the ships captured from the Dutch in the War of 1665. The consequence was that Lord Sandwich was supplanted as Vice-Admiral, and at the same time a policy was introduced to supplant all the old Commonwealth captains, who had been bred to the sea, with Royalist gentlemen, who were mostly inexperienced. Pepys comments:

The truth is, the gentlemen captains will undo us, for they are not to be kept in order, their friends about the King and Duke [of York, the Admiral], and their own house, is so free, that it is not for any person but the Duke himself to have any command over them (Diary 21 Jul 66).

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As early as 13 February, 1663, Pepys had noted that one of these new lords who had been sent abroad on Navy matters had returned home at whim. By the beginning of the Dutch War, in October, 1665, the situation was grave. Pepys comments on unpaid sailors rioting outside the Treasury; on swearing, drinking, and whoring in the fleet "as if the Devil had commanded it" (Diary 20 Oct 66). This was the period of the Plague and the Great Fire; but though merchants, his own fellow Navy officials, and members of the Government abandoned public business for personal safety, Pepys remained on duty. By 20 November, 1666, he was growing discouraged. He writes that he has ". . . a hearty desire that I had but what I have quietly in the country, but, I fear, I do at this day see the best that either I or the rest of our nation will ever see" (Diary 20 Nov 66). He was becoming disillusioned and grew even more so. Mentioned as a replacement for Sir William Coventry as Secretary to the Admiral, he says: "It would never please me to be forced to the attendance that that would require, and leave my wife and family to themselves . . ." (Diary 2 Sep 67).

2. Pepys and His Close Associates.

Lord Sandwich was the model after which Pepys chiefly aimed to fashion himself; but he began to see that there were

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inevitable disadvantages to such success. For one thing, his patron was becoming inured to gambling, ". . . glad at any time to lose £50 for the King to send for him to play, which I do not so well like" (Diary 14 May 63). On going to Lord Sandwich's home and finding a dice game in progress, Pepys says:

. . . by this I see how time and example may alter a man; he being now acquainted with all sorts of pleasures and vanities, which heretofore he never thought of nor loved, nor, it may be, hath allowed . . .
(Diary 28 Jan 63).

For another, his master was getting further and further in debt -- £10,000 by the diary entry of 15 July, 1664. This had a personal and unwelcomed effect on Pepys who was forced himself to find money for Lord Sandwich's urgent expenses.

Pepys observes that his master must follow the fashion:

It did trouble me to hear him swear before God and other oaths, as he did now and then without any occasion, which methinks did so ill become him, and I hope will be a caution for me, it being so ill a thing in him (Diary 14 Dec 63).

But what distressed and affected Pepys the most was Lord Sandwich taking a mistress -- a "common strumpett" openly acknowledged (Diary 19 Aug 63). Pepys laments this:

. . . my Lord's folly . . . of all which I am ashamed to see my Lord so grossly play the beast and fool, to the flinging off of all honour, friends, servants and every thing and person that is good, and only will have his private lust undisturbed with this common . . . carrying her abroad and playing on his lute under her window . . . (Diary 9 Sep 63).

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Lord Sandwich was neglecting both his duties and his Court attendance; and Pepys feared repercussions which would reach down to him, either in his own position or in the £700 Lord Sandwich then owed him. He sent what amounted to a letter of warning to his master. His motive was not based on morality but on apprehension. As Hunt¹ says, the letter is characteristic of Pepys's moral view, never touching the right or wrong of Lord Sandwich's conduct, but concerned with the possible gossip at Court and in the City. Pepys gives facts, without argument or suggestion. He believed, Hunt comments, that men had a duty to family, friends, work, class, country, and themselves; to betray this for pleasure was as treasonable as to betray a public duty for money; a man should find and accept some written or unwritten laws of behaviour, keep them if he could, be sorry when he broke them, and try again; and though he broke them often, never show public disrespect for them.

The letter led to a distinct coolness on Lord Sandwich's part. Pepys was forced to sue favour with him for four or five months before his patron began to warm to him again -- the occasion being marked by a visit of Lady Sandwich to the Pepys home where Samuel encountered her, to

1. Percival Hunt, Samuel Pepys in the Diary, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958, p. 147.

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the embarrassment of both, making use of the chamber pot in his dining room. Another result of the incident was Pepys's realization of the effect such a liaison could produce on family relationships; for his patron continued the affair, with more discretion; but as Pepys observes, visiting Lord and Lady Sandwich:

. . . the first time he hath dined at home since his coming from sea: and a pretty odd demand it was of my Lord to my Lady before me: "How do you, sweetheart? How have you done all this week?" Himself taking notice of it to me, that he had hardly seen her the week before (Diary 5 Mar 65).

Next in line in Pepys's attention were his Navy fellows and neighbours Sir William Penn and Sir William Batten. They were both hard and experienced drinkers. Pepys wished to be accepted by them. In the old days of poverty he had caroused with his fellow workers to the limited extent his slender purse permitted. Now finance was no restriction and he drank to excess. His colleagues encouraged him, not wishing the younger Pepys to take his work more seriously than they did their own. Pepys responded actively to this convivial company. He joined with them in drinking, partying, dancing, opera, theatre, even Valentine's Day frivolities. There were such outings as the dinner at the Dolphin with Penn, Batten, Mrs. Batten, and others, where there was great mirth, singing, fiddling, dancing -- ". . . the first time that ever I did in my life, which I did

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wonder to see myself do" (Diary 27 Mar 61). But in this company, as in Lord Sandwich's, Pepys found drawbacks. The merry-making left him too indisposed to work. Not feeling like work he would turn to fun, but then the Puritan in him would rebel. He says, for example, after another occasion at the Dolphin with Penn, Batten, and others:

Strange how these men, who at other times are all wise men, do now, in their drink, betwitt and reproach one another with their former conditions, and their actions as in public concerns, till I was ashamed to see it (Diary 2 Apr 61).

His own Commonwealth connections and his tendency now to slackness in duty may have contributed to that reflection. The next day he records, and this is but one of many such entries, that his head was "akeing all day from last night's debauch".

Thus, as 1661 went by, he grew weary of the two Sir Williams, from official disagreements as well as from their social dissipation. Meanwhile the new Comptroller, Sir John Minnes, was proving an enemy to Lord Sandwich. Pepys had to work with them all and to do so was forced to dissemble. "But, good God!" he confides to his Diary of Sir John Minnes, "what an age is this, and what a world is this! that a man cannot live without playing the knave and dissimulation" (Diary 1 Sep 61). Or again, he says of Penn: "As he dissembles with me, so must I with him"; and of Batten: "I

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used him civilly, though I love him as I do the rest of his coat" (Diary 9 Jul 62). Similarly he found the Commissioner, Pett, far less than ideal. Pepys soon came to realize that among his colleagues co-operation and goodwill did not exist. Each was striving for personal advantage and was ruthlessly willing to gain it at the expense of a fellow officer.

His other associates proved little better. He writes disparagingly of one who "had no more manners" than to invite him to dinner and then let him pay for his own (Diary 2 Jul 60). Another, once a friend, he dislikes for drinking on Sunday, though twelve months before he "might have been got to hang himself almost" as to drink on the Sabbath (Diary 12 May 61); and later he begins to hate the same man for trying to force a woman whose crying out saved her. He finds that he must tolerate Lord Brouncker's rather vulgar mistress and that Elizabeth must do the same, though he thinks it disgraceful that Lord Brouncker acknowledges the woman openly for all the world to see. He found that too much defiance of the ways of his Restoration world could lead to personal peril -- threat of arrest or of a duel (Diary 21 Feb, 22 Mar 63).

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3. Pepys's Reflections on His World.

Some of the musings in the Diary show a decidedly non-Puritan outlook:

. . . I do thinke myself obliged to thinke myself happy, and do look upon myself at this time in the happiest occasion a man can be, and whereas we take pains in expectation of future comfort and ease, I have taught myself to reflect upon myself as happy, and enjoy myself in that consideration, and not only please myself with thoughts of wealth and forget the pleasure we at present enjoy (Diary 26 Feb 66).

. . . God forgive me! I do still see that my nature is not to be 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, whatever my business is (Diary 9 Mar 66).

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 this 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 (Diary 10 Mar 66).

[Gay parties and plays are] the greatest real comfort that I am to expect in the world, and that it is that that we do really labour in the hopes of; and so I do really enjoy myself, and understand that if I do not do it now I shall not hereafter, it may be, be able to pay for it, or have health to take pleasure in it, and so fill myself with vain expectation of pleasure and go without it (Diary 6 Jan 68).

Pepys realizes that he is indulging himself. "The truth is," he says, "I have indulged myself more in pleasure for these last two months than ever I did in my life before

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. . ." (Diary 22 Sep 67); but his concern is over the cost involved and his reputation. He sums up his hedonistic outlook by saying:

. . . I did, as I love to do, enjoy myself in my pleasure as being the height of what we take pains for and can hope for in this world, and therefore to be enjoyed while we are young and capable of these joys (Diary 26 Mar 68).

An inventory of his comments on dinners he gave at various periods shows much of what he wanted and valued in life: propriety, wit, good talk whether light or serious, good manners, elegance, things done right even to the folding of a napkin.

He also begins to show a degree of cynicism and pessimism. "How apt", he writes, "every man is to forget friendship in time of adversity" (Diary 9 Dec 63). He comments: "So hard it is for a man not to be warped against his duty and master's interest that receives any bribe or present . . ." (Diary 10 Dec 63); or again: "Lord! to see how unhappily a man may fall into a necessity of bribing people to do him right in a thing, wherein he hath done nothing but fair, and bought dear" (Diary 10 Oct 65). He deplores favouritism:

. . . how little merit do prevail in the world, but only favour; and that, for myself, chance without merit brought me in; and that diligence keeps me so, and will, living as I do among so many lazy people that the diligent man becomes necessary, that they cannot do anything without him . . . (Diary 1 Nov 65).

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He also reflects unhappily on the condition of any man who does fall from favour: "How natural it is for us to slight people out of power, and for people out of power to stoop to see those that while in power they contemned!" (Diary 14 Jul 68). He cites an example from the troubles of his colleague Carteret:

. . . I first learn an eminent instance how great a man this day, that nobody would think could be shaken, is the most overthrown, dashed out of countenance, and every small thing of irregularity in his business taken notice of, where nobody the other day durst cast an eye upon them, and next I see that he that the other day nobody durst come near is now as supple as a spaniel, and sends and speaks to me with great submission, and readily hears to advice (Diary 26 Mar 66).

The touch of cynicism is more evident in the label of "excellent discourse" he gives such rules as to suspect every man who proposes anything to be a knave, or at least to have some ends of his own at stake, or the rule:

. . . a man that cannot sit still in his chamber . . . and he that cannot say no (that is, that is of so good a nature that he cannot deny any thing), or cross another in doing any thing, is not fit for business (Diary 8 Aug 62).

Cynical, too, is his comment: "Here were many good fellows, among others Sir R. Homes, who is exceeding kind to me, more than usual, which makes me afeard of him . . ." (Diary 15 Oct 66); or his reflection, inconsistent with his frequent expression of his own happiness in marriage, that it is

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" . . . strange to see what delight we married people have to see these poor fools decoyed into our condition . . ." (Diary 25 Dec 65).

This tendency to value self-interest above all other values is also apparent in the thanks he gives to God on hearing that Barlow, to whom he had to pay £100 a year to secure his position as Clerk of the Acts, has died so that he need not pay the money any longer. It is also reflected in his reaction to the news that his brother Tom has left some bastard children. Pepys is disturbed only because of the possible publicity and expense.

4. Summary and Conclusions.

With the Restoration Pepys was enamoured of the Court, ignoring its abuses, but came to see it as a sham, and its conduct a possible provocation to new civil strife. Likewise, he was at first much taken with the King but gradually developed an ambivalent attitude towards him, publicly loyal yet privately critical. He had a Puritan dislike of the overt immorality at Court, and a cynical view that the new favourites would bring ruin. As he came to feel more personally secure, his principal dissatisfaction was that the conduct at Court was prejudicial to the interests of the Navy.

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His own ambitions and expectations were centred on Lord Sandwich. When he realized that the latter was bringing himself into disrepute by neglecting his duties for gambling and a mistress, Pepys attempted to warn him. He suffered himself as a result. Similarly, in his dealings with his Navy colleagues and other acquaintances he soon realized that he lived in a dangerous and competitive world dominated by men of greater wealth and higher social standing than himself. It was a world in which mutual trust or friendship was unlikely to develop for each man sought only his own interests. To succeed in such a world it was necessary to dissemble and to be cautious of deviating from the norms.

Pepys was attracted to the pleasure and profit to which he was exposed. He expressed a hedonistic outlook; but despite the attraction of the rewards of the Restoration society in which he moved, he took a cynical and pessimistic view of the means necessary to their attainment.

CHAPTER IV

PEPYS'S MODE OF LIFE

Pepys's comments in the Diary show a tendency towards the hedonism, cynicism, and corruption of the world he moved in; but such reflections are few compared to the extensive record of the things he did. He lived an active rather than a contemplative life. Hence the degree of his transition from his Puritan youth into a man of the Restoration can best be assessed from his mode of living. His life revolved around his duties in the Navy, his relations as a Restoration official with State and Church, and his private affairs; and therefore all must be considered.

1. Official Life.

In Pepys's day means of making money which would now be considered corrupt, for example bribes and graft, were part of the recognized rewards of office holders.¹ However, in expectation of profit many officials were tempted to seek such rewards beyond what might be accepted as reasonable. Pepys acknowledges that he works harder than necessary

1. Leslie Stephen, "Pepys, Samuel", in Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. 44, edited by Sidney Lee, London, Smith, Elder and Company, 1895, p. 362.

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because of the profit motive: ". . . God knows, the expectation of profit will have its force and make a man the more earnest" (Diary 19 Dec 63). He also realizes the dangers:

Good God! to see what a man might do, were I a knave, the whole business from beginning to end being done by me out of the office, and signed to by them upon the . . . once reading of it to them, without the least care or consultation either of quality, price, number, or need of them, only in general that it was good to have a store (Diary 10 Sep 63).

. . . God forgive me! I found that I could be willing to receive a bribe if it were offered me to conceal my arguments that I found against them, in consideration that none of my fellow officers, whose duty it is more than mine, had ever studied the case, or at this hour do understand it . . . (Diary 25 Jan 64).

Moreover, his actions show that he felt the unofficial rewards were wrong in principle. He thought it dishonourable for Lord Sandwich to accept a £1500 gratuity for accomplishing the official task of bringing home the future Queen (Diary 24 May 62). He was afraid to submit his own expense account for travel because it might be deemed excessive (Diary 7 Jun 62). He was cautious and uneasy about receiving gifts in return for favours he did, so cautious that on many occasions he refused them.

Nevertheless, he did accept money not legally due him. Some amounts were negligible, for example he would sometimes order a book for his private library and have it charged to the Admiralty account; but some were great amounts. He was uneasy about it. In the instance of the

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captured Dutch ships Pepys managed to sell out his interest quickly enough to escape censure. His patron, Lord Sandwich, was not so fortunate and lost his position at Court.

Pepys's acceptance of corruption is also apparent in other activities. He mentions a deal for hemp ". . . wherein the King is absolutely abused; but I was for peace sake contented to be quiet and to sign his bill . . ." (Diary 23 Jun 63). When Lord Sandwich fell Pepys sought favour elsewhere: with Carteret, the Duke of Albemarle, Coventry. Though he thought Lord Ashley's involvement in Navy stores "a most horrid evil and a shame" (Diary 15 Jan 67); he himself forced through the Navy Board against considerable protest an equally doubtful contract for which he had been promised a commission (Diary 10 Nov, 16 Dec 66). He joined with Sir William Penn and Sir William Batten in fitting out a Navy ship as a roving privateer and made over £666 from its exploits. Later he sought and obtained permission for use of a Navy ship for whatever private use he alone wished to put it. He devised and succeeded in instituting a new system of victualling for the Navy -- with himself as Surveyor-General of Victualling at £300 per year. He learned to date answers to official letters earlier than the day on which the answers were actually written so that it might seem that the matter had been most expeditiously attended to.

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He had learned Restoration ways well. For example, he ~~su~~red that his profit from any proceedings met his expectations. The Diary shows many instances: he refused to accept £3 until its donor should have enough to buy Elizabeth a necklace; he rejected a gift valued at £12-15 because he had expected £50 for the favour he had done; he felt that twenty gold pieces was not enough for another favour. Initially in office, once he had succeeded in resisting the influence of the two Sir Williams, he worked with such diligence that the Duke of Albemarle called him "the right hand of the Navy" (Diary 24 Apr 65), and the King came to know him by name. As he grew more secure financially, more certain of his position in office, he adopted the courtier fashion towards his job. Where once he decided to stay away from Whitehall ". . . because I would not be thought a lazy body by Mr. Coventry and others by being seen, as I have lately been, to walk up and down doing nothing" (Diary 4 Jan 63); he later records that with his masters the Duke of York and Mr. Coventry absent at Portsmouth he is free to go to "a play every day this week" (Diary 20 Apr 67). In 1668 he decided henceforth to make his office one of ease and not slavery "as it hath for so many years been" (Diary 6 Dec 68).

If the degree of Pepys's transition is measured in terms of money unofficially acquired, he shows a remarkable

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conversion. The Puritan of 1660 was worth some £25. The man who died in 1703 had £28,000 owing to him, aside from the value of his possessions. Some of this was of course legitimate gain; but much was not. For example, for 1664 Pepys records a gross income of £960. His salary was worth £250 net. The balance, £710, was "Restoration" increment. The rate of his acquisition is rapid. He records his actual money on the 31st of each December as follows: 1661, £350; 1662, £500; 1663, £650; 1664, £890; 1665, £1349; 1666, £4400; 1667, £6200. Thereafter he ceased to record it.

Nevertheless, as with so many aspects of his life, there is a dichotomy. As he grew wealthier the pull of profit grew less until he writes of his ". . . indifference how more than heretofore to get money . . ." (Diary 11 Mar 67); or again: "I thank God my condition is such that I can retire, and be able to live with comfort, though not with abundance" (Diary 20 Apr 69). Also, his pursuit of the unofficial rewards of office was done with principle. Although willing to accept commissions for favours accomplished, he refused to take a bribe in advance and so to become subject to pressure in the performance of duty. His favours if not above being rewarded were not for sale. Moreover, the favour must be in the King's interests: ". . . I would be glad first to serve the King well, and next if I

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could I find myself now begin to cast how to get a penny for myself" (Diary 27 Apr 64). His policy is reflected in his comments concerning a £200 gift offered to him by a contractor:

. . . as I would not by anything be bribed to be unjust in my dealings, so I was not so squeamish as not to take people's acknowledgement where I had the good fortune by my pains to do them good and just offices, and so I would not come to be at any agreement with him, but I would labour to do him this service and to expect his consideration thereof afterwards as he thought fit (Diary 12 Dec 63).

This policy he carried out despite the odium in which he was held as a result by his fellow officers, and the loss of many opportunities for great gain to himself. He plunged into all the intricacies of Navy affairs until he had mastered them, learning mathematics, timber measurement, forest geography, ship construction, how to make cordage . . . until he was sufficiently well informed to suspect that many customary procedures were in effect swindling the King, with the full knowledge of other Navy officials. He then applied his knowledge to get the best material at the best prices. For example, when the flagmakers who served the Navy objected to being exposed for getting three pence per yard above the contract price, Pepys told the Navy Board that he could buy the same materials at half the contract price elsewhere. He thereby incurred the enmity of

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Sir William Batten who was receiving money from the flag-makers. Where others sought profit from re-arming in 1664 for the Dutch War, Pepys sought the King's interests. Where the Chancellor of England put personal before national interest, in refusing the Navy permission to take timber from his land, Pepys fought for the lowest prices, even to the point of threatening to abandon Sir William Warren, one of his most lucrative sources of profit, if Sir William persisted in profiteering. Pepys was honest enough to refund £50 when he found he could not honestly accept the money. He refused to get a lieutenancy for a man he thought unworthy of the appointment. He actively encouraged men he considered of merit; and where he was in a position himself to extend patronage he did so, contrary to general Restoration practice, on the basis of industry, obedience, punctuality, and competence.

In all this there was a certain dogged determination to do what to Pepys seemed right, despite contrary pressure. He forced the dismissal of a clerk found guilty of corruption; when no one else would speak up about a disagreeable matter, Pepys did so; when he found the Navy pursers could not make a living honestly he effected a better system for them; when Coventry fell from favour Pepys promptly visited him in the Tower in defiance of the prudent laws of

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self-interest. He refused to succumb to pressure in September, 1666, in a matter concerning as important a courtier as the Duke of Buckingham. He stuck to his post during the Plague and the Great Fire, though fellow officials put themselves before their duties. Pepys even developed a style of writing on official matters more bluntly Puritan than graciously Cavalier: "Speaking in matters distasteful", he says, ". . . it is best to do it in the plainest way and without ambages or reasoning, but only say matters of fact, and leave the party to collect your meaning" (Diary 12 Aug 63). Such a course gained enemies. He recognized this early but nevertheless persisted in what he thought the most honest way: ". . . have got Sir R. Ford to be my enemy by it; but I care not, for it is my duty . . ." (Diary 5 Jun 62). He had set his course: ". . . depend upon my care and diligence in my employment to bear me out against . . . any man . . . in things that are honest . . ." (Diary 2 Apr 63).

Pepys shows a continuous desire to present a fine front to the world, from his first walk at Whitehall among the nobility: "Found the King in the Park. There walked. Gallantly great" (referring to himself) (Diary 9 Jun 60). The dignity of his position impressed and he did his best to live up to it. "I see the great authority of my place", he says, "all the captains of the fleet coming cap in hand

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. . ."; he adds: ". . . prince-like lodged, with so much respect and honour that I was at a loss how to behave myself" (Diary 12 Jan 61). He soon acquired the knack: ". . . I begin to know now how to receive so much reverence" (Diary 9 Apr 61), and in less than a year has dreams of a knighthood and a coach of his own.

He wanted to be part of the social elite. With little to support it he writes on one of his bookplates: "Descended from ye antient family of Pepys of Cottenham in Cambridgeshire".¹ After the death of his Uncle Robert, he says:

. . . I give out among them[at the Navy Office] that the estate left me is £200 a year in land, besides moneys, because I would put an esteem upon myself (Diary 24 Jul 61).

As his wealth permitted he increased his servants, put his boy into livery, had his own wine bottles complete with a crest, was proud to display his silver service before guests, spent heavily on his home in Seething Lane and on its furnishings, and had his portrait painted at least nine times and Elizabeth's three times. As Ponsonby says of the period: "Was anyone painted as often as Pepys? Apart from

1. Henry B. Wheatley, ed., The Diary of Samuel Pepys, New York, Random, 1946, p. x.

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Royalty it would seem doubtful".¹

Pepys became extremely clothes conscious. "Clothes", he says, "I perceive more and more every day, is a great matter" (Diary 28 Dec 64). He meticulously followed each flurry of fashion even to a periwig, and was extremely conscious of the appearance he presented, even to having his gold sleeves cut off when he thought them too conspicuous for his station. With Elizabeth he was not quite so particular. Initially he was miserly towards her clothing expenses; but after being ashamed that she and her maid were less well dressed than the other ladies at the theatre, he became more liberal, and finally granted her £30 a year for clothes.

In 1668 Pepys rationalized himself into a coach and horses, as being ". . . necessary for me, both in respect to honour and the profit of it also, my expense in hackney-coaches being now so great" (Diary 1 Jun 67). His true motive is perhaps contained in his reaction to riding in his newly acquired coach:

. . . mighty pleasure to go alone with my poor wife, in a coach of our own, to a play, and makes us appear mighty great, I think, in the world; at least, greater than ever I could, or my friends for me, have once expected; or, I think, than ever any of my family ever yet lived, in my memory, but my cozen Pepys in Salisbury Court (Diary 3 Dec 68).

1. Arthur Ponsonby, Samuel Pepys, London, MacMillan, 1928, p. 40.

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He was much upset when his front showed flaws: he hopes he will not always have to sit in church on an equal with his servants but have a pew of his own; he is troubled in the theatre that he is in a cheaper seat than are some of his clerks from the office; he is vexed when he has company to dine and his servants bring in the dinner on the caterer's dishes so that his guests are able to see that it has not been cooked at home; when he takes time off from work and is told by his chief clerk that his staff are taking notice of it, he is sorely troubled.

As he prospered he tended to dissociate himself from his own origins: he comments that the theatre is "full of citizens, and so the less pleasant" (Diary 1 Jan 63); he is ashamed to be seen in a hackney with "plain" people in Hyde Park; he is too proud to dine with his family at a poor acquaintance's; and he thinks his poor relatives too much below his new state for him to be familiar with them.

2. State and Church.

Midway between his public and his private life is his relation to State and Church, affecting both aspects of his life. His reaction to the State as the Restoration dawned had been to shift from Puritan to Royalist. His growing affluence and dignity accentuate this. In the early years he had

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spoken with contempt of the Rump Parliament. Later he reports Lord Sandwich saying of him that whatever he was he always loved the King (Diary 22 Sep 65). He calls the Commons "a beast not to be understood" (Diary 19 Dec 66). Towards the end of the Diary he records that when the Duke in the presence of the King called out to ask him where he was going, he replied: "To wait on our maisters at Westminister" (Diary 22 Apr 68), as though aligning himself with the King against the Commons.

However, the depth of his political conversion is open to question. Naturally in such troubled times and in his position he conformed outwardly and avoided anything which might link him to Puritan politics; but as a competent administrator he realized that the Cavaliers lacked the experience of the Puritans in politics and business; and as a man without landed income he was too prudent to sever all connection, even as late as 1668 using an old Puritan friend civilly ". . . in expectation that those fellows may grow great again" (Diary 18 Jul 68). Pepys was well aware of the dangers of independent opinion. He writes for example:

I was told, yesterday, that Mr. Oldenburg [secretary to the Royal Society] . . . is put into the Tower, for writing newes to a virtuoso in France, with whom he constantly corresponds in philosophical matters; which makes it very unsafe at this time to write, or almost do anything. (Diary 25 Jun 67).

Nevertheless, many times in the Diary Pepys expresses an

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antipathy towards the Restoration attitude to Puritanism as well as other opinions which could have caused him trouble had the authorities seen them. He writes, for example, that "the business of abusing the Puritans begins to grow stale, and of no use, they being the people that, at last, will be found the wisest" (Diary 4 Sep 68).

By the time of the Dutch War Pepys was disillusioned about the political capabilities of the Restoration Government, and out of sympathy with the callous way in which it functioned. He was particularly distressed by the system of forcing men into the Navy without having any money to pay them:

. . . it grieved me to the heart To see poor patient labouring men and housekeepers, leaving poor wives and families, taking [being taken?] up on a sudden by strangers, was very hard, and that without press-money, but forced against all law to be gone. It is a great tyranny (Diary 1 Jul 66).

The Act of Conformity, to the Anglican Church, was passed on the 9th of April, 1662. Pepys complied: he went to his local church, St. Olave's, with some regularity; he read family prayers at home twice a week; he bought and read Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity. It was not a spiritual commitment but one of conforming to fashion; also, it expressed one part of Pepys's great interest in everything about him. He mentions going to more than thirty different churches in London and to others outside it, most of them Anglican,

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though his natural interest took him even in these times to Catholic services as well. He mentions some three hundred and sixteen sermons, one hundred and sixteen with approval, one hundred and thirty with various shades of dislike, and seventy without comment.¹ When he makes a judgement it is with regard to the form rather than to the moral or spiritual significance.² Pepys favoured the simplicity and ease of the Restoration mode of delivery against the pedantry and affectation of the Puritan enthusiasts. On a good many occasions he simply slept through the service, or reacted to the beauty of the music or the building. Often he went more to see, or even to attempt to become acquainted with, some beauty in the pews. As the years went by he tended to miss service, particularly if he had work to do, concurring with Sir William Coventry that it was better work for the King to do an essential piece of business on Sunday than to go to Church, and that this would not offend God (Diary 17 Feb 67).

Outside of church Pepys's life shows a similar tendency -- on the one hand to present a public front of a respectable God-fearing soul, on the other to lapse into the

1. J.R. Tanner, Mr. Pepys, an Introduction to the Diary together with a Sketch of His Later Life, London, Bell, 1925, p. 100.

2. Percival Hunt, Samuel Pepys in the Diary, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958, p. 153.

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Restoration disregard for spiritual values. The sense of faith escaped him. Seeing several men arrested for attending a nonconformist meeting, he says: "They go like lambs, without any resistance. I would to God they would either conform, or be more wise, and not be caught!" (Diary 7 Aug 64). The choice to Pepys did not matter. When he contemplates death his concern is not with the hereafter but with reputation. Of the death of a prominent courtier he says:

. . . an instance for me hereafter to judge of death, both as to the unavoidableness, suddenness, and little effect of it upon the spirits of others, let a man be never so high, or rich, or good, but that all die alike, no more matter being made of the death of one than of another, and that even to die well, the praise of it is not considerable in the world, compared to the many in the world that know not nor make anything of it, nor perhaps to them . . . that will speak ill of a man (Diary 19 Oct 63).

In 1660 he was a consistent Sabbatarian, his Sunday amusements confined to church or such diversions as reading Fuller's Worthies. Lapses perturb him, "composing some ayres, God forgive me!" he says (Diary 9 Feb 62); or again:

. . . came home so out of order [from drinking] that I was loth to say prayers to-night as I am used ever to do on Sundays, which my wife took notice of and people of the house, which I was sorry for (Diary 10 Nov 61).

Some years later even adultery on Sunday is recorded without any indication of regret (Diary 26 May 67).

The same shift occurs in his general piety. In 1660 he prayed that God would direct him in his appointment as

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Clerk of the Acts. There are frequent praises to God, many requests for God's forgiveness or grace. As the Diary runs on these parentheses become more rare, and when they do occur are apt to be thanks to God for the amount of money he finds he has. This goes together with his decline in moral standards. At one time he could write: "It is a cold, which God Almighty in justice did give me while I sat lewdly sporting with Mrs. Lane the other day with the broken window in my neck" (Diary 27 Sep 63). As he rose in the social scale and began to consider himself a gentleman, his misdemeanours are recorded without comment along with all the other incidents in his daily life as though he assumed that he no longer had need to ask pardon or to observe piety. There is no mood of cynicism about this in the Diary. Moreover, he continued characteristically to present a pious front. One incident, for example, shows both the observance of outward decorum and the little real depth underlying it. Bringing a guest home by coach for dinner, in mid-grace his mind fell on the lobster he had brought with him for the meal but had left in the coach, upon which he cried, "Odd zookes! . . . what is become of my lobsters?" and bolted out of the house to try to catch the coach (Diary 13 Jun 66).

However, despite Pepys's outward conformity and his shift towards Restoration attitudes in religion, the Diary

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shows a prevailing Puritanism. His very many appeals to God and expressions of regret for misdeeds might be an attempt to show himself as basically a pious man if the Diary were written for publication, but his purpose in keeping it is open to question. Bryant¹, for instance, maintains that Pepys did intend it for posterity, but another critic, Stephen², thinks the opposite. Therefore it must be assumed that these entries are as artless and frank as the many entries of his misconduct and are equally characteristic.

There are many other examples of prevailing Puritanism. He ignored the Anglican conventions of Lent, was shocked to find the Court playing cards on Sunday and vexed to hear a preacher advocate confession. He thought the surplice of the clergy ridiculous and disliked the orthodox services presented at Whitehall. He disliked Butler's Hudibras and Jonson's Bartholomew Fair -- both against the Puritans. He shows throughout the Diary an intolerance to profane language, and considering the times records surprisingly few bawdy stories and incidents. Unlike the Court gallants, he paid his debts promptly. He had a pronounced dislike of any suggestion of impropriety in his wife's dress, and

1. Arthur Bryant, Samuel Pepys, the Man in the Making, New York, Macmillan, 1933, p. xii.

2. Leslie Stephen, op. cit., p. 365.

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disapproved when the ladies at Court adopted a masculine type of dress. He disapproved of women painting themselves, and of dancing. Though he himself indulged in some of the activities he disparaged, his own participation was carefully kept from public attention. If not a Puritan in spirit he was prudent enough to be one in form.

3. Private Life.

Pepys liked pleasure. He also liked company, and part of his pleasure was derived from giving pleasure to others. Thus despite his hedonistic reflections, in practice his pleasures were not purely selfish. He was interested in everything, "with child" to see and learn something new (Diary 14 May 60); and this enthusiasm applied to the whole of his life including people.

The early Diary is absorbed with news. Later it becomes a record of his own life and pleasures with less and less news. That is, there is a transition from an early emphasis on events incidental to himself, to a later stress on things in which he is principally concerned: his wife, his work, those closest to him. There is a parallel shift from the almost frivolous, such as itemization of meals, towards a maturity of view, a sense of humanity and tolerance inconsistent with the prevailing trend, for example his

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sympathy with the plight of unpaid seamen, or his measure of his appointment as Clerk of the Acts which he early looked on as merely a means to success but which finally became one of the principal interests in his life.

Pepys's private life must also be considered against the background of discipline apparent in it. Even to write so detailed a diary with the regularity he did requires much self-discipline. But at the same time he was constantly fighting against his wish to enjoy himself. Many of his enjoyments, such as the music he loved so well, were of no trouble to him because they did not threaten his work or family; but this was not so with drinking, the theatre, or women. Against these pleasures he fought an arduous campaign with fluctuating success. The aim of his campaign was not moral but financial; for these activities were expensive and they were a threat to his career and family. Pepys did not have the privileged position of an aristocrat and consequently had to be extra careful of his reputation.

His chief weapon against these weaknesses was the use of vows. These were formally written out with a system of punishment included:

. . . set to make some strict rules for my future practice in my expenses, which I did bind myself in the presence of God by oath to observe upon penalty therein set down, and I do not doubt but hereafter . . . to grow rich . . . (Diary 3 Mar 62).

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Both method and motive are plain in this statement. Pepys's vows covered almost anything he might want to do and considered he could not afford to -- in money or reputation. However, those concerning women were of restrictive application: he vows, for example, not to stay with Mrs. Lane for longer than a quarter of an hour at a time, or again, vows to let women alone for a month on penalty that the first kiss is free and thereafter twelve pence each. He makes no vow specifically against extra-marital intercourse; but then, his cautious practice was such as to cost him little and pose no serious threat to his public reputation.

At first he confines the vows to more important matters, important to his career and welfare, where strong will-power was a strict necessity. Later he makes his solemn vows with respect to such minor things as payment of debts, collection of petty credits, making his will, and keeping his diary entered. The latter indiscriminant use, paralleling his shift away from piety generally, is indicative that his vows, too, came to be mere matter of form. There is also a parallel drop in his adherence to his vows; and although he makes them throughout the Diary, towards the end they are seldom observed.

Breaches in Pepys's vows cost him money in the poor box. His sincerity in the early application of his system is

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plain. He kept his oaths by him, meditated upon them, was sorry when he broke them, and made payment for his lapses. On the other hand he soon developed a casuistry which to a large extent nullified the whole system and precluded any true repentance. As an example, about seeing plays, he says:

. . . though not exactly agreeing with the letter of my vowe, yet altogether with the sense, to see another this month, by going hither instead of that at Court, there having been none conveniently since I made my vowe for us to see there, nor like to be this Lent, and besides we did walk home on purpose to make this going as cheap as that would have been, to have seen one at Court, and my conscience knows that it is only the saving of money and the time also that I intend by my oaths, and this has cost no more of either, so that my conscience before God do after good consultation and resolution of paying my forfeit, did my conscience accuse me of breaking my vowe, I do not find myself in the least apprehensive that I have done any violence to my oaths (Diary 8 Mar 64).

Pepys had first to struggle against drinking, being led to this indulgence by the nature of his official position. Considering the example set by the Court and his fellow officers, Pepys was quite successful in this fight. He had need to be, for drinking troubled his eyes and put him at a disadvantage in relation to his enemies. As Mendelsohn¹ shows most of his vows against drinking occur in 1662 and 1663, from which time on he seems to have been a moderate drinker.

1. Oscar A. Mendelsohn, Drinking with Pepys, London, Macmillan, 1963, p. 116-117.

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The two other pleasures which chiefly plagued him were plays and women. Summaries of these activities are given, in Table I for plays, Table II for women.

Table I shows the frequency with which he attended theatrical performances between 1660 and 1669:

Table I.- Pepys and Theatrical Performances.

	1660	1661	1662	1663	1664	1665	1666	1667	1668	1669
Jan		8	1	4	3	3		4	7	10
Feb		5	3	2	1			3	9	9
Mar		9	2		2	1		5	7	4
Apr		5		1	1	1		6	15	5
May The		2	6	3	1	1		3	15	1
Restor-										
Jun		5		2	1	Dutch			7	<u>Diary</u>
						War				ends
Jul		6		Vows	2				6	
				Effect-		Plague				
Aug 1		6		ive	5		1	12	8	
						Great				
Sep		7	2		2	Fire	1	10	5	
Oct 2		7	2		1		1	9	3	
						Theatres				
Nov 3		9	1		1	Closed		7	3	
Dec 3		4	2		3		2	4	6	

In 1660 Pepys was too poor to go very often to the theatre; but with rising income in 1661 he went frequently

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enough that the expense troubled him. He restricted himself by vows; and these, in addition to the Dutch War, the Plague, and the Great Fire, and the Parliamentary enquiries subsequent to the war, were an adequate restraint up to 1667. By then he had sufficient money that the expense of the theatre was no longer a deterrent. At the same time he was much more secure in his position in the Navy and consequently little troubled about being absent from his office. However, his intention and earnest effort, with success, to restrict this pleasure, and his Puritan attitude towards the content of the plays he attended, marks a man whose transition to the ways of the Restoration era was incomplete.

Like many others, Pepys went to the theatre to be amused and gained his amusement as much from the audience as from the performance: his comments on the ladies to be seen and their conduct with their escorts are as prominent as his criticism of the plays. He calls one performance a poor play, but adds: ". . . only it was my fortune to sit by a most pretty and most ingenious lady, which pleased me much" (Diary 9 Sep 61); or again: ". . . many great beauties, but above all Mrs. Palmer with whom the King do discover a great deal of familiarity" (Diary 20 Apr 61).

The theatrical fare which pleased him was not the typical Restoration comedy of sexual intrigue. He reserves

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his plaudits for those plays he considers merry and innocent rather than ribald, profane, or abusive. As Bradford¹ says, his preference seems to have been Massinger and Jonson, that is, plays of human truth and common sense.

Women attracted Pepys. Even though he were not the Puritan-restrained youth his early life shows, he would have been forced at the beginning of his career in the Navy, by lack of money and need to present a front of respectability, to be most circumspect. Prostitutes and other more fashionable women of easy virtue repulsed him; for he feared disease from the one and could not tolerate the made-up faces and coarseness of the others, however much both attracted him. He says: ". . . through Fleet Ally, God forgive me, out of an itch to look upon the sluts there, against which when I saw them my stomach turned . . ." (Diary 7 Sep 63); and of the more fashionable actresses he says: "But, Lord! to see how they were both painted would make a man mad, and did make me loath them . . . and how lewdly they talk!" (Diary 5 Oct 67). Consequently, he selected his female companions with caution; and although he flirted with innumerable women, the Diary shows that he was intimate with, for the times, relatively few.

1. Gamaliel Bradford, The Soul of Samuel Pepys, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1928, p. 163.

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Pepys seldom plainly states that he has been sexually intimate. Most often he uses ambiguous phrases such as "I did arrive at what I would" (Diary 15 Nov 64), or "I . . . did what I would with her" (Diary 1 Nov 66), where in the context the meaning is often not explicit; or else, as Cleugh¹ points out, he lapses into a jargon of English interlarded with a good many words in French, Spanish, Latin, and occasionally even Greek and Dutch, deliberately obscuring the sense and frequently mis-spelling the words. Some of what he records is expressed in phrases of such indelicacy that no edition to date has reprinted them all in full. The sense of many of these omissions, where they make sense, has been given by authors such as Cleugh; but ambiguity about the degree of sexual fulfillment in many of his liaisons is subject to personal interpretation. For example, Bryant² and Cleugh³ set his first lapse from marital fidelity in September, 1660. Wilson⁴ and Tanner⁵ accept January, 1664.

1. James Cleugh, The Amorous Master Pepys, London, Frederick Muller, 1958, p. 21.

2. Arthur Bryant, op. cit., p. 121.

3. James Cleugh, op. cit., p. 21.

4. John Harold Wilson, The Private Life of Mr. Pepys, New York, Farrar, 1959, p. 36.

5. J.R. Tanner, op. cit., p. 12.

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Whether one or the other, his serious extra-marital adventures are not unequivocally recorded until January, 1664, with Mrs. Lane (who subsequently became Mrs. Martin). By then Pepys was well enough off that cost did not deter him, though he still feared that he might father a child and consequently to protect himself tried to find a husband for Mrs. Lane.

The history of his assignments is shown in Table II (see end of Table for an explanation of the code):

Table II.- Pepys and Women.

	1663	1664	1665	1666	1667	1668	1669
Jan	A*y	A*B*Cx	GI	IKLMN*x	B		
Feb	Period of erotic fancy and dream liaisons	B*	A* twice same day	A*B*M*I	LN		
Mar		A*	A*I	A*B*GKL N	A*MN*Q	BPx	
Apr	A		A*IJ	A*IMx	A*IK*M PQ	A*NQx	
May	By		A*BDJ	A*H*IN Ox	A*IPx	A*MNx	
Jun	A	x*	A*B*G* KL	A*HP*Ox	A*B*Hx		Diary ends
Jul	Ax	A*Cxy	BDE	A*BK	AMP	Hx	
Aug	Ax	AC	B*x	AKx	AKx	M	

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Table II Continued.- Pepys and Women.

	1663	1664	1665	1666	1667	1668	1669
Sep A	B	B*	A*B* on same day	A*MN	HRSx*		
Oct	BCx	B*Dx	A*BIKMN	A*K	Qx		
Nov	B*C	B*DF*G Mx	B*DIKNO	M	Q		
Dec x	AB*	F*GH	AD*HKM N*x	A*Qx			

- A Mrs. Martin (previously Lane) - a shopkeeper.
- B Mrs. Bagwell - a Navy carpenter's wife.
- C Jane Welsh - a shopgirl.
- D Sarah - a barmaid.
- E Mary - a barmaid.
- F Mrs. Penington - a gentlewoman.
- G Frances Tooker - daughter of a neighbour and friend of the Pepyses.
- H Mrs. Daniels - a neighbour and a Navy officer's wife.
- I Mrs. Knepp - an actress.
- J Nan - a shopgirl.
- K Mrs. Burrows - a friend of Mrs. Martin's and a Navy officer's widow.
- L Mary Mercer - his wife's maid.
- M Betty Michell (later Mrs. Howlett) - daughter of friends of the Pepyses.

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Table II Continued.- Pepys and Women.

- N Doll Lane - Mrs. Lane's younger sister and a widow.
- O Lady Pegg Penn - daughter of his neighbour Sir William Penn.
- P Nell - a maid in the Pepys home.
- Q Deborah Willet - his wife's maid.
- R Jane - a maid in the Pepys home.
- x Others - including prostitutes, servants, barmaids, shopgirls, wives of neighbours and acquaintances, and Navy wives who came seeking favours for their husbands from Pepys.
- y Unsuccessful search for female companionship.
- * Assignations likely consummated, not always by coition

This record is by no means complete. For example, he records only a few apparent consummations with Doll Lane; yet, when she protests over being assaulted by a stranger, Pepys says: ". . . she knows that elle hath suffered me to do any thing with her a hundred times" (Diary 6 Jul 67). Also, it excludes the incidents, sexually inciting to Pepys, of erotic fancy with women he chose to make love to in day-dreams, or to whom he made love in actual dreams. These reflected his aristocratic bent, for they involved the highest ladies of the Court including the Queen. Hence where the record is open to question, Pepys should not always be given the benefit of doubt.

In 1663 and 1664 he was most active when Elizabeth was away for the summer; but by 1665 he was no longer

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being restrained by his wife's presence. He took quick advantage of any opportunity to use his official position in the Navy in exchange for sexual favours. He deliberately sought to seduce young girls, even of fifteen years of age, as was Frances Tooker, provided he felt safe from disease and secure from public exposure.

Despite the great number, variety, and different ages of the women involved, Mrs. Martin (previously Lane) and Mrs. Bagwell are practically constants, and whatever gaps occur with respect to these two are accountable by the absence of one or both from London. He does not express any affection for either of them: they are sought purely for sexual gratification. Indeed, with Mrs. Martin he soon becomes dissatisfied because he does not like her ". . . not being well pleased with her over free and loose company" (Diary 19 May 66). On the other hand, those for whom he expresses affection he failed to attain physically, for example: Jane Welsh, Betty Michell, Mary Mercer, and Deborah Willet.

Despite such major events as the Plague, the Great Fire, and the Dutch War, Pepys's extra-marital sexual activities, once hazarded, seldom slackened. The only real break occurs while he is preparing a speech in defence of the Navy which he had to deliver to the Commons early in 1669. The war caused a brief respite when it became active in the

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spring of 1665, but there is little abatement a year later when the Dutch fleet was in the Thames. The only other easement is in the autumn of 1667 and early in 1668, when Pepys was engrossed in Parliamentary inquiries.

In addition to sexual attraction, Pepys experienced a deeper emotional involvement with some women, especially Lady Castlemaine whom he mentions almost two hundred times though he touched her only in dreams, and Deborah Willet who was, he says: ". . . one that I do love mightily" (Diary 22 Dec 67). Yet throughout the whole period of the Diary scarcely a day goes by without Pepys writing of his wife, and writing as though he had a sustained, sincere affection for her. In early years when erotically stimulated by others he had turned naturally to Elizabeth. She failed to satisfy his erotic demands; and as he grew bolder and felt more secure he turned from her to others, finally avoiding her altogether after early February, 1667, until on the 12th of August, "it being cold", he took her to him again. Nevertheless, he maintained his attachment to Elizabeth. He is jealous of her but not of any other. When he thinks she may be dying he is deeply touched and acknowledges his "true love and passion" for her (Diary 14 Sep 63); whereas of the others he generally speaks of "having a mind" (Diary 6 Aug 62), or a "desire" (Diary 16 May 66), or "an itch" (Diary 7 Sep 63), or a "roughish" inclination (Diary 22 Dec 63), as though the one

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were a matter of continuing importance to him and the other a passing appetite or game. Other women he calls by their names and writes of in jargon as though ashamed of them. Elizabeth is always "my wife". He shows a need of her; he expresses deep affection for her; he is grieved when she is away; he likes to be with her both during ordinary times and when he is troubled; he worries about her; he is more open and sincere with her than with any other woman. Despite his stated love for Deborah Willet at a time when he was in a position to take a mistress, he records no other desire than to stay true to his wife. Moreover, where he is generally solicitous of Elizabeth, he could at times display an indifferent callousness towards the other women in his life. One incident shows him pursuing five young women at once and rather cruelly ignoring the possible genuine distress of one of them, a recent widow (Diary 1 Aug 66). His attitude is casually indifferent when Doll Lane complains that she has been assaulted by a stranger (Diary 6 Jul 67). He is callous in pursuing Betty Michell regardless of his knowledge that she prefers her husband, and in his refusal to lend Mrs. Daniels money even though he has had his will of her.

The evidence in the Diary indicates that Pepys was initially drawn to Elizabeth primarily because of her physical beauty. They were married in December, 1655.

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There is no evidence that Pepys was unfaithful until 1664; and during this time the Diary shows that, despite their differences in temperment and interests, they developed a strong mutual friendship. Also, in repeated Diary entries Pepys expresses the sexual pleasure he finds in his wife. Elizabeth, however, appears not to have had a reciprocal satisfaction; and she failed to meet his sexual demands. Pepys accordingly sought satisfaction elsewhere. His extra-marital adventures increased in proportion to his wealth and security in office; and there is some evidence that they also increased in inverse proportion to the frequency of sexual intimacy with Elizabeth -- for example their avoidance of each other for six months in 1667 coincides with intense sexual activity on his part. The climax in their relationship occurred on the 25th of October, 1668, when Elizabeth surprised her husband embracing her maid, Deborah Willet, in his bedroom. Pepys was by this time sufficiently secure in the world that he could have taken Deborah as a mistress regardless of Elizabeth. Instead, after some heart-searching, he turned again to his wife, and she to him; for he says a month later:

I have lain with . . . [her] more times since this falling out than in . . . twelve months before. And with more pleasure to her than I think in all the time of our marriage before (Diary 14 Nov 68).

Elizabeth, then, had finally become a satisfying sexual partner. The remainder of the Diary records very few incidents

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of Pepys's infidelity. It would seem, therefore, that he had an errant inclination not because of the Restoration environment but because Elizabeth did not keep him sexually content.

Pepys was strongly attracted to women of all three classes of society. The restraining influences which limited his extra-marital adventures included the risk of disease, his distaste of coarseness in women, the expense involved, the need to appear respectable in his official capacity, and his own wish to be accepted as a man of integrity by his family and the public. On the one hand his discretion while it shows some derivation from his Puritan heritage, is not grounded in Puritan morality. On the other hand, while he displays a disregard for his casual mistresses, he does exhibit discretion in extra-marital activities and a sustained regard for his wife which differentiates him from the morality of the Court. His actions are of a different order than the cynically unbridled sexual licence in which the Restoration rake indulged. Pepys sought and accepted sexual favours, but never with contempt of what society might think; and however much he was drawn to the licentious women of the Court, or to the women for whom he expresses a sincere regard, or to those more common women accepted as sexual partners but for whom he had no regard, he kept his own sexual life private and restricted.

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The Diary reflects the lapses of a man with a high sexual motivation, in an environment of continual erotic stimulation, where satisfaction was not forthcoming from his wife but could be easily attained elsewhere, rather than one who sought to ape the Restoration gallants, or one who was led astray primarily because of, or who became infected with, the cynicism of, the prevailing sexual mores.

4. Summary and Conclusions.

Pepys in principle rejected the public financial corruption, but in practice profited from it; and as he acquired a sense of security in office he conformed to the courtier custom to spend little time at his post. However, in some ways he did not accept the mores of the courtiers. For example, in placing public welfare and justice at least on an equal basis with personal gain, despite the risks involved in such a course; and in expressing the thought that there should be a limit to the wealth which a man should seek to accumulate.

He had a strong desire to be accepted in Restoration society and zealously conformed to its customs in furnishing his home, in social entertainment, in fashions in dress for himself and his family, in having portraits painted of both himself and Elizabeth, and in acquiring a coach and

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horses. He attempted to dissociate himself from the lower class from which he had come.

Publicly he conformed to the norms of the society in which he moved: privately he differed. In politics, though he sympathized against the predominantly Puritan Commons, he demonstrated a strong Puritan tendency and dissatisfaction with the Restoration Government. In religion, outwardly a true Anglican, he was without real faith. His early tendencies in religion and in social conduct were basically Puritan; but as the period of Restoration influence lengthened, both became mere matters of formality.

He did not express in action the cynicism he reflects in the Diary towards the Restoration Government and Church, but rather showed a compassion towards its victims. His humanistic sympathy for his fellow men of whatever class, and his Puritan sense of duty and self-discipline demonstrate that he was not completely "Restoration" oriented.

His attitude to pleasure shows the continuance of Puritan values in his life. He succeeded in restraining his liking for wine and became a moderate drinker. He also restrained his desire to attend the theatre; and when he did attend, his appreciation was tempered by a Puritan reaction to the content of plays. His use of vows as a medium to control his pleasures indicates some moral orientation, though

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this was more a formality than a sincere piety and involved no true repentance for breaches of the vows.

Pepys was strongly attracted to women. His interest in the courtier class found release through erotic fancy or dreams. He expressed a sincere regard for a few women of his own social level but was unable, or unwilling to accept the risks necessary, to pursue them. He maintained a sincere matrimonial devotion; but he was a man of great sexual drive living in an environment of erotic stimulation; and since his wife failed to satisfy him, he sought outlet with several attainable women who involved little cost or risk. However drawn to prostitutes or others of easy virtue, his natural revulsion deterred him. His were cautious, surreptitious affairs compared to the overt display of the love life of the Restoration cavalier such as Sir Charles Sedley or Lord Buckhurst.

Pepys's restraint was motivated by fear of effects on his health and a Puritan regard for his good reputation, but not by Puritan morality. He tended to increased sexual adventure as he grew into a position in which he had less need to worry about the effects on his position in the world, but despite his hedonistic tendencies he did not become infused with the prevailing cynicism towards love and women. He was basically a sober character who disliked disorder of any

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kind -- even those sexual adventures which he was unable to resist were conducted with caution and restraint.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this work was to determine from a study of the Diary, and supplementary sources concerning the Diary and the Commonwealth and early Restoration periods, to what degree Pepys changed during the period under Restoration influence.

By 1660 Pepys was well oriented to the Puritan conventions of order, respectability, caution, and integrity; but he was devoid of Puritan religious zeal and was changing towards the Royalist cause in politics. In 1655 he had married a girl of great physical attractiveness. He did not find her a satisfying sexual partner but despite temptations had remained faithful to her. He was morally conservative, respected the Sabbath, and was a Puritan in regard to many contemporary social diversions such as gambling and dancing.

In the world of the Restoration Pepys was exposed to the worst aspects of anti-Puritanism. Public affairs were marked by a growing corruption, private morality by selfishness and irresponsibility. Many of the leading people in the society in which Pepys moved were motivated mainly by greed and pleasure. His closest associates were men of higher social standing and greater material success; and since he admired both social standing and material wealth, he sought

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to emulate them.

Initially he was greatly attracted by the Court; but gradually he became critical of its corruption and immorality. As his tenure in the Navy Office extended and he became enthused with his task, his criticism grew more severe; for he felt that the conduct at Court and its ramifications throughout the Government were prejudicial to the interests of the Navy. As the older, experienced servants of the Crown began to be replaced by Charles's favourites who were mostly inexperienced and irresponsible, Pepys grew cynical and pessimistic. This mood was deepened by experience with his patron, Lord Sandwich, and with his fellow officials in the Navy Office. These experiences taught him that he lived in a dangerous and competitive world dominated by men of greater wealth and higher social standing than himself, and that to succeed in such a world he must dissemble and be cautious of deviating from the norms.

Pepys was attracted to the profit and pleasure to which he was exposed, and developed a hedonistic outlook on life. He was unhappy, however, about the means necessary for the attainment of the rewards and pleasure he desired.

Pepys practised and gained much from the prevailing financial corruption but tempered his practice with a moderation, a devotion to the public interest, and a moral courage rare for the age. He had a strong desire to be accepted in

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Restoration society and zealously conformed to its customs in his mode of life, dissociating himself from the class from which he had come and adopting all the trappings of a man of the Restoration, even to his own coach and horses.

In the Diary he writes cynically of Restoration politics and of the Established Church; but in practice he maintained an outward conformance; and as the period of Restoration influenced lengthened, both politics and church became mere matters of formality to him; for Pepys's sustained interests were his family and "his" Navy.

He disciplined himself into a moderate drinker. He succumbed to the temptation of the theatre but did not conform to the accepted taste in stage entertainment and attempted with some success to restrict his attendance at the theatre. He was a man of great sexual drive in an environment of erotic stimulation; and since his wife failed to satisfy him, he sought satisfaction elsewhere. However, his extra-marital affairs were accomplished with discretion and in private, in contrast to the overt and cynical sexual licence of the Restoration rakes. Moreover, Pepys maintained throughout the period of the Diary a sincere regard for his wife; and when the climax in their relationship came he chose his wife rather than a mistress.

The Pepys of 1669 when the Diary closes is greatly

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changed from the Pepys of 1660 when it opens. He is one of the senior officials of the Navy; he has been corrupt in office and acquired wealth in excess of £6000; he follows the changing fashions in dress and keeps his own coach and horses and a well-furnished home; he takes time off from official duties to pursue his private pleasure; he has been unfaithful to his wife on many occasions and with several women; he neglects church on Sunday for drinking and lechery. These are Restoration characteristics and mark his transition from the Puritan oriented youth of 1660. Nevertheless, many of his Puritan values remained: he exercises restraint even when the risk in excess would be slight, as in theatre attendance; he maintains a sincere regard for his wife; he shows sympathy for his fellow men of whatever class; he has a devotion to duty and a personal integrity and courage rare in his age.

Thus it has been established that Pepys did change under Restoration influence. He sought the pleasures and the material rewards offered in the Restoration environment, and a position of social prominence; and he conformed to the outward markings of the "Restoration man". But the degree to which he changed was limited. He exercised a determined restraint in pursuit of profit and sensual pleasure and was privately a Nonconformist concerning many aspects of State and Church. His change, then, was more in accidental than in essential characteristics.

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ABSTRACT

Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) kept a diary from his twenty-seventh to his thirty-sixth year. During this time the full effect of Restoration morality came to bear on a previously Puritan England.

The purpose of this work is to determine from a study of the Diary, and supplementary sources concerning the Diary and the Commonwealth and early Restoration periods, to what degree Pepys changed during the period under Restoration influence.

Chapter I reviews his Puritan background and his own mode of life to 1660 and establishes that he was by 1660 motivated to seek advancement and pleasure but was morally conservative and a Puritan concerning many facets of contemporary life.

Chapter II surveys the Restoration world and the people with whom Pepys would come into closest contact, to provide norms against which to assess his own views and conduct, and to assess the nature of the influences and temptations to which he was exposed.

Chapter III studies his comments and reflections on the public environment and on his close associates and establishes that, however attracted he was to the possible rewards and pleasures, he took a pessimistic and cynical

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view of the means necessary to attain them.

Chapter IV investigates his own mode of life in relation to his position in the Navy, to State and Church, and to private affairs, and establishes that he did change under restoration influence. He sought the material rewards and pleasures offered in the Restoration environment, and conformed to the outward markings of the "Restoration man". But the degree to which he changed was limited. He exercised a determined restraint in his pursuit of profit and sensual pleasure and was privately nonconformist concerning many aspects of State and Church.