THE DIARY GENRE OF LITERATURE

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by

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TO

MY MOTHER,

MY FATHER, AND

MY HUSBAND, JOE

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PREFACE

A student of English often discovers in his British literature anthology a selection from Samuel Pepys's celebrated diary. The selection is frequently one dealing with London's Fire or Plague and is usually covered quickly with the instructor pointing out Pepys's magnificent descriptive abilities. Seldom do the students realize that the selection is representative of a literary genre that may reveal the soul of mankind in a manner no other type of literature may approach. The diary, intimate, spontaneous, sincere, shows Man's inner self. A diary may aid the historian in verifying his facts, ideas, and relationships, but it also, and more importantly, helps the historian to understand Man as an individual with secret hopes and fears. From reading the diaries of both the famous and infamous, the important and unimportant, one sees that all are human.

It is necessary, however, to examine closely the definition of the diary and its development as a genre, for the diary is frequently ignored and neglected as a legitimate form of literature. Because the diary is a product of the seventeenth century, this period must also be examined. One must be aware of the atmosphere of the times before he may comprehend the essential qualities of

the diary and the motives that prompted men to keep diaries. With this understanding of the background against which the diary first appeared, one is then able, with the aid of Arthur Ponsonby and William Matthews, to examine those early works designated as diaries, eventually reaching a study of the diaries of John Evelyn and Samual Papys, which represent the climax in the development of this form.

I would like to thank Dr. Charles Walton for introducing me to the important and exciting area of diary writing and for offering enthusiastic encouragement and guidance during my graduate studies and the writing of my thesis. Also, I offer expression of gratitude to Dr. June Morgan for her assistance in my work at Kansas State Teachers College. Most of all, I express my great appreciation for the sacrifices, encouragement and understanding of my parents and husband throughout my undergraduate and graduate undertakings.

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Eskridge, Kansas J.L.R.

CHAPTER ONE

THE DIARY AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

Since the time when man first began recording his observations and impressions concerning his condition and that of his fellow man, many types of literature have developed. Some literary genres, such as the short story, the drama, and the poem, have survived with man and his civilization. Some forms of literature, such as the anatomy and the character, have vanished, disappearing when the forces which produced them evaporated. And other genres have survived the vicissitudes of time only to be refused the distinction of being described as a legitimate genre of literature even though they are characterized by a unique subject matter, style, and form. One such forgotten and neglected genre is the diary, which, along with the biography, the autobiography, and the personal letter, developed in the seventeenth century into a form of literature valuable as a document of history and a record of Man's inner self. The development of these forms of "life writing" was possible only because of the peculiar combination of events that occurred in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for these events freed man from traditional restraints, and he then began to think and write about his individual feelings.

As Brinkley states, "The modern world evolved in the seventeenth century."[1] European life, during this period, was transformed from a medieval existence of fear of insoluble mysteries, complete dominance by the Church, total conformity to one's station in life to an existence of adventurous journeys, questionings of religion, individual thoughts and actions. Indeed, with the period during and after the Renaissance, one sees a time that must be called " . . . one of the great watersheds of modern history."[2] It is a period pre-eminent in extraordinary complexity and even confusion with many currents and cross-currents.[3] It is a time of transition in which man begins turning from the past to the future and begins listening to men such as Francis Bacon, who, as Jones says, " . . . called men's attention back to the physical world . . . ."[4] Bush observes that the seventeenth century was an age in which disruptive and creative forces combine to speed up

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[1] Roberta F. Brinkley, English Prose of the XVII Century, p. 1.

[2] George Norman Clark, The Seventeenth Century, p. ix.

[3] Louis Bredvold, "Introduction," Coleridge on the Seventeenth Century, p. 1.

[4] R. F. Jones, Ancients and Moderns, p. 50.

the normal process of change.[5] At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Englishman's mind and world were that of the Middle Ages; by the time of the Restoration, they belonged to the individual in a modern England.[6] However, the complex causes of this rapid transformation did not occur immediately at the turn of the century and were not brought about by completely new ideas, but rather because of " . . . accumulated and irresistible pressure of old and new ideas in potent combination and interaction."[7]

Men of the Renaissance demanded release from the traditional hauntings that had been their oppressors for centuries. They demanded the separation of "true" from "false," "real" from "illusory," in the light of what was being revealed about their world by Columbus, Copernicus, and Galileo.[8] Willey points out that this task of revealing "truth" is the task of men of all times, but especially is it noticeable in two periods of man's civilization: the

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[5] Douglas Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, p. 1.

[6] Loc. cit.

[7] Ibid., p. 2.

[8] Basil Willey, The Seventeenth Century Background, p. 1.

period of Greek supremacy and the period following the Renaissance.[9] In the seventeenth century, modern European thought once more assumed that its task was the discovery and statement, according to its values, of the " . . . True Nature of Things."[10] This never-ending search for truth is the mark of this period.

Mechanical tools were developed to aid in this search. The telescope completely upset man's idea of his relationship to the universe and God and his place in the great Chain of Being. The Milky Way became nothing more extraordinary than " . . . confused light of small stars, like so many nails in a door."[11] The microscope also had an impact upon man, especially with the added knowledge of the wonderful complexity of his body. Along with the telescope and the microscope came the development of mathematics. If the first two developments brought tremors and fissures, this third tool of science brought man's foundation tumbling to the ground. Man had lived knowing absolutely that God was the Prime Mover in all nature; now, he discovered that nature operated by laws which could be

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[9] Loc. cit.

[10] Loc. cit.

[11] C. V. Wedgwood, Seventeenth-Century English Literature, p. 2.

worked out through equations and which could be depended upon as invariable![12] Thus, man was beset by confusion; some, such as Donne, Herbert, and Crashaw, retreated into mysticism and corners of blind faith; others, such as Hobbes, denied faith in any form and accepted a completely materialistic philosophy.[13] But gradually man overcame his feeling of doom and recognized the changes in his life as presenting a challenge to him to emerge from the Middle Ages as an individual being.

Once man's view of the universe was destroyed and his search for "truth" had begun, nothing in seventeenth-century life escaped his examination and subsequent disruption. The general political, religious, economic, and even philosophic causes of this disruption of the established way of life were all alive during the reign of Elizabeth. Political and religious strife was brought to a head by the clear-cut theory of State and Church, partly because the sovereign's conception of power had become more rigidly legalistic, and still more because the structure of society and the temper of the nation and Parliament had changed.[14]

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[12] Brinkley, op. cit., p. 4.

[13] Ibid., pp. 5-6.

[14] Bush, op. cit., p. 4.

Although many of the political problems existed during the time of Elizabeth, she did not have to deal with the consequences. As John Manningham reports in his private diary, James I, Elizabeth's successor, was welcomed with great excitement and hope by the English people.[15] But the people were soon to be disappointed. James did manage to keep England from war, but only through appeasement of her rivals. He could not deal with the domestic problems that he inherited, and he further antagonized the people with his extravagance, his love of unworthy favorites, and the moral and financial corruption in the court.[16] But perhaps this antagonism may be traced to James's very foundation of authority, the concept of the "Divine Right of Kings," that stated that a King was "God" to his subjects and held the power of determining their very existence.[17] Scholars, in disagreement with this rule of authority, turned to a study of the Common Law, in the process restoring the Anglo-Saxon language of the old documents.[18] This study convinced Parliament that authority was not in the King, but in the

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[15]John Manningham, The Diary of John Manningham, p. 147.

[16]Bush, op. cit., p. 5.

[17]Brinkley, op. cit., p. 14.

[18]Loc. cit.

law, and the rebellion began.[19] Charles inherited the strife, and step by step the nation moved toward war. But the result of this civil dissension was not a republic but Cromwell's military dictatorship with an expensive foreign policy and a strained domestic order. With the chaos and economic depression, the English people longed for the return of the king, Parliament, prosperity, and the open use of the Book of Common Prayer.[20]

Closely connected with the upheavals in politics were those in religion. Although James is often depicted as being of a tolerant mind, in reality his actions were often frustrated by the fear raised over the conspiracies of the Catholics and the many other Englishmen who refused to follow the Church of England, and the re-enforcement of the penal laws which brought about the Gunpowder Plot.[21] Puritanism also added to the chaos in religion appealing to the English as a gesture of dissent against ritual and hierarchy and for firm adherence to the Bible as the only authority in questions of belief and conduct and of

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[19] Loc. cit.

[20] Bush, op. cit., p. 6.

[21] Ibid., p. 7.

ecclesiastical government and ceremony.[22] These Puritans stood against the sole, divine dictation of the Church.[23] Perhaps, it is difficult, today, to realize how deeply religion permeated the lives of Englishmen of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but suffice it to say that with this stand against the authority of the Church, accompanied by the refusal to abide by the "Divine Right of Kings," the way was opened for a complete rebuilding of society. As Willey explains, there was a disharmony between traditional explanations and current needs.[24] Men did not want the kind of "truth" consistent with authoritative teaching; they wanted a "truth" which allowed them, as individuals, to control the world around them.[25] Men wanted the freedom to examine their lives and the lives of others without the dictates of the Church or the King.

Men were also breaking down barriers in the field of economics. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries inherited economic chaos with recurring plagues, bad crops, enclosures, evictions, unemployment, pauperism, and

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[22]Joseph T. Shipley, The Quest for Literature: A Survey of Literary Criticism and the Theories of Literary Forms, p. 96.

[23]Loc. cit.

[24]Willey, op. cit., p. 3.

[25]Ibid., p. 4.

vagrancy of preceding years, but the new century added a more disturbing element to the chaos in the quickly changing structure of the entire economic system of the country.[26] Capitalism was beginning, and the feudalistic forms of operation were ending with the resulting cycle of prosperity and depression.[27] During the reigns of Elizabeth and James, times of comparative stability and the arrival of bullion from America and Spain, England seemed to reach the status of a financial power.[28] This increase in wealth, along with the spirit of adventure so evident in seventeenth-century men, brought industrialization, expansion of foreign commerce, exploration, and colonization.[29] Although much of this new wealth was attached to the land of the nobles, much of it began to be attracted to the towns of England, and with this attraction, came the rise of the commercial and industrial middle class: tradesmen, merchants, manufacturers, shipowners.[30] It is at this time that one sees the emergence

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[26]Bush, op. cit., p. 10.

[27]Clark, op. cit., p. 12.

[28]Bush, op. cit., p. 11.

[29]John H. Parry, The Age of Reconnaissance, p. 1.

[30]Clark, op. cit., p. 12.

of the "bourgeoisie."[31] Men of seventeenth-century England were becoming individuals not only in politics and religion, but also in business.

These revolutions in the fields of politics, religion, class systems, and economics were paralleled by desire for educational reform. If the basic systems of England were changing, certainly the schools, the very foundation of these systems, must also reflect these changes. Those of the Middle Ages had been rooted in church dogma with their main emphasis being placed upon the learning of Latin. Although the grammar schools of Elizabeth's reign are often considered "inventions" of that time, Thompson explains that they were, nevertheless, medieval in origin.[32] Although often established by men outside the church, the grammar schools still reflected the standard medieval church curriculum of the trivium and the quadrivium: the trivium of grammar, logic, and rhetoric; the quadrivium of arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy.[33] Thus, students were still concerned with daily memorization and and analysis of Latin texts, composition, and mastery of

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[31] Loc. cit.

[32] Craig R. Thompson, Schools in Tudor England, p. 4.

[33] Foster Watson, The English Grammar Schools to 1660: Their Curriculum and Practice, pp. 2-4.

reading, writing, and speaking Latin with all of the curriculum being taught by the means of oral teaching.[34] Thus, almost up to the middle of the seventeenth century, English schools were relatively unchanged from the schools of the Middle Ages, the major exception being through the Renaissance the introduction of Greek. Somewhat after 1640, however, movements for change were felt, perhaps stimulated by the visit of the great Czech educator, John Amos Comenius.[35] Also stimulating these movements were Francis Bacon's The Advancement of Learning and the desire of the Puritan middle class to replace the old and abstract studies with ones more modern, concrete, and useful.[36] However, the force that brought innovations in the educational institutions of England in the seventeenth century, innovations which may be seen not so much in immediate and far-reaching curriculum changes as in a new attitude or philosophy of the educators, was that of Humanism.[37] It was Humanism, the moving quality of the entire period

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[34]Stanley James Curtis, History of Education in Great Britain, p. 73.

[35]Bush, op. cit., p. 19.

[36]Ibid., pp. 19-21.

[37]Curtis, op. cit., p. 73.

known as the Renaissance, that caused educators and students to replace the world of the past for the world of the future.[38] Now, preparation for life, not death, became the object of education, and the most noble study of mankind became the study of man.[39] Dresden explains that to the humanists belong the discovery of man and his world.[40] The humanists emphasized man's potentialities within the Christian faith; they recognized his "fall" but emphasized his tremendous potential.[41] It is in the Frenchman Montaigne that one may best view the effect of Humanism, for in him the natural man was reasserted. Natural man rediscovered himself in all his weakness and inconstancy, but capable also of astonishing endurance and accomplishment, tending to laziness and demanding pleasure as an essential quality of the Good.[42] Grierson explains that Humanism involved an acceptance of man's

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[38] A. F. Leach, The Schools of Medieval England, pp. 248-249.

[39] Loc. cit.

[40] Samuel Dresden, Humanism in the Renaissance, p. 226.

[41] Ibid., p. 228.

[42] H. J. C. Grierson, Cross-Currents in English Literature of the XVIIth Century, p. 15.

life and values as correct and reasonable if controlled by a sense of measure.[43]

Man was also being freed in his language. No longer was language a "play thing" of the upper classes. The pen had become the foremost weapon of conflict. The result was a brisk and vivid type of English such as that of Hobbes' Leviathan, a " . . . dry and concrete prose in which meaning and manner are the same thing."[44] Also, influencing the style of English prose was the introduction of English journalism.[45] And the Royal Society, an organization of scholars and scientists driven together by politics and war, demanded an exact and concrete style, a ". . . primitive purity and shortness, when men delivered so many things, almost in an equal number of words."[46] This desire for a "scientific" language is seen in the struggles of those adhering to the Senecan style against those practicing the polished Ciceronian type of writing,

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[43] Ibid., p. 18.

[44] Wedgwood, op. cit., pp. 94-95.

[45] Loc. cit.

[46] R. F. Jones, "Science and the English Prose Style in the Third Quarter of the 17th Century," PMLA, XLV (December, 1930), 987.

the elaborate prose and rhetorical style of the medieval writers and philosophers.[47] Thus, after 1600, the language once more belonged to the people, and prose was now used for the utilitarian purpose of the dissimination of facts, as well as for more "literary" and scholastic purposes.[48]

The English language had become the mode of expression for all levels of society, and, since man had become freed from traditional restraints, he began to write about his individual feelings. The prolonged, complicated and bitter struggle of the middle years of the century had affected the life and outlook of almost every educated man in England, and many began recording their impressions of this period, if only in fragmentary jottings. The seventeenth century is the period of the beginning of the vast collection of personal writings. Writers had

> . . . no burden of already existing personal literature to clog their inspiration. They had not learned the thousand commonplaces and short cuts to emotion that even the most innocent writer today will use. Therefore, they wrote naturally with a cleanness and freshness of emotional expression that perhaps not one in twenty would have if they were writing now. . . . their language was young and flexible; their vocabulary sufficient and not yet stale.[49]

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[47]George Williamson, "Senecan Style in the 17th Century," PQ, XV (October, 1936), 329.

[48]Albert C. Baugh, A History of the English Language, pp. 244-248.

[49]Wedgwood, op. cit., p. 102.

It is difficult adequately to summarize the background of the period in man's civilization designated as the seventeenth century. One reads that this is the age in which the modern world began, the age when man became an individual, but for one to attempt to comprehend fully the almost simultaneous forces that brought these changes becomes nearly impossible. All of the causes, the new inventions and discoveries, the overthrow of the monarchy, the crises in religion, the effect of Humanism, operating at the same time, created a tension and chaos, unknown in any age except perhaps in the twentieth century. All that man had lived by had been destroyed; his entire ideology had been shown false, and he had no new ideology with which to replace it. But it was man, the individual, who had to find his own particular ideology. He no longer was born into his station in life; he now must find it, using all of his capabilities the humanists believed he had. From the Renaissance and the work of Wycliffe in giving the Bible to the people in the vernacular, man became his own interpreter of the world. Man became an entity, an individual solving his own problems. The diary developed during these times of decision and indecision as an outlet for man beset by his own problems, because man was now

free to think and free to record. Hence, in the development of this form into a literary genre, one may also trace man's development as an individual.

As stated before, an immense collection of personal literature evolved in the seventeenth century. It is at this time that biography or "life writing" was assiduously practiced. The most common motive for this type of writing was the exemplary value of a great man's life in the history of the nation; however, because much biographical writing was left unpublished, it is thought that perhaps the pleasure of setting down the facts of an important person's life was the only reward expected by some biographers.[50] Illustrative of this biographical interest is the practice in seventeenth-century England of compiling biographical catalogues, such as Clement Barksdale's Memorials of Worthy Persons and Edmund Bohun's Great Historical Geographical and Poetical Dictionary.[51] Fuller's Worthies, with more space devoted to biography than anything else, contains hundreds of biographical sketches. Furthermore, there is Anthony Wood's Athenae Oxonienses. An Exact History of all the Writers and

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[50] Matthias A. Shaaber, Seventeenth-Century English Prose, p. 46.

[51] Loc. cit.

Bishops who have had their Education in the University of Oxford, from 1500 to 1690.[52] This interest in "life writing" may also be observed in the practice of publishing a biographical introduction to a writer's works; some of Walton's lives, Sprat's life of Cowley, John Phillip's life of Milton were all written for this purpose.[53] Of course, the premier biographer was Izaak Walton, his biographies being labors of love and acts of worship.

Another form of personal literature emerging at this time was the autobiography. Since man had been freed from his traditional station in society, he began to consider himself unique and important and wished to share the events of his life with others. In this type of writing, one does find a firsthand evidence of life lived, but it is evidence re-considered.[54] It is the story of a life written from a vantage point that allows a wide survey and a deliberate choice of episodes to be emphasized.[55] With autobiography, the writer may find great chance for self-deception and

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[52] Loc. cit.

[53] Ibid., p. 47.

[54] Margaret Bottrail, Every Man a Phoenix, p. 5.

[55] Loc. cit.

" . . . that slight degree of falsification which so often accompanies the ordering of material for literary effect."[56] The interest and variety in this form of personal literature is to be found in representatives of the more than one hundred and fifty autobiographies written in the seventeenth century.[57] Such examples are Bunyan's Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners, Eikon Basilike The Pourtraicture of his Sacred Majestie in his Solitudes and Sufferings, supposedly the autobiography of King Charles I, and the autobiographies of Lady Halkett and Celia Fiennas.[58]

It is with the diary, however, that the attempt by biographers and autobiographers to portray the inner man of seventeenth-century England is finally achieved. The diary may be defined as

> . . . a day-by-day record of what interested the diarist, each day's record being self-contained and written shortly after the events occurred, the style being usually free from organized exposition.[59]

Thus, it belongs to biography and autobiography as a form of non-fiction, but it is also quite distinct from these

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[56]Loc. cit.

[57]Paul Delany, "English Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century," Dissertation Abstracts, XXVI (1965), 1038 A.

[58]Shaaber, op. cit., p. 48.

[59]William Matthews, American Diaries, p. ix.

two forms as it is from all other types of personal literature. Matthews, who has compiled extensive bibliographies of Canadian, American, and English diaries, explains that, if his work has one theme, it is that the diary is a legitimate genre of literature with a unique subject matter, style, and form.[60] Since the diarist can see only the pattern of a day, not a lifetime, he may record contrary things, inconsistently and often inartistically, thus making his original work unacceptable for the published biography or autobiography. Nevertheless, Matthews believes that this inconsistent and inartistic writing is the very special quality of the diary.[61] Autobiographies and diaries both have "the impulse to crystallize individual personal experience," but the autobiographer returns to remove any passages that might bring discredit to his name.[62] Thus, he puts "the finishing touches" on his recordings, making them acceptable for the reading public. But the writer of the diary writes for no one but himself. All other types of literature envisage readers and, thus, are adapted to them. Although many diaries, also, are written with readers in mind, they are, in general, the historian's

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[60] William Matthews, British Diaries, p. ix.

[61] Ibid., p. x.

[62] Bottrail, op. cit., p. 5.

most immediate, truthful, and telling documents.[63] Even letter-writing (which may be considered as having the spontaneity and sincerity of the diary) upon investigation reveals a writer's consciousness of his reader.[64] "The immediate recipient exercises a restraint and produces self-consciousness."[65] The most distinctive feature of the diary as a literary form is not its day-by-day format but the impulsiveness of its writer in immediately recording an impression that may, by the end of the day, evaporate and which, in a week or month, may have entirely disappeared. Again, the spontaneity and sincerity of the diary is most important. The diarist need not heed rules of form or grammar; above all, he need not offer any explanations. "All restraints can be lifted and in the open fields of fact and fancy the diarist can browse, repose, or gallop along at his own sweet will."[66]

Although the diary may be thus defined, many questions are, nevertheless, raised concerning writers of diaries,

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[63] Matthews, American Diaries, p. ix.

[64] Arthur Ponsonby, English Diaries, p. 2.

[65] Loc. cit.

[66] Loc. cit.

their motives, and the resulting subject matter, style, and form of their works. Especially in the twentieth century when few things are undertaken without one eye to profit and the other to one's neighbors, it is difficult for one to understand why a man or woman would begin a work with no or little intention of publishing it. Diary writing is, indeed, within the reach of any man or woman who can put pen to paper. One does not need literary talent, and perhaps the absence of such talent may increase one's diary ability since it seems that the ability "to write" blocks one's complete sincerity. The diarist must have only the desire to take from each of his days its essence, in order to save it as the "amber" of his life.[67] To keep a diary, it is necessary only that a life should be interesting to the person who lives that life.[68] There is only one valid reason for beginning and continuing a diary--that a man finds pleasure in doing so.[69] But Bennett stresses, once more, the important element of sincerity, for a record of untruth is pointless.[70] However, he points

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[67]D. L. Hobman, "Essence of a Day: Diarist's Art," Contemporary Review, CLIX (March, 1941), 300.

[68]Arnold Bennett, "Diary Habit," Self and Self-Management, p. 44.

[69]Ibid., p. 46.

[70]Ibid., p. 44.

out that to attain truth is nearly impossible; to attain partial truth is difficult, and even to avoid falsehood is quite an accomplishment.[71] One must examine other motives besides the desire to record the essence of a day, however, for although many feel the importance of their days fleeting by and wish to arrest the passage of time, they do not keep diaries.

Specific reasons for keeping a diary cannot be easily generalized, for motive seems to vary widely and is not always apparent on the surface. For example, children are often encouraged to keep a diary or compelled to keep one for disciplinary reasons, but the majority find the effort too great and soon discontinue it. However, some, such as Queen Victoria, who began her diary at thirteen, Elizabeth Fry, who started her record at sixteen, and Gladstone, whose diary dates from his time at Eton, continued their writing until the ends of their lives.[72] Diaries started at about the age of twenty are common, but there are many instances of regular diary writing undertaken at a later age: e.g., Pepys at twenty-seven, Rynes Clinton at twenty-eight, Byron at thirty, Windham at thirty-four, Rutty at

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[71] Loc. cit.

[72] Ponsonby, English Diaries, p. 6.

fifty-six, Bubb Dodington at fifty-eight.[73] Once the habit of the diary is acquired, a man may continue keeping it " . . . without having any clear notion to the eventual fate of his diary."[74] It would appear that mere habit may account for the writing of many diaries.[75] Habit also will encourage a methodical man to keep memoranda of his doings in the form of notes for future reference.[76] Perhaps, the disciplinary effort of daily writing is pleasant, and as time passes, the growing number of pages become a treasure.[77] Hobman, however, believes that, beyond the child age and beyond factual business memoranda, egotism is the mainspring of diary writing.[78] O'Brien adds that, on many occasions, a diary may be a type of a safety valve for one's egotism, allowing the diarist to fill his pages with his feelings about his interesting self rather than boring others with them.[79] Indeed,

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[73] Loc. cit.

[74] Loc. cit.

[75] Loc. cit.

[76] Bennett, op. cit., p. 50.

[77] Ponsonby, English Diaries, p. 6.

[78] Hobman, op. cit., p. 300.

[79] Kate O'Brien, "English Diaries and Journals," Romance of English Literature, p. 185.

although a man may appear to be very reticent socially, he may be unburdening himself secretly in the pages of a very full diary. A diarist is self-conscious and, at times, perhaps self-absorbed, but a diary may simply aid the writer in taking a detached point of view of himself.[80] Since egotism in the extreme cannot be universally attributable to all known diarists, perhaps, Hobman is once more pointing out that the diarist must think that the events of his life and time are worthy to record.

Connected closely to the motives of habit and egotism is one that is best called "the itch to record." This motive, too, would seem to be an overflowing, exhuberant desire for self-expression. Most of the diarists of the seventeenth century had been educated under a system that supported the knowledge of Latin as the foundation of man's life. With Latin being taught orally and through methods of memorizing, reciting, construing, and composing, students were advised to make use of their commonplace books, recording Latin idioms, quotations or phrases useful in written composition or oratory. The keeping of commonplace books was an essential and universal part of an undergraduate's work. As Richard Holdsworth reminded his pupils, the keeping of such a notebook would do the following things:

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[80]Ponsonby, English Diaries, p. 7.

> . . . furnish you with a quantity of syllables, perfect your Latin and supply you in copiousness of word and good expressions, and also raise your fancy to a poetic strain.[81]

Therefore, when men witnessed important events, met celebrated people, or took part in exciting adventures, they often retrieved their notebooks and recorded their feelings and observations. Perhaps, they were writing for publication or for the information of their family, but the mere desire to write down their observations was the motive that stimulated them.[82] At times, this instinct was so strong that some diarists recorded public events that they had not seen about which they noted no opinion, for they realized all the time that a much more complete account would be published in newspapers and other public records.[83]

In diary writing, there is also the motive of surveying one's former life, taking stock of one's position, opinions, and events that might have been of influence.[84] People urged on by this motive are not

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[81]Kenneth Charlton, Education in Renaissance England, p. 143.

[82]Ponsonby, English Diaries, p. 7.

[83]Loc. cit.

[84]Ibid., p. 9.

excessively egotistical or vain but have feeling for their past life. They are interested in the stages of the journey through life and wish to record the events that have struck them deeply.[85] They may use their diary for clearing their minds, working out their problems, weighing pros and cons. These diarists may find relief in the writing of their diaries, similar to the relief that others find in prayer. Closely related is the motive of recording events and opinions for later perusal. And, naturally, some diarists paint their portrait for posterity. As they record, they are conscious of future readers examining their work even though they may keep it hidden from contemporaries.[86] Men of the future will know less and will be more kind; future readers may accept a man at his own estimation.[87]

The desire for self-analysis, self-dissection, introspection, and even self-revelation may also be a distinct and not uncommon motive in diary writing.[88] The diary may

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[85]Hobman, op. cit., p. 300.

[86]Ponsonby, English Diaries, p. 8.

[87]Loc. cit.

[88]Ibid., p. 9.

contain private thoughts not to be revealed to others; it may contain confessions of faults and resolutions for improvement; it may be an outlet for complaint or self-pity; it may be a self-indulgent burst of egotism. Some diarists driven by the motive of introspection may reveal questions on sexual matters with details that one would suppose them to be quite reluctant to discuss with their peers. But, at least, the diarist is attempting to be honest with himself. Although these writers strive for self-revelation, their confessions of sin are usually general and vague; the actual reasons for self-condemnation are not specified. These writers seem to have inferiority complexes, and through the recording of their problems they hope to reach some diagnosis. It is important to point out, here, that the reader of these introspective diaries comes to know the diarists, not through any elaborate efforts at self-analysis, but through casual and unpremeditated entries.

The diarists' motives may also be revealed in the subjects with which they deal. "The regular diarist will invariably enlarge on the state of his health. Nothing could be more natural."[89] In the earlier diaries, one finds both the diseases and cures, many of which are quite

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[89] Ibid., p. 14.

curious. Under the same category of health comes the weather, for it, too, affects the mood of the sensitive daily writer.[90] Comments on food and drink figure quite prominently in diaries, food appearing more often in regular diaries than in occasional diaries. Remarks on drinking and drunkenness appear quite frequently in the diaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, becoming the cause of the diarist's gaiety or depression. Domestic details and servant troubles also are common subjects in the diaries. No subject occurs more often than religion in some form.[91] Sermons, theological discussions, the reading of religious books, philosophic meditations, self-examinations, devotional practices, and private prayer may be found in abundance. Many diaries are completely concerned with journeys away from the diarist's usual surroundings. Meeting of a famous person is often noted. Social functions of every kind may be found. Books purchased or read are often recorded. Furthermore, the subject matter of some diaries resembles a town clerk's record book of deaths, births, and marriages. One might assume that, since food and drink are so often mentioned

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[90] Loc. cit.

[91] Ibid., p. 16.

so clothes would be, but the recording of one's choice of dress, found quite often in Pepys's diary, is exceptional. On the other hand, unusual adventures or accidents frequently add a note of striking realism to a diary, for in his excitement a diarist's powers of expression may become quite acute. Public events, too, are often noted, many times as the main subject of a diary. A large number of the briefer diaries found in this period are those kept during the war by men wishing to note an event of such crucial importance. Anecdotes and quotations, gossip and scandal also appear.

Thus, the subject matter of the diary is that of human life. The diarist, motivated by one of a variety of reasons, records his observations, feelings, and ideas concerning the condition of mankind. He records in a style that appears to be primarily dependent upon his individual composition rather than upon any formal training or conscious attempt at a cultivated style. He usually records in short, daily entries. Hence, he writes with a spontaneity and sincerity unmatched in any other form of literature. Therefore, the diary fulfills the basic qualifications of a literary genre. However, to gain more than merely a general impression of the diary, one must next examine the early works in this genre of literature.

CHAPTER TWO

ENGLISH DIARIES OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES: FORERUNNERS OF EVELYN AND PEPYS

To understand the importance of the diary as an historical document and record of the inner man and to be aware of its development as a form of literature, one begins with the earliest diaries and proceeds, chronologically, in his examination. He is, then, ready for John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys. Although an examination of the early diaries, thus, is quite important, it is also quite difficult, for many of these early works are not readily available for study. Many are considered rare and closely guarded by librarians; others are kept from the eyes of the public by book collectors or members of the diarist's family, because there are very few copies. It is fortunate, however, that two men, William Matthews and Arthur Ponsonby, having devoted their lives to the study of the diary, have gained access to many and have compiled scholarly bibliographies and works with extracts from and comments on the early English diaries. Lord Ponsonby's two excellent books, English Diaries and More English Diaries, were published in 1923 and 1927, respectively; later, Matthew's British Diaries, 1950, updates Ponsonby's work. It is, therefore, necessary to select from those diaries available and those

discussed by these two scholars the representative works that best illustrate the development of the diary as a literary genre.

Edward VI began his diary in March, 1549-1550, when he was thirteen years old and already a monarch. His record comprises one of the few diaries of a nation's leader subsequently published and readily available for examination. Since this journal was used by Sir John Hayward as the groundwork for the earliest history of Edward's reign, it had a considerable influence, discernible in the statements of all subsequent historians.[92] For example, Dr. Thomas Fuller used Edward's diary in the composition of Church History of Britain that first appeared in folio in 1655.[93] But the value of Edward's record is not in its completeness nor in its minute accuracy, but in its incidental disclosures of state policy and continual reflection of the character and pursuits of the young king himself. Specifically, in one of his earliest entries, he reveals the importance of the position of a young ruler: "In the mean season, bicause ther was a rumour that I was dead, I passed thorough London."[94] His next entry, "After that, thei

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[92]John Gough Nichols (ed.), Literary Remains of Edward the Sixth, I, i, x.

[93]Ibid., I, x.

[94]Ibid., II, 228.

ros e in Oxfordshier, Devonshier, Northfolk, and Yorkshier," reveals one major problem of 1549: e. g., the Yorkshire rebellion.[95] Edward's diary increases in interest in the following year when more entries of a personal interest are interspersed with those relating to the business of the nation:

> 31 March, 1550 -- A chaleng made by me that I, with 16 of my chaumbre, shuld runne at base, shote, and rune at ring with any 17 of my servauntes, gentlemen in the court.[96]

In the next entry, he returns to matters of state: "Mr. Croftes arrived in Irland and came to Waterford to the deputy, conculting for fortification of the towne."[97] But on April 1, comes "The first day of the chaleng at base, or running, the King wane."[98] He and his team lost "the chaleng of shoting at roundes" but win "at rovers" on the sixth of April, following a consultation with the ambassador from France.[99] Edward's entry on the third of May, 1551, both amazes and intrigues:

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[95] Loc. cit.

[96] Ibid., p. 310.

[97] Loc. cit.

[98] Loc. cit.

[99] Loc. cit.

> 3 May, 1551 -- The chaleng at running at ringe performed, at the wich first came the Kinge, 16 footmen, and 10 horsmen, in blake silk cootes pulled out with white taveta; then al lordes having three men likewise appareled and al gentlemen, ther footmeen in whit fustian, pulled out with blake taveta. The other side came al in yelow tafta. At lenght the yelow band toke it twise in 120 courses, and my band tainted often wich was counted as nothing and toke never, wich seemed very straunge, and so the price was of my side lost. After that, turnay followed, between 6 of my band and 6 of thers.[100]

On April 15, 1552, however, one finds Edward absorbed in considering the acts of Parliament that he would have passed had he not been absent because of illness; consequently, he lists these acts and signs the list, hoping that Parliament will then act as he wishes.[101]

Scholars who have studied Edward's Journal have considered the question of other hands in the diary. Some point to the first sections of the work in which Edward summarizes the first three years of his reign, desiring his record to be that of his entire rule, for here the language seems to be exceptional for a thirteen-year old. One must remember, however, that King Edward VI was an exceptional thirteen-year-old. Furthermore, the enthusiasm and excitement of the entries of personal matters probably could not have been written by someone other than Edward.

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[100] Ibid., p. 317.

[101] Ibid., p. 408.

Even with regard for his entries on state matters, it is clear that the degree of concern and knowledge seems to argue for only one author. Also, the style throughout the Journal, especially following the summary of the first three years, is consistent in the use of involved sentence arrangements and descriptive words and phrases. Another noticeable quality, here, is the reflection of the state of orthography in England at this time, inasmuch as one sees English spelling before the language was systemized and standardized.

Although Edward's diary reveals much of the character of a person who occupies high place, "public" diaries, those consisting chiefly of public affairs, may also reveal much about a man who is as common as a town clerk. The compiler of such a diary often reveals his personality by his choice of recorded events as well as by his lapses into details of gossip and personal affairs. For example, Philip Wyot, Town Clerk of Barnstaple, kept a notebook, de rebus gestis circa villa de Barnstap, from 1586 to 1608, noting under the heading of each year at the particular date the incidents that he considered important, including deaths, purely official matters, the price of corn, and weather reports.[102]

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[102]William Matthews, British Diaries, p. 4.

There are no allusions to the Armada, but several references to Sir Richard Grenville:

> 1586. 16 Ap: Sir Richard Greynvylle sailed over the Barr with his fleeboat and friget.
>
> 1591. 12 Oct . . . report came that her Majesty's ship at Sea Sir Richard Greynfield Captaine was taken by the Spaniards after encountering the whole Spanish fleet for 2 daies.[103]

There are several accounts of ships bringing in "prices" (meaning prizes), and the fear of invasion in 1587 is revealed in Wyot's comments on the country's attempting to provide for "Invasions and warrs which maketh to common sort fall into poverty for want of Trade so that div^vs^ fall to rovbinge and stealyng, the like hath never been seene."[104] Several of Wyot's entries that pertain to matters, other than strictly official ones, should be noted:

> Ld Bathe and the Countess his wyfe dyned at the new Mr. Maor's -- the Women this year were not bidden wherefore there was much chatteringe amoung them.
>
> At assizes this year at Exeter before Lord Anderson and Baron Gente one Menarde of Exon had his ears cut off, his nostrils slitte and burnt in the fact with a hot Iron w^th^ the Lre f.

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[103] Quoted in Arthur Ponsonby, More English Diaries, p. 37.

[104] Ibid., p. 38.

> Anne Kemyns, Nich[s] Gays daughter and one Davy were all carted about the Towne for filthie and lascivious Life and the next day being friday they satt all three at the high Cross in the Stocks.[105]

Although Wyot's records are often impersonal, they are of great antiquarian interest.[106]

The diary of Philip Henslowe, as that of Adam Winthrop which follows, deserves special study as it marks an important place in the development of this form as a literary genre. As Matthews explains, Henslowe's work is " . . . not really a diary, but a daybook of receipts and expenses connected with play productions, London theaters, and play house affairs."[107] Henslowe's record is actually an account book and represents the form which many earlier diarists used as they drew upon their experiences with the educational commonplace book in an attempt to record both business entries and personal entries in an abbreviated form. Henslowe's record is also important, since it has become the chief source of theatrical history for the period, 1590 to 1604. The notebook in which he was later to record his entries was first used by his brother John to

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[105] Loc. cit.

[106] Matthews, op. cit., p. 4.

[107] Ibid., p. 5.

enter records of accounts relating to mining and smelting operations in Ashdown Forest during the years 1576-1581.[108] Upon the death of John, the book passed to Philip, who used it to record business matters and occasionally more private affairs until 1604, and thereafter for infrequent jottings until 1609.[109] Loans to various people make up the subject of most of the entries dealing with Henslowe's private affairs. Henslowe, thus, recorded the loan to Thomas Heywood to buy a pair of silk garters:

> Lent vnto Thomas Hewode the I of septembꝫ to bye hime A payer of sylke garters the some of . . . .[110]

The entry is incomplete or has been damaged. Henslowe also provided funds to enable Mrs. Birde to release her husband from "gaol," to release Chettel from arrest:

> Lent Thomas dickers & harey chettel the 2 of maye 1599 to descharge harey chettell of his A Reste frome Ingrome the some of twenty shellyngs in Redy money I saye lent . . . .[111]

Also included in his "personal" records are payments of rent, lists of his tenants, and personal transactions relating to affairs of property in Sussex. A few of his

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[108] R. A. Foakes and R. T. Rickert (eds.), Henslowe's Diary, p. ix.

[109] Loc. cit.

[110] Ibid., p. 213.

[111] Ibid., p. 119.

entries reflect interests outside the normal range of his dealings, such as his consideration of buying a farm in Gloucestershire. This entry contains details of the farm's potential for producing corn, feeding horses and sheep, providing an enclosed meadow.[112] Henslowe also records frightening remedies for diseases and hurts, miscellaneous notes concerning such matters as sending his horse out to grass and paying the expenses of his soldier Peter, his head piece, sword and dagger, belt and girdle, powder, four days traveling, and excessive drinking.[113]

The account book nature of Henslowe's diary is more recognizable when one examines his pawn accounts and his theater accounts, for here the form of his book resembles closely that of an accountant's ledger. But particularly in the pawn accounts, the subject is still intermixed with notes of human interest, with the objects pawned ranging from clothes and household linen to a set of silver buttons, a pint pot, a lease or silver whistle, an "edward angell," and one peculiar collection of objects: a looking-glass, a comb, a pair of scissors, three ear-prickers, and a pair of small compasses. The theatre accounts appear more

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[112] Ibid., p. 210.

[113] Ibid., p. 46.

impersonal with the long lists of theatre daily receipts or expenditures for various actors' companies, but here in these accounts one finds the basis of early theatre history.

Sir Walter W. Gregg edited the monumental 1904-1908 edition of Henslowe's Diary because he realized that it would provide the basis for all subsequent studies of the Elizabethan stage. He described Philip Henslowe as an illiterate man interested only in profits and implied that his relationships with the acting companies were the exception rather than rule.[114] Foakes and Rickert, subsequent editors of the diary, believe, however, that these generalizations have no grounds, or at least need to be reconsidered and that the material in Henslowe's account book is open to fresh interpretation. They firmly believe that other scholars need to examine Henslowe's record without the omniscient Gregg presiding over them. Also, literary men need to recognize the importance of Henslowe's record as a forerunner of the diary form. One may see in Henslowe his "itch to record" business dealings, but one may also view a desire to record ideas and events of a much more personal interest.

The private diary of Adam Winthrop, father of Massachusetts' first governor, resembles Henslowe's account

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[114] Ibid., pp. xxv, xxii.

book in form as Winthrop records births and deaths, business entries and accounts, arrival and departure of servants, with very few entries occupying more than two or three lines. The diary from 1585 to 1595 is given over almost exclusively to the handling of accounts. In 1595, the heading is "Special matters and observations noted in the Yere of Our Lorde God 1595. By me A. W."[115] One of these "special matters and observations" is the following:

> Memorandum that John Raven the same day that he fell sicke went into his yarde and sawe a wrenne strike down a Robin red breast starcke didde which he took up and showed his wife thereof presently.[116]

Winthrop records the swarming of bees and weather changes as well as public events. In two consecutive entries, one finds:

> My northern branded cow died of gurgett being great with Calfe.
>
> Sir J. Puckringe Lord Keeper of the Seale died of the deadde palsey."[117]

Other "special matters and observations" include:

> 1595 The XVIIIth daie being St. Lukes day John Hawes rent Mary Pierces peticote and did beat her sister Katherine with a crabtree staffe.
>
> 1600 The XXIth day my brother Alibaster camme to my house and toulde me that he made certayne inglish verses in his sleepe which he recited unto me, and I lent him XLS.

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[115] Quoted in Ponsonby, More English Diaries, p. 40.

[116] Loc. cit.

[117] Loc. cit.

> 1603 The XII day of June olde Doare of th age of LXV yeres married Margarett Coe the pedders dayghter. The XIth day her sister died and the same day I saw a grey conye in my woode yard.
>
> 1608 The XIth day of Maye Mr. Cartar preached at Bosford Rom. 6. 12 the same day I had a young barrowe hog died through bursting.[118]

Winthrop also keeps elaborate accounts of land and money and makes other lists such as "a register of divers persons that have been killed, hanged, or drowned themselves in Suffolk," until 1610.[119]

Ponsonby claims that the first discoverable punctual daily personal record is the diary of Margaret Lady Hoby, the earliest known British woman diarist, whose diary and that of Anne Clifford open the question as to whether they are exceptions or whether there were not many diaries of the ladies of three hundred years ago which have been destroyed.[120] Margaret, the daughter of Arthur Dakins and Thomasine Guy, was born in 1570.[121] She had lost two husbands before she married Thomas Posthumous Hoby.[122] Probably, she had been instructed to

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[118] Ibid., pp. 40-41.

[119] Ibid., p. 41.

[120] Arthur Ponsonby, More English Diaries, p. 44.

[121] Loc. cit.

[122] Loc. cit.

keep a diary as a religious discipline, for one notes that her piety is quite pronounced. Not only does she attend church frequently and listen to many sermons, but she has private prayer, writes out the sermons, inscribes notes in her Testament, sings psalms, listens to lectures, and nurses the sick. Her diary also includes allusions to many of her daily occupations, exclusive of her religion, such as gathering "apeles," exercising her body at "bowles," "preserving quinces," and taking "The aire in my cocsh." Her garden, at times, often took her attention from her devotions: "I bestowed to much time in the garden and thereby was worse able to performe spirituall dutes."[123] And there are times when she is not always inclined for religious activities: "This day I went to church but havinge an indisposition of bodie I proffitted not as I ought."[124] Later, she gives a picture of a full day in 1599:

> In the morninge I praied privately and wrett notes in my testament till 7 O'clock then I took order for diner and thinges touching the house, after I had breakfast I wrought till dinner time and hard Mr. Rhodes till dinner time, after dinner I walked with Mr. Younge tell 2 o'clock then I went to work . . . after

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[123] Quoted in Ponsonby, More English Diaries, p. 45.

[124] Loc. cit.

> I had praied and taken order for supper walked abroad tell after 5 at which time it pleased the Lord to give me sure testimonie of his favor in Christ his name evermore be praised who sendeth not his . . . away; tell super time I was busie in the granerie and after supper and praiers I went to bedd.[125]

She also records entries of general reflections:

> As through corruption we use not the blissinge of peace as we ought, so are we to expecte new temptations to humble us for our former necclegence and so I have benne this day boffeted for bitter heed.
>
> This day I had temperate prosperitie but found inward corruption to my great griffe.[126]

Perhaps, one of the most interesting diaries at this time is that of John Manningham, a work which Matthews describes as a social diary containing " . . . anecdotes, gossip, sermon reports, journeys, fashions, and customs; a Shakespeare anecdote; death of Elizabeth."[127] It is ". . . scrappy and mostly a commonplace book, but a useful record of contemporary events and interests, especially public and religious."[128] Manningham's diary is not only of interest in its subject matter but also in

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[125] Ibid., p. 46.

[126] Ibid., p. 47.

[127] Matthew, op. cit., p. 7.

[128] Loc. cit.

its place in the progressive development of the diary genre, revealing as it does that stage of the commonplace book through which the early diary passed. It was written while John was a student in Middle Temple and runs through the year 1602 down to April in 1603.[129] Some of the entries appear out of chronological order, probably because Manningham made entries in any part of his university notebook where there was space.[130] Chronological sequence is not extremely important, however, for the writer merely jotted down, from time to time, his impressions of whatever he desired to preserve in his memory, so that the Diary is indeed " . . . a miscellany of odds and ends."[131] He mentions multitude of worthy persons: Sir Thomas More, Bacon, Coke, Lord Keeper Egerton, Judges Anderson, Manwood and Catline, Shakespeare, Overbury, and Ben Jonson; in fact, anecdotes derive their value chiefly from the names to which are attached. One peculiar feature of this diary is the very large proportion given to notes of sermons, but this peculiarity is characteristic of the times as well as the writer.

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[129] John Bruce (ed.), Diary of John Manningham, p. x.

[130] Loc. cit.

[131] Ibid., p. xi.

The following entries are representative of Manningham's content, form, and style:

> Jan. 18 1601 -- Mr. Alane, a minister, was very sicke. Gellibrand gave him a glyster, and lett him bloud the same day, for a feuer; his reason was, that not to have lett him bloud had bin verry dangerous; but to lett bloud is doubtfull, it may doe good as well as harme.[132]

> My cosen she told me, that when shee was first married to hir husband Marche, as she rode behine him, shee slipt downe, and he left her behinde, never lookt back to take hir up; soe shee went soe long a foote that shee tooke ti soe unkindly that shee thought neuer to have come againe to him, but to have wought a service in some vnknowne place; but he tooke hir at last.[133]

> April 20, 1602 -- I rode to Dr. Parryes. Shee said there was ne greater evidence to proue a man foole than yf he leaue the University to marry a wyfe.[134]

And, of course, the Shakespeare anecdote must be presented:

> 13 March, 1601 -- Vpon a tyme when Burbidge played Richard III. there was a citizen grone soe farr in liking with him, that before shee went from the play shee appointed him to come that night vnto hir by the name of Richard the Third. Shakespeare ouerhearing their conclusion went before, was intertained and at his game ere Burbidge came. Then message being brought that Richard the Third was at the dore, Shakespeare caused returne to be made that William the Conqueror was before Richard the Third. Shakespeare's name William. (Mr. Touse?)[135]

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[132] Ibid., p. 14.

[133] Loc. cit.

[134] Ibid., p. 52.

[135] Ibid., p. 39.

Manningham's diary best expresses the atmosphere of his times in his recording of the English reception of James as their new ruler after the death of Queen Elizabeth, as follows:

> 24 Mar. 1602 -- The proclamation was heard with greate expectation and silent joye, noe great shouting. I think the sorrow for hir Majesties departure was soe deep in many hearts they could not soe suddenly show anie great joy, though, it could not be lesse then exceeding great for the succession of soe worthy a king. And at night they shewed it by bonefires, and ringing. Noe tumult, noe contradiction noe disorder in the city; every man went about his business, as readylie as peaceably, as securely, as though there had been noe change, nor any newes ever heard of competitors.
>
> God be thanked, our king hath his right! Magna veritas et prevalet.
>
> The people is full of expectacion, and great with hope of his worthines, of our nations future greatnes; every one promises himselfe a share in some famous action to be hereafter performed for his prince and country.[136]

As Bruce, editor of the diary explains, the

> . . . anticipations which people framed for themselves from change of sex in their new governor, from the change of age, and from the ambition which they imagined would be developed in him by his transference from a small rough unsettled country to one which by forty years of steady government had acquired a unity, a solidity, a definite and noble position among the nations of the world, of which all true

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[136] Ibid., pp. 147-148.

> Englishmen were proud, have no where been brought so clearly before us, as in the pages of our Diarist.[137]

The diary of Walter Powell resembles both Manningham's and Henslowe's, for the subjects he recorded are merely those that impressed him, whether public or private, and the form he uses is that of brief, single-line entries. Some entries on births, deaths, and marriages remind one of Winthrop's records, while his accounts of farm work and estate work and travel as steward to the Earl of Worcester resemble those of Henslowe's accounts. It seems that Powell's diary is, in parts, a short version of some longer record with entries taken from the Church register.[138] Lord Ponsonby reports that the original manuscript was entitled:

> a booke of ould remembrances collected by me Walter Powell of the ages of me and my ffrindes and children. and of other matters happening in my occasions, collected out of my ould Almanacks wch I have filed togeather from years to yeare, as in the blanks thereof they are written more at large. of all wch, this booke is a shorte breviat to be carried about me to helpe my memorie concerning those things and upon all occasions.[139]

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[137] Ibid., p. xv.

[138] Ponsonby, More English Diaries, p. 56.

[139] Quoted in Ponsonby, More English Diaries, p. 56.

Powell's diary, also, was a type of English commonplace book. Some entries that support this observation are the following:

> this was the greatest years of ffruite that er' I say. I made 50 hogsheades of sider of the tieth of both parishes.
>
> Wynter Jones offered to stabbe me at Raglan 3 m'cij.
>
> I fell sick of the small pocks for 6 days.
>
> My gout began in ye joynt of my great toe.[140]

While Powell kept his notes from 1606 until his death in 1655, he had a chance to record his observations on the stirring events of the seventeenth century:

> 1643. 23. Ap. Monmoth taken a hoobub and Herefford was taken.
>
> 17 Aug. Siedge began at Cloucester and Margaret Jones that day brought to bedd.
>
> 1644. Nov. 18, Monmoth retaken p'Rege by Raglan men.[141]

He records the beheading of King Charles as follows:

> 1648 30 Jan'ij King Charles beheaded after he had raygned 23 yeares and 10 months wanting 2 dayes.[142]

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[140] Ibid., p. 57.

[141] Ibid., p. 58.

[142] Loc. cit.

The diary of Sir Henry Slingsby, kept from 1638 to 1648, is of interest, for it discloses an attractive and lively personality, and its literary style and vivid presentation of domestic as well as public events claim more than usual attention. Slingsby was born in 1601; he sat in Parliament for Knaresborough and adopted the King's cause against Parliament.[143] He was with Charles at York, fought at Marston Moor, was present at Naseby and at the surrender of Newark.[144] In 1655, he was implicated in the Royalist plot at Hull, and three years later he was beheaded.[145] Thus, Sir Henry's diary furnishes both a view of the war in Yorkshire and northern England and of the life of a country gentleman in the seventeenth century. His method of diary entries is one of summarizing periods, a method he followed upon the advice of Montaigne:

> Hereupon I follow'd the advise of Michael de Montaigne to sett down in this Book such accidents as befell me not that I make my study of it but rather a recreation at vacant times without observing any time, method, or order in my wrighting or rather scribbling.[146]

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[143]Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (eds.), Dictionary of National Biography, XVIII, 376.

[144]Loc. cit.

[145]Loc. cit.

[146]Quoted in Ponsonby, English Diaries, p. 76.

Perhaps, some of Slingsby's more interesting entries are those revealing his own descriptive powers. For example, his record of the young Edward Osborn's death, resulting from a fall from a chimney during a gale, becomes a character sketch of his wife's nephew:

> He was but of a slender body and indifferently shot out in height, his limbs small but sinewy, his hair of a light colour and long and curled, his disposition gentle and sober, of a good meine and carriage of body, loving and affable to everyone and thus was he taken away before he had experience of the vanities and vices of the times.[147]

Often, after recording some particular event, Slingsby then adds notes of a reflective nature. For example, on the subject of ambition and ostentation, he writes:

> We judge our actions lost if they be not set out to show like Montebanks that show the operation of their skill upon scaffolds in view of all passengers that more notice may be taken of them; so ambitious are we of renown that goodness, moderation, equity, constancy and such qualities are little set by.[148]

It is interesting, also, to see what a man continually involved in conflict has to say on the topic of war:

> There is no stability in anything of this world; when things are once advanced to such a height, it is not to be expected they will there settle but rather return to the same degree they were. But all is lost if warr

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[147] Ibid., p. 77.

[148] Ibid., p. 79.

> continue among us; one year's continuance shall make a greater desolation than 20 years shall recover.[149]

With the death of Charles, a man whom Slingsby had supported throughout the turmoil, the diarist could no longer continue his recording:

> But not withstanding all his prayers and intreaties they would not release him: and while I remained concealed in my house I could hear of his going to Holmby, to the Isle of Wight and to Whitehall at last; where he end'd his good life upon the 30 of January 1648-9. I hear "heu me; quid heu me? humana perpess; sumus." Thus I end'd these commentaries or book of remembrance beginning in the year 1638 and ending in the year 1648.[150]

Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftesbury, lived from 1621 to 1683, a period when violent party fury raged in public affairs.[151] Lord Shaftesbury took a prominent part in the upheaval and was the target of much abuse and calumny, yet his diary, from January, 1645 to July, 1650 reveals little of this man's, or of his nation's, political activity.[152] His diary was kept during a period of comparative retirement and was used merely to record in the briefest way possible births, deaths, domestic

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[149] Ibid., p. 80.

[150] Loc. cit.

[151] Dictionary of National Biography, IV, 1036.

[152] Ponsonby, More English Diaries, p. 68.

incidents, payments, and official business.[153] Only occasionally do the dated entries exceed two or three lines, and apparently they were not written daily.[154] The years of the diary cover the defeat of the Royalist cause, the execution of the King, and the establishment of a Commonwealth, yet Shaftesbury makes no comment on any of these unusual and tumultous political events.[155] He records very brief notes of attendance at quarter sessions, such as 'We ended the sessions. Nine hanged only three burnt in the hand."[156] He makes note of his health:

> I had a nerve and vein cut by Gell and two more, for which I was forced to keep my chamber twelve days.
>
> I fell sick of a tertian ague whereof I had but five fits through the mercy of the Lord.[157]

On the day Charles I was executed, Shaftesbury's entry is "1648. Jan 30. I went to Bagshot."[158] The entry for the

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[153] Matthews, op. cit., p. 20.

[154] Ponsonby, More English Diaries, p. 68.

[155] Loc. cit.

[156] Quoted in Ponsonby, More English Diaries, p. 69.

[157] Loc. cit.

[158] Loc. cit.

next day also fails to mention the condition of the nation: "I came to London and lodged at Mr. Guiddott's in Lincolns Inn Fields."[159] In the middle of this bald, brief prosaic record, Lord Shaftesbury writes a touching eulogy upon the death of his wife, Margaret, in July, 1649:

> She was a lovely beautiful fair woman, a religious devout Christian, of admirable wit and wisdom beyond any I ever knew, yet the most sweet affectionate and observant wife in the world. Chaste without a suspicion of the most envious to the highest assurance of her husband, of a most noble and bountiful mind, yet very provident in the least things, exceeding all in everything she undertook, housewifery, preserving, works with the needle, cookery, so that her wit and judgment were expressed in all things, free from any pride or forwardness. She was in discourse and counsel far beyond any woman.[160]

There can hardly be a better instance of a man's recording the events of his life in hope of attracting the admiration of posterity than that presented by the Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, Bart. of Thribergh. Matthews describes Reresby's diary as " . . . the interesting record of a self-praising hanger-on."[161] Little or nothing would ever have been heard of this "self-praising hanger-on" if he had

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[159] Loc. cit.

[160] Ibid., p. 70.

[161] Matthews, op. cit., p. 25.

not taken the trouble to " . . . describe himself and to give the little touches to the diary record which presents him to posterity as not only an important but a heroic figure."[162] Ponsonby further explains:

> He writes well and the germ of truth which a dated entry written at the time naturally suggests makes the reader inclined to accept it all and as he reads to wonder why the name of this confidant of kings and queens, this courageous and sagacious statesman, is not written larger in the pages of history.[163]

Sir John was born in 1634, educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and Governor of York in 1682.[164] He begins his memoirs with recollections of his early days, after 1660, using dated entries. His method is one of summarizing periods, similar to that employed by Slingsby. Although the greater part of his record is of official and political business, Reresby also includes more personal and trivial entries to lighten his record. After an account of an evening's entertaining in which he describes in detail his musicians and wines, he notes:

> Though such remarks as these may seem frivolous to others, yet to posterity of one's own family

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[162] Ponsonby, More English Diaries, p. 86.

[163] Loc. cit.

[164] Dictionary of National Biography, XVI, 917-918.

> (for whom this work is chiefly designed) they may appear otherwise, that sort of curiosity being as well pleased with enquiry into less things sometimes as greater.[165]

This entry and several others that contain such expressions as "as you will read hereafter" make it clear that Reresby definitely wrote for posterity. Posterity acknowledged his effort with the publication of his diary, forty-five years after his death.[166]

Reresby seems to have had a quite quarrelsome nature, judging by the great number of fights and brawls that he records. Naturally, he was always "in the right" and invariably defeated his opponent. On the slightest provocation, he draws his sword; he boxes people's ears and is continually in the center of street brawls. One such belligerent escapade must be told by Sir John:

> This day in the afternoon I had a quarrel at the King's playhouse upon this occasion. As I sate in the pit a gentleman whose name I afterwards heartd to be Mr. Symons came and placed himself next me; and not content to rest there after a while desired me to give him my seat or to exchange with him pretending he was to speak to one of his acquaintances on the other side. I had no mind to quite my seat which was better to see than his; besides he having been drinking his manner of asking was not altogether so grateful in so much that I denied it. Hereupon he said I was uncivil and I told him he was a rascal, upon which we

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[165]Quoted in Ponsonby, More English Diaries, p. 88.

[166]Dictionary of National Biography, XVI, 917.

> were both prepared to strike one another, had not a gentleman that sate near us put his hand between us to prevent it. After a little while when I saw nobody observed us, I whispered him in the ear to follow me out telling him I would stay for him at the out-door.[167]

Reresby also reports the praise and congratulation that he receives and notes repeatedly how well he discharges the duties assigned to him, "I had behaved myself in some remarkable concerns with all the diligence and integrity I was able to express."[168] On the other hand, his task of reporting incidents that might discredit himself is one not carried out with such diligence and integrity.

The diary of Viscountess Mordaunt consists only of prayers. This diarist " . . . celebrated the main events of her life as well as public occurrences from 1656 to 1678 by writing out a prayer."[169] At times, it is difficult to understand exactly what occasioned her outbreaks of remorse, penitence, and praise; the occasions might range from the Restoration of the Monarchy, the Fire, or the Plague to the illness of her husband or minor ailments of her own. During 1657, Viscountess Mordaunt, granddaughter

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[167] Quoted in Ponsonby, More English Diaries, p. 89.

[168] Loc. cit.

[169] Ponsonby, More English Diaries, p. 71.

of Robert Earl of Monmouth and mother of the Earl of Peterborough, entered every day of the week in two columns headed "To returne thanks for" and "To aske perden for."[170] A few such entries from the second column should be examined:

> I have sayd one or to things that wer not exactely true. I have omited parte of my devotions today and spent my time in the vanety of discors and cumpany.
>
> Ofended by disputing with my Husband and thereby geving him a truble, having bin weded to my owne opinion, and not yelding, tho I thought my selfe convinced by loking uppon a mane when my harte tould me, it might renue his pashon agane for me which being marryed was unlafull, by not spending this thy Sabethe day so well as I aught to dow; but was drowsy at the evening sermon.
>
> Sufering my illness to slaken my devotion and by spending mor time in reding a foulish play than was spent in thy servis.[171]

This treatment of her diary as a daily confessional lasted for only seven or eight weeks, seemingly because the strain was too great.[172]

In the diary of Anthony Wood, one sees a valuable scholarly record of details concerning public and domestic

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[170] Ibid., pp. 71-72

[171] Quoted in Ponsonby, More English Diaries, p. 72.

[172] Ponsonby, More English Diaries, p. 72.

incidents connected with the University of Oxford. Wood was born in Oxford in 1632, entered Merton College in 1647, lived in rooms opposite the College for most of his life and died at Oxford in 1695, being buried in Merton College Chapel.[173] He never married and was never given any post or reward for his antiquarian researching.[174] His diary is of value to the antiquary and the historian, but it would be quite difficult for the ordinary reader to plough through it. Wood includes intimate and amusing accounts of the University and personal touches which perhaps may be reward enough for the determined reader of diaries. As did many diarists, he notes his own health:

> About two in the morning a terrible fit of the crampe above the ancle and about the lower end of the calf of my left legg occasion'd by either throwing that leg out of bed being hot weather or by overretching myself. I was then in a sweat.[175]

But he also records the state of public health:

> Beginning of this month colds became verie frequent in Oxon; many sick and huping: colds without coffing or running at the nose only a languidness and faintness. Certainly Oxford is no good aire.[176]

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[173] Dictionary of National Biography, XXI, 820-824.

[174] Ponsonby, More English Diaries, p. 75.

[175] Quoted in Ponsonby, More English Diaries, p. 76.

[176] Loc. cit.

Wood keeps a record of family deaths and the deaths of Oxford. He makes detailed lists of expenses in the form of monthly accounts. Occasionally, he lightens his laborious diary with character sketches and anecdotes. For example, when Joseph Maynard is appointed Rector of Exeter, Wood writes:

> This man was good natured, generous and a good scholar but having been absent from the college neare 20 yeares had forgot the way of the college life and the decorum of a scholar. He was given much to bibbing; and would set in fellowes' chambers where there was a musick meeting, smoke and drink till he was drunk and led to his lodgings by bachelaurs.[177]

The picture of this diary would be far from complete without an examination of several of his entries on Oxford:

> 1670. Jan 6. Th. Twelfe day in the morning at 4 or 5 of the clock a prodigious wind arose and did mischief. Some of the phanaticks stick not to say that the devill come to fetch away Monke.[178]

> 1684 Dec 26 F. T. Hatton M. A. and one of the senior fellows of Bras. Coll. died suddenly of an apoplexy; buried in the cloister neare to the grave of Ch. Sheringdon on the left hand. Apoplexys now frequent in yong people.[179]

> 1693. May 29 King's birthday and restauration Mr. Sizer of Univ. Coll preached at St. Marie's no musick or instruments from the organ loaft

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[177] Ibid., p. 79.

[178] Ibid., p. 80.

[179] Loc. cit.

> as formerly. Few or no bonfires in the great streets, only some at Colleges.[180]

Wood observes that the year 1663 is

> A strange effeminate age when men strive to imitate women in their apparill viz long periwigs, patches in their faces, painting, short wide breeches like petticotes, muffs and their clothes highly sented, bedecked with ribbons of all colours.[181]

Sir Richard Newdigate's diary is one of daily writing with punctual exactitude. It is a minutely kept record of daily life, private and domestic, with few references to politics or public affairs. It also contains elaborate business accounts and entries of self disparagement and prayer. Sir Richard, born in 1664, spent his life as Squire of Arbury, and, although he did not write at great length, he did record everything of consequence in his life.[182] One entry serves as an example:

> June 13. Making ready to go to Church. Drove myself and failed exceedingly with my young horses; the ways are so very ill. At Church. Came home well, but by the Coach house failed for an hour and a half by Dodson's restiveness. Four o'clock dined. Five o'clock Prayers and homily. Six o'clock shaving and walked out. Eight o'clock prayers; undressed.[183]

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[180] Loc. cit.

[181] Ibid., p. 81

[182] Ponsonby, More English Diaries, p. 83.

[183] Quoted in Ponsonby, More English Diaries, p. 84.

At times, Newdigate records long conversations as if verbatim. Frequently, he notes his ailments, his moods, and his attempts at self correction:

> This day I fasted as a revenge upon myself for sin and prayed fervently tho' little . . . . Troubled with toothache, cured with sack.[184]

Newdigate is revealed in the routine account of his daily activities as a man often beset by melancholy and depression. It is not unusual to find such phrases as "I am very willing to die" and "was extremely out of Humour." He also records some very curious entries in an account book form:

> To my three Daughters because they came to Prayers, three shillings.
>
> To Tom Cooper who worked hard after I had broke his head, 2^{s} 6^{d}.
>
> Cook dead drunk 10^{s}.
> Wm. Wheeler Cook. Good if less given to drink.
>
> Tho. Moseley. His faults are inumerable.[185]

It is unfortunate that this diary consists of only a few sheets with writing on both sides, for most of the work was completely destroyed. The entire diary would

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[184] Loc. cit.

[185] Ibid., p. 87.

undoubtedly have handed down a unique picture of domestic life of a country gentleman in Stuart times.

A few of the "minor" English diaries of the seventeenth century may also be examined for help in fully understanding the diary genre, particularly in the area of special types of diaries. These minor diaries, too, reveal interesting, if not curious, features of human nature. John Rous, a country parson in Santon Downham in Suffolk, kept a diary intermittently from 1625 to 1642.[186] This document is almost exclusively a record of proclamations, petitions, trials, and military and foreign events.[187] He writes no word about his family or himself.[188] At times, however, he inserts quite trivial events, such as that of a crow's building a nest in the sail of a windmill.[189] One peculiar feature of his diary is the noting of various skits and satirical verses.[190]

When Sir William Bereton journeyed through Holland in 1634 and through the northern part of England and

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[186]Ponsonby, English Diaries, p. 116.

[187]Matthew, op. cit., p. 11.

[188]Loc. cit.

[189]Ponsonby, English Diaries, p. 117.

[190]Loc. cit.

Scotland in 1635, he recorded his adventures in a diary.[191] Again, this diary contains no personal records; it is one of pure description.[192] It is, however, more interesting than most travel diaries, for the writer is quite observant; his style is picturesque and contains minute detail with daily entries sometimes occupying several pages.[193] If Dr. Samuel Johnson chanced to read Bereton's diary, he must have delighted in the following description of the Scots:

> The sluttishness and nastiness of this people is such that I cannot ommitt the particularizing thereof though I have more than sufficiently often touched upon the same. Their houses and halls and kitchens have such a noysome tast and savour and that soe strong as itt doth offend you, soe soone as you come within their walls, yea sometimes when I have light from my horse, I have felt the distaste of itt before I have come into the house: yea, I never came to my own lodging in Edinborough, or went out butt I was constrained to hold my nose or to use warme-wood or some such sented plant: Their pewter I am confident is never scowred: they are afraid it should too much weare and consume thereby: only sometimes and that but seldomee they doe sleightly rubb them over with a fillthy dish clowte dipped in most sluttish greasy water . . . . To come into their kitchen and to see them dress their meate and to behold the sinke (which is more offensive than any jakes) will be a sufficient supper and will take off the edge of your stomack.[194]

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[191]Matthews, op. cit., p. 14.

[192]Ponsonby, English Diaries, p. 118.

[193]Loc. cit.

[194]Quoted in Ponsonby, English Diaries, pp. 118-119.

John Aston's diary is representative of the many brief war diaries kept during this time of upheaval; Aston is not truly a diary writer but was prompted to record by the importance of the occasion.[195] The occasion was the expedition of Charles I and his army through York, Durham, and Northumberland in the first Bishops War of 1639.[196] On this expedition, Aston served as "Privy Chamberman extraordinary" to the King, so that his diary from April 1 to June 29 is one of firsthand observations on the progress of the army.[197] It is a record devoid of personal or intimate features, filled instead with detailed descriptions of towns, cathedrals, buildings, and other particulars with regard to the movement and quartering of the troops.[198]

A diary that must be labelled "unusual," at the least, is that kept by William Dowsing, the

> Parliamentary Visitor appointed under a warrant from the Earl of Manchester for demolishing the superstitious pictures and ornaments of churches etc within the country of Suffolk in the years 1643-44.[199]

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[195]Ponsonby, English Diaries, p. 119.

[196]Matthews, op. cit., p. 16.

[197]Ponsonby, English Diaries, p. 119.

[198]Matthews, op. cit., p. 16.

[199]Quoted in Ponsonby, English Diaries, p. 120.

His journal is devoted solely to the registering of the amount of destruction that he carries out in each place that he visits:

> Sudbury. Peter's Parish. We Brake down a Picture of God the Father, 2 Crucifix's, and Pictures of Christ about an hundred in all; and gave order to take down a Cross on the Steeple; and diverse Angels, 20 at least on the Roof of the Church.
>
> Sudbury. We brake down 10 mighty great angels in glass in all 80.[200]

Sometimes, the "we" becomes "I":

> Clare. We brake down 1000 Pictures superstitious; I brake down 200; . . . .
>
> Copdock. I brake down 150 superstitious pictures 2 of God the Father and 2 Crucifixes; . . . .[201]

Dowsing breaks up organs, pots for holy water, covers for fountains, and wooden images. On several occasions, he extracts a fee for these services. There are few instances in which he notes "nothing to reform."[202]

"A Dyurnell or catalogue of all my actions and expenses from the 1st of January 1646" is the title of Adam Eyre's country diary, a record of payments and

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[200] Ibid., p. 121.

[201] Loc. cit.

[202] Ponsonby, English Diaries, p. 122.

expenses, personal and family life, country life around Peniston, fishing, amuzements, religion, and social life.[203] The entries are often perfunctory and of little interest, but occasionally the diarist records in greater detail:

> I stayed at home all day and in the afternoon cut a corne which putt me to extraordinary trouble.
>
> This day I took a pipe of tobacco and resolved to take every morning one and every night one but no more.[204]

The diary becomes his confidant and is a confessio in which he both bemoans that his wife is a sore trial to him and also repents when he treats her harshly. The one complimentary entry concerning his wife is that " . . . my wife was very extravagant in her old humorous way."[205] His entry on January 11, 1647 is a long penetential outpouring:

> I very well remember I never made vow in all my life, but, through weaknesse and the power of darknesse overruling mee, I have most shamefully broken so that I am in a most miserable condition by nature, neither have I any power of myselfe to think one good thought so miserable am I.[206]

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[203] Loc. cit.

[204] Quoted in Ponsonby, English Diaries, p. 123.

[205] Ponsonby, English Diaries, p. 124.

[206] Quoted in Ponsonby, English Diaries, p. 123.

Giles More, rector of Horsted Keynes, Sussex, from 1655 to 1679, kept a diary that is actually closer to an account book.[207] More records purely business matters, marriages, deaths, illnesses, and journeys, but his entries on all incidents are recorded in the language of accounts.[208] All events of life presented themselves to the Reverend More from the point of view of cost:

> For 3 yards and 3/4 of scarlet serge of which I made the library cupboard carpet besydes my wastcoate made thereof 15s.
> J. Daves brought me from Grinsted 4 stone of beefe which at 22d the stone and 2 lb of sewet at 4d came to 8s. I payed for barbouring for 6 moneths 7s 6d and for being blooded though I was so cold that I bled but one ounce 1s.
>
> I gave the howling boys 6d (it was the custom to wassail the orchards).
>
> I bought of my countryman Mr. Cooke a shaggy demicastor hat of the fashion for which I payed 16s 6d.[209]

When More's brother dies of a high fever, Reverand More is concerned only about the costs of the funeral.

These examples of the early diary reveal extremely interesting and curious qualities of mankind, enabling one to form a much more clear picture of the individual

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[207] Ponsonby, English Diaries, p. 125.

[208] Loc. cit.

[209] Quoted in Ponsonby, English Diaries, pp. 125-126.

during this period in history. The public diaries of King Edward VI and town clerk Wyot, the account book of Philip Henslowe, the religious diaries of Lady Hoby and Viscountess Mordaunt, the social record of Manningham, the Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, the diary of the antiquarian Wood, the travel record of Bereton reveal man in all levels of society, in all phases of his life. In these works, one sees the tremendous range of subject matter common to diaries in addition to the variations in styles, ranging from the bald manner of Henslowe, Winthrop, and Newdigate to the more descriptive and cultivated style of Edward VI, Slingsby, and Reresby. Indeed, one views the very beginnings of a literary genre that is moving forward with the intellectual advancement of mankind. It is impossible to state that early diarists were influenced by others in their field in the development of their genre, for few diaries were made available to the public until many decades later, many not until the nineteenth century. It is possible, however, to point out that, with further developments in education, religion, politics, and economics, man became more of a literate and feeling human, and when the"itch to record" was present, a diary of the form and style of those of John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys was produced.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DIARY OF JOHN EVELYN

There is a natural inclination for one to study the diaries of John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys concurrently, and, upon completion, to draw a comparison between the two greatest private records of the seventeenth century. This inclination is revealed in almost any of the critical commentaries concerning either of the diaries. But, although they came across many common acquaintances in their official and court experiences, they did not live in the same stratum of society, and their method, their point of view, their manner, and their character were so completely different that, except for the fact that they mention the same people and the same events, their two famous diaries have few similarities and thus call for different moods in the reader. Therefore, one must examine separately each man and his diary, its subject, style, and form; one must consider each diary a unique entity. One must consider each man's work for its unique contributions to the development of the diary genre.

Son of a prosperous country gentleman, Evelyn was born in 1620 at Wotton, near Dorking in Surrey.[210] Having successfully resisted his father's plan to send him to Eton, he was educated at Lewes in Sussex, until he went to Oxford. Afterwards, apparently without enthusiasm, he read law in London.[211] When the Civil War broke out young Evelyn prepared himself to fight for the king; however, he arrived on a scene of Royalist defeat. It was then that he realized he could lose his estates and his father's money by taking an active part in the war, and since nothing was known of his intention, he prudently withdrew to Wotton.[212] His attempts to live in retirement at Wotton were soon thwarted, and he was forced to leave England in order to escape signing the covenant.[213]

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[210]Factual information concerning John Evelyn's life may be found in the Dictionary of National Biography, VI, 943-947. Also, George Walter Hiscock has written an interesting biography of Evelyn, entitled John Evelyn and his Family Circle, published in 1955. Hiscock's work is also enlightening, for he uses Evelyn's manuscripts only recently made available to the public as a supplement to the information provided in the diary and other correspondence.

[211]Margaret Willy, English Diarists: Evelyn & Pepys, p. 11.

[212]Ponsonby, English Diaries, p. 97.

[213]Henry B. Wheatley, "Memoir and Letter Writers," Cambridge History of English Literature, VIII, 244.

Therefore, in November, 1643, he obtained from Charles I a license to travel and embarked on an extensive tour of the continent, the details of which are recorded in his diary. In June of 1647, Evelyn was married to Mary, fifteen-year-old daughter of Sir Richard Browne, Charles I's resident at the French court. Evelyn returned to England in February of 1652, settling at Sayes Court in Deptford, his home for the next forty years. After the Restoration, for which Evelyn had actively worked, he became involved in a variety of useful employments. At the end of 1660, he was one of the founders of the famous Royal Society, of which he served as secretary but refused to preside as president.[214] He sat on a number of commissions, such as those for examining the work of the Royal Mint, for the care of sick and wounded seamen during the Dutch war, and to report on proposals for the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral. Under William III, he acted as treasurer of Greenwich Hospital. Evelyn spent the last years of his life living between London and Wotton. He died in 1706 at the age of eighty-five.

Thus, John Evelyn is an example of the cultured, intelligent amateur of the arts and sciences produced by the

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[214] Ponsonby, English Diaries, p. 97.

seventeenth century. Boas explains that Evelyn was a "vistuoso" in the seventeenth century sense of " . . . one who had a general interest in arts or sciences, a natural taste for fine art, or a curiosity in rarities, and one who carried on each pursuit in a dilettante or amateur rather than a professional capacity."[215] As a boy, Evelyn took an "extraordinary fancy to drawing and designing," and architecture remained one of his great loves. During his education at Oxford, he began to enjoy music, afterwards becoming quite knowledgeable in the field.[216] Throughout his life, he wrote prolifically on many topics. Because he desired to "cultivate" the sciences and the "polite and useful" arts, he undertook the drudgery of translating such works as part of Lucretius's De rerum natura, The Golden Book of St. John Chrysostom, concerning the education of children, from the Greek, and many French works on gardening, painting, and architecture. His original work ranged from engraving and collecting medals to political and religious argument. His Life of his close friend, Mrs. Godolphin, was perhaps his best effort as it

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[215]Guy Boas, "John Evelyn, 'Virtuoso': In the Light of Recent Research," Essays by Divers Hands, XXVIII (1955), 106.

[216]Wiley, op. cit., p. 12.

was animated by an admiring affection and not intended for publication.[217] His most celebrated book in the seventeenth century was Sylva, or a Discourse of Forest-Trees, published in 1664, a book which ran into many editions and established his reputation as an authority on forestry.[218]

Many of his contemporaries paid him tribute, representative of which is Cowley's praising of Evelyn's "prudence, how to choose the best," his rejection of the "empty shows and senceless noys; And all which rank Ambition breeds" for the "soft, yet solid joys" of books and gardens.[219] It is this prudence along with discretion, that guided Evelyn's life.[220] Living in a time of dissensions and violence for the refinements, graces, and order of civilized life, he was reluctant to disrupt the

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[217] Wheatley, op. cit., p. 251.

[218] Ibid., p. 248. A complete list of Evelyn's works may be found in the Dictionary of National Biography, VI, 946-947 and also in the Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, II, 827-831.

[219] Willy, op. cit., p. 13.

[220] Loc. cit.

even tenor of his life or jeopardize his interests by courting unwise antagonisms.[221] This period in English history was

> . . . an heroic age, but fortunately for the stability of English society the majority even of the politically and theologically articulate was not heroic; and Evelyn is a good example of the men of moderate, though sincere persuasions, by whose negative efforts the nation was kept on an even keel.[222]

However, despite his policy of prudent evasion instead of active protest, Evelyn was, in many ways, one of the ornaments of the age:

> Soberly observing its follies, holding aloof from what he called the "gilded toys" of worldly preoccupations . . . , he was typical of the seventeenth century's eager and wide-ranging spirit of enquiry, its love of learning, and its ideals of public service.[223]

Indeed, Evelyn is also typical of his century, in being torn between agricultural interests and those of a technological character, between the contemplative life and the active, between his instinctual powers and his rational powers. In his stronger attraction for the

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[221]David Underdown, "John Evelyn and Restoration Piety," Sewanee Review, LXV (1957), 163.

[222]Loc. cit.

[223]Willy, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

courtly life of bustling activity of Whitehall over the elemental country life of medieval times, he is truly a seventeenth-century Englishman, fascinated by the vital changes taking place in his age.[224] It is in his diary that Evelyn, the model English country gentleman, a man of the world, of culture, and of business, reveals the history of his life in the seventeenth century and, in so doing, reveals the seventeenth century.

Evelyn's Diary, originally entitled Kalendarium, opens in 1641, when the author is twenty-one, with a retrospective summary account of parentage, birthplace, and boyhood. This story of all that he saw and did in a long and active life continues until within a month of his death, nearly sixty-five years later. Margaret Willy offers a few ideas on possible motives of this diarist, explaining that he had formed the habit of making autobiographical jottings as early as the age of ten or eleven.[225] Wheatley adds that the father, Richard Evelyn, had kept a diary, and that John began to follow the example in 1631.[226] However, the diary extant today could not have been started at this early date. Evelyn kept his

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[224]James Roy King, "John Evelyn and the New World of Technology," Studies in Six 17th-Century Writers, p. 5.

[225]Willy, op. cit., p. 14.

[226]Wheatley, op. cit., 244.

diary for his own satisfaction as a record of his daily experiences and also as the record of a devout Christian, a common practice at this time believed to be an aid to spiritual progress.[227] Later, when he revised the early portion of his diary, which he then called De Vita Propria, he appears to have had the idea of recording for the pleasure and benefit of his descendants, believing, perhaps, that his detailed accounts of his travels would serve them as a practical and private guidebook to places worth visiting.[228]

Evelyn lived mostly out of England in the 1640's, taking a trip to Holland before the start of the civil strife, and during his period of "prudent," voluntary exile in the early years of the Protectorate, wandering extensively in France and Italy. Like many other seventeenth-century travelers, he believed in the educational benefits of exploring foreign countries and, therefore, attempted to provide the fullest possible objective information about buildings, monuments, and art collections. On October 19, 1644, he records the following observations on the Italian city of Pisa:

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[227] Willy, op. cit., p. 14.

[228] Loc. cit.

> The palace and church of St. Stephano (where the order of knighthood by that name was instituted) drew first our curiosity, the outside thereof being altogether of polish'd marble; within it is full of tables relating to this order; over which hang divers banners and pendents, with other trophies taken by them from the Turkes, against whom they are particularly oblig'd to fight; . . . . At the front of the palace stands a fountaine, and the statue of the great Duke Cosmo. The Campanile, or Settezonio, built by John Venipont, a German, consists of several orders of pillars, 30 in a row, design'd to be much higher. . . . The Domo, or Cathedrall, standing nere it, is a superb structure, beautified with 6 columns of greate antiquity; the gates are of brasse, of admirable workmanship . . . .[229]

This minute description of inaminate objects might seem strange to the modern reader, for as Virginia Woolf laments, twentieth-century man is blind; he does not observe and, thus, finds it odd that a man may be so intimate with the visible world and so noticeable of its qualities.[230] Evelyn conscientiously attempts to describe in detail rather than to record in general his personal impressions, but fortunately he did not always achieve this objectivity. Although lengthy passages of description of travels may become quite boring, Evelyn's inclusion of original observation, as well as original experiences, does lighten

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[229]John Evelyn, The Diary of John Evelyn, October 19, 1644, I, 101-102.

[230]Virginia Woolf, "Rambling Round Evelyn" Common Reader, 1st Series, p. 84.

and enrich this part of the record.[231] He is most readable and enjoyable when he exclaims at the sight of dogs harnessed like coach horses to carts in the streets in Brussels, meets a shepherd in Normandy, who tells the travelers that only the day before his companion was killed in the midst of a flock by a wolf, or records how fireflies near Ferrara were so bright that

> . . . one who had never heard of them would think the country full of sparks of fire; beating some of them downe, and applying them to a book, I could reade in the dark by y^e^ light they afforded.[232]

Some of his descriptive passages have a vividness that conjures up a scene clearly before the mind's eye, as, for example, that of the Luxembourg Gardens:

> you shall see some walkes & retirements full of gallants and ladys; in others melancholy fryers; in others studious scholars; in others jolly citizens, some sitting or lying on y^e^ grasse, others running and jumping; some playing at bowles and ball, others dancing and singing; and all this without the least disturbance, by reason of the largeness of the place.[233]

There is a vivid eye-witness account of the ceremonial celebrations in Rome of the newly-crowned Pope Innocent

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[231] Ponsonby, English Diaries, p. 98.

[232] Evelyn, op. cit., May 21, 1645, I, 233.

[233] Ibid., April 1, 1644, I, 70.

X's taking possession of the Lateran, the ancient episcopal seat of the Popes, and another of Venice, a land that makes Evelyn feel as though he were in the middle of the country rather than in the middle of the sea.

Evelyn's entries on his travels reveal the tastes of the traveler of his time; however, they are almost exclusively devoted to descriptions of the artistic and architectural rather than descriptions of the human. Nevertheless, the careful reader may find occasional lively glimpses of people: e.g., of the terrible fury of a Genoese water-man cheated of his fare, of prostitutes in Naples, of the "merry, Witty and genial" Neapolitan peasant. His description of the gallery slaves at Marseilles is particularly memorable:

> The spectacle was to me new and strange, to see so many hundreds of miserably naked persons, their heads being shaven close and having onely high red bonnets, a oayre of coarse canvas drawers, their whole backs and leggs naked, double chayn'd about their middle and leggs, in couples, and made fast to their seates, and all commanded in a trise by an imperious and cruel sea-man. . . . The rising forward and falling back at their oare is a miserable spectacle, and the noyse of their chaines with the roring of the beaten waters has something of strange and fearfull in it to one unaccustom'd to it. They are rul'd and chastiz'd by strokes on their backs and soles of theire feete on the least disorder, and without the least humanity; yet are they cheerful and full of knavery.[234]

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[234] Ibid., October 7, 1644, I, 91-92.

Appreciation for natural scenery was not common in Evelyn's day, but his genuine feeling for it emerges in the sketches that he often made and in his charming descriptions of one more of his favorite topics: gardens:

> The gardens are large, and well wall'd, and the husbandry part made very convenient and perfectly understood. The barnes, the stacks of corne, the stalls for cattle, pigeon-house, &c. of most laudable example. Innumerable are the plantations of trees, especially walnuts. The orangerie and gardens are very curious. . . . This place is exceeding sharp in the winter, by reason of the serpentining of the hills: and it wants running water; but the solitude much pleas'd me. All the ground is so full of wild thyme, marjoram, and other sweete plants, that it cannot be overstock'd with bees; I think he had neere 40 hives of that industrious insect.[235]

At home, this intimate friend of kings, the confidant of statesmen, and a distinguished fellow of the Royal Society was constantly involved, though seldom actively, in the major events of this crowded and exciting period of English history. His Dairy covers years of civil strife, plague, and fire, foreign wars and plots at home ending in the execution of traitors, and the comparative serenity of the reigns of William III and Queen Anne. Evelyn was in the midst of national life and admirably placed to observe and record its momentous moments.

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[235] Ibid., October 12, 1677, II, 331-332.

He refused to attend the execution of Charles I but witnessed without sadness Cromwell's funeral procession:

> . . . it was the joyfullest funerall I ever saw, for there were none that cried but dogs, which the soldiers hooted away with a barbarous noise, drinking and taking tobacco in the streets as they went.[236]

Evelyn, the staunch Royalist, was present, naturally, at the triumphant return of Charles II and at his coronation in the following spring, although his entry for the coronation was taken from a newspaper account.[237] His entry on the Plague of 1665, during which he stayed in London performing as Commissioner for Sick and Wounded Seamen with a completeness which brought "many thanks" from the King, is likewise disappointing. His account of the Great Fire, however, is much more satisfying:

> All the skie was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, and the light seene above 40 miles round about for many nights. God grant mine eyes may never behold the like, who now saw above 10,000 houses all in one flame; the noise and cracking and thunder of the impetuous flames, y^{e} shreiking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of towers, houses, and churches, was like an hideous storme, and the aire all about so hot and inflam'd that at the last one was not able to approach it, so that they were forc'd to stand still and let y^{e} flames burn on, which they did for neere two miles in length and one in breadth. The clowds also of smoke were dismall

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[236] Ibid., October 22, 1658-59, II, 104-105.

[237] Willy, op. cit., p. 18.

> and reach'd upon computation neer 50 miles in length. Thus I left it this afternoone burning, a resemblance of Sodom, or the last day.[238]

After the fire was finally extinguished, he walked through the ruined city:

> . . . clambering over heaps of yet smoking rubbish, and frequently mistaking where I was. The ground under my feete so hot, that it even burnt the soles of my shoes. . . . I did not see one loade of timber unconsum'd, nor many stones but what were calcin'd white as snow. The people who now walk'd about y^e^ ruines appear'd like men in some dismal desert, or rather in some greate citty laid waste by a cruel enemy.[239]

His proposals for rebuilding the destroyed areas of London, and for such projects as improving the streets and buildings and purifying the air of factory smoke add greatly to one's knowledge of London of the seventeenth century.

Evelyn is also quite observant in examining the atmosphere of court life. Even though he is a Royalist, he is not blind to the court's dissolute character, and he makes many references to the King's mistresses. His final estimate of Charles II is an interesting character sketch:

> He was a Prince of many virtues, and many greate imperfections; debonaire, easy of accesse, not bloudy nor cruel; his countenance fierce, his voice greate, proper of person, every

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[238]Evelyn, op. cit., September 3, 1666, II, 201-202.

[239]Ibid., September 7, 1666, II, 204-205, 206.

> motion became him; a lover of the sea, and skillful in shipping; not affecting other studies, yet he had a laboratory, and knew of many empyrical medicines, and the easier mechanical mathematics; he lov'd planting and building, and brought in a politer way of living, which pass'd to luxury and intolerable expence . . . . He would doubtlesse have ben an excellent Prince had he ben less addicted to women, who made him uneasy, and allways in want to supply their unmeasurable profusion, to ye detriment of many indigent persons who had signaly served both him and his father. . . . those wicked creatures took him off from all application becoming so greate a King.[240]

Evelyn's Diary also includes interesting portraits of such statesmen as Lord Sandwich, Lord Arlington, Secretary of State and afterwards Lord Chamberlain, and Sir Thomas Clifford, Lord High Treasurer. His entries on scientists, such as Sir William Petty and Robert Boyle, reveal a deep appreciation of these versatile and gifted men. It is evident from the entries, also, that Jeremy Taylor, the eminent preacher, was more than an acquaintance of Evelyn's, since Taylor gave the diarist advice on both religious and domestic matters. Obviously, Evelyn moved within the most important circles of national life and was closely associated with many public figures.

Besides presenting a view of the leading statesmen and the political activities of England in the seventeenth

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[240] Ibid., February 4, 1684-85, II, 444-445.

century, the diary also reveals the picture of religious life during this period, a picture that shows the great conflicts affecting all Englishmen. It provides rare, firsthand glimpses of worship among Royalist exiles in Paris during the first years of the Protectorate. The experience, later, of the Anglicans under Cromwell has been nowhere more effectively told.[241] Soon after returning from France, Evelyn began to attend Anglican services in London; he continued after their prohibition in November of 1655, the faithful then meeting in private houses and chapels. At the end of an illegal service on Christmas Day of 1657, he notes that

> . . . the chappell was surrounded with souldiers . . . . As we went up to receive the Sacrament the miscreants held their muskets against us as if they would have shot us at the altar . . . .[242]

As Underdown explains, Evelyn's Diary actually is the record of Evelyn's spiritual development in a period of religious turmoil.[243] De Beer's new edition of the Diary, which appeared in 1955, includes many entries omitted by Bray which throw new light on the churchgoing habits of Restoration England.[244] While Bray excised Evelyn's

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[241]Underdown, op. cit., 162.

[242]Evelyn, op. cit., December 25, 1657, II, 96.

[243]Underdown, op. cit., 162.

[244]Loc. cit.

numerous records of church attendance, careful notes of sermons, and repetitious reflections on the advantages of religious exercises for the sake of a reader's interest, de Beer has included such entries to " . . . drive one more nail in the coffin of the old cliché about the rule of courtly sinners that followed so closely the rule of the Puritan saints."[245] In these entries, one views an inexhaustible stream of pious contemporaries, ranging from Margaret Blagge, afterwards Mrs. Godolphin, to old Shish the shipwright, whose custom it was " . . . to rise in the night, and to pray, kneeling in his own coffin, w^{ch} he had lying by him for many yeares."[246] And, then, are recorded the sermons, morning and afternoon, Sundays and holidays. In his later years, Evelyn developed the ability to sleep through them, remaining wakeful enough, however, to take down the text and main points of the argument. Evelyn records sermons by presumptuous young men newly sent from the University, closely reasoned sermons by the excellent Dr. Tenison and Richard Bentley, sermons by brisk young men with " . . . a mighty tone and little else." One's picture of Evelyn's seventeenth century would be far from

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[245] Loc. cit.

[246] Evelyn, op. cit., May 13, 1680, II, 364.

complete without such entries, because they give insight into a neglected subject, that of Restoration piety.[247]

Thus, Evelyn's record provides a detailed view of the seventeenth century in all of its many phases; however, when one begins examining the Diary for entries that will reveal a view of Evelyn, the individual human, one becomes quite frustrated. Evelyn was, on the whole, more interested in human activities than in the complexities of character; he was more attracted to the intricacies of things -- buildings, pictures, gardens -- than to the enigmas of personality. Therefore, his Diary imparts very little information about himself, aside from the various employments in which he was involved. Inevitably, there is a certain amount of indirect self-revelation as when he is revolted by the vivisection of a dog or horrified at the suffering of a seaman whose leg he sees amputated, and at these times, Evelyn emerges as a feeling, humane individual. There are very few entries concerning his wife and family; however, one of these, at the death of his son Richard, age five, in 1657, goes far toward providing a picture of Evelyn as a compassionate father. His entry on the loss of this amazing prodigy is a pathetic lamentation:

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[247] Underdown, op. cit., 165.

> . . . at 2 years and a halfe old he could perfectly reade any of y^e^ English, Latine, French, or Gottic letters, pronouncing the three first languages exactly. He had before the 5th yeare, or in that yeare, not onely skill to reade most written hands, but to decline all the nouns, conjugate the verbs regular, and most of y^e^ irregular; learn'd out "puerilis," got by heart almost y^e^ entire vocabularie of Latine and French primitives and words, ... He had learn'd by heart divers sentences in Latin and Greeke, which on occasion he would produce even to wonder. He was all life, all prettinesse, far from morose, sullen, or childish in any thing he said or did. . . . Here ends the joy of my life, and for which I go even mourning to the grave.[248]

But, in a final analysis, one misses in the Diary the frailities, passions, and warmth of ordinary humanity.

Famous men and famous events, humble men and insignificant occurrences fill the pages of Evelyn's record. For this observant recorder, nothing in seventeenth-century England was too small to escape his eyes and his pen with the result that editor Bray found it necessary to compile an index to the Diary comprising approximately one hundred and fifty pages. But one becomes concerned with Evelyn's method of noting his observations of these numerous subjects and with his literary style which then evolved. These concerns, then, involve the question of the place of Evelyn's Diary in the development of this genre.

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[248]Evelyn, op. cit., January 27, 1657-58, II, 96, 98, 99.

Although the word, diary, has been used in reference to all editions of Evelyn's record and in most critical articles concerning it, the term is not, technically speaking, accurate. In an entry in 1673, Evelyn himself refers to his record as Memoirs, but in a list he made of "Things I would write out fair and reform if I had Leisure," he calls it "My own Ephemeris or Diary." Memoirs is perhaps more correct than Diary, for his record seems to consist more of what was written in after years than of what was written on the day. Actually, it becomes extremely difficult to affix a certain label to this man's notebook as he combines two methods of recording: one is that of daily writing that reflects a passing mood and a vivid freshness; the other is that of recording in after years how a sequence of events impressed him, a method that often alters the writer's original view. As a diary, then, Evelyn's record lacks some essential and valuable characteristics. But as memoirs, it is confusing, because it is often impossible for one to determine what the younger man wrote on the day, and whether the older man altered it, added to it, or left it just as it was written. These problems have played havoc with critics' attempts to classify this record as to type and style.

The older Evelyn, writing at times, no doubt, long after the event, makes errors in dates and often adds

information that could not have been known to the younger Evelyn on the day in question. Sometimes, expressions such as "since," "afterwards," "about this time," and "I now remember" show the hand of the memoir writer. Ponsonby comments upon Evelyn's errors in dating as follows:

> . . . one would hardly expect him in his revision to get dates so wrong as to write that the Duke of Richmond's funeral took place in 1641, whereas he was buried in Westminster Abbey in 1655; that he witnessed Cromwell's funeral on October 22nd when it took place on November 23rd or to mention the Treaty of Breda concluded in 1667 as the reason for the sudden stopping of his book on the Dutch War in 1674.[249]

Many of Evelyn's dates obviously are quite unreliable. Perhaps, however, one must make allowances for the original transcribers of the Diary. The earlier entries of Evelyn's diary were mostly written up from quite sparse notes and the travel entries are amplified, being written up from full notes.[250] The main part of the record consists largely of genuine diary entries, sometimes with quite easily recognized additions. The entry of January 17, 1653, begins, "I began to set out the oval gardens at Sayes Court," which was obviously written on that day; the entry ends, however, with "This was the beginning of all succeeding

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[249]Arthur Ponsonby, John Evelyn, p. 167.

[250]Ibid., p. 170.

gardens, walks, groves, enclosures and plantations there," an addition apparently written at the completion of the work. The entry for September 19, 1655, tells of visitors at Sayes Court and ends describing his practice on Sunday afternoons, when "I frequently stayed home." In March of 1656, "This afternoon Prince Rupert showed me with his own hands the new way of graving, etc. which afterwards by his permission I published in my History of Chalcography; this set so many artists on work . . . ." Here, Evelyn combines both methods of recording in one sentence. And on August 3, 1667, he describes Abraham Cowley's funeral with the end comment, "A goodly monument is erected to his memory."

In Evelyn's recording of the series of events involving the flight of James II and the arrival of William III, the reader is presented with one of the most appealing features of the diary form: "the ignorance of the morrow." Here, in this part of the record, Evelyn uses the present tense and only the events of the day are recorded, showing Evelyn's lack of knowing what will happen. The entry for December 2, 1688, ends with "It looks like a revolution," and on December 13, he records that "The King flies to sea, puts in at Faversham for ballast; is rudely treated by the people; comes back to Whitehall." That Evelyn left these entries untouched is seen in such expressions as "it is thought that," and "it is likely that." Following these

"true" diary entries, however, one is able to detect the hand of the reviser once more.

Problems connected with the text of the Diary, or memoirs, are not disposed of by a mere noting of Evelyn's method of recording. Discrepancies, different readings, and omitted passages abound in all published editions of the Diary. Lord Ponsonby explains that until 1814, one hundred and eight years after Evelyn's death, the manuscripts were stored away at Wotton.[251] Because Sir John Evelyn, the second Baronet and great-grandson of the diarist, was the only member of the family to be interested in them, it is quite probable that the Diary had not often been read. Lady Evelyn, widow of Sir Frederick Evelyn, was residing at Wotton in 1814. She knew of the existence of the Diary but did not realize its value. Upon the visit of a friend, William Upcott, Assistant Librarian of the London Institution, the diary was discovered. Lady Evelyn gave her consent for its publication to William Bray, who received a great amount of money from Upcott to carry out the project, and the first edition in two quarto volumes appeared in 1818, printed by Colburn. In 1819, a second edition was issued, and 1827 a five volume octavo edition, reprinted with an introduction by Henry B. Wheatley in 1879. In

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[251]The factual information concerning the publication of Evelyn's diary is taken from Arthur Ponsonby's John Evelyn, pp. 182-188.

1850-1852 John Forster, the biographer of Goldsmith, published a new issue of Bray, explaining that Upcott, until his death in 1845, had been working on the revision, adding material and making corrections not found in the earlier quartos. It soon became evident that the manuscript used by Bray and that used by Forster were not the same.[252] After investigation, it was speculated that Evelyn had taken notes in a set of almanacs, writing up these notes in a different notebook and then revising this fuller account in yet another book. Scribbled on a page of one the two almanacs preserved at Baliol College, Oxford, is the following two sentence entry for 1636: "This year the pestilence was at London at many other places more. This was a very dry year." In the Memoirs, it becomes "This year being extremely dry the pestilence much increased in London and divers parts of England." Here, one may also view Evelyn's attempt to develop a cultivated style for his final record. The Diary was finally printed in full, it is hoped, in 1955 by E. S. de Beer. De Beer's major additions, as stated earlier, were primarily those of entries dealing with Evelyn's religious practices.

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[252]The prefaces to Wheatley's edition and Austin Dobson's edition of the Diary may be consulted for some of the above related facts. Also informative is H. Maynard Smith's preface to The Early Life and Education of John Evelyn.

Evelyn's record, whether diary or memoirs, has justly been given a high, if not a unique, place among firsthand historical records. In spite of all the problems mentioned, a close view of seventeenth-century England is given in Evelyn's observations. Although the domestic side of the Diary is subordinated to the public side and although by his character Evelyn was not given to many general reflections nor any attempts at self-analysis, he treats a great variety of subjects, including the trivial with the more important. His method, a combination of the diary and memoir methods, is objective. Houses, gardens, inventions, curiosities, and at times public events and ceremonies stimulate him to write at length. One would be quite grateful if he would have been stimulated to write at such length about one of his many conversations with Charles II, and one would have a much clearer view of Evelyn's remarkable wife had he described her in only half as much detail as he does his two dead children. The memoirs may, in many respects, lack the special diary quality, but this absence does not alter the fact that Evelyn was a diarist. He was a constant observer and recorder of the events of his life, perhaps because he was brought into the midst of so many of the great people of his period and thought his intercourse with them and his activities would be of interest to his successors; perhaps because he foresaw,

after the execution of Charles I, a possibility of continued national strife, the history of which deserved recording; perhaps, because it was yet another systematic and constant occupation which could be continued throughout his lifetime.

Evelyn's diary thus, represents one more step toward the climax in the development of the diary genre. Man, before Evelyn, had been freed from traditional restraints and had begun to record his personal feelings and ideas. Yet, these short entries often resembled church registers or other public records and, frequently, were quite similar to financial notes in an account book. Nevertheless, man was recording. From this beginning, the diary grew. When man and his world advanced, through inventions, discoveries, and innovations, the individual became aware completely of the importance of his personality and came to depend solely upon himself for his view of the world. Also, the educated individual of seventeenth-century England was endowed, usually, with a keen curiosity and tremendous powers of observation, for without these attributes. man found it quite difficult to survive in such a tumultous period of history. Thus, Evelyn vividly recorded those events, sights, and ideas that he felt were important enough to set down. In his entries, also, one sees the refection of the seventeenth century: the belief in the

educational value of travel, the desire for involvement in public service, the tendency to hide one's true thoughts concerning the life of the court, the consideration of one's family life as private. One sees, however, that Evelyn's Diary is not the best representative of the diary, for his work is not completely spontaneous or sincere. To examine a document that exhibits both the detailed, daily recording of an active, interesting man and the special qualities of the true diary form, one must proceed to the diary of Samuel Pepys.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

The diary of Samuel Pepys fulfills all of the conditions characteristic of the diary genre to the fullest degree possible. Pepy's diary is written with a scrupulous regularity daily and is, therefore, quite spontaneous. Detailed narrative of public events, intimate domestic incidents, and candid self-revelation are all included in the pages of the journal, revealing the diarist's tremendous powers of narration and observation. But more than these excellent powers attract the reader to Pepys's record. One is drawn almost uncontrollably to read the entries of this Restoration man, for they emit not only notes of public events and private incidents but as a composite, reveal life itself. It is not the revelation of a life seen only in public but a life cherished privately in the mind of Samuel Pepys and as explained in his motto, "as a man's mind is, so is he."[253]

Samuel Pepys was born in 1633.[254] His father, John Pepys, was a London tailor, who subsequently inherited an

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[253]Wilbur Cortez Abbott, Conflicts with Oblivion, pp. 32-33.

[254]Factual information concerning Samuel Pepys's life may be found in the Dictionary of National Biography, XV, 805-811.

estate at Brampton, near Huntingdon. Samuel, the fifth child of a large family, received his education at Magdalene College, Cambridge. Little is known about Pepys's university career except that on October 22, 1653, he was publicly admonished with another undergraduate for having been "scandalously overserved with drink." In 1655 he married fifteen-year-old Elizabeth Marchant, daughter of a French Huguenot exile. Pepys began his official career as secretary to his cousin, Edward Montague, later Earl of Sandwich, through whose influence he was appointed "clerk of the acts" in the Navy Office and afterwards clerk of the Privy Seal. In 1668 Pepys delivered a speech at the Bar of the House of Commons in defense of the Navy, which had been violently attacked after the war with Holland. This speech gave him the ambition of becoming a member of Parliament. After a period during which he became secretary of the Admiralty, Pepys was elected in 1679 as a member for Harwich. During this time Pepys had been unjustly suspected of popery and accused of betraying naval secrets to the French, accusations resulting from his friendship with the Duke of York, later James II. In 1684 Pepys was elected president of the Royal Society, which he had joined in 1664. With the accession of James II, he became virtually Minister of the Navy, but the revolution of 1688 ended his career. Except for a short period of

imprisonment in 1690 on the charge of Jacobite intrigue, he spent the rest of his life in retirement, corresponding with friends and arranging his valuable library. He died on May 25, 1703, at his house at Clapham.

Thus, Samuel Pepys appears to have lived a long life of profit and usefulness and died esteemed and moderately regretted by many. Perhaps, Evelyn best reveals the public view of Pepys:

> He was universally beloved, hospitable, generous, learned in many things, skilled in music, a very great cherisher of learned men of whom he had the conversation.[255]

The Reverend George Hickes believed that Pepys was indeed a man with an after life in the heavenly realm:

> . . . I believe no man ever went out of this world with greater contempt of it, or a more lively faith in every thing that was revealed of the world to come . . . . I never attended any sick or dying person that died with so much Christian greatness of mind, or a more lively sense of immortality, or so much fortitude and patience in so long and sharp a trial, or greater resignation to what he most devoutly acknowledged to be the wisdom of God.[256]

But Pepys kept a diary that reveals quite the opposite, for the diary shows Pepys, the man, not Pepys, the public

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[255]Evelyn, op. cit., May 25, 1703, III, 165.

[256]Quoted in Gamaliel Bradford, The Soul of Samuel Pepys, p. 9.

figure. The diary reveals Pepys as a representative of mankind in all of his strengths and weaknesses with a candor, an unparalleled, sincere clarity, which has never been equaled. Herein lies the chief attraction of the diary.

Pepys began his nine-year record at the age of twenty-seven, on the eve of the Restoration of the Stuarts to the throne of England. It was an abnormal age of turbulence, reaction, hypocrisy, well delineated by Pepys, uncensored by the habitual conventions and decencies, in his recording of his character, tastes, preoccupations, and pleasures.[257] He was a man with a zest for living and an amateur in the highest sense of the word, being a critic not only of painting and music but also of politics, the drama, theology, mechanics, gardening, hydrostatics, astronomy, riding, dancing, games, dressing, eating and drinking. Indeed, Pepys was a critic of Restoration life. One pictures him watching, listening, observing, making notes for his faithful record. He was all eyes and ears, always collecting impressions and hoarding up gossip and returning at evening to set it all down

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[257]Bradford, The Soul of Samuel Pepys, p. 1.

> . . . not with ordered rhetoric or systematic precision, but in a tumultous hurly-burly which marvelously reflects the fascinating confusion of the spectacle itself.[258]

Pepys reveals the people of the Restoration. There was the great King, whom Pepys saw and almost touched from day to day. Pepys is impressed with his crown and robes, his stateliness and power, but he also notes that kings, too, are human:

> He told me several particulars of the Kings' coming thither, which was might pleasant, and shews how mean a thing a king is, how subject to fall, and how like other men he is in his afflictions.[259]

There is the Queen, brought from Portugal, who is an outcast in language, religion and manners, who finds her husband constantly drawn to any pretty face. Pepys reports her reply to her waiting woman's question as to her ability to sit so long at dressing: "I have so much reason to use patience, that I can very well bear with it."[260] As Bradford points out, " . . . Pepys is not greatly given to quoting verbally, and it is one of the significant evidences of his veracity."[261] Along with the people of importance

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[258]Bradford, op. cit., p. 23.

[259]Samuel Pepys, The Diary of Samuel Pepys, February 20, 1667, VI, 189.

[260]Ibid., July 4, 1663, III, 197.

[261]Bradford, op. cit., p. 24.

of this century are those lesser people, important to Pepys merely because they are members of the human race. One example is an official of the Tower:

> But, Lord! to see what a young, simple, fantastique coxcombe is made Deputy Governor, would make one mad; and how he called out for his nightgown of silk, only to make a show for us; and yet for half an hour I did not think he was the Deputy Governor, and so spoke not to him about the business, but waited for another man.[262]

Furthermore, there is poor Thomas Teddiman who "did die by a thrush in his mouth: a good man, and able and much lamented."[263]

Pepys also paints a real and telling picture of the manners of the time and of court life. Pepys, unlike Evelyn, does not record lengthy reflections upon the atmosphere of the Restoration, nor does he offer summaries of the events at Court. Instead, he offers his reader a view of English life in the 1660's through quick, bare, sudden touches and bits of intense observation and rendering. One sees the political situation with forces of preceding centuries attempting to adjust to the new conditions of the Restoration. The hatred and rivalry of the Dutch is shown, as is the extreme jealousy of the French. And within the country

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[262]Pepys, op. cit., October 30, 1662, II, 380.

[263]Ibid., May 13, 1668, VIII, 15.

itself, England is shaken by the stern old Puritans, fanatical cavaliers, young agressive politicians. Governing individuals appear selfish and corrupt, heedless and unorganized; the people suffer, sometimes quietly, sometimes rather vocally:

> It is said they did in open streets yesterday at Westminster, cry, "A Parliament! A Parliament!" and I do believe it will cost blood to answer for these miscarriages.[264]

However, the Court is not concerned. Only pleasure, wantonness, waste, folly, and love-making are important, and these, too, are exposed by Pepys, exposed with regret but also with understanding and sympathy: "At all which I am sorry; but it is the effect of idleness, and having nothing else to employ their spirits upon."[265] Idleness produced such sights as one of the Duchess's maids, who

> . . . the other day dressed herself like an orange wench and went up and down and cried oranges; till falling down, or by such accident, though in the evening, her fine shoes were discerned, and she put to a great deale of shame.[266]

Idleness also produced such ugly courtiers' talk that Pepys, rather than record it in verbatim, states " . . . it makes

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[264] Ibid., June 14, 1667, VI, 367.

[265] Ibid., November 3, 1662, II, 384.

[266] Ibid., February 21, 1665, IV, 369.

the eares of the very gentlemen of the back-stairs to tingle to hear it spoke in the King's hearing; and that must be very bad indeed."[267] Perhaps, the state of affairs during this time is best revealed in Pepys's entry for June 21, 1667:

> Sir H. Cholmly come to me this day, and tells me the Court is mad as ever; and that the night the Dutch burned our ships the King did sup with my Lady Castlemayne, at the Duchess of Monmouth's, and they were all mad in hunting a poor moth.[268]

The pages of Pepys's diary are even fuller, however, of accounts of the daily life of the common world. There is the church, of which he is a constant and curious, if not very devout, frequenter. He remains true to the habit of his Puritan upbringing, if not to its spirit, for ". . . the pious avowals in Pepys's Diary, unlike Evelyn's never sound a more than perfunctory note . . . ."[269] He was definitely an indefatigable churchgoer and sermon-lover often spending an entire Sunday "till churches were done" going from church to church, picking up bits and pieces of advice and admonition. Often, the sermon proved less entertaining than the week's theatrical performances,

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[267] Ibid., February 22, 1664, IV, 53.

[268] Ibid., June 21, 1667, VI, 380-381.

[269] Willy, op. cit., p. 28.

and Pepys succombed to slumber. "I slept, God forgive me!" is an often repeated expression.

One of Samuel Pepys's greatest loves was the theatre, " . . . which too often for his conscience tempted him to play truant from work, emptied his pockets, and led to repeated solemn vows of renunciation foredoomed to be broken."[270] Pepys records 273 visits to the theatre, mentioning such houses as the Cockpit, the Whitefriars, the Blackfriars, Davenant's, the Red Bull, Salisbury Court, the Opera, the King's Theater, the Duke's Playhouse, the Royal Theater, and the Globe.[271] He viewed both pre-Restoration drama and contemporary plays, the latter characterized by cheap sensation, buffoonery, and indecency, indication of Englishmen's reaction to the Cromwellian rule. Pepys's own taste was influenced by the conditions of his time, as is evidenced in his comments on revivals of Shakespeare's plays. He describes Twelfth Night as "a silly play, . . . not related at all to the name or day;" Romeo and Juliet was " . . . a play of the worst that I ever heard."[272] Pepys makes quite similar remarks for

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[270] Ibid., p. 27.

[271] Louis Pendleton, "Pepys as a Dramatic Critic," South Atlantic Quarterly, XXXV (1936), 415.

[272] Pepys, op. cit., January 6, 1662, III, 6; March 1, 1661, II 197.

Midsummer Night's Dream, The Taming of a Shrew, and The Merry Wives of Windsor. Even when he is relatively pleased with some of Shakespeare's drama, he is cautious in his praises. The Tempest is "an old play of Shakespeare . . . the most innocent I ever saw . . . no great wit, but good above ordinary plays."[273] But as Pendleton explains, " . . . it may be said in his Pepys's defense that these were too often clumsy and atrocious alterations by Davenant or another playwright equally eager to pander to popular palates."[274]

Titles of many of the contemporary plays seen by Pepys reveal something of the tastes of the audience: The Scornful Lady (Beaumont and Fletcher), Love in a Maze (Shirley), A Wife for a Month (Fletcher), and All's Lost but Lust (Rowell). The crudity of the times is also shown in certain of Pepys's comments. One reads of elegant ladies and famous gentlemen paying high prices for oranges, eating them in the most expensive seats of Restoration theatres. One is shocked when the production of The Heyresse cannot be held, for Kinaston, the star, was beaten badly on the order of Sir Charles Sedley. And Pepys must

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[273]Ibid., November 7, 1667, VII, 188.

[274]Pendleton, op. cit., 415.

have snickered silently at The Siege of Rhodes when "by the breaking of a board over our heads we had a great deal of dust fall into the ladys' necks and the men's haire, which made good sport."[275] Certainly, Pepys's record of the theatre implies " . . . moral degeneracy as well as reckless reaction . . . ." against the art of the great Elizabethan stage.[276]

In addition to capturing the atmosphere of the times, Pepys also records eye-witness descriptions of stirring contemporary events. His ability of recording the detail and the color and movement of a scene are revealed early in the diary in his account of Charles II's reception in London and also in the next year with the account of the King's coronation ride from the Tower to Whitehall. However, Pepys is also most graphic in his descriptions of two disasters of the 1660's: the Plague and the Fire. It was in early June, 1665, that he first noticed what was to soon become an all too common sight: "houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and 'Lord have mercy upon us!' write [sic] there."[277] By the end of the month, the Court had

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[275]Pepys, op. cit., July 2, 1661, II, 63.

[276]Pendleton, op. cit., 419.

[277]Pepys, op. cit., June 7, 1665, IV, 428.

fled to the country, and Pepys was sending his mother and, later, his wife out of town. Soon, Pepys begins recording that "The plague encreases mightily, I this day seeing a house, at a bitt-maker's over against St. Clement's Church, in the open street, shut up; which is a sad sight."[278] He sees a coachman become ill on his box, too ill to drive his horses home. A gentleman draws the curtains of a sedan chair to salute some fair lady within and finds himself face to face with the death-dealing eyes and breath of a plague-stricken patient. Pepys himself loses a dear friend to the plague and is haunted by it:

> . . . so after supper to bed, and mightily troubled in my sleep all night with dreams of Jacke Cole, my old schoolfellow, lately dead, who was born at the same time with me, and we reckoned our fortunes pretty equal. God fit me for his condtion! [279]

Even though the spread of the disease prompts him to make his will, he does not desert his post to save himself. He notes other people's various attempts at avoiding contact with the deathly illness, the most pathetic of which is the story of a couple's attempts to save their one remaining child from the disease. Complaint had been made against the father for removing the child from the infected house:

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[278] Ibid., June 26, 1665, IV, 449.

[279] Ibid., July 3, 1665, V, 2.

> . . . it was the child of a very able citizen in Gracious Street, a saddler, who had buried all the rest of his children of the plague, and himself and wife now being shut up and in despair of escaping, did desire only to save the life of this little child; and so prevailed to have it received stark-naked into the arms of a friend . . . .[280]

A year later, Pepys survived unharmed the second great catastrophe of the 1660's, which he also recreates in his entries with vivid realism. It was he who carried first-hand news of the Fire to the King and who took back to the Lord Mayor in the city instructions to pull down all houses in the path of the flames. The fire could not be stopped, however, and Pepys, with this disaster, was soon preparing to leave, riding in his nightgown in his cart filled with his belongings to a place of safety. Nowhere is the destruction and distress of this calamity so well conjured than in Pepys's packed, vigorous narrative which has that urgent actuality of a modern running commentary. Pepys notes the small, particular details of a cat's burning in a chimney and pigeons falling with singed wings from the balconies. He paints pictures of people scambling to save their possessions, the sick being carried out in their beds, the poor refusing to leave until their homes had been engulfed in flames.

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[280] Ibid., September 3, 1665, V, 65.

> Everybody endeavouring to remove their goods, and flinging into the river or bringing them into lighters that lay off; poor people staying in their houses as long as till the very fire touched them, and then running into boats, or clambering from one par of stairs by the waterside to another. And among other things, the poor pigeons, I perceive, were loth to leave their houses, but hovered above the windows and balconys till they were, some of them burned, their wings, and fell down.[281]

Pepys stayed long into the night watching until the fire appeared as " . . . only one entire arch of fire from this to the other side the bridge, and in a bow up the hill for an arch of above a mile long: it made me weep to see it."[282]

The innumerable entries which make the diary so much a document of the inner self are indeed worthy of examination. It is unfortunate, however, that one must examine only representative examples, for the picture of Pepys as a human being, with all of the vanities and weaknesses of the race, is fully conceived only after reading the entire diary and noting a more than coincedental recurrence of such topics as the want of more money, the desire for a new pair of silk stockings, the discomfiture of eating and drinking to the extreme, the attraction of a pretty young woman. Here, in these "personal" entries Pepys's soul is revealed. More importantly, the soul of all mankind is revealed.

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[281] Ibid., September 2, 1666, V, 418.

[282] Ibid., September 2, 1666, V, 421.

The zest which Pepys exhibits for attending plays and church was also evident at the dinner table. He records the tasting of such dishes as eel-pie or lamprey-pie, swan, lobsters, chines of beef, and barrels of oysters. It was not necessary to be entertaining guests in order to have a feast:

> At noon a good venison pasty and a turkey to ourselves without any body so much as invited by us . . . we did it, and were very merry.[283]

Not only does he enjoy good food, but great amounts of it, and one discovers accounts of nights spent in illness because of an orgy of wine and anchovies or the consuming of two hundred walnuts at one sitting.

Almost as numerous as the entries concerning this connoisseur's weakness for food are the entries relating details of his dress. This period of English history was a sartorial age, when men wore colorful and ornamented garments and asserted their position in life by their clothes, and certainly in this concern, Pepys belongs to his age. He says, " . . . clothes I perceive more and more every day a great matter" in 1664, and from this date on he blossoms out in exquisite laces and ruffles, embroidered waistcoats and gaudy coats.[284] He enjoys a childish fascination with

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[283] Ibid., January 1, 1665, IV, 321.

[284] Ibid., Octover 10, 1664, IV, 261.

each new purchase as is revealed in the recording of his reaction to his new watch:

> But, Lord! to see how much of my old folly and childishnesse hangs upon me still that I cannot forbear carrying my watch in my hand in the coach all this afternoon, and seeing what o'clock it is one hundred times.[285]

Pepys's dearest love in private life was music, and, here, too, he was a connoisseur. He refers frequently to songs of his own composition and to his singing lessons. As Brown states, Pepys mentions approximately twenty-five musical instruments, many of which he could play and, at least on thirty occasions, makes reference to the flageolet.[286] Whenever he gathered with a few friends, it was a time for singing and piping. Brown points out that Pepys's entries pertaining to music offer the reader an understanding of the meaning and place of music in Restoration England.[287] There was little formal evening entertainment because of the danger involved in venturing forth, and many Englishmen passed the nights, as did Pepys, in humming tunes or playing the harpsichord or flageolet.[288]

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[285] Ibid., May 13, 1665, IV, 385.

[286] J. I. Brown, "And so to Music; England in the Seventeenth Century as Seen Through the Diary of Samuel Papys," Etude, LXIV (November, 1946), 609.

[287] Loc. cit.

[288] Loc. cit.

Mrs. Pepys also enjoyed music, a fact which Pepys notes in one of the many references to his wife in his diary, so numerous that Gamaliel Bradford states " . . . that few women of the past are better known to us than she."[289] Pepys married her when she was merely fifteen, and it seems from his entries that their marriage was one never to be called dull, for both were sensitive, emotional individuals, quick to be aroused to either anger or love. Pepys's pride and affection for "my wife" alternate with his impatience and irritation. One finds that, when Mrs. Pepys is brought into competition with the ladies at court, Pepys notes that "My wife, by my troth, appeared, I think, as pretty as any of them; I never thought so much before."[290] And there are other entries which, casual and constant, bear proof of the love they shared:

> . . . so home to dinner with my wife very pleasant and pleased with one another's company, and in our general enjoyment of one another, better we think than most other couples do.[291]

At times, however, they disagree so violently that they " . . . come to angry words . . . ."[292] Occasionally, words

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[289]Bradford, op. cit., p.176.

[290]Pepys, op. cit., December 21, 1668, VIII, 185.

[291]Ibid., December 27, 1663, III, 392.

[292]Ibid., May 2, 1663, III, 108.

will not do, and there are cuffs and cruel tweakings of the nose, quite unbecoming to a decorous Navy official.

Undoubtedly, that which did most to wreck the peacefulness of the Pepys household was the husband's extreme sensitivity to feminine charm, difficult to control, even in his pew at church: "To church, where I had the great pleasure of seeing and gazing at many fine women."[293] By modern standards, this weakness, also, would seem unbecoming to a man of Pepys's importance. It must be remembered, however, that the world about him was an extremely licentious one, and although this fact does not excuse Pepys's fondness for other women, it does, in part, explain his weakness. One must also recall the extraordinary candor with which Pepys reveals escapades that most men would attempt to cover up. With a noting also of the good repute Pepys held and the amount of work he accomplished, it would be far from correct to present him, as is often done, as a most debauched and vicious wooer of women. He did, however, appreciate pretty ladies and often pursued them. Naturally, his diary becomes quite interesting at this point, and one is exasperated at Pepys's mischievous reliance on foreign words to conceal his most sensuous thoughts:

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[293] Ibid., May 26, 1667, VI, 337.

> I would also remember to my shame how I was pleased yesterday to find the righteous maid of Magister Griffin sweeping of nostra office, elle con the Roman nariz and bonne body which I did heretofore like, and do still refresh me to think que elle is come to us, that I may voir her aliquando.[294]

Pepys's affair with the maid, Deb, nearly ends his marriage, but calls forth exquisite recordings:

> Home to supper and to bed, where, after lying a little while, my wife starts up, and with expressions of affright and madness, as one frantick, would rise, and I would not let her, but burst out in tears myself, and so continued almost half the night, the moon shining so that it was light, and after much sorrow and reproaches and little raving (though I am apt to think they were counterfeit from her), and my promise again to discharge the girle myself, all was quiet again, and so to sleep.[295]

Passages such as the preceding reveal the truly great literary quality of the Diary. Some scholars will disagree, observing only the crudeness and irregularity of the record, explaining that the reader is attracted only to the quaintness of the record of one man's mind. It is true, indeed, that Pepys's manner of writing somewhat as he thinks is attractive with his lapses and omissions, his indifference to rules of grammar and formal logic, for it gives a spontaniety and sincerity unmatched by any other

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[294] Ibid., March 19, 1667, VI, 229.

[295] Ibid., November 11, 1668, VIII, 149.

writer. It is a serious mistake, however, to say that, because Pepys was not a careful stylist, he was not a great one. As Bradford explains,

> Even the quaintness springs largely from lack of restraint, from throwing off convention, the tedious effort to write like other people, which has come to make so much writing of our own time gray and colorless. Pepys had an extraordinary gift for conveying just what he saw and felt, just as he saw and felt it.[296]

Therefore, Pepys's style is not one of literary devices but of rather simple and direct phrases. It alternates with his impression of the event that he is recording, alternates between bold, glaring, simple intensity and full, sensuous richness. Thus, he conveys vividly one of his many subjective experiences: "Thus we end this month, as I said, after the greatest glut of content that ever I had."[297] However, he may record gently and poetically:

> But I in such fear that I could not sleep till we came to Erith, and there it begun to be calm, and the stars to shine, and so I began to take heart again, and the rest too, and so made shift to slumber a little.[298]

Common incidental events of the objective world also bring out the distinctive descriptive literary ability of Mr. Pepys, an ability which shows Pepys's almost instinctive faculty of acute observation:

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[296]Bradford, op. cit., p. 32.

[297]Pepys, op. cit., July 31, 1665, V, 34.

[298]Ibid., August 4, 1662, II, 298.

> Lord! How I used to adore that man's talke, and now me thinks he is but an ordinary man, his son a pretty boy indeed, but his nose unhappily awry.[299]

Perhaps one explanation for Pepys's style may be found in his method of recording his observations and impressions. Apparently, he formed the habit of recording his thoughts daily, either before going to bed or before drifting off to sleep, for many of his entries close with the phrase "And so to bed." The result of this daily recording is the vigor and freshness of his journal. The diary's sincerity and boldness, however, must be traced to Pepys's use of a type of shorthand and, occasionally, foreign words and phrases to make his notes, for with this method of notation, other eyes would be confused and discouraged. Indeed, it was not until 1819, after scholars became intrigued with the Pepys mentioned so often by John Evelyn, that John Smith, a graduate of Pepys's old Cambridge college, Magdalene, deciphered the manuscript of the diary.[300] Lord Braybrooke then edited a portion of the diary in 1825, followed by fuller editions later in the century.[301] It is quite

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[299] Ibid., April 12, 1664, IV, 106.

[300] Willy, op. cit., p. 26.

[301] Ibid., p. 27.

apparent that Pepys was writing only for his later years and definitely not for publication. The diarist, also, found it difficult to read shorthand, and according to Lord Ponsonby, never reread his diary and never made corrections, alterations, or additions.[302] Pepys " . . . had not the weakness common to so many diarists of reading over his past effusions . . . ."[303] Thus, each entry remains as it was written on the day it was recorded.

In a final analysis, the style of Pepy's Diary must be explained in the person of Samuel Pepys. The interest of the diary, also, both to scholar and layman alike, must be explained in the person of Samuel Pepys. Never was any man endowed with a keener, more tireless spirit of inquiry about the life going on around him. Never was any man so caught up with the zest of living. No aspect of life in his time was too small to record; no aspect of life was too awesome to be more than human. Nothing missed the mind of Samuel Pepys, and his style, therefore, is direct, impulsive, unpremeditated, the artless spontaneity of thought association. The explanation of Pepys's tremendous literary style and a reader's interest in his diary is that his

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[302]Arthur Ponsonby, Samuel Pepys, p. 79.

[303]Loc. cit.

recording is life itself, the fresh and evocative glimpses of ordinary moments, the fundamental sameness of human nature throughout centuries.

Certainly, the private diary of Samuel Pepys must be considered as the diary "par excellence." It is the climax in the development of the diary genre and could have come only after the events in English history of several preceding centuries produced a certain freedom of mind which allowed an individual to cherish his own thoughts and to desire to record them. Pepys's diary could have come only after man was freed in religion, politics, economics, philosophy, and language and could become a unique, feeling, personality who could, and must, make his own decisions, solve his own problems. Once man was freed from the medieval restraints and if he desired to record the events of his life and times, for one or more of a variety of reasons, he might keep a diary. He might wish to comment on matters of state as well as his personal life. He might begin the keeping of an account book, occasionally entering into it his personal remarks. He might note in his educational commonplace book only those outstanding events of the year that he wished to remember. He might record his travels, reveal his sins, mention his friends, speculate upon his health, or enumerate his worldly possessions. But always he was stirred to record, and he did so in some form of notebook in some

method and given style. The method might be quite haphazard or quite exact. The style might be quite bald and dull; or it might be quite cultivated and vivid.

Because of the wide range of subject matter and the variety of methods and styles to be found in diaries, one questions the validity of an exact definition of this genre of literature. One also may consider that, if an exact definition can not be formed, perhaps the diary after all is not a genre of literature. Definitions of the diary center around the item of a daily recording of events and ideas, an extremely vague and general definition, for one may easily see that many, indeed most, works classified as diaries are not ones of daily recording, and "events and ideas" become hard to specify. It would seem that the problem of defining the diary rests in the fact that it requires a definition which is something more than an objective formula. The diary may not be defined with a mathematical equation, for it is a work of the inner man; its subject is life, and its method and style are to be found only within the makeup of the individual recorder. One may point to Pepys's diary as the best example of the form with the exact daily method of recording and the vivid and descriptive style, but one may not set Pepys's record up as a model to be followed. The diary form of writing may not be imitated; in truth, it may not be learned. The

true diary writer must be "born;" his talent must be innate and spontaneous. He must have the desire and habit to record all that goes on around and within him, to record his impressions and observations daily with no thought of eventual publication and no desire, later, to correct earlier errors in his notations in a style expressive, vivid, and interesting. Thus, the definition of the diary may be formed fully only by examination of many diaries and perhaps, finally, only in one's mind in a sense of feeling, speculating what prompted one man's outpouring, sharing with him his joys and sorrows and his desire to record them. That the diary may not be a genre of literature because it is difficult to characterize and even more difficult to write is quite false and foolish. When one attempts to define fully the novel, the poem, or the drama, he, too, encounters tremendous problems. As with the diary, the best examples may be pointed out, but many representatives may be found which deviate from these and from any definition of the genre which is written. Perhaps it is necessary only, with any form of literature, to note that each man who writes is faced with only one responsibility: to record his impression of the human condition in his time in that manner most suitable to the expression of his ideas.

There may be people who condemn diaries as frivolous and negligible unless they deal with historical incidents, but these are people who must attach more importance to the actual than to the human. And it is in the area of the human that the diary form is of most importance. Every event, every historical fact, is composed in its essence of purely human elements. Therefore, anything which contributes to a knowledge of humanity, not only important humanity, but humble humanity, ought not to be ignored or belittled. It is knowledge of all levels of humanity which goes very far to dispel misunderstandings and erroneous judgments because knowledge of this kind produces the most valuable of all relationships, which is sympathy. In diaries human nature is revealed in a way unattainable in any other form of literature.

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