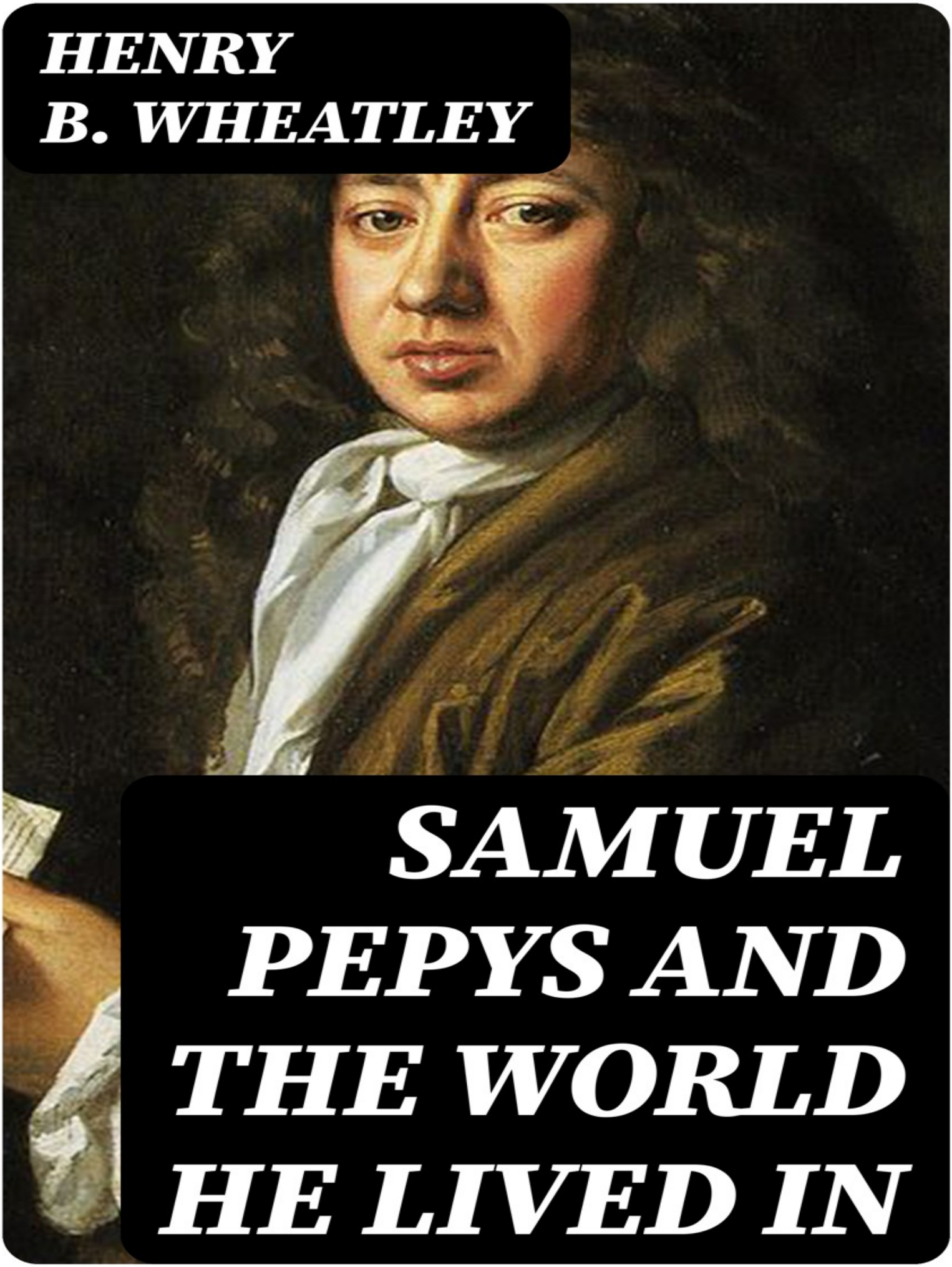

HENRY B. WHEATLEY

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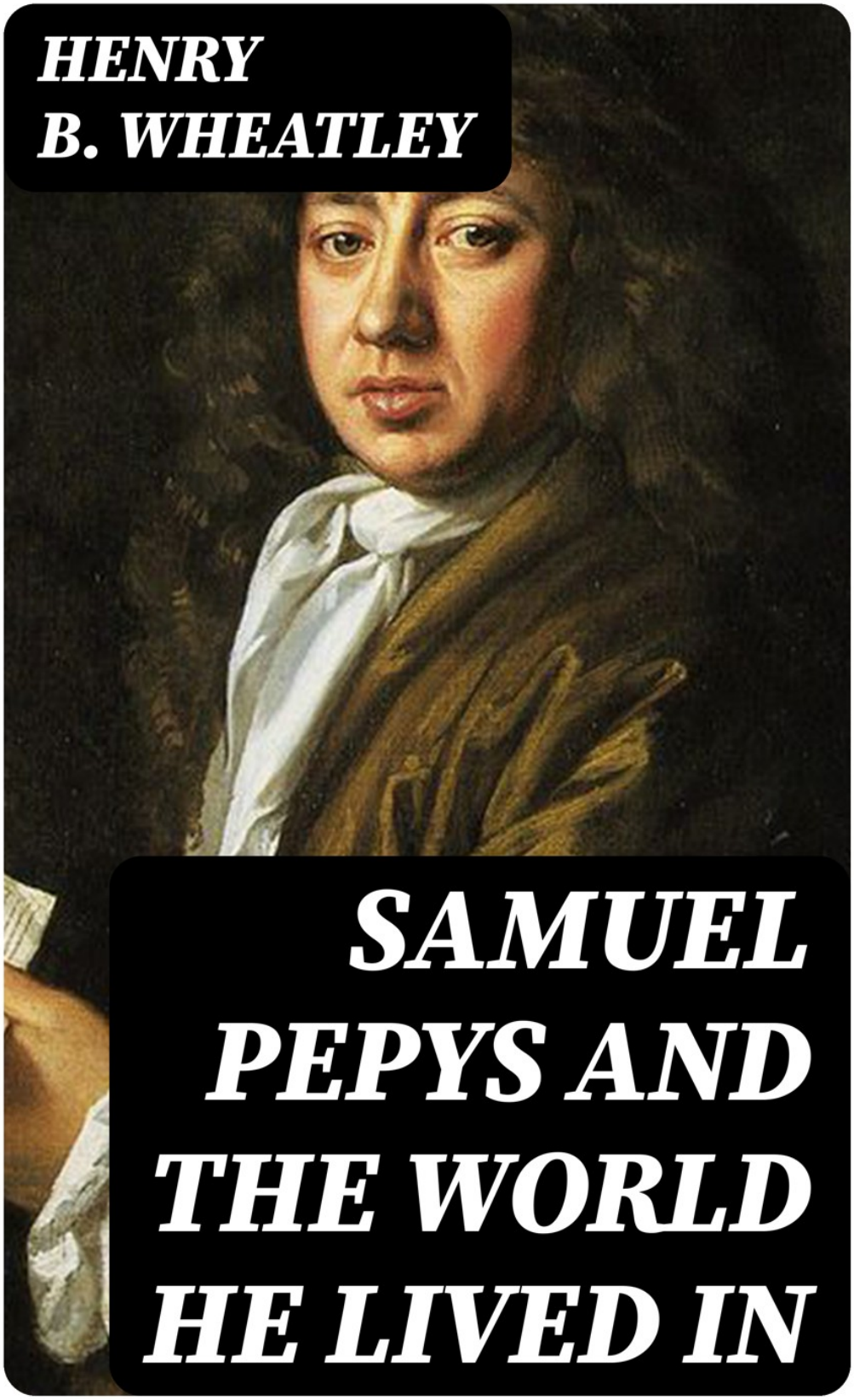

SAMUEL PEPYS AND THE WORLD HE LIVED IN

Henry B. Wheatley

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PREFACE

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PREFACE.

This little book does not need any long Preface, as the title sufficiently explains the object aimed at. Although the various subjects referred to in the "*Diary*" are annotated in the different editions, there is in none of these any complete analysis of the entire work or of the incidents of Pepys's life.

I have endeavoured in the following pages to draw together some of the most interesting incidents of the "*Diary*" relating both to Pepys's life and to the manners of his time, and also to illustrate them from other sources. I have used the best edition of the "*Diary*," by the Rev. Mynors Bright; but in order that this book may form a companion to all editions I have referred to the date of the entries rather than to the volume and page. It must therefore be understood that the passages referred to when not met with in the other editions will be found among the hitherto unpublished matter of that of Mr. Bright. It has been my endeavour to illustrate the contents of this entertaining work more completely than has previously been attempted, and several of the circumstances of Pepys's life are here brought prominently forward for the first time. I may add that the whole of the present volume was printed off before the appearance of the excellent article in the July number of the "*Edinburgh Review*" (1880), as otherwise it might be supposed that certain points had been suggested by that article. I have, however, availed myself of its pages to make a correction of a small matter in the Index.

Mr. T. C. Noble has kindly sent me, since the completion of this book, a copy of Pepys's original marriage certificate from the Registers of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, and I therefore insert it here to complete the account in

Chapter I. “Samuell Peps of this parish Gent & Elizabeth De S^nt^ Michell of Martins in the ffeilds Spinster. Published October 19^th^, 22^nd^, 29^th^ [1655] and were married by Richard Sherwyn Esq^r^ one of the Justices of the Peace of the Cittie and Lyberties of Westm^r^ December 1^st^. (Signed) Ri. Sherwyn.”

The pronunciation of Pepys’s name has long been a disputed point, but although the most usual form at the present day is *Peps*, there can be little doubt that in his own time the name was pronounced as if written *Peeps*. The reasons for this opinion are: (1) that the name was sometimes so spelt phonetically by some of his contemporaries, as in the Coffee-house paper quoted in the “*Diary*” (ed. Mynors Bright, vol. vi. p. 292): “On Tuesday last Mr. Peeps went to Windsor,” &c.; (2) that this pronunciation is still the received one at Magdalene College, Cambridge; and (3) that the present bearers of the name so pronounce it.

In conclusion, it is my pleasing duty to express here my best thanks to those friends who have kindly assisted me in my work. Chief among these are Professor Newton, F.R.S., who, as Fellow of Magdalene College, facilitated my inquiries respecting the Pepysian Library, Mr. Pattrick, Senior Fellow and President of the College, Mr. Pepys Cockerell, Mr. George Scharf, F.S.A., Mr. Richard B. Prosser, of the Patent Office, who communicated the documents relating to Mrs. Pepys’s father, and Colonel Pasley, whose List of the Secretaries of the Admiralty, &c., in the Appendix will be found of great value, not merely in illustrating Pepys’s life, but as a real addition to our information respecting the history of the Navy.

H. B. W.

5, Minford Gardens, W.,
September, 1880.

P.S. Since the first publication of this book I have received an interesting letter from Mr. Walter Courtenay Pepys, a member of the Cottenham branch of the Pepys family, who, while agreeing with the statement above as to the Diarist’s pronunciation, reminds me that his branch have pronounced the name as “Pep-pis” for at least one hundred years. In favour of this pronunciation Mr. Pepys adds that the French branch, which is now settled at La Rochelle, but came from Languedoc and originally from Italy (where the name exists as “Peppi”), now spell the name “Pepy.”

CHAPTER I.

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SAMUEL PEPYS AND THE WORLD HE LIVED IN.

CHAPTER I.

PEPYS BEFORE THE *DIARY*.

"He was a *pollard* man, without the *top* (*i. e.* the reason as the source of ideas, or immediate yet not sensuous truths, having their evidence in themselves; or the imagination or idealizing power, by symbols mediating between the reason and the understanding), but on this account more broadly and luxuriantly branching out from the upper trunk."—COLERIDGE's MS. note in his copy of the "*Diary*" (*Notes and Queries*, 1st S. vol. vi. p. 215).

Samuel Pepys was the first of a well-established stock to make a name in the outer world, but since his time the family can boast of having had amongst its members a Court physician, a bishop, and a lord chancellor.

The earliest recorded Pepys was named Thomas, and appears, on the authority of the Court Rolls of the manor of Pelhams, in Cottenham, to have been bailiff of the Abbot of Crowland's lands in Cambridgeshire, in the early part of the reign of Henry VI.[1] From that time the family flourished, and there seems to be some reason for believing that certain members enriched themselves with the spoils of the abbey lands in the time of Henry VIII.

Before the Diarist became known, one of the most distinguished members of the family was Richard Pepys, created Lord Chief Justice of Ireland by Charles I. When the King was executed, Richard resigned his office; but he enjoyed the favour of Cromwell, and resumed the place. As he did not die until 1678, it is strange that there should be no allusion to him in the "*Diary*."

The branch from which Samuel was descended had not much money; and his father, being a younger son, came to London and became a tailor. This descent in the social scale has caused much misapprehension, and his enemies did not forget to taunt him on his connection with tailoring; but it is a well-accredited axiom that trade does not injure gentry. Some remarks of Pepys himself upon his family have been greatly misunderstood. Referring to the non-appearance of any account of the Pepyses in Fuller's "Worthies," he writes:—"But I believe, indeed, our family were never considerable."[2] Dr. Doran paraphrased this into: "Let others say of his

family what they might: he, for his own part, did not believe that it was of anything like gentle descent."[3] This is a pure blunder, for Pepys merely meant that none of the family had made much mark; and he would have been very indignant had any one told him that they were not gentle.

Samuel, the fifth child of John and Margaret Pepys, was born on February 23rd, 1632, either at Brampton, a village near Huntingdon, or in London. There is something to be said in favour of each supposition, but, as the registers of Brampton church do not commence until the year 1654,[4] the question cannot now be definitely settled. We have Pepys's own authority for the statement that his father and mother were married at Newington, in Surrey, on October 15th, 1626.[5] The register of marriages of St. Mary, Newington, has been searched, but the name of Pepys occurs neither in the years 1625, 1626, nor in 1627,[6] and Mrs. John Pepys's maiden name is still unknown. In early youth, Samuel went to a school at Huntingdon, as appears by a passage in the "*Diary*" (March 15th, 1659–60), where he writes: "I met Tom Alcock, one that went to school with me at Huntingdon, but I had not seen him this sixteen years." He seems to have spent his youth pretty equally between town and country, for on one occasion, when he was walking over the fields to Kingsland, he remembered the time when, as a boy, he lived there, and "used to shoot with my bow and arrow in these fields."[7] When he left

Huntingdon he entered St. Paul's School, and remained there until he had reached the age of seventeen. In after life, on the occasion of an official visit to Mercers' Hall, he remembered the time when he was a petitioner for his exhibition.[8] He was a stout Roundhead in his boyish days, and this fact was remarked upon, to his great chagrin, in after years, by his friend and schoolfellow Mr. Christmas. He went to see the execution of Charles I. at Whitehall, and made himself conspicuous by saying on his return that, were he to preach upon the event of the day, he should select as his text the verse: "The memory of the wicked shall rot." He was in some fear that Mr. Christmas might remember this also, but he was happy to find that that gentleman had left school before the incident occurred.[9] Pepys always took a lively interest in the welfare of his school, to which references are frequently made in the "*Diary*."

In 1650, his name occurs as a sizar on the boards of Trinity College, Cambridge; but before going to reside at the University, on March 5, 1650–51,[10] he was entered at Magdalene College, having probably been led to make the change by the greater inducements held out to him by the latter college. Here he was elected into one of Mr. Spendluffe's scholarships in the following month; and two years later, on October 14, 1653, he was preferred to one on Dr. John Smith's foundation. His father was at this time described as a citizen of London.

Little is known of Samuel's academic career, during which he does not appear to have gained much distinction; and remarks in various parts of the "*Diary*" show that his conduct was not such as became a Puritan. The College books can be brought as a witness against him, for we learn from that source that, on October 21st, 1653, "Peapys and Hind were solemnly admonished ... for having been scandalously over-served with drink the night before." Still, we must not jump to the conclusion that his time was entirely wasted, for he evidently carried into his busy life a good stock of classical learning. It was while he was at the University that he made the acquaintance of the learned Selden, from whom he borrowed the collection of ballads which formed the basis of the famous Pepysian collection. He relates that, while at Cambridge, he wrote a romance entitled, "Love a Cheate," which he tore up on the 30th of January, 1663–64. This work of destruction must have been performed with some feelings of regret, for he tells us that he rather liked the tale, and wondered that he had ever been able to write so well. His previous literary performances had consisted in the concocting of some anagrams upon Mrs. Elizabeth Whittle, afterwards the wife of Sir Stephen Fox.[11] It is not recorded at what time Pepys left college, but it must have been either in 1654 or 1655. He was made Master of Arts by proxy, in June, 1660, the grace being passed on the 26th of that month.

On the 1st of December, 1655,[12] when he was still without any settled means of support, Pepys married Elizabeth St. Michel, a beautiful and portionless girl of fifteen. Although there is extant a letter from Balthasar St. Michel to Pepys (dated from Deal, February 8th, 1673–74), in which the history of Mrs. Pepys's family is set forth, Lord Braybrooke was contented with the information on her monument, and merely added that she was educated in a convent, which in point of fact she was not. The letter alluded to was printed as far back as the year 1841,[13] and yet I cannot find that the history contained in it has ever been used by the biographers of Pepys. What is even more remarkable than Lord Braybrooke's silence respecting it, is the fact that the Rev. John Smith, who published the letter, overlooked it when he wrote his introduction. Mons. St. Michel was of a good family in Anjou, but having turned Huguenot at the age of twenty-one, when in the German service, his father disinherited him, and he was left penniless. He came over to England in the retinue of Henrietta Maria, on her marriage with Charles I., as one of her Majesty's gentleman carvers; but the Queen dismissed him on finding out that he was a Protestant, and did not go to mass. Being a handsome man with courtly manners, he gained the affections of the daughter of Sir Francis Kingsmall (lately left a widow by an Irish squire), who married him against the wishes of her family, and, with £1,500 which they raised, the

newly-married couple started for France, in the hope of recovering, if possible, some part of the family estates. Unhappily, they were taken prisoners at sea, with all their goods, by the Dunkirkers, and when released they settled at Bideford, in Devonshire. Here, or near by, Elizabeth and Balthasar and the rest of the family were born.

In course of time they all went to France, and the father, in command of a company of foot, assisted at the taking of Dunkirk. He occupied his time with propositions of perpetual motion and other visionary schemes, and consequently brought himself and all dependent upon him to the brink of poverty. While he was away from Paris, some devout Roman Catholics persuaded Madame St. Michel to place her daughter in the nunnery of the Ursulines. The father was enraged at this action, but managed to get Elizabeth out of the nunnery after she had been there twelve days. Thinking that France was a dangerous place to live in, he hurried his family back to England, and shortly afterwards Elizabeth married Pepys. Her father was greatly pleased that she had become the wife of a true Protestant; and she herself said to him, kissing his eyes, "Dear father, though in my tender years I was by my low fortune in this world deluded to popery by the fond dictates thereof, I have now (joined with my riper years, which give me more understanding) a man to my husband too wise, and one too religious in the Protestant religion, to suffer my thoughts to bend that way any more."

There are several references in the "*Diary*" to Mrs. Pepys's father and mother, who seem never to have risen out of the state of poverty into which they had sunk. On May 2, 1662, Mons. St. Michel took out a patent, in concert with Sir John Collidon and Sir Edward Ford,[14] for the purpose of curing smoky chimneys; but this scheme could not have been very successful, as a few months afterwards he was preparing to go to Germany in order to fight against the Turks.[15] Pepys gave him some work to do in 1666, and Mrs. Pepys carried the account-books that he was to rule; but such jobs as these must have given him but a sorry living, and in the following year he again proposed to go abroad. Pepys sent him three jacobuses in gold to help him on his journey.[16] We hear nothing more of either father or mother, with the exception of an allusion to their pleasure at seeing the prosperous state of their daughter[17]—a prosperity in which they certainly did not share.

This account of Mrs. Pepys's parentage has led us away from the early days of Pepys, when, with improvident passion, he married his young wife; and we will therefore return to the year 1655. Early marriages were then far from uncommon, and Mrs. Pepys's beauty was considered as forming a very valid excuse for the improvidence of the match. There seems to be some reason for believing that she was of a dark complexion, for her husband on one occasion was mad with her for dressing herself according to the fashion in fair hair.[18] Sir Edward

Montagu, who was Pepys's first cousin one remove (Samuel's grandfather and Sir Edward's mother being brother and sister), gave a helping hand to the imprudent couple, and allowed them to live in his house. The Diarist alludes to this time, when, some years afterwards, he writes of how his wife "used to make coal fires, and wash" his "foul clothes with her own hand," in their little room at Lord Sandwich's. [19]

Samuel does not appear to have lived with his father after he had grown up, and as old John Pepys was not a very thriving tradesman, it seems likely that Montagu had previously assisted his young kinsman. Indeed, it was probably under his patronage that Samuel went to the University.

The Diarist seems to have held some official position in the year 1656, because on Thursday, August 7th, a pass was granted "to John Pepys and his man with necessaries for Holland, being on the desire of Mr. Sam[ll]. Pepys."[20] John Pepys had probably long been in the habit of going backwards and forwards to Holland, for Samuel writes (January 24th, 1665–66): "We went through Horslydowne, where I never was since a little boy, that I went to enquire after my father, whom we did give over for lost coming from Holland." Whether these journeys were undertaken in the way of business, or whether they had any connection with Montagu's affairs, we cannot now tell. That Samuel acted as a sort of agent for Montagu, we have evidence; and among the

Rawlinson Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library is a memorandum of the payment to him on General Montagu's part for the ransom of the Marquis of Baydez (22nd January, 1656–57).

On March 26th, 1658, he underwent an operation for the stone, a disease that seems to have been inherited. The operation was successfully performed, and ever after he made a practice of celebrating the anniversary of this important event in his life with thanksgiving.

In 1659 he accompanied Sir Edward Montagu in the "Naseby," when that admiral made his expedition to the Sound; and he was very surprised to learn afterwards how negotiations had been carried on of which at the time he was quite ignorant. This is not the place for a history of the various stages that led to the Restoration, but a passing allusion to one of these may be allowed here, as the particulars are given in the "*Diary*." When Sir Edward Montagu left England for the Sound, he said to the Protector Richard, on parting with him, that "he should rejoice more to see him in his grave at his return home, than that he should give way to such things as were then in hatching, and afterwards did ruin him."[21] Finding the condition of affairs in England hopeless, Montagu took advantage of this expedition to correspond with Charles II.; but he had to be careful and secret, for his fellow-plenipotentiary, Algernon Sidney, who suspected him, was an enemy.[22] Pepys's remark on finding out what had been going

on under his nose was, "I do from this raise an opinion of him, to be one of the most secret men in the world, which I was not so convinced of before."[23]

On Pepys's return to England he was employed in the office of Mr., afterwards Sir George, Downing, as a clerk of the Exchequer connected with the pay of the army, and soon afterwards commenced to keep the "*Diary*" which we now possess.

The account of the incidents of Pepys's early life must be more or less fragmentary, as they can be obtained merely from occasional allusions; and it is only in the next chapter, in which we see Pepys in the "*Diary*," that we can obtain any full idea of the man as painted by himself. Before passing on to this part of our subject, it will be well to set down a few notes on the "*Diary*" as a book. The book has thrown such a flood of light upon the history and manners of the middle of the seventeenth century, that we are apt to forget the fact that before the year 1825 the world knew nothing of this man of gossip. Yet so ungrateful are we to our benefactors, that the publication of the "*Diary*" did an immense injury to the writer's reputation. Previously he was known as a staid, trustworthy, and conscientious man of business; as a patron of science and literature, and as a President of the Royal Society. Jeremy Collier says, he was "a philosopher of the severest morality." Since 1825 we have been too apt to forget

the excellence of his official life, and to think of him only as a busybody and a *quidnunc*.

When Pepys's library was presented to Magdalene College, Cambridge, by his nephew, John Jackson, in 1724, there were, among the other treasures, six small volumes of closely-written MS. in shorthand (upwards of three thousand pages in all), which attracted little or no notice until after the publication of Evelyn's "*Diary*." Then it was that the Hon. and Rev. George Neville, Master of the College, drew them out of their obscurity, and submitted them to his kinsman, the well-known statesman, Lord Grenville, who had as a law student practised shorthand. Lord Grenville deciphered a few of the pages, and drew up an alphabet and list of arbitrary signs. These were handed to John Smith, an undergraduate of St. John's College, who undertook to decipher the whole. He commenced his labours in the spring of 1819, and completed them in April, 1822—having thus worked for nearly three years, usually for twelve and fourteen hours a day.[24] What was remarkable in all this was, that in the Pepysian library there rested a little volume which contained the account of Charles II.'s escape after the battle of Worcester, taken down in shorthand by Pepys from the King's dictation, and written out by himself in long-hand. Here, therefore, was the key that would have unlocked the "*Diary*" quite overlooked. Lord Braybrooke made the statement that the cipher used by Pepys "greatly resembled

that known by the name of Rich's system;" but this was misleading, as the system really adopted was the earlier one of Thomas Shelton. Mr. J. E. Bailey, F.S.A., communicated a very valuable paper, "*On the Cipher of Pepys's Diary*," to the Manchester Literary Club in 1876, in which he gave particulars of the various old systems of shorthand, and expressed the opinion that Pepys made himself familiar with Shelton's "*Tachygraphy*"[25] while a student at Cambridge. The earliest edition of Rich's "*Pen's Dexterity*" was published in 1654, while in 1642 Shelton could refer to twenty years' experience as a shorthand-writer. When the Rev. Mynors Bright was about to decipher the "*Diary*" afresh, he consulted Shelton's book, a copy of which, with other works on shorthand, is preserved in the Pepysian Library. Mr. Bright informs us that, "When Pepys wished to keep anything *particularly concealed*, he wrote his cipher generally in French, sometimes in Latin, or Greek, or Spanish. This gave me a great deal of trouble. Afterwards he changed his plan and put in *dummy* letters. I was quite puzzled at this, and was nearly giving up in despair the hope of finding out his device, but at last, by rejecting every other letter, I made out the words. It would have been better for Pepys's credit if these passages could not have been deciphered, as all of them are quite unfit for publication."

Pepys was a great lover of shorthand, and he was always ready to invent a character, as it was then

called, for a friend. He used the art in drafting his public and private letters; and although he was forced to discontinue his "*Diary*" in 1669, on account of the weakness of his eyesight, he continued its use throughout his life.

We learn from the "*Diary*" itself some particulars of how it was written. The incidents of each day were dotted down in short, and then the writer shut himself up in his office to fill up all the details. Sometimes he was in arrear: thus we read, on January 1st, 1662–63, "So to my office to set down these two or three days' journal;" on September 24th, 1665, "Then I in the cabin to writing down my journal for these last seven days to my great content;" and on November 10th, 1665, "Up and entered all my journal since the 28th of October, having every day's passage well in my head, though it troubles me to remember it."

Lord Braybrooke, who first introduced the "*Diary*" to the public, had no very accurate notions of the duties of an editor; and he treated his manuscript in a very unsatisfactory manner. Large portions were omitted without explanation, and apparently without reason; and although much was added to succeeding editions, still the reader might well say—

"That cruel something unpossess'd
Corrodes and leavens all the rest."

The third edition, published in 1848, contained a large mass of restored passages, amounting, it is said, to not less than one-fourth of the entire work.

Some fresh notes were added to the fourth edition, published in 1854; but no alteration of the text was made beyond "the correction of a few verbal errors and corrupt passages hitherto overlooked." Subsequent editions have been mere reprints of these. In 1875 appeared the first volume of the Rev. Mynors Bright's entirely new edition, with about one-third of matter never yet published, all of which was of the true Pepysian flavour. Here was a treat for the lovers of the "*Diary*" which they little expected.

Having traced the particulars of Pepys's life to the year 1659, and described the way in which the "*Diary*" was written, and the means by which it first saw the light, I will now pass on to notice, in the next chapter, the chief personal incidents recorded in the book itself.

Footnote

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- **[1] "*Diary*," ed. Mynors Bright, vol. iv. p. 366; vol. vi. p. 306.**
- **[2] "*Diary*," Feb. 10, 1661–62.**
- **[3] "*Habits and Men*," p. 300.**
- **[4] I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Herbert Bree, Rector of Brampton, for this information.**
- **[5] "*Diary*," Dec. 31, 1664.**
- **[6] "*Notes and Queries*," 1st S. vol. xii. p. 102.**
- **[7] "*Diary*," May 12, 1667.**

- **[8] Jan. 22, 1660–61.**
- **[9] Nov. 1, 1660.**
- **[10] “Did put on my gown first, March 5, 1650–51,” Dec. 31, 1664 (note).**
- **[11] “*Diary*,” Nov. 11, 1660.**
- **[12] Lord Braybrooke says October, but the “*Athenæum*” (1848, p. 551) says December 1st.**
- **[13] “Life, Journals, and Correspondence of S. Pepys,” vol. i. p. 146.**
- **[14] “*Diary*,” Sept. 22, 1663. In the original patent (No. 138) St. Michel’s name appears as Alexander Merchant of St. Michaell. (See Appendix.)**
- **[15] Jan. 4, 1663–64.**
- **[16] June 21, 1667.**
- **[17] Dec. 28, 1668.**
- **[18] “*Diary*,” May 11, 1667.**
- **[19] Feb. 25, 1666–67.**
- **[20] Entry-Book No. 105 of the Protector’s Council of State, p. 327 (*quoted*, “*Notes and Queries*,” 5th S. vol. v. p. 508).**
- **[21] “*Diary*,” June 21, 1660.**
- **[22] March 8, 1664–65.**
- **[23] Nov. 7, 1660.**
- **[24] Smith afterwards took orders, and was presented to the rectory of Baldock in Hertfordshire by Lord Brougham in 1832, at the instigation of Harriet Martineau. In 1841 he published two octavo volumes, entitled, “*The***

***Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, Esq., F.R.S.*" This wretchedly edited book contains the Tangier "Diary" and much valuable information; but I cannot find that the information has been used by the successive editors of the "*Diary*." He died in 1870.**

- **[25] "*Tachygraphy*. The most exact and compendious methode of short and swift writing that hath ever yet beene published by any. Composed by Thomas Shelton, author and professor of the said art. Approued by both Unyuersities. Ps. 45, 1, My tongue is as the pen of a swift writer." 1641.**

CHAPTER II.

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CHAPTER II.

PEPYS IN THE "*DIARY*."

"An exact Diary is a window into his heart that maketh it: and therefore pity it is that any should look therein but either the friends of the party or such ingenuous foes as will not, especially in things doubtful, make conjectural comments to his disgrace."—PRYNNE'S *Remarks on Abp. Laud*.

On the 1st of January, 1659–60, Samuel Pepys (then in his twenty-seventh year) commenced to write his famous "*Diary*." If, as seems more than probable, he had previously kept a journal of some kind, all traces of it are now lost; and our earliest glimpses of the circumstances of his life are to be obtained only from the "*Diary*," which is by far the most remarkable book of its kind in existence. Other men have written diaries and confessions, but they

have been intended either for the public or at least for a small circle of friends to see. This "*Diary*" was only intended for the writer's eye. He wrote it in secret, and when he unguardedly told Sir William Coventry in the Tower that he kept a diary, he was sorry for his indiscretion immediately afterwards. Pepys has been likened to the barber of King Midas, who relieved his mind by communicating to a bundle of reeds the fact that his master had the ears of an ass; and assuredly no other writer has so unreservedly stripped his soul bare. It is, therefore, only fair to bear in mind what is said in the motto at the head of this chapter, and not to forget that very few could bear the accusing witness of such a truthful record of thoughts as well as actions as is here. The "*Diary*" extends over nearly ten eventful years in the history of England, and contains a voluminous record of both public and private events. The fascination of Pepys's garrulity is so great, that most of those who have written about him have found it difficult to restrain their praise within bounds. A writer in the "*Athenæum*" (apparently the late Peter Cunningham) was quite carried away by his subject when he wrote—"He has the minuteness of Dee and Ashmole without their tediousness, the playfulness of Swift in his best moments without his prejudice and his party feelings, and a charm over Byron and Scott, and, indeed, above all other memorialists that we can call to mind, in that his

Diary was kept without the slightest view to publication."[26]

I will now first note some of the chief circumstances of Pepys's life during the period covered by the "*Diary*," and then say something about his character as it is painted by himself.

When we are first introduced to Pepys he is living in Axe Yard, Westminster, with very small means of support, but making so good a show that he is esteemed rich. His family consists of himself, his wife, and servant Jane. During the frosty weather they have not a coal in the house, and he is forced to dine at his father's, or make himself as comfortable as he can up in the garret. That the larder is not very plentifully supplied is seen by the fact that, on the 1st of February, he and his wife dine on pease pudding, and on nothing else. At one time he has not money enough in the house to pay the rent, but soon afterwards he finds himself worth *£*40 which he did not expect, and is therefore afraid that he must have forgotten something. On the 16th of January, Mr. Downing (in whose office he then was) asked our Diarist, in a half-hearted way, whether he would go to Holland, and gave him the impression that his services could be dispensed with. At this time political affairs were in the greatest confusion, and no one knew what opinions to hold with profit to himself. Thus, William Symons said that "he had made shift to keep in, in good esteem and employment through eight governments in one year,

and then failed unhappy in the ninth, viz., that of the King's coming in."[27]

As in times of anarchy every one wishes to talk, the Rota, or Coffee Club founded by James Harrington, the author of "*Oceana*," was found to be a congenial resort by those who wished to express their opinions on passing events. The principle of the club was political, and the plan formed there for the government of the country was, that every official should be chosen by ballot. Every year a third part of the House of Commons were to "rote out by ballot," and no magistrate was to continue in his position more than three years. Other than politicians attended the meetings, and many distinguished men, such as Dr. Petty, Dr. Croon, Sir William Poultney, and Cyriack Skinner, were to be found in the evening at the Turk's Head, in the New Palace Yard. The room was usually as full as it would hold, and Aubrey gives it as his opinion that the arguments heard in Parliament were flat as compared with those delivered at the Rota Club. The object of worship was the ballot-box, and the company sat round an oval table, which had a passage in the middle for Miles, the landlord, to deliver his coffee. Pepys paid his eighteen-pence on becoming a member of the club, on the 9th of January, 1659–60, and he frequently attended after this. If the following can be considered as a good illustration of proceedings, there must have been considerable divergence in the opinions of the members:—"I went to the Coffee Club

and heard very good discourse; it was in answer to Mr. Harrington's answer, who said that the state of the Roman government was not a settled government, and so it was no wonder that the balance of property was in one hand, and the command in another, it being therefore always in a posture of war; but it was carried by ballot, that it was a steady government; so to-morrow it is to be proved by the opponents that the balance lay in one hand and the government in another."[28] On the 20th of February, Pepys writes: "After a small debate upon the question whether learned or unlearned subjects are best, the club broke up very poorly, and I do not think they will meet any more." After the Restoration Harrington was put in the Tower, and then removed to Portsea Castle. His imprisonment turned him mad, so that he fancied his perspiration turned sometimes to flies and sometimes to bees, but all his hallucinations were inoffensive. One of the first steps taken by Monk towards obtaining a free Parliament was the admission of the secluded members who had been previously purged out. Pepys describes the marching-in of these men on the 21st of February, and specially notices Prynne's "old basket-hilt sword." The editors of the "*Diary*" might have illustrated this by an amusing passage from Aubrey's "*Lives*." It appears that as the members were going to the House, Prynne's long rusty sword "ran between Sir William Waller's short legs, and threw him down;" which caused laughter, as Aubrey

takes care to add. About this time Pepys seems to have discerned the signs of the times, for we find him, on a visit to Audley End, drinking the health of the King down in a cellar.[29] Sir Edward Montagu now comes to the front, and is intent upon benefiting his kinsman. Pepys hopes to be made Clerk of the Peace for Westminster, but finds the place already promised to another. Montagu offers him the post of Secretary to the Generals at Sea, which he joyfully accepts; and he receives his warrant on the 22nd of March. The following day sees the party on board the "Swiftsure" at Longreach, where Pepys receives a letter directed to "S. P., Esq.," and this superscription seems to have delighted him greatly, for he says, "of which God knows I was not a little proud." On the 30th inst. Montagu and his people went on board the "Naseby," which was the ship in which he had gone to the Sound in the previous year. They remain for a time in the neighbourhood of Deal, and on the 3rd of May the King's declaration and letter to the two generals is received by Montagu, who dictates to Pepys the words in which he wishes the vote in favour of the King to be couched. The captains all came on board the "Naseby," and Pepys read the letter and declaration to them; and while they were discoursing on the subject he pretended to be drawing up the form of vote, which Montagu had already settled. When the resolution was read, it passed at once; and the seamen all cried out, "God bless King Charles!" a cry that was echoed by the