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# SAMUEL PEPYS & HIS BOOKS

*Reading, Newsgathering,  
& Sociability, 1660–1703*

KATE LOVEMAN

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UNIVERSITY PRESS



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Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,  
United Kingdom

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First Edition published in 2015

Impression: 1

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Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press  
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data  
Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2014953675

ISBN 978-0-19-873268-6

Printed and bound by  
CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

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Supported by



Arts & Humanities  
Research Council

For Harold Roberts (1914–2012)



## *Acknowledgements*

For advice and for comments on early versions of this work I would like to thank Sarah Knight, Gordon Campbell, John Coffey, Mark Goldie, Julie Coleman, Martin Dzelzainis, David Clark, Orietta da Rold, and the readers for OUP. I have also been helped by the librarians and the owners of manuscripts who gave me access to materials and sometimes advised on them. At the Pepys Library Richard Lockett, Jane Hughes, Aude Fitzsimons, Phillipa Grimstone, and Catherine Sutherland helped me literally get to grips with Pepys's books. Valuable assistance also came from the staff of the Bodleian Library Special Collections, Stephen Tabor at the Huntington Library, Amanda Saville at The Queen's College in Oxford, David Tennant and Wendy Hawke at the London Metropolitan Archives, and John Montagu, Earl of Sandwich. The 'Communities and Networks in the Book Trade' workshop organized by John Hinks in 2009 took my work in a new direction, while the members of the History of the Book Reading Group at the University of Leicester provided inspiration on reading (and sociability too). Ruth Stedman and Stephen Frith helped, inadvertently, with where to start the book. Steve and Judith Loveman helped me actually finish.

This project would not have been possible without the work of the editors of Pepys's diaries and correspondence. Robert Latham and William Matthews's excellent edition of Pepys's diary is, of course, at the forefront—invaluable for its reliable text and for the detailed apparatus which pools the knowledge of many researchers. Recent work by C. S. Knighton, by the volume editors of the modern Pepys Library catalogue, and by Guy de la Bédoyère has made the contents of Pepys's library and correspondence more readily accessible. A list of printed editions of Pepys's letters and diaries can be found in my Select Bibliography.

Institutional support and funding for this project have come from St Anne's College, Oxford, from the University of Leicester, and through an Early Career Fellowship from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (<<http://www.ahrc.uk>>).

Parts of Chapter 8, together with an earlier transcript of the manuscript 'Notes from Discourses touching Religion', were first published in my article 'Samuel Pepys and "Discourses touching Religion under James II"', *English Historical Review*, 127 (2012), 46–82. Parts of Chapter 9 appeared as 'Books and Sociability: The Case of Samuel Pepys's Library', *Review of English Studies*, 61 (2010), 214–33. Both journals are published by Oxford University Press.

Extracts from *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols., are reprinted by permission of Peters Fraser & Dunlop (<<http://www.petersfraserdunlop.com>>) on behalf of the Estate of Robert Latham.



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## Abbreviations

'Appendix Classica'	<i>Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge</i> , vol. 7: <i>Facsimile of Pepys's Catalogue</i> , ed. David McKitterick, pt. 2: 'Appendix Classica' (Cambridge: Brewer, 1991)
BL	British Library, London
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
<i>Census</i>	<i>Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge</i> , supplementary series 1: <i>Census of Printed Books</i> , ed. C. S. Knighton (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004)
CUP	Cambridge University Press
<i>Diary</i>	<i>The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription</i> , ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (London: HarperCollins; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000; 1st pub. London: Bell, 1971–83)
<i>Hooke's Diary 1672–1683</i>	London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/495/MS01758, Diary of Robert Hooke, 10 March 1672 to 16 May 1683. No pagination or foliation, so references are by date. Sections are printed in <i>The Diary of Robert Hooke, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., 1672–1680</i> , ed. Henry W. Robinson and Walter Adams (London: Taylor & Francis, 1935)
Howarth	<i>Letters and the Second Diary of Samuel Pepys</i> , ed. R. G. Howarth (London and Toronto: Dent; New York: Dutton, 1932)
<i>Naval Minutes</i>	<i>Samuel Pepys's Naval Minutes</i> , ed. J. R. Tanner, Publications of the Naval Record Society 60 ([London]: Naval Records Society, 1926)
<i>Navy White Book</i>	<i>Samuel Pepys and the Second Dutch War: Pepys's Navy White Book and Brooke House Papers</i> , transcribed by William Matthews and Charles Knighton, ed. Robert Latham, Publications of the Naval Records Society 133 (Aldershot: Scolar Press for the Navy Records Society, 1995)
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (online edn.), ed. Lawrence Goldman, Oxford University Press < <a href="http://www.oxforddnb.com">http://www.oxforddnb.com</a> >
OUP	Oxford University Press
<i>Particular Friends</i>	<i>Particular Friends: The Correspondence of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn</i> , ed. Guy de la Bédoyère (new edn., Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005)
<i>Pepys Catalogue</i>	<i>Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge</i> , gen. ed. Robert Latham, 7 vols. (Cambridge: Brewer, 1978–94)

*Petty–Southwell Correspondence*

PL

*Private Correspondence**Term Catalogues*

*The Petty–Southwell Correspondence 1676–1687*, ed. the Marquis of Lansdowne (London: Constable, 1928)  
The Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge  
*Private Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Samuel Pepys 1679–1703*, ed. J. R. Tanner, 2 vols. (New York: Harcourt Brace [1926])  
*The Term Catalogues, 1668–1709*, ed. Edward Arber, 3 vols. (London: privately printed, 1903–6)

## *Conventions*

**Transcriptions:** In transcriptions from manuscripts, contractions are expanded and italicized. Superscripts are lowered. Where the use of thorn (ȝ) may obscure the sense it is given as *th*. The transcription of u/v and i/j follows modern usage.

**Currency:** In the seventeenth century one pound (often abbreviated as *1l*) was worth twenty shillings (*20s.*) and a shilling contained twelve pence (*12d.*).

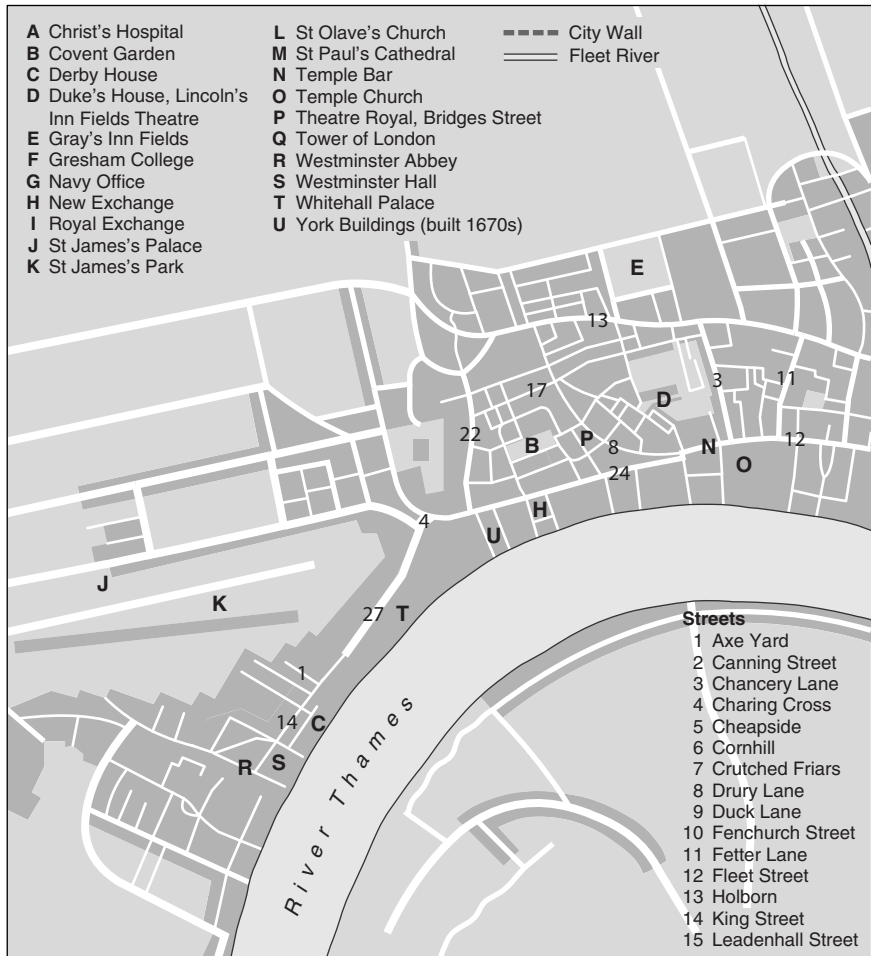
**Dates:** The Julian calendar was used in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Britain. This ran ten days behind the Gregorian calendar which was widely used on the Continent. Someone writing from abroad to a correspondent in Britain might therefore indicate the date in both calendars: '5/15 March'.

In England, the new year officially began on 25 March (though this did not prevent people celebrating on 1 January). In the main text of this book, days and months follow the 'Old Style' Julian method but the year is taken as starting on 1 January.

In sources given in the notes, the format 'February 1681/2' will sometimes be found for dates in the first three months of the year: this indicates what we would now call February 1682 but in seventeenth-century England would be February 1681.

**References to early printed books:** Where a work's pagination is irregular, the foliation is also supplied, for example, 'p. 30 (fol. E4r)'.

Some early works went through multiple editions in one year, with editions being differently paginated. In these cases reference is made to the bibliographical numbers in the *Wing Short-Title Catalogue* as supplied by the *English Short-Title Catalogue* <estc.bl.uk>.



**Map:** London in the later seventeenth century. The basic street plan is from before the fire of 1666, though in rebuilding this changed relatively little.

Based on Wenceslaus Hollar's Plan of London before the Fire (published 1673).





# Introduction

Samuel Pepys cared deeply about his reputation. During his life he came to public notice in a number of roles: as a high-ranking naval official, a benefactor to the poor, a patron of learning, and, less gratifyingly, as an alleged conspirator against the Crown. Today, he is instead chiefly famous as a great diarist. Pepys's remarkably detailed journal, kept between 1660 and 1669, is a major source for historians working on the seventeenth century and its lively descriptions have ensured it is widely known. Readers often first encounter Pepys's writing in extracts from his accounts of the Great Plague of 1665 or the Great Fire of London in 1666. In English schools, 6-year-old children learn about how he buried his Parmesan cheese in the garden to protect it from the flames (not as strange as it sounds, for Parmesan cheese was expensive).<sup>1</sup> Pepys's reputation as a diarist also owes a good deal to aspects of his journal best kept away from 6-year-olds, namely the intimate accounts of his sexual activities and extramarital affairs. These allow him to be held up as an example of the licentiousness which is said to characterize Charles II's reign. My interest here is in a different kind of passion, one which lasted throughout Pepys's life and, indeed, shaped that life: his love of reading. In the wake of the Great Fire, it was the fate of his books rather than the fate of his cheese that 'mightily troubled' him and 'great joy' ensued when all of his book collection was safely returned to his study.<sup>2</sup> His love of books was such that even when he feared that reading was damaging his eyesight he struggled to stop. In a neat turn of phrase that expresses his compulsion, he wrote of 'my eyes, which would be reading'.<sup>3</sup> Pepys's voracious appetite for books, combined with his enthusiasm for record-keeping, makes his papers an extraordinarily rich resource for investigating reading, newsgathering, and collecting in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Pepys's records go well beyond the famous journal. Between 1660 and his death in 1703, he kept other diaries, engaged in copious correspondence, collected an impressive library, and amassed a host of unsorted papers which he never quite got round to throwing away—many of these are little known and still unpublished. Since Pepys often read in company and relished talking about books, his papers contain a good deal of information about how other people were using texts: the reading behaviours of gentlewomen, government officials, scholars, merchants, and servants all feature in his accounts. Investigating the history of reading demands an interdisciplinary approach, and this is certainly true in tracing Pepys's reading and

<sup>1</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 274.

<sup>2</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 292.

<sup>3</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 123.



the reading behaviour of his associates. Pepys did not confine himself to the novels and plays that draw the attention of literary critics, nor to the newsbooks and satire primarily of interest to political historians. His interests took in classical philosophy, conduct manuals, parliamentary history, lives, romances, scientific speculation, biblical scholarship, and chapbooks—or, as he put it, works ‘from the most solemn & polite down to the most Vulgar’.<sup>4</sup> To understand the reading activities he details, we need to understand the mechanisms and etiquette for information exchange in the late seventeenth century, the role of commercial and patronage networks in supplying texts, and the use of the technologies that aided reading. When put together with other sources, Pepys’s diverse records allow us to track the circulation of books and ideas across decades that saw significant advances in the book trade and momentous developments in religion and politics.

One of the virtues of a history of reading is that it can incorporate many kinds of history. Examining reading behaviour can be a means to trace an individual’s intellectual development and show how texts influenced his or her world view and actions. In the cases of well-documented readers, a history of reading can also provide clues to the sources of broader social, political, and literary developments. For example, through examining reading behaviour it is possible to appreciate better the contemporary appeal of individual books and, indirectly, the decisions which shaped those books. Authors and publishers profited from treating subjects that were of interest to substantial numbers of readers, and in producing works they were mindful of the ways they believed their target audience commonly read. Their methods might include trying to encourage or deter particular ways of reading a work through its paratexts—that is, through elements such as the title page, the dedication, the address ‘to the reader’, and the index. The contents of the main text would likewise be shaped to facilitate certain uses by readers, often catering to the recognized habits of the intended audience. If we can establish how readers actually did use a work, we can better evaluate the nature of its attractions—attractions which were not always those anticipated by the publisher or the writer. A history of reading of the kind I am pursuing can, indeed, offer insights into literary change over the longer term. One implication of the fact that the consumers and producers of texts mutually influence each other—the ‘communications circuit’ to use Robert Darnton’s phrase<sup>5</sup>—is that it is in publishers’ and writers’ commercial interests to identify incipient trends in reading behaviour and cultivate them by adapting their next publication accordingly. If we are able to identify what readers were doing with certain types of text and (as importantly) what authors thought readers were doing, we have two of the factors spurring literary innovation and the development of genres.

<sup>4</sup> BL, MS Add. 78680, Evelyn Papers DXIII, item 17, fol. 2r, ‘The Conditions of a Private Library’.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1990), p. 111.

## READING EVIDENCE

The act of reading—often fleeting, internal, and leaving little or no trace—is by its nature difficult to study, and even more so when the acts concerned took place over three hundred years ago. Historians of reading regularly have to contend with the fact that the evidence they work with is highly selective: certain kinds of readers left records that survive, and certain kinds of texts attracted the kinds of reading behaviours that leave evidence behind them. The readers most likely to leave personal papers and to appear in institutional records were substantial property owners, people with extensive formal educations, and those working in the professions—in other words, men like Samuel Pepys. Information on the use of books among tradesmen, labourers, and servants is much more elusive, and so too is information on women's reading, regardless of their social rank. Even when individuals in these groups read fluently and widely, they were still much less likely than elite men to write in their books, to be able to make provision for books and personal papers to survive intact, or to leave a will detailing their possessions.<sup>6</sup> One of the benefits of examining Pepys's papers is that, while they are the work of an extraordinary reader, they afford mediated access to the reading activities of some of these less well-documented groups.

When we turn to evidence on types of books being read, rather than types of readers, there are comparable problems with representation. High-status books, like high-status readers, have a better survival rate in the records. While a costly folio title might merit separate mention in a will or have its details carefully recorded in a library catalogue, a cheap pamphlet in all likelihood would not. Inexpensive, unbound pamphlets fall to pieces quickly, especially if they are read a great deal. Expensive and finely bound folio works are more enduring, especially if no one has ever actually read them. Prestigious books deemed suitable for study were judged worth writing about and writing in. As a result readers' responses to these works can sometimes be reconstructed through detailed marginalia, notes in commonplace books, letters, or published commentaries. Historians working on the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries have successfully employed this kind of evidence to demonstrate the utilitarian nature of much Renaissance reading, showing how individuals read purposefully and expected their choice of texts to be practically or spiritually useful.<sup>7</sup> When a work was read primarily for pleasure, however,

<sup>6</sup> On issues of the evidence for reading among women and non-gentry groups, see Peter Clark, 'The Ownership of Books in England, 1560–1640: The Example of Some Kentish Townsfolk', in *Schooling and Society: Studies in the History of Education*, ed. Lawrence Stone (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), pp. 95–111; Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005; repr. 2009), pp. 197–221; and David McKitterick, 'Women and their Books in Seventeenth-Century England: The Case of Elizabeth Puckerling', *The Library*, 7th ser., 1 (2000), 359–80, doi:10.1093/library/1.4.359.

<sup>7</sup> For example, Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy', *Past and Present*, 129 (1990), 30–78, doi:10.1093/past/129.1.30; Lisa Jardine and William Sherman, 'Pragmatic Readers: Knowledge Transactions and Scholarly Services in Late Elizabethan England', in *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson*, ed. Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), pp. 102–24;

readers were less likely to have a pen in hand and to think that their responses, or even the book itself, merited preserving.<sup>8</sup> Often what survives are fragments or snapshots of a reader's activity, skewed towards particular genres and particular types of reading. In analysing Pepys's reading, such problems are certainly present but they are less acute than is normally the case. Pepys kept records over long periods and in multiple formats (from reading notes to shopping lists); as a result it is possible to construct an unusually full account of the types of texts he encountered and the uses he found for them.

While Pepys's extensive records mean we can avoid some of the difficulties commonly encountered with other readers' papers, there remains the issue of how far it is possible to discern wider trends in reading behaviour from limited and (there is reason to suspect) unrepresentative evidence. For historians and literary critics working on reading in the long eighteenth century (c.1660–1830) the theory that a 'reading revolution' took place in the later eighteenth century has influenced much discussion of this issue. The idea of a 'reading revolution' comes from the work of Rolf Engelsing on the uses of books among German townsmen. He argues that, prior to about 1750, people practised 'intensive reading': they read a small number of books repeatedly and carefully, and often read them aloud with others. Thereafter, improvements in access to print encouraged 'extensive reading', with the middle classes accessing a wider range of works and reading them more quickly, more superficially, only once, and often alone. Engelsing's model has been criticized on the grounds that it does not sufficiently allow for the range of reading that can be practised by one person, nor for the variety of reading behaviours present within different periods. Case studies of readers from the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries have been used to test or qualify Engelsing's ideas.<sup>9</sup>

Some researchers, seeking to bridge the gap between case studies of individual readers and theories of societal changes in reading habits, have considered readers within the context of communities. This kind of approach is particularly important in highlighting the social aspects of reading acts, for, as Justin Champion remarks, 'the significance of reading a book may lie not in a purely intellectual transaction, but in a combination of this with other factors such as where the work was read . . . or who recommended it, or indeed who condemned it'.<sup>10</sup> Champion's research

William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995).

<sup>8</sup> H. J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 77.

<sup>9</sup> Rolf Engelsing, 'Die Perioden der Lesergeschichte in der Neuzeit', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 10 (1969), 944–1002; Engelsing, *Der Bürger als Leser: Lesergeschichte in Deutschland 1500–1800* (Stuttgart: Metzlersche, 1974). English-language summaries of Engelsing's ideas are given in Jeroen Blaak, *Literacy in Everyday Life: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Dutch Diaries*, trans. Beverley Jackson (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 15–17; Robert DeMaria Jr, *Samuel Johnson and the Life of Reading* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997; repr. 2009), pp. 16–18; and, along with accounts of criticisms of the model, Stephen Colclough, *Consuming Texts: Readers and Reading Communities, 1695–1870* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 19–20.

<sup>10</sup> Justin Champion, *Republican Learning: John Toland and the Crisis of Christian Culture, 1696–1722* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 26.

concerns the freethinker John Toland (1670–1722) and his activities within the international network of scholars that constituted the eighteenth-century ‘republic of letters’. Other studies of readers within communities have dealt with local and relatively small societies, such as young men meeting in London coffee-houses, or the subscribers to a circulating library, both of which groups feature in Stephen Colclough’s work on eighteenth-century readers.<sup>11</sup> In Pepys’s case, the evidence is sufficiently detailed for us to consider his role as a member of more than one group or network. To take just a few examples, Pepys read and talked about books with members of his household, with colleagues as part of navy business, with scholars in learned correspondence, and with the virtuosi (the learned men and connoisseurs) whom he met in taverns. So, while we can see in Pepys’s records the varieties of behaviour that were exhibited by late seventeenth-century readers, we can also begin to discern commonalities in the ways Pepys’s range of associates used and discussed works.

Pepys was interested in other people’s reading and, better yet, he associated with people who independently left evidence of their reading and book ownership. Although readers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries have received relatively little attention in comparison with their Renaissance and late eighteenth-century counterparts, there are a number of valuable studies of readers from this period that help provide a wider context for Pepys’s activities. Some of these studies are of men known to Pepys. Leona Rostenberg has described the book-collecting of the scientist Robert Hooke (1635–1703), while Geoffrey Keynes and others have written about John Evelyn (1620–1706), Pepys’s close friend and adviser in library matters.<sup>12</sup> Useful parallels can also be drawn with other contemporaries of Pepys who (as far as can be established) were not known to him. For example, Peter Beal has studied the correspondence of Sir William Boothby (1637–1707), another avid bibliophile, who amassed ‘near Six Thousand Books’ at the time of his death—a particularly impressive feat for a collector who was not based in London but in rural Derbyshire.<sup>13</sup> Kevin Sharpe has examined the reading of Sir William Drake (1606–69), a Buckinghamshire gentleman and MP who left a commonplace book, journals, and notebooks. ‘Even from perfectly common, respectable, orthodox texts’, Sharpe argues, Drake was able to construct ‘unusual and unorthodox political values’.<sup>14</sup> As we will see, this was also a trait prominent in Pepys’s reading.

Pepys’s own reading activities have, surprisingly, received limited discussion, although excellent work was done in Robert Latham and William Matthews’s

<sup>11</sup> Colclough, *Consuming Texts*, pp. 70–4 and ch. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Leona Rostenberg, *The Library of Robert Hooke: The Scientific Book Trade of Restoration England* (Santa Monica, CA: Modoc Press, 1989); Geoffrey Keynes, *John Evelyn: A Study in Bibliophily with a Bibliography of his Writings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968). Several essays on Evelyn’s book and print collecting are found in *John Evelyn and his Milieu*, ed. Frances Harris and Michael Hunter (London: British Library, 2003).

<sup>13</sup> Peter Beal, ‘“My Books Are the Great Joy of my Life”: Sir William Boothby, Seventeenth-Century Bibliophile’, *Book Collector*, 46 (1997), 350–73.

<sup>14</sup> Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 328.

edition of the diary in identifying the books it mentions. I am building here on that research and on the thorough cataloguing of Pepys's surviving library in Magdalene College, Cambridge.<sup>15</sup> Among Pepys's many biographers, Richard Ollard offers the most detailed account of the ways Pepys put his library to use, outlining how Pepys's participation in religious and scientific debates continued in his old age.<sup>16</sup> For historians and for literary critics, reference to Pepys's reading or his interest in literature has tended to form one part of an argument on another topic, such as Restoration theatre, politics, or pornography (or, given Pepys's pursuits, a combination of all three).<sup>17</sup> Two researchers have, however, focused on Pepys's reading behaviour during the 1660s. Elspeth Jajdelska in 'Pepys in the History of Reading' makes the key observation that books were routinely read aloud by Pepys and his friends. She also notes that Pepys's reading was 'dominated by utilitarian motives, and above all by the desire for personal advancement'.<sup>18</sup> Both the ubiquity of reading aloud in Pepys's circles and his instrumental approach to works are important insights for understanding his reading behaviour across the decades, and their implications will be further explored in this book. Meanwhile, Judith Moore has proposed that Pepys can stand for a typical reader of the 1660s in that he was drawn by the popularity of works, read for pleasure and instruction, and read widely.<sup>19</sup> These are certainly useful aspects of Pepys's reading for investigating wider behaviour, but major caveats are needed when making the case for Pepys as in any way typical of readers in his society. For example, without examining the evidence it is unwise to assume that a typical reader in the Restoration would have wanted to read diversely or would have had the opportunity to do so if the desire was present. Rather than thinking of Pepys in relation to a notional typical reader, it is more practical to try and gauge the ways in which his behaviour was

<sup>15</sup> Particularly, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge*, ed. Robert Latham et al., 7 vols. (Woodbridge and Cambridge: Brewer, 1978–94); *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge*, supplementary series 1: *Census of Printed Books*, ed. C. S. Knighton (Brewer: Cambridge, 2004); *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Naval Manuscripts in the Pepysian Library*, ed. J. R. Tanner, 4 vols. ([London]: Naval Records Society, 1903–23).

<sup>16</sup> Richard Ollard, *Pepys: A Biography* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1974; repr. 1991), pp. 354–6, 364–76.

<sup>17</sup> Published work featuring discussions of Pepys's literary interests includes James Grantham Turner, 'Pepys and the Private Parts of Monarchy', in *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration: Literature, Drama, History*, ed. Gerald Maclean (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), pp. 95–110; Henry Berger, Jr, 'The Pepys Show: Ghost-Writing and Documentary Desire in *The Diary*', *ELH* 65 (1998), 557–91, doi: 10.1353/elh.1998.0021; Gavin Foster, 'Ignoring *The Tempest*: Pepys, Dryden, and the Politics of Spectating in 1667', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 63 (2000), 5–22, doi: 10.2307/3817862; and Aaron B. Kumin, 'Other Hands in Pepys's Diary', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 65 (2004), 195–219, doi:10.1215/00267929-65-2-195. Pepys's diary is also a source for Roger Chartier's discussion of reading in 'The Practical Impact of Writing', in *The History of Private Life*, vol. 3: *The Passions of the Renaissance*, ed. Roger Chartier, Philippe Ariès, and Georges Duby, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1989), pp. 111–59. Margaret Spufford's important study of chapbooks, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, 1981), is chiefly based on Pepys's collection.

<sup>18</sup> Elspeth Jajdelska, 'Pepys in the History of Reading', *Historical Journal*, 50 (2007), 549–69, doi: <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X07006255>>, (p. 560).

<sup>19</sup> Judith Moore, 'Samuel Pepys and Restoration Reading', *Eighteenth Century World*, 1 (2003), 1–6.

representative (or not) of particular groups or, alternatively, to show how his behaviour served ends demonstrably shared by other readers. Much of Pepys's value as a source comes from the fact that he sought to be representative of the roles to which he aspired: he worked hard to behave *like* a gentleman, *like* a virtuoso, *like* a professional administrator, *like* a worthy client, and *like* an estimable patron. His conduct in such roles—including in matters to do with learning and with books—had to be in keeping with the norms of his immediate associates, and broadly in line with the expectations of his society, or else it would not succeed. Pepys allows us to track certain cultural trends because he was, in several senses, a reader of influence. He possessed influence as a wealthy book-buyer, the kind of customer whom powerful booksellers longed to attract and whom it paid authors to bear in mind. He had influence (as many others did) because the reading he engaged in was often done in company, in public, or led to displays of book-learning. This kind of reading had the potential to impress others beyond his immediate peers, but the effects were not one way. As already noted, he was heavily influenced by the behaviours of his equals and superiors—it was when a work achieved popularity among these segments of society that he wanted to read it. Pepys, simply by being well educated and wealthy, was an extraordinary reader and indeed he became more so as he grew older. Yet he can prove a superb source for exploring wider patterns in reading habits precisely because he was an inveterate social climber. His access to texts and information developed across his career and, in following him, it is possible to assess the effects of social station upon the use of books.

### PEPYS'S LIFE

If Pepys's life became exceptional, it did not begin that way. He was born in the City of London in February 1633, the fifth child of John Pepys (a tailor) and Margaret Kite (once a washmaid).<sup>20</sup> Pepys's first achievement was that—unlike seven of his ten brothers and sisters—he survived childhood. Taking on the role of eldest son, he benefited from the best education that his family could afford. In the 1640s, during the First Civil War, he was sent out of London to live with relatives near Huntingdon, where he went to the local grammar school. On his return to London he attended the prestigious St Paul's School, and witnessed the execution of Charles I in January 1649. He was known to school friends as 'a great roundhead' and later wrote that, as a child, he had been glad to see the 'wicked' king punished.<sup>21</sup> In 1650 he successfully competed for a university scholarship and, four years later, completed his BA at Magdalene College, Cambridge. Family

<sup>20</sup> My account is indebted to the summaries of Pepys's life found in Robert Latham and William Matthews's edition of the *Diary* (vol. 1, pp. xvii–xl; vol. 10, pp. 623–66) and to a number of biographies: Arthur Bryant's three-volume biography *Samuel Pepys: The Man in the Making* (London: Collins, 1933; new edn. 1947), *The Years of Peril* (London: Collins, 1935; new edn. 1948), and *The Saviour of the Navy* (London: Collins, 1938; new edn. 1949); Richard Ollard, *Pepys: A Biography*; and Claire Tomalin, *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self* (London: Viking, 2002).

<sup>21</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 280.

connections then helped him to a job. Over twenty years before, Samuel's great-aunt had married into the gentry and her son, Edward Mountagu, had further improved his family's fortunes by rising to be a Councillor of State and General-at-Sea under Oliver Cromwell.<sup>22</sup> He now employed Pepys to attend to his affairs while he was out of the city. Pepys also found a post as a clerk at the Exchequer. He needed the money, since by this time he had a new wife to support. His bride, Elizabeth St Michel (1640–69), was the daughter of a French Protestant refugee and her family claimed links to the nobility. Although she had many attractive qualities, including youth, beauty, and a readiness to learn, money was not among them. The precariousness of the couple's financial state was increased by the precarious political situation in the capital. The City of London grew increasingly dissatisfied with rule by the army, and then refused to accept the rule of the Rump Parliament, which was made up of members who had remained after the army's expulsion of moderate MPs in 1648. In early 1660 General Monck, who controlled a substantial force, proclaimed his support for a new meeting of Parliament to include those MPs previously excluded. Soon elections were held for a free parliament and in May 1660 Charles Stuart was formally invited to take the crown.

Fortunately for Samuel Pepys, his patron Mountagu had (unknown to him) been in communication with exiled royalists for some months. On Charles II's return, Mountagu and his followers reaped the rewards. Mountagu became the Earl of Sandwich and Pepys, having shown his abilities and his loyalty as Mountagu's secretary, was found a post as Clerk of the Acts to the Navy Board. The navy was England's largest industry: its board was responsible for building, repairing, and victualling the fleet, and for the payment of seamen. The post of Clerk of the Acts provided a good wage and opportunities for gaining more money through perquisites. It also came with a home in Seething Lane, close to the Navy Office in the east of the City. Pepys now had a secure annual income of £250 (over thirteen shillings per day every day)—and he was making far more in fees and kickbacks.<sup>23</sup> By comparison, in 1661 a London labourer could expect to earn one shilling and eightpence for each day he could find work and a craftsman might earn three shillings per day.<sup>24</sup> The Clerk of the Acts was not, however, an influential post within the administration—or at least it was not supposed to be. It involved acting as the Navy Board's secretary, with duties such as forwarding correspondence and keeping copies of important documents. Pepys's ambitions led him to take on a far wider remit: he drew up contracts with suppliers, introduced reforms to the ways the office and dockyards were run, and represented the board at court and in Parliament.<sup>25</sup> He also acquired other posts, such as Treasurer to the Tangier

<sup>22</sup> Later generations of the family spelt their name 'Montagu'. Pepys's patron used 'Mountagu' and I follow the Latham and Matthews edition of Pepys's diary in using this spelling.

<sup>23</sup> *Diary*, vol. 10, p. 131.

<sup>24</sup> Jan Luiten van Zanden, 'Wages and the Cost of Living in Southern England (London) 1450–1700', International Institute of Social History, <<http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/dover.php>> [accessed 28 Feb. 2014].

<sup>25</sup> C. S. Knighton, *Pepys and the Navy* (Stroud: Sutton, 2003), pp. 27–9; *Diary*, vol. 10, p. 295.

Committee and Surveyor-General of the Victualling, which brought further rewards.

Pepys's prospects now seemed secure, but the security of the regime for which he worked was by no means certain. Charles's new Parliament alienated many of his supporters by imposing a religious settlement which returned the Church of England to episcopacy and compelled the use of the Book of Common Prayer in churches. Those who refused to accept the new Anglican establishment (the Nonconformists) were forced out of civil offices and banned from holding religious meetings. Besides internal dissent, there were grave external threats to the regime. Much of Pepys's time in the mid-1660s was taken up with preparing for naval operations against the Dutch. During the Second Anglo-Dutch War of 1665 to 1667 Pepys proved his worth, remaining in London to manage navy business as the plague ravaged the city. His general diligence impressed Sir William Coventry, a navy commissioner and secretary to the Lord High Admiral, and also brought him to the attention of the Lord High Admiral himself, the King's brother James, Duke of York. By May 1667 Pepys was worth £6,900—enough, he soon decided, to mean that should he lose his job he would not need to work again.<sup>26</sup> Although he remained in post, he could no longer afford to neglect the eye strain he blamed on overwork. In an effort to prevent further damage to his sight, he took the dual steps of taking time away from his post and ending his journal.

While Pepys himself continued to prosper, the months immediately following the close of his diary brought personal disaster: Elizabeth died of a fever in November 1669. Another bereavement followed three years later when the Earl of Sandwich was killed during the Third Anglo-Dutch War. In 1673, the religious tensions of the Restoration impacted directly upon Pepys's career for the first time, resulting in a loss of power for his patron the Duke of York. The Duke, who had recently converted to Roman Catholicism, was forced to resign as Lord Admiral when a new Test Act prevented Catholics holding public office. The role of Lord High Admiral was now executed by a committee. This was not the blow it could have been to Pepys, for, being in favour with both the royal brothers, he was promoted to Secretary to the Office of the Lord High Admiral. He was now the navy's chief administrator, overseeing day-to-day business, sponsoring new initiatives, and planning major reforms. One project on which he exerted his influence was the foundation of a mathematical school at Christ's Hospital, an institution charged with caring for orphans from the City of London. The plan was that the school would train select boys in navigation, thereby usefully equipping them to serve their country at sea. In November 1673, Pepys also became an MP, which allowed him to act as the navy's spokesman in the House of Commons. All these achievements were threatened in 1679 when he was accused of involvement in the Popish Plot, supposedly a grand conspiracy to turn the nation back to Catholicism by means of regicide and invasion. The crisis which followed the apparent discovery of the conspiracy saw the rise of party politics, with debate crystallizing around the

<sup>26</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 245; vol. 9, p. 86.



question of the Duke of York's right to inherit the throne. The opposition (the newly named Whigs) saw James as a Catholic menace and sought to exclude him from the succession. Their counterparts, the Tories, held James to be the rightful heir and viewed the possibility of insurrection by Protestant radicals as a far greater danger to the nation than a Catholic king. Pepys was caught up in the conflict because his position as a client of the Duke of York meant Whig politicians saw advantage in accusing him of treasonously passing naval secrets to the French. Compelled to resign, he was sent to the Tower for several weeks and was fortunate not to be brought to trial for his life.

When the Whig cause lost public support, Charles looked to reintroduce Pepys into naval affairs and he was eventually appointed Secretary for the Affairs of the Admiralty in June 1684. This was a new office broadly analogous to those of the two Secretaries of State who together had charge of domestic and foreign affairs. The post was designed to suit both Pepys's abilities and Charles's desire to have direct control of Admiralty business when it suited him.<sup>27</sup> Pepys continued in this role when the Duke of York succeeded to the throne as James II in 1685. Pepys was particularly proud of his achievement under James of overseeing a massive programme of shipbuilding and repair. This was the height of his power: his influence extended across Europe and beyond. He enjoyed an annual salary of £2,000—although, he complained, he was left little time to indulge his love of books.<sup>28</sup> This success was not to last. James's absolutist tendencies and his attempts to achieve religious toleration for Catholics prompted popular alarm, leading ultimately to the Revolution of 1688–9. Facing an internal uprising and an invasion led by his nephew William of Orange, James fled the country. Parliament awarded the crown jointly to William and his wife Mary (James's Protestant daughter). On the losing side, Pepys was once again forced out of office. He was not prepared to take oaths of loyalty to the new regime, so this time his resignation was final.

For the first few years of his retirement Pepys continued to fall under suspicion of Jacobite plotting and was twice arrested. In truth, during the 1690s he devoted his energies principally to compiling his library and to the education of his nephew John Jackson, who was to become his heir. His household also included Mary Skinner, who had been his partner since the early 1670s and whom he later praised for 'her steady freindship, Councell & Assistances' over three decades. By the 1690s, she occupied the position of his wife in all but law, sometimes appearing as 'Mrs. Pepys' or 'my Lady Pepys' in contemporary records.<sup>29</sup> While Pepys was able to spend more time on his leisure pursuits and family, he had not given up his involvement in public affairs and—lacking the power he had previously enjoyed—he found print a useful tool for promoting his views. In 1690, he produced his only printed history *Memoires Relating to the State of the Royal Navy*, a defence of his

<sup>27</sup> Knighton, *Pepys and the Navy*, pp. 146–7.

<sup>28</sup> *Diary*, vol. 10, p. 137; Pepys to Dr Arthur Charlett, 4 Aug. 1694, in Howarth, p. 244.

<sup>29</sup> The National Archives, London, PROB 1/9, Will of Samuel Pepys, Codicil, 13 May 1703 (proved 25 June 1703). *Hooke's Diary 1672–1683*, 15 Dec. 1676; Trial of Thomas Hoyle and Samuel Gibbons (t16931206-24), 6 Dec. 1693, *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* <<http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t16931206-24&div=t16931206-24>> [accessed 28 Feb. 2014].

shipbuilding programme of the 1680s. At the end of the 1690s he again went into print as part of his campaign against the mismanagement of Christ's Hospital. Pepys had remained a governor of the hospital and in 1692 he set about investigating its finances. On finding his alarming report suppressed by both the governors and the Lord Mayor of London, he embarked on a small-scale but effective print campaign. Between July 1698 and March 1699 he had six papers printed about the parlous financial and moral state of the hospital, which he circulated to members of the City's Court of Aldermen as a means of agitating for an enquiry.<sup>30</sup> This eventually led the governors and the aldermen to take note, and the Court of Aldermen publicly rewarded Pepys for his services by granting him the Freedom of the City in April 1699.<sup>31</sup> While continuing to reform the hospital, Pepys became increasingly preoccupied with completing his library and ensuring its preservation. Making his will shortly before his death in 1703, he added a codicil that dealt in detail with the fate of his books. He wanted his library to pass ultimately to Magdalene College in Cambridge—and there it has remained since 1724.

### SOURCES ON PEPYS

There are four principal groups of sources on Pepys's reading across his life. First are his records of his daily activities, and first among those in terms of both chronology and significance is his six-volume diary kept from January 1660 to May 1669. Pepys's method of journal keeping was to make brief notes of his expenditures and activities and then to use these as the basis for entries written up later—sometimes weeks or months later—in shorthand. This was not, then, a casual record and there are signs that entries sometimes went through at least one draft before being copied into the journal.<sup>32</sup> Pepys's shorthand would not have prevented a seriously determined contemporary from understanding the text, since the form of shorthand he used was widely known in his lifetime.<sup>33</sup> It would, however, have protected the contents from the prying eyes of his wife or household servants. In the event, this method kept the contents secret for over a hundred and fifty years, and it was only with Robert Latham and William Matthews's edition of the diary, completed in 1983, that a reliable and unexpurgated text became available.<sup>34</sup> Pepys's reasons for recording his life in such detail remain a puzzle. Since the diary was begun at a time

<sup>30</sup> On this campaign, see my 'Pepys in Print, 1660–1703', *Oxford Handbooks Online* (New York: OUP, 2015) <<http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com>>. Pepys's pamphlets are detailed in the Select Bibliography.

<sup>31</sup> Court of the Common Council, London, *Memoranda, References and Documents Relating to the Royal Hospitals* (London, 1836), p. 46.

<sup>32</sup> See the 'Introduction' to the *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. xcvi–ciii.

<sup>33</sup> Pepys used Thomas Shelton's shorthand system, for which many manuals were available. *Shelton's A Tutor to Tachygraphy* (London, 1642) is one of the shorthand manuals in Pepys Library, PL 402(11).

<sup>34</sup> The nature of Pepys's shorthand means that most of the punctuation is editorial and the editors have frequently decided on the spelling of words. Where my argument hinges on a particular word or phrase I have therefore checked the transcription in the printed *Diary* against a microfilm of the manuscript.

when the City of London was actively resisting army rule, one reason for starting it was the sense of living in momentous times. Yet the diary was not consistently written with an eye to posterity: Pepys frequently assumes that individuals need no introduction, and he often does not give explanatory glosses on events and institutions. A common motive for diary keeping in the seventeenth century was to monitor one's spiritual state, but Pepys's journal does not fit this religious model.<sup>35</sup> Perhaps the most persuasive explanation for Pepys's method has been given by Mark Dawson, who argues that the diary is a form of social accounting, intended to help its owner track and reflect on his social progress.<sup>36</sup> As I will argue, further clues about why Pepys started his diary and why he maintained it can be found in his choice of reading material.

Pepys's diary is so copious that it is easy to forget that it is not a record of what he did, but of what he thought worthy of record. As a document of reading behaviour the diary has certain quirks and particular kinds of omission. For example, since Pepys wrote it up using notes of his expenditure, he was much more likely to note the purchase of a book than the act of reading it.<sup>37</sup> Pepys was selective about which acts of reading he mentioned. He recorded reading done by people he found interesting—principally himself—and while he often took careful note of hints about his superiors' reading behaviour, he was rather less concerned with what those socially beneath him were doing with texts. We can also deduce that he was much more likely to record an episode of reading if it had taken some effort to arrange or was part of a social event. The clearest evidence of this comes from the concentration of references to reading in the diary. Pepys's journal covers over nine years; yet nearly 40 per cent of the references to reading and book-buying occur in the final two-and-a-half years, between the start of 1667 and May 1669.<sup>38</sup> The phenomenon is partially explained by these being years when Pepys was keeping his diary in more detail and when he could afford to spend the most on books.

<sup>35</sup> Élisabeth Bourcier, *Les Journaux privés en Angleterre de 1600 à 1660* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976), ch. 3; Andrew Cambers, 'Reading, the Godly, and Self-Writing in England, circa 1580–1720', *Journal of British Studies*, 46 (2007), 796–825, doi: <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/520261>>.

<sup>36</sup> Mark S. Dawson, 'Histories and Texts: Refiguring the Diary of Samuel Pepys', *Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), 407–31, doi: 10.1017/S0018246X99008894.

<sup>37</sup> This is a characteristic of journals from the period, which were often used by their writers to keep track of expenses. For diarists such as Robert Hooke or the clergyman Giles Moore one of the uses of a journal was to ward off disputes with booksellers and their intermediaries over payments. *Hooke's Diary 1672–1683*, 20 Aug. 1673, 12 Apr. 1676; *The Journal of Giles Moore*, ed. Ruth Bird (Lewes: Sussex Record Society, 1971), pp. 308–9.

<sup>38</sup> Of some 686 references to Pepys's reading and his book purchases in the diary, 272 are from 1667 or later; 202 references (nearly 30% of the total) occur from August 1667, the point when Pepys begins regularly to record severe eye trouble. The total includes print and manuscript publications. In these and subsequent figures drawn from the diary, each reading session with the same work is counted separately. Purchases are included, since there is good evidence that purchasing often involved close inspection of a work. However, multiple trips involved in the same purchase of a work are counted only once, and purchasing and reading a work on the same day count only once. The count of manuscript reading does not include personal letters or letters to the Navy Office, but does include parliamentary reports and similar manuscript publications which had wider circulation and were often available through commercial scriptoria. Episodes of singing are included as reading where there is good evidence that a music book was employed.

However, his references to reading increased principally because from August 1667 Pepys began to have severe problems with his eyesight. Reading became first a struggle for him, and then an activity which required others' help. There is no reason to think that Pepys was reading more during these years than before; indeed he says he took up other pursuits that were kinder on his eyes.<sup>39</sup> It is simply that acts of reading which felt unremarkable did not merit remarking on, and when reading became an effort—because of difficult physical conditions, the involvement of others, or because it was for a specific project—it was more worthy of comment.

Pepys kept other records of day-to-day activities that were contemporaneous with the journal and provide contexts for understanding his reading and news-gathering. Matters related to his work were recorded in his *Navy White Book* (1664–72). These included information relating to contracts and prices, coffee-house discussions with merchants, and notes of the various devious practices that Pepys detected among navy suppliers and his colleagues.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, his diary keeping did not end completely in May 1669. For his later life, his records include several much briefer journals relating to the Popish Plot (1679–80) and his trip to Tangier in 1683.<sup>41</sup> From 1680, he also kept notes of reading and conversations intended to help him write a history of the English navy. His concept of relevant research material for these *Naval Minutes* was broad enough to include the Bible and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.<sup>42</sup> The Popish Plot journals and *Naval Minutes* were preserved in his library, along with his diary of the 1660s.<sup>43</sup> Pepys may have initially intended these records to be read only by himself, but the fact that he left them in his library (along with the manual that explained his diary shorthand) indicates that by the end of his life he had decided later generations should be given the opportunity to read them.

Letters represent the second major source of information on reading, books, and news transmission among Pepys and his contacts. As part of his conscientious record-keeping, Pepys kept official letter books containing copies of outgoing letters from the Navy Office and, later, from the Admiralty. These manuscripts, which are in the National Maritime Museum and the Pepys Library, provide useful detail on the nature of his relationships with colleagues and the development of his information networks.<sup>44</sup> Pepys also left a great deal of personal correspondence. Much, but not all, of this is available in printed editions, including a good body of material that refers to book-collecting and reading.<sup>45</sup> Pepys discussed books with friends and also with individuals who might better be described as his clients—men

<sup>39</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 429.

<sup>40</sup> *Samuel Pepys and the Second Dutch War: Pepys's Navy White Book and Brooke House Papers*, transcribed by William Matthews and Charles Knighton, ed. Robert Latham (Aldershot: Scolar Press for the Naval Records Society, 1995).

<sup>41</sup> *Pepys's Later Diaries*, ed. C. S. Knighton (Stroud: Sutton, 2004; repr. 2006).

<sup>42</sup> *Samuel Pepys's Naval Minutes*, ed. J. R. Tanner, Publications of the Naval Record Society 60 ([London]: Naval Records Society, 1926), pp. 162, 205–7.

<sup>43</sup> The Tangier journal is in the Bodleian Library as part of the Rawlinson papers.

<sup>44</sup> National Maritime Museum, LBK/8, Letterbook of Samuel Pepys 1662–79; Admiralty Letters, PL 2849–62.

<sup>45</sup> See the Select Bibliography for a list of the principal printed editions of Pepys's correspondence.

and women seeking his assistance who were ready to cater to his bibliophilism in order to secure his help. Such letters are not always quite what they appear, for both business and personal letters were frequently written in the expectation that they would be seen by readers other than the addressee. Particularly during political crises, Pepys and his correspondents were careful of expressing their views lest a letter be intercepted by hostile officials, or passed on to others.<sup>46</sup> Pepys's friends also often circulated letters among multiple recipients—a letter on a topic from natural philosophy, for example, could be copied and passed on in a form of limited manuscript publication.<sup>47</sup> This meant some letters were written as performance pieces, an aspect that becomes most obvious when Pepys and Evelyn are found chivvying their younger male relatives to compose letters that could be shown or read out to a circle of interested friends.<sup>48</sup>

The third source for Pepys's reading and book-collecting is the many volumes of his papers held in the Bodleian Library as part of the Rawlinson Collection. These documents were kept separately from Pepys's library. In the early eighteenth century they were acquired by the antiquarian Richard Rawlinson, who left them to the Bodleian on his death in 1755.<sup>49</sup> Most of them remain unpublished. To call the Rawlinson papers miscellaneous is an understatement. They include letters, naval notes, book reviews, treatises on natural philosophy, catalogues of books, records of debts, and shopping lists. One paper was preserved as 'An instance of ye Effect of Lightning, striking through a Letter, as it struck folded-up in ye Cabin-window of Thomas Bruton, Gunner of ye Coronation in Portsmouth-Harbour'. It is appropriately scorched.<sup>50</sup> These volumes are papers that Pepys never got around to organizing properly, for a number have notes on the flyleaves such as 'Mixt Papers put up in my Parchment-Covers in and about ye time of the first Dutch War (1665, 66, 67 & 68) design'd for the most part for a Collection as I remember, towards ye History thereof' or 'Particular Letters & Other last current Papers relateing to Myselfe, put up with my Publick Papers at my quitting my Office February 1688/9'.<sup>51</sup> The Rawlinson papers are particularly helpful for tracking Pepys's activities after 1669 and, since they informally detail different aspects of Pepys's life, they cover a range of activities that we only otherwise find described in his first diary.

The last major source for Pepys's reading behaviour is his library as it has been kept at Magdalene College. This represents Pepys's final selection of the books that he wanted preserved: many of its contents were gathered in the last decade of his life, with an intense period of cataloguing and arrangement from 1700. The stages

<sup>46</sup> This caution sometimes extended to the use of a cipher, for example, Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.194, fol. 146, Pepys to John Joynce, 29 Mar. 1680.

<sup>47</sup> See Ch. 7, 'Religion and Natural Philosophy', pp. 234–5.

<sup>48</sup> For example, BL, MS Add. 78462, fol. 14, John Evelyn to his grandson John Evelyn, 12 June 1699, and Pepys to John Jackson, 17 Oct. 1669, in *Private Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 197.

<sup>49</sup> For details, see Justin Reay, "A Masse of Papers Unconnected": Samuel Pepys' Naval Papers in the Bodleian Collections', *Bodleian Library Record*, 23 (2010), 168–91 (pp. 172–3, 175–6).

<sup>50</sup> Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.171, fol. 287.

<sup>51</sup> Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.195A (by the 'first Dutch War' Pepys means what historians would call the Second Anglo-Dutch War); MS Rawlinson A.179.

in the final organization of Pepys's library can be traced through his correspondence and a selection of 'Library Notes' now in the British Library.<sup>52</sup> In a codicil to his will Pepys gave detailed instructions about the fate of his library to his nephew and heir John Jackson, who was to complete a review of the library as well as finding a suitable long-term home for it. This involved multiple tasks. Jackson was instructed to purchase specific additional books and round up any stray volumes that were currently being kept elsewhere. As was the case in many seventeenth-century libraries, Pepys's books were arranged on the shelves by height rather than by author or subject, so Jackson was also to see that the books' arrangement was 'nicely adjusted' according to this scheme. He was then to ensure that the existing catalogue of books was finished.<sup>53</sup> Pepys's catalogue was in three parts: the section he referred to as the 'Catalogue' contained the works listed by shelf number; the 'Alphabet' was an alphabetical list by author, title, or brief topic; and the 'Appendix Classica' was a subject catalogue.<sup>54</sup> The last of these, as will become apparent, is particularly important, for it shows how Pepys thought about his books and their purposes.

When Jackson, as a dutiful nephew, finished supervising the cataloguing in 1705, there were 2,971 volumes in the library—a considerable library for a gentleman of the early 1700s.<sup>55</sup> The number of volumes is one measure of a library's size. An alternative measure is the number of titles, for one title may run to many volumes, or one volume may contain many titles (for example, separately published plays may later be bound together in one volume by the owner). If we want to get a sense of a library's subject holdings, a title count is preferable to a volume count, since a volume count will under-represent a collector's attention to categories which include many pamphlets, sermons, and other short or small-format works bound together. Yet title counts are tricky: it is not always possible to determine if a title was separately published, and the difficulties are magnified when (as with Pepys's library) manuscript works are involved. John Jackson and Pepys's assistants were evidently familiar with such puzzles. They were supposed to see that Pepys's collection of over 1,700 ballads was added to the 'Appendix Classica', but seem to have given this up as a thankless and impracticable task. Instead a note was made in the catalogue stating that the number of ballads was too great, and each publication's importance too small, to make the effort worthwhile.<sup>56</sup> In a belated display of tact, the note was then covered over, presumably because (besides being an admission of failure) it seemed critical of Pepys's library scheme. Workers on the library from Jackson onwards have sensibly avoided the task of producing a total title count. However, since I am

<sup>52</sup> BL, Add. MS 78680, items 17 to 23. On these organizational efforts, see Ch. 9.

<sup>53</sup> The National Archives, PROB 1/9, Will of Samuel Pepys, 'The Scheme referred to in my foregoing Codicil relating to the Completion & Settlement of my Library'.

<sup>54</sup> The early catalogue is published in facsimile in *Pepys Catalogue*, vol. 7, pts. 1 and 2.

<sup>55</sup> *Pepys Catalogue*, vol. 7, pt. 1 (1991), 'Catalogue', p. 165. Jackson put the figure at 3,000 books but he was counting shelf marks, a number of which are unfilled. The volume total is from F. Sidgwick's 'General Introduction' to *Bibliotheca Pepysiana: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Samuel Pepys*, pt. 2 (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1914), p. xviii. For comparisons with other libraries, see Ch. 9, 'Growing Collections', p. 248.

<sup>56</sup> David McKitterick, 'Introduction', in *Pepys Catalogue*, vol. 7, pt. 1, p. xxvii.

writing extensively on Pepys's books, I am required to put an end to this wise tradition of avoiding the issue: my count puts the total number of titles at 5,833 if the contents of Pepys's five volumes of ballads are individually counted, or 4,063 if they are not.<sup>57</sup> By comparison, Pepys's friend Sir Isaac Newton owned 1,763 titles in 2,100 volumes, which indicates at a glance that Pepys was much more interested in collecting pamphlets and other ephemera than his contemporary.<sup>58</sup> Pepys's smaller books remained in the collection because he took steps to prevent losses and thefts. Jackson was urged to pass all the library holdings (including the furniture) to a Cambridge college, preferably Magdalene and if not Magdalene, then Trinity. Since academics and students could not be trusted, that was not the end of the instructions. Pepys mandated that only the master could take books out of the room, and ordered that whichever of the two colleges did not receive the books should perform an 'Annual Visitation' of the library to see that all Pepys's instructions were being observed. If not, that college could lay claim to the contents.<sup>59</sup>

The result of Pepys's care to keep his library intact was that it has survived to this day very much as he intended, with his books arranged as he wanted on his shelves. Despite this, if we want to know about Pepys's reading, his library is not useful in the ways we might expect. First, Pepys seldom annotated his books. This was probably because (as he acknowledged) he was fastidious about the 'neat' appearance of his belongings: the kind of scribbled annotations often done in the course of reading would have interfered with a book's aesthetic appeal.<sup>60</sup> He occasionally made ownership marks or noted the cost on the title page of a work and, in later life, he had his assistants add contents pages or other navigational aids to volumes. However, evidence of his experience of the texts is seldom found written in the books themselves. Second, the books in the library do not necessarily represent what he read. I will discuss this point in detail in Chapter 9, but suffice it to say here that the publication dates for the books in the Pepys Library cannot be taken as guides to when Pepys first read or acquired a version of the text. The library is illuminating about Pepys's reading, and in some surprising ways, but it is first and foremost evidence of his collecting.

## THE CHAPTERS

Readers in the Restoration did not share modern notions of disciplinary divides, so this study is interdisciplinary both in the approaches used and in the arrangement

<sup>57</sup> This is based on the titles listed in the *Census*, with other information from the *Pepys Catalogue* series. Serial publications (such as the *London Gazette*) are counted as one title, as are works in multiple volumes. A volume of manuscript counts as one title. Volumes containing many separate prints count as one title, except where it is clear that two separate publications concerning prints have been bound up together. Counts of Pepys's ballads vary, but my total title count of 5,833 takes the figure of 1,775 ballads from Helen Weinstein's 'Introduction' to *Pepys Catalogue*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (1992), p. xvi.

<sup>58</sup> John Harrison, *The Library of Isaac Newton* (Cambridge: CUP, 1978), pp. 1, 59 n. 1.

<sup>59</sup> The National Archives, PROB 1/9, Will of Samuel Pepys, 'Scheame'.

<sup>60</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 270.

of chapter contents. To elucidate Pepys's reading and newsgathering I have drawn eclectically from a number of fields, including political history, the history of science, sociology, and material cultural studies. Within chapters, there are what may at first seem odd combinations of genres. Hans Robert Jauss has argued that a reader's perception of a work's genre is an important factor in creating the 'horizon of expectations' for that work—that is, in creating a sense of the text's purpose, of its relationship to other texts, and of the 'rules' it will follow, all of which are historically contingent. The experience of reading that particular work may then alter a reader's future expectations of the genre.<sup>61</sup> My chapters are organized to take account of the ways seventeenth-century readers and booksellers thought about genres and the ways they associated different kinds of texts. These ideas do not always tally with modern concepts, but it is one of the advantages of investigating Pepys's reading that it compels us to rethink familiar categorizations and practices. In order to register changes in Pepys's circumstances, the sequence of chapters is also broadly chronological, moving from the mid-seventeenth century through to the early 1700s.

Chapter 1 presents an overview of Pepys's reading during the 1660s, examining his preferences in terms of topic as well as where, when, and with whom he commonly encountered books. Taking evidence from Pepys's journal and a range of contemporary sources, I discuss reading behaviour in the Pepys household and the clues it provides about reading skills and attitudes to books among Restoration Londoners. My second chapter examines books as a means to education and self-improvement. Grammar school and university education made students familiar with a body of classical texts and with prestigious ways to interpret them. However, there were certain skills that school and university did not teach, with the result that Pepys was among the many gentlemen and would-be gentlemen who set about using conduct manuals to improve their prospects. Pepys also sought advancement through using other types of manual to master the practical skills he needed in his career. Chapter 2 therefore discusses Pepys's reading of ancient moral philosophers such as Epictetus and Cicero, before moving on to conduct writing by Francis Bacon and others, and then to instruction manuals on maths and mathematical instruments.

Chapters 3 and 4 are united by an interest in news, gossip, and accounts of the recent past. In Chapter 3, I examine the transmission of news in Restoration London through the media of print, manuscript, and conversation. Pepys's diary reveals the topography of news in the metropolis, showing the major locales for newsgathering and the means by which information spread between places and between social groups. Concepts from the network theories developed by social scientists can, I argue, prove useful in understanding the mechanisms which aided news transmission. Among the many benefits of knowing the latest news and gossip was that it aided in the interpretation of recent histories. Chapter 4 discusses the challenges of history reading in the Restoration. Reading histories was one of

<sup>61</sup> Hans Robert Jauss, 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', trans. Elizabeth Benzing, *New Literary History*, 2 (1970), 7–37, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/468585>>. (esp. pp. 12–13).



Pepys's favourite pursuits and he read widely in this field: parliamentary histories, ecclesiastical histories, letter collections, and biographies feature heavily in his records. Many of the writers Pepys read—such as John Rushworth, Thomas Fuller, Peter Heylyn, and Margaret Cavendish—expressed particular concern about their readers' ability to evaluate histories of the Civil Wars. I explore whether the uses of reading suggested by seventeenth-century historians and commentators proved to be in keeping with readers' actual responses to historical works. Samuel and Elizabeth could be highly appreciative of historians' efforts but, when they felt provoked, they were quick to find uses for these accounts which were not those the authors had anticipated.

Certain of the challenges of history reading stemmed from the genre's unstable relationship with fiction. Chapter 5 investigates the reading of imaginative literature among Pepys's kin and friends, focusing on plays, romances, and novels. The romances discussed here include Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* and French heroic romances by La Calprenède and Madeleine de Scudéry which Elizabeth especially admired. The appeal of fiction in the Restoration was strongly tied to its role in conversation and storytelling. Through exploring readers' interest in these uses for texts, we can gain new insights into concepts of literary property and into genre change in the late seventeenth century.

Chapters 6 and 7 focus on the methods for obtaining books and manuscripts. Chapter 6 describes Pepys's dealings with book trade professionals from the 1660s to the 1690s, using evidence from inventories, catalogues, trial records, and other book-buyers to build up a wider picture of developments in the trade. Here I am particularly interested in the experiences of customers in high-end bookshops and how they negotiated purchases. Booksellers were constantly refining their sales tactics in order to profit from the increasing number of collectors. It was not, however, just members of the book trade who supplied texts: printed and manuscript works were frequently obtained as loans or gifts from acquaintances, and an avid reader or collector soon learned the protocols surrounding the gift of books. Chapter 7 identifies the assumptions underlying the exchange of texts among Pepys and his associates, and uncovers the scholarly, governmental, and mercantile networks used to transmit ideas and augment collections.

Developing the discussion of scholarly and government networks, Chapter 8 examines Pepys's religious and scientific reading in a political context. The main source is a set of 'Notes' which Pepys drafted in the mid-1680s. Using these, I track the exchange of ideas in different media among members of the Royal Society. The trail also leads to James II's strategic use of manuscript circulation to try to build support for religious toleration. Influenced by these exchanges, Pepys formed creative interpretations of works from early church histories to Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651), which in turn helped him determine his actions when faced with political and religious dilemmas. The manuscript of the 'Notes' also provides evidence of the divisions Pepys instituted between his private and public beliefs, and between his private and public papers. This latter point is taken up in Chapter 9, which traces the development of Pepys's library and the changing nature of the various collections within his household. For the male and female members

of Pepys's social circle, closets and libraries served important social purposes. As Pepys's own library grew over the decades it took on new functions related to sociability and self-representation. As we will see, the meanings of Pepys's library collections have to be read just as carefully as any of the paper records he left behind him, but together the evidence he provides offers unrivalled insights into the social, religious, and political uses of books in seventeenth-century society.

# 1

## ‘Multitude of Books’

### Patterns of Reading in Pepys’s Diary

In his darker moments Samuel Pepys ranked his ‘delight . . . in multitude of books and spending money in that’ among his self-indulgent follies.<sup>1</sup> While his delight in books was sometimes self-indulgent, it was not a solitary pleasure, since family, servants, friends, and casual acquaintances often joined him in reading and discussing texts. This chapter investigates what the behaviour of one Restoration reader, his household, and associates indicates about wider attitudes towards books and reading in Restoration London. As a first step, we need to consider what ‘reading’ entails. Today, the mention of someone ‘reading’ is likely to call up a mental image of an individual looking at a printed text (or possibly an electronic device). In terms of setting, our reader might be relaxing at home, reading in bed, on public transport, or working seated at school or in an office. Seventeenth-century pictures of readers tended to be of the ‘reader in the office’ kind, for reading was normally depicted as work, with the male reader seated in a study or library, pen in hand (Figure 1). Studious, worthwhile reading was expected to leave traces such as annotations in the margins, or notes in commonplace books, or even to lead to the production of whole new works of learning, as frontispieces depicting authors in their studies imply (Figure 2). Yet, as Pepys’s diary makes manifest, this solitary, studious reading in a dedicated space—a man alone with his text—was only one form of the activity and not the most common. ‘Reading’ frequently meant reading aloud to another person or to a group, and acknowledging these social, aural components expands the kinds of activities that we might want to consider as reading. For example, since reading aloud from a book is reading, does singing from a music book count as reading? Or if listening to someone read a text is a reading experience, then should listening to someone recite a story or poem from memory be considered a reading experience, even though the text itself is not present? In short, Restoration sources encourage us to think of ‘reading’ as a spectrum of activities. Strictly speaking, in order for reading to take place a text needs to be present, even if it is not seen by everyone involved; however, the recitation of parts of a memorized

<sup>1</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 270.

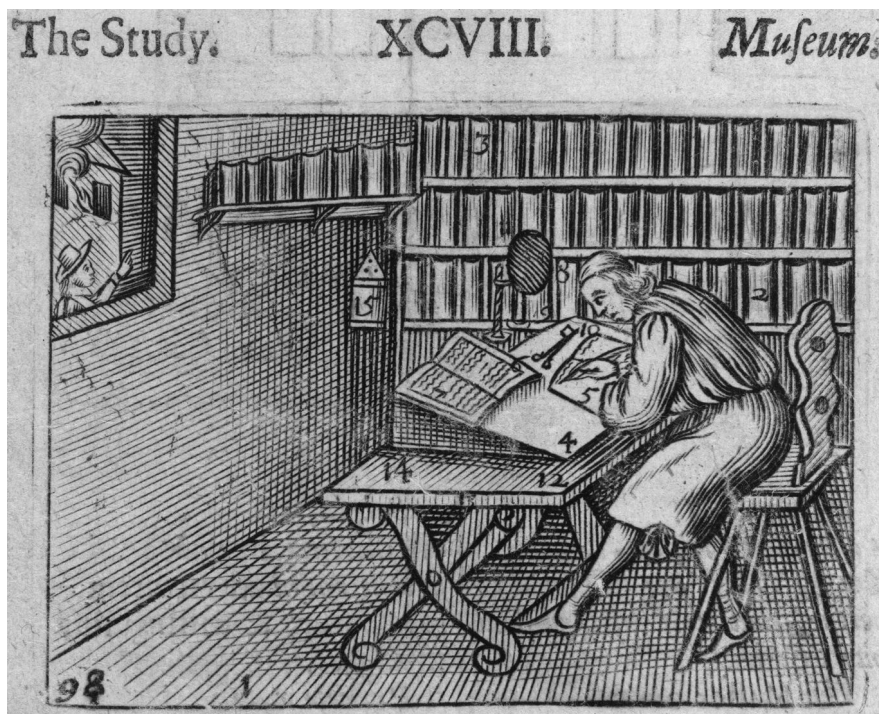


Fig. 1. 'The Study' is 'a place where a Student, a part from Men, sitteth alone, addicted to his Studies, whilst he readeth Books'. From Johann Amos Comenius' *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, trans. Charles Hoole (London, 1700), p. 126. Folger Shakespeare Library, call number C5526.

By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

work or—at a greater remove from the text itself—detailed conversation about the work also constitute acts of absorption and interpretation that need to be included in discussions of reading behaviour.<sup>2</sup> Examining the circumstances in which acts of reading took place—where, when, and with whom—reveals the major obstacles and incentives to reading in the later seventeenth century. Among these obstacles and incentives were the prevailing attitudes about what constituted worthwhile topics for reading. My discussion of patterns of reading in the Pepys household, therefore, leads into an examination of Restoration perceptions of genre.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Stephen Colclough's instance of an 18th-century coffee-house customer who participated in detailed debates on a text on the basis of previous conversations and without having read the work in question. *Consuming Texts: Readers and Reading Communities, 1695–1870* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 72–3.

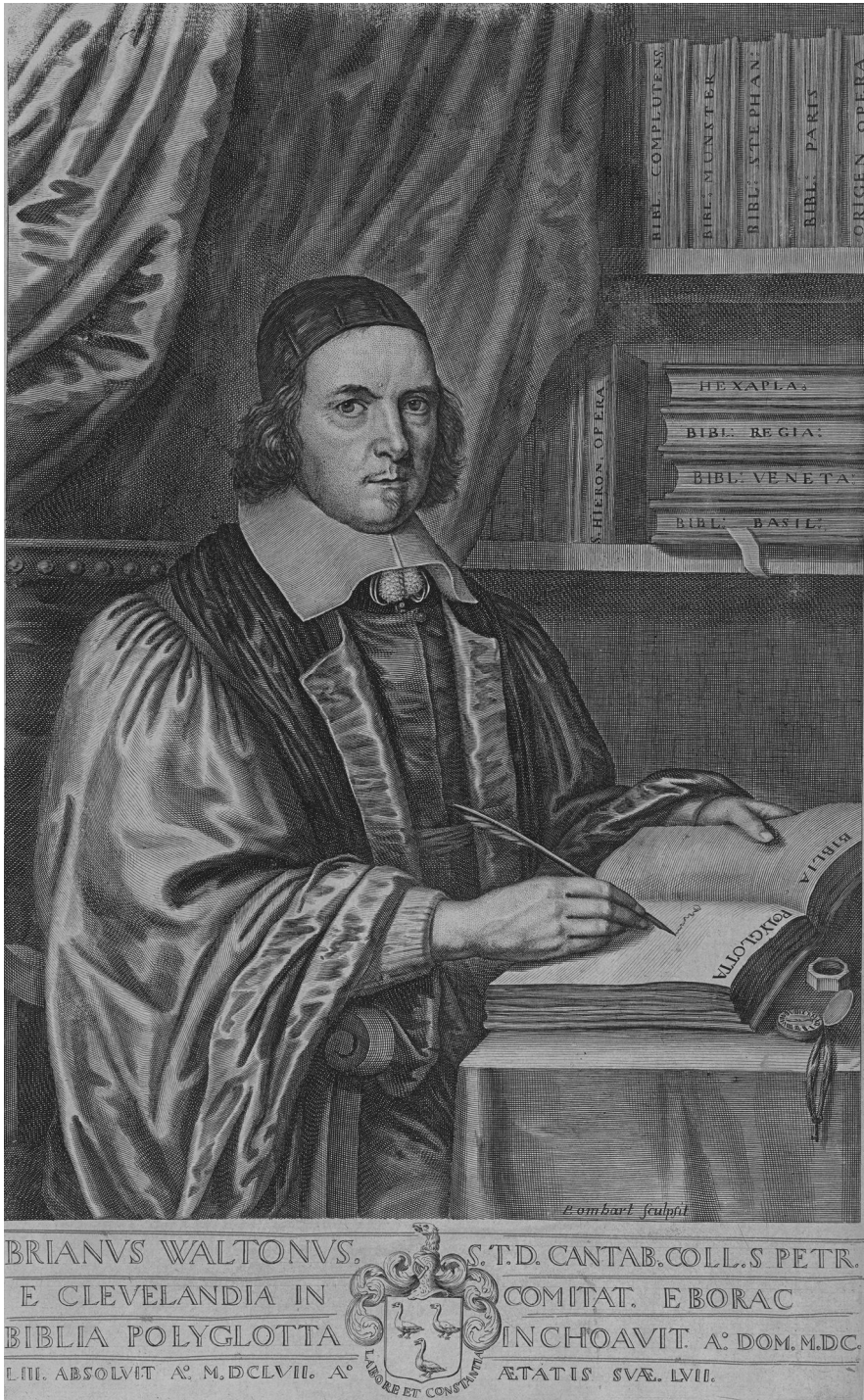


Fig. 2. Brian Walton, by Pierre Lombart. Frontispiece to Pepsy's copy of *Biblia sacra polyglotta*, vol. 1 (London, 1657), PL 2948.

By permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

## RESTORATION LITERACIES

How common was reading in Restoration London? Among historians and sociologists there is considerable debate about how literacy in the early modern period can be measured and what being 'literate' entails. Literacy, as Brian Street and others have argued, is not an objective and fixed standard of ability, nor is it a purely technical skill that only consists in recognizing letters and words. Instead becoming literate involves learning skills that alter according to time and circumstance, such as how to derive meaning from the layout of text and how to display knowledge in socially appropriate ways.<sup>3</sup> Street points to Martin Clanchy's work, which shows that 'reading' in medieval England was 'coupled more often with speaking aloud than with eyeing script'. 'Writing' a piece could be synonymous with 'dictating' it, since writing was seen as a difficult, separate skill that might require the employment of a scribe. In a culture where reading aloud and dictating were common practices, Clanchy argues, the ostensibly 'non-literate' were able 'to participate in the use of documents'.<sup>4</sup> The same held true in early modern England. In the seventeenth century, when the abilities to read and to write were more widespread than in the medieval period, the use of scribes and surrogate readers went on at all social levels. William Petty (1623–87), the son of a clothier, recalled how at 13 he was paid sixpence by one 'Mother Dowling, who having been a sinner in her youth, was much relieved by my reading to her in the *Crumbs of Comfort*, Mr Andrews' *Silver Watch Bell*, and *The plain man's pathway to Heaven*'.<sup>5</sup> In the early 1660s Roger Lowe (d. 1679), who ran a shop in the village of Ashton in Lancashire, earned money and favours by writing out verses, sermons, and love letters for his fellow villagers.<sup>6</sup> Keith Thomas has pointed out that even among those who could read fluently the abilities to read print and script were distinct. As a result people who had no trouble reading a Bible or pamphlet in 'print hand' would have to take a letter in 'written hand' to someone else to read for them.<sup>7</sup>

The view of literacy as a social construction, a collection of historically contingent practices, has a sharp bearing on the methods used to gauge the distribution of reading ability during our period. David Cressy's investigation of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literacy levels measures illiteracy by examining the proportions of people who made a mark on official documents, as opposed to signing their names. From 1580 to 1700 the gentry and clergy almost universally signed; yeoman and tradesmen were some way behind, with husbandmen and labourers

<sup>3</sup> See Brian V. Street, *Literacy in Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: CUP, 1984; repr. 1988), esp. p. 8; James Collins and Richard K. Blot, *Literacy and Literacies: Texts, Power, and Identities* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), ch. 3.

<sup>4</sup> M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307* (3rd edn., Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), pp. 234, 273–4.

<sup>5</sup> Petty to Robert Southwell, 14 July 1686, in *Petty–Southwell Correspondence*, p. 216.

<sup>6</sup> *The Diary of Roger Lowe of Ashton-in-Makerfield, Lancashire 1663–1678*, [ed. Ian Winstanley] (2nd edn., Ashton-in-Makerfield: Picks, 1994), pp. 14, 29, 31.

<sup>7</sup> Keith Thomas, 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England', in *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition: Wolfson College Lectures 1985*, ed. Gerd Baumann (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 97–131 (pp. 100, 103).

having the lowest rates of signing. Women—whom the early sources do not normally differentiate by social status—appear to have been among the most illiterate.<sup>8</sup> By this measure, there were sharp differences between the ‘signature literacy’ of Londoners and those living in rural areas. Around 50 per cent of rural tradesmen and craftsmen at the start of the seventeenth century did not sign their names, while in London and Middlesex illiteracy in the same group was significantly lower, with 26 per cent making marks in the 1610s. Both rural and urban tradesmen saw little decline in illiteracy between the 1610s and the 1680s, although, where figures are available for the 1690s and the early eighteenth century, these do show falls. In East Anglia in the 1680s 44 per cent of tradesmen and craftsmen could not sign (the same figure as seventy years earlier), but in the 1690s this was down to 30 per cent. In London and Middlesex the equivalent figure for tradesmen and craftsmen in the 1690s was 13 per cent, having stood at 26 per cent in both the 1610s and the 1680s. Women in urban and rural settings had begun the seventeenth century with very high levels of signature illiteracy, but they became less likely to make marks and more likely to sign as the decades passed. Ninety-three per cent of East Anglian women did not sign in the 1610s, falling steadily to 79 per cent in the 1690s. The group that made the most significant and sustained advances during the later seventeenth century was London women. For much of the first half of the century, around 90 per cent of women in London and Middlesex made marks, a similar figure to Cressy’s more rural sample of East Anglian women. By the 1670s, the number of London women who did not sign had dropped to 78 per cent and each decade that followed saw a decrease until 52 per cent of women were making marks in the 1690s. Further falls followed in the early eighteenth century.<sup>9</sup> However, as Cressy recognizes, measuring literacy by signing is likely to underestimate the ability to read, and other researchers have argued that it is a particularly problematic measure of female reading ability. During the seventeenth century writing was normally taught after reading, and was considered a skill less necessary for women than for men. As a result, many women and lower-class men who were able to read fluently used a pen poorly, if at all.<sup>10</sup> Even well-read gentlewomen sometimes struggled to write. Elizabeth Pepys, who could read in both French and English, was one such, producing ‘false-spelt’ letters that irritated her husband. Her friend and rival Elizabeth Pearse, despite being impressively supplied with the latest poetry and political pamphlets, spelt erratically even by seventeenth-century standards: ‘weddensday’, for example, was her attempt at ‘Wednesday’, while ‘sarttenly’ meant ‘certainly’.<sup>11</sup> What we have in Cressy’s work is evidence for an increased ability and willingness

<sup>8</sup> David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1980), pp. 118–19, 142.

<sup>9</sup> Cressy, *Literacy*, pp. 144–54.

<sup>10</sup> For a summary of the problems with signatures as indicators of literacy, see Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005; repr. 2009), pp. 56–9.

<sup>11</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 29: the circumstances suggest one of Elizabeth’s letters may have been in French. *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 439; Bodl., MS Rawlinson, A.178, fol. 18, Elizabeth Pearse to Pepys, 2 May 1682.

to sign among women, craftsmen, and tradesmen during the later seventeenth century, especially in London: the ability to read among these groups was almost certainly considerably higher than the figures for signature literacy suggest.

To learn to read required a tutor and access to texts—and ensuring the availability of both required the investment of time and money. During the seventeenth century, reading skills might be acquired at home or at work through the assistance of a relative, friend, or conscientious employer. Proficiency in reading, however, would normally require time spent in a school.<sup>12</sup> Elementary schooling consisted of learning to read in English, sometimes followed by training in how to write. It took place in petty schools or with the aid of semi-professional tutors. Having learnt how to recognize the alphabet, a child would progress on to religious texts and the Bible, perhaps acquiring basic reading skills around the age of 7. For many, this would be the end of schooling; a child's labour was often needed elsewhere. The more fortunate boys would head on to grammar school, where they would first study Latin grammar, followed by rhetoric and oratory, which were taught through work on Latin and Greek literature.<sup>13</sup> Roger Lowe's ability to act as a confident scribe in his village stemmed from his time at a local grammar school.<sup>14</sup> Pepys similarly attended a country grammar school but his move to St Paul's School, near his London home, meant he had the benefit of some of the most rigorous teaching in England. Importantly, it also offered the chance to compete for a university scholarship, as, without this funding, his family could not have afforded to continue to support his studies.

Most educational institutions required some form of fee to be paid and anyone seeking to improve their reading skills also had to reckon with the expense of books. Purchasing a new text, of whatever kind, was a substantial investment for most workers. The very cheapest of the books needed for grammar school were advertised at twopence, but many retailed at a shilling or twice that price. Beyond school texts, the smaller formats of bound books, such as advice books, essays, or jest-books, retailed new at one shilling or a shilling and sixpence. Less costly would be an unbound sermon at sixpence, while chapbooks (commonly called 'small books') offered religious instruction, songs, or stories for twopence or threepence. Even twopence for a chapbook or the cheapest schoolbook was expensive if a London labourer had also to cover the costs of food, rent, fire, and clothing for a family, all on an average wage of one shilling and eightpence a day.<sup>15</sup> Servants, who normally received a wage in addition to having food, lodging, and clothing paid

<sup>12</sup> Cressy, *Literacy*, pp. 40–1.

<sup>13</sup> See Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, 1981), ch. 2; Cressy, *Literacy*, pp. 20–1, 34–41; Jean R. Brink, 'Literacy and Education', in *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed. Michael Hattaway (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000; repr. 2003), pp. 95–105.

<sup>14</sup> On Lowe's background, see David Souden, 'Lowe, Roger (d. 1679)', in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68934>> [accessed 4 Mar. 2014].

<sup>15</sup> Jan Luiten van Zanden, 'Wages and the Cost of Living in Southern England (London) 1450–1700', *International Institute of Social History*, <<http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/dover.php>> [accessed 6 Oct. 2010].



for by employers, might have a little more to spend. The most affordable works for these groups were printed ballads, which sold at a penny or halfpenny.<sup>16</sup>

## LOCATIONS FOR READING

Besides the high cost of new books, there were other obstacles to reading with which everyone had to contend. Lack of good light restricted when and where it was possible to read. Reading by artificial light was not easy. Rush lights, the cheapest form of illumination, provided a steady but small light. Tallow candles, used chiefly by the gentry, produced less than half the light of modern paraffin wax candles—they also smelt pungent and their smoke could be an annoyance. Tallow candles were in use at Pepys's workplace, but in the winter of 1664 he experimented with beeswax candles there—a cunning move, since it meant he would not have to bear the cost himself.<sup>17</sup> These wax candles, although brighter than tallow, were prohibitively expensive for normal use even among the wealthy. A fire, which served the dual purposes of light and warmth for night-time readers, was a further expense. However, Samuel and Elizabeth's enthusiasm for reading outweighed the problems of lighting and they often read into the night. In January 1660, Elizabeth was so absorbed in the heroic romance *Polexandre* that she stayed up reading it; subsequently, she scolded her husband because his night-time reading in his study kept 'the house so late up' (presumably the servants could not go to bed until he did).<sup>18</sup> Sometimes a book was taken to bed. In October 1660, Pepys purchased a short story by Paul Scarron and 'read in bed till I had made an end of it', while another night he 'lay long reading' Thomas Hobbes's *Of Libertie and Necessitie* (1654).<sup>19</sup> Reading in bed was not often noted in the diary, but for Pepys it was evidently common enough and pleasurable enough to be worth investment. At an alehouse in October 1660 the instrument maker Ralph Greatorex showed him 'the manner of the Lamp glasses, which carry the light a great way'. These were, Pepys noted, 'Good to read in bed by and I intend to have one of them'. It was perhaps a device similar to that described in *Mathematicall Recreations* (1633), which used a concave glass behind a lamp or candle to 'commodiously reflect the light upon a Table, or to a place assigned'.<sup>20</sup> Craftsmen came to see the growing number of book-lovers in the later seventeenth century as a ripe market for exploitation: this

<sup>16</sup> On book prices, see Ch. 6, 'Agreeing a Purchase', pp. 182–5; Robert Clavell, *A Catalogue of All the Books Printed in England since the Dreadful Fire of London [to 1672]* (London, 1673), p. 46; and Spufford, *Small Books*, p. 48. On ballads and their affordability, see Angela McShane Jones, "'Rime and Reason": The Political World of the English Broadside Ballad, 1640–1689' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2004), pp. 82–4.

<sup>17</sup> Maureen Dillon, *Artificial Sunshine: A Social History of Domestic Lighting* (London: The National Trust, 2002), pp. 39–45, 49–50. On candle strength, see Martin White, 'Artificial Lighting in the Early Modern English Commercial Playhouse', *The Chamber of Demonstrations: Reconstructing the Jacobean Indoor Playhouse*, <<http://www.bristol.ac.uk/dramal/jacobean/research3.html>> [accessed 18 Feb. 2013]. *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 346.

<sup>18</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 35; vol. 3, p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 266; vol. 2, p. 217.

<sup>20</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 273. Henry Van Etten, *Mathematicall Recreations* (London, 1633), pp. 157–8.

1660 consultation over a reading light was one of the first, but certainly not the last, of Pepys's investigations into reading furniture.<sup>21</sup>

Some members of Pepys's household were fortunate enough to possess rooms that were well suited to reading. Samuel had a 'closet' (also called his 'chamber' or 'study') that housed his book collection. Here he would spend time reading alone or with friends.<sup>22</sup> Considerable effort went into decorating this space, and the same was true of Elizabeth's 'closet', which she possessed from August 1662, if not before. She had her own book collection which Pepys says she kept in this room.<sup>23</sup> Pepys's manservant Will Hewer (1642–1715), who doubled as a navy clerk, also had a closet in the house, albeit a less lavishly furnished one. Returning home from a long day's work, Pepys was enraged to find Will already there and 'at his ease in his study'.<sup>24</sup> Having such a space for retreat was a sign of status for householders and a privilege for upper servants, one of which Will was proving himself unworthy. Besides his own study at home, Pepys also managed to get for himself a well-appointed closet at the nearby Navy Office.<sup>25</sup> The office contained books that were related to his work duties and bought at the King's expense, but there was no firm division between these 'work' books and Pepys's own books—a number of the books purchased for the office ended up in Pepys's private library collection in later life.<sup>26</sup>

Aside from reading at home and at the office, Pepys and his friends regularly read while on the move. The facility with which they read on horseback, in a coach, or in a boat would have surprised those Victorian commentators who thought reading while travelling was a 'modern innovation' of the nineteenth century, one which had come in 'exclusively' with the railways.<sup>27</sup> Pepys frequently read on short journeys to the naval yards at Deptford, Woolwich, and Chatham. For example, once while riding to Chatham he encountered a husband and wife on horseback who showed him some verses. A dispute over their literary merit ensued, with the lady arguing in favour of the poem and the husband disagreeing; this ended with Pepys reading the verses aloud so eloquently (he reports) that the husband was forced to commend them.<sup>28</sup> Pepys read in hired coaches alone or with friends, and also recalls one episode of reading aloud in a public stagecoach.<sup>29</sup> Reading aloud could entertain a group of travellers, but like the modern commuter hiding behind a newspaper, Pepys sometimes used reading to signal that he was disinclined to be sociable. Coming back from Woolwich by coach in 1664, he was compelled

<sup>21</sup> See Ch. 9, 'Closet Design', pp. 254–5, 257.

<sup>22</sup> For example, *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 268; vol. 3, p. 6; vol. 4, p. 202.

<sup>23</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 268; vol. 3, p. 165; vol. 9, p. 365. On Samuel's and Elizabeth's closets, see Ch. 9.

<sup>24</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 180.

<sup>25</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 36; vol. 6, p. 111.

<sup>26</sup> For example, John Rushworth's *Historical Collections* (London, 1659) and Henry Scobell's *A Collection of Acts and Ordinances* (London, 1658) were bought 'as to the office' and the former, at least, read in the Navy Office: *Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 395, 402. Both are now in the Pepys Library (PL 2386 and 2520).

<sup>27</sup> 'Reading for the Rail', in *Norton's Literary Gazette*, 15 June 1852, quoted in Aileen Fyfe, *Steam-Powered Knowledge: William Chambers and the Business of Publishing, 1820–1860* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2012), p. 108.

<sup>28</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 182.

<sup>29</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 306; vol. 8, p. 313; vol. 9, p. 213.

into an unwanted piece of chivalry: 'an ordinary woman prayed me to give her room to London; which I did, but spoke not to her all the way, but read as long as I could see my book again'.<sup>30</sup> Here reading was being used to snub a woman whose 'ordinary' appearance, I suspect, meant that Pepys judged her to be both of low rank and unattractive. On this occasion Pepys was reading a work-related text, an edition of John Herne's *Law of Charitable Uses*, with a mind to sorting out navy finances, but he was just as likely to use work trips as chances to read poetry or plays.<sup>31</sup> This was particularly true of boat trips on the Thames. In the summer of 1666, for example, river trips on navy business provided the opportunity to read a translation of Corneille's tragedy *Pompey the Great* (1664), John Wilson's *Andronicus Comnenius* (1664), John Dryden's *The Rival Ladies* (1664), Samuel Tuke's *The Adventures of Five Hours* (first published 1663), and Shakespeare's *Othello*.<sup>32</sup>

Pepys's reading skills included the ability to read while walking. This was not his personal eccentricity, but a recommended practice; indeed, reading while walking was sometimes urged by physicians, since the health benefits of being outside and active apparently outweighed the risks of falling over.<sup>33</sup> Pepys read while walking in gardens, in fields, and to Greenwich or Deptford. He also took this practice to an extreme, since distinctly unfavourable conditions did not deter him: he was prepared to read while walking over the fields on an icy December night, employing a linkman to light the way.<sup>34</sup> When a walk was anticipated, he would make sure to have a small volume for the occasion; thus his equipment for a trip to Walthamstow included a 'book of Latin plays which I took in my pocket, thinking to have walked it'.<sup>35</sup> Booksellers, mindful of such peripatetic reading behaviours among their customers, used the portability of smaller formats as a selling point. Religious or technical advice books in particular were advertised as 'Pocket Companions', or as conveniently 'digested into [a] Pocket volumn'. 'Pocket-sized' in the Restoration meant duodecimo works (roughly 13.5cm × 8cm) and octavos (roughly 17.5cm × 12cm), although Pepys also carried the next size up, quartos (roughly 21cm × 16cm).<sup>36</sup> Portability was evidently one of the advantages of purchasing plays in single quarto format, for, at around forty leaves, an unbound play was slim enough to be rolled or folded. The presence of act and scene divisions must also have made plays suitable for short bursts of travel reading. To Pepys, however, it was the book's size, rather

<sup>30</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 307; Pepys had earlier found the same tactic used to give him the cold shoulder, vol. 1, p. 147.

<sup>31</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 306; compare p. 301. Pepys read either the 1660 edition of Herne's book or the 'enlarged' 1663 edition.

<sup>32</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, pp. 176, 181, 233, 248–9, 255. Pepys owned a folio edition of Shakespeare's plays (vol. 5, p. 198), but *Othello* may have been read here in a quarto edition.

<sup>33</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 226; vol. 7, pp. 29, 72, 119; [John Fell], *The Life of the Most Learned, Reverend and Pious Dr H. Hammond* (London, 1661), pp. 111–12.

<sup>34</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 340. <sup>35</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 218.

<sup>36</sup> For example, the title page of W[illiam] E[land]'s *A Tutor to Astrologie* (London, [1657], duodecimo) advertised it as 'Digested into this Pocket volumn'; Nathanaell Church, *Cheap Riches or A Pocket-Companion* (London, 1657, duodecimo); J[ohn] C[ollings], *The Weavers Pocket-Book* (London, 1675, octavo). Formats—'folio', 'quarto', etc.—describe the way the book is compiled and provide only a loose guide to the size. The measurements here are drawn from examples in Pepys's collection of bound works.

than easily digestible content, that marked it as a work for reading on the move. His selection of books suitable for reading on a walk included the octavo *Hydrostatical Paradoxes* (1666) by Robert Boyle—a particularly challenging choice in these circumstances, since the main text describing experiments with fluids was intended to be read in consultation with folded inserts showing the apparatus.<sup>37</sup>

The portability of many texts and Restoration readers' readiness to carry them helped ensure much reading went on outside the home and in public spaces. Pepys and his associates read publications in taverns, eating houses, and shops. Often someone in a gathering had brought a publication with them to show others or to read aloud. For example, Pepys brought a music book to the Sun tavern for a singing session. A funeral he attended similarly proved more fun than expected because of Captain O'Brien's 'taking out some ballets [i.e. ballads] out of his pocket, which I read and the rest came about me to hear; and there very merry we were all, they being new ballets'. Other occasions saw someone bringing along a copy of a proclamation or newsbook to a meeting.<sup>38</sup> On a visit to a barber's shop, Pepys 'met with a copy of verses, mightily commended by some gentleman there, of my Lord Mordants in excuse of his going to sea'. The gentleman may well have brought these verses along, or they may have been offered by the barber himself. Barbers' shops were known to be good places to obtain news, to the extent that Pepys's colleague Sir William Batten told a joke about the amazing prospect of a barber who was *not* literate enough to read a letter.<sup>39</sup> These instances were semi-public readings that could draw in others, but Pepys and his companions also benefited considerably from being able to inspect others' book collections in private homes. The nuances of what I will call 'book hospitality' will be investigated in Chapter 7, but here we should note the extent to which visitors made use of opportunities to examine and borrow books in any house in which they found themselves. For example, on a visit to his servant Will Hewer's lodgings, Pepys 'met in this house with' a life of Oliver Cromwell, which he thought well written; on another occasion, dining at 'an acquaintance of W. Hewer's', he looked at 'some learned physique and Chymical Bookes'. The books found in the residences of colleagues, kin, and superiors were also inspected.<sup>40</sup> Being the owner of books and, even better, being regarded as a gentleman afforded access to collections in other people's households: having access to books, in other words, bred greater access to books.

Meanwhile, the inhabitants of London who could not afford books were not wholly deprived of reading material. They walked streets lined with the printed word. Adverts and playbills were stuck up on posts and walls; ballads and prints decorated the interiors of alehouses; and in major civic forums, such as the Royal Exchange, there was a dense concentration of print and manuscript notices.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>37</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, pp. 258, 400.

<sup>38</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 27; vol. 9, p. 200; vol. 1, pp. 27, 41; vol. 7, p. 406.

<sup>39</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 352; vol. 3, p. 180.

<sup>40</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, pp. 382 and 421. Compare, for example, vol. 3, p. 214; vol. 7, p. 29; vol. 8, p. 32; vol. 9, p. 353.

<sup>41</sup> *The Impartial Protestant Mercury*, 6–10 Jan. 1681/2; [Izaak Walton], *The Compleat Angler* (London, 1653), p. 49. *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 224; vol. 6, p. 165; vol. 7, pp. 420–1. Bodl., MS

Publications were hawked in the streets, which might, as with ballads, involve reading aloud or performing parts of them to attract a crowd of listeners.<sup>42</sup> Sometimes pamphlets and single sheets were to be had at heavily discounted rates, or even for free. Thomas Rugg, a London barber, noted this was common practice during the turmoil of 1659 and 1660, when control of the City and the nation hung in the balance. In January 1660 Rugg remarked on the activities of those who ‘made very jeering things against the Parliments Rump and had them printed and gave them away for nothing to poore girles for to sell, the more because they was forbid’.<sup>43</sup> In the same month, the London watermen orchestrated a printed declaration that was ‘given up and downe to gentilmen and sould to others’.<sup>44</sup> In this case, the publishers sought to shape opinion by giving the declaration free to those customers and influential citizens who were likely actually to be able to afford to buy it. An alternative method of distribution, particularly for libels, was simply to scatter the piece in the street or fix it in a prominent location.<sup>45</sup> The purpose of much of this activity was, in Rugg’s phrase, to make ‘towne talke’.<sup>46</sup> Writers and vendors with agendas to push and works to sell had developed ways to ensure that even those who could not afford a printed sheet or read it for themselves would have opportunities to read or hear about it.

## READING IN THE PEPYS HOUSEHOLD

The types of reading that went on within Pepys’s household merit close attention, for they illuminate the social contexts that prompted or hindered the acquisition of literacy skills. One indication of the dispersal of reading ability in London in the 1660s comes from the parade of young women who acted as Samuel and Elizabeth’s kitchen servants. There was a rapid turnover of maids and cookmaids in the Pepys household during the 1660s and such was the difficulty of finding reliable candidates that Elizabeth was often in no position to be choosy about non-essential accomplishments such as reading.<sup>47</sup> Yet even for lower servants basic reading ability was regarded by employers as a useful skill and, fleeting references imply, was far from an unusual accomplishment. On 6 October 1663 Pepys was infuriated by an incident that stemmed from his servants’ failure to attend to a written cue. That day he brought company home to dine but, with Elizabeth and her servants

Rawlinson A.184, fol. 311, ‘Royall Exchange 1665 A List of Men Slaine’. Certain prints were designed for public display: the illustrated *England’s Grand Memorial* (London, 1679) urges that ‘this MONUMENT’ should be kept ‘as well in Publick Places, as Private Houses’.

<sup>42</sup> McShane Jones, ‘Rime and Reason’, pp. 86–9.

<sup>43</sup> *The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg, 1659–1661*, ed. William L. Sachse, Camden 3rd ser., 91 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1961), p. 28.

<sup>44</sup> *Diurnal of Thomas Rugg*, p. 33.

<sup>45</sup> *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, ed. Andrew Clark, 5 vols. (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1891–1900), vol. 1, p. 488; vol. 2, p. 67; vol. 3, pp. 254–5.

<sup>46</sup> *Diurnal of Thomas Rugg*, p. 48.

<sup>47</sup> The index to Latham and Matthews’s edition records 23 female servants below the level of waiting gentlewoman over the course of the diary, some of whom lasted only a few days.

exceptionally busy, the decision was made to send out for food from a nearby cookshop. Pepys had to disguise his discomfort when 'my people had so little wit to send in our meat from abroad in the cook's dishes, which were marked with the name of the Cooke upon them; by which, if [the guests] observed anything, they might know it was not my own dinner'.<sup>48</sup> This was a social faux pas whose equivalent today would be serving guests at a formal dinner a supermarket ready meal in its plastic container. Pepys's point was that the embarrassment should have been avoided by the maids (who were preoccupied with washing) spotting the name and recognizing the damaging implications for the household's hospitality. With cookshop dishes marked with names, even lower servants would need routinely to recognize certain words, if only to send the right dishes back to the right place.

Maids in London households also received more direct encouragement to hone their reading skills. Advice books and religious texts urged householders to ensure that the Bible and other religious works were read among those in their charge, and this could include having the servants do the reading themselves.<sup>49</sup> Pepys, who was less diligent in Sunday prayers than many, nonetheless managed to spend time 'hearing on the maids read in the Bible'—the maids at this time were the chambermaid Jane Gentleman, Bess the cookmaid, and 'Susan, a little girl'.<sup>50</sup> Jane Birch, a long-time servant in the Pepys household, was another maid who was not only literate but, by the age of 18, owned at least one book.<sup>51</sup> Jane's diligent service meant she rose through the ranks, from being the couple's sole maid-of-all-work to become the chambermaid, the cook, and eventually, in the 1680s, housekeeper to the rich Will Hewer.<sup>52</sup> Her literacy not only aided this rise (for housekeepers must keep some form of accounts) but also enabled her to participate in her employers' leisure activities. In summer 1666, Jane joined Samuel, Elizabeth, and Elizabeth's paid companion Mary Mercer on a trip up the river, during which they read 'with great delight' Sir William Davenant's fashionable drama *The Siege of Rhodes* (1663).<sup>53</sup>

<sup>48</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 326.

<sup>49</sup> Thomas Gouge, *Christian Directions* (London, 1661), p. 150 (fol. V3v); Richard Baxter, *A Christian Directory* (London, 1673), pp. 580–6; John Evelyn, *Memoires for my Grand-son*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (Oxford: Nonesuch Press, 1926), pp. 8–9.

<sup>50</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 383. Those involved can be identified by vol. 4, pp. 292, 320, 438.

<sup>51</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 27. Historians have previously deduced Jane Birch's age from her marriage allegation of March 1669, where she is said to be 'about 24': this is misleading, probably deliberately so. Her baptism was recorded in June 1641. 'About 24' on her marriage allegation presumably means 'about three years older than 24, but it would be convenient for me to appear younger than my 25-year-old husband, who has already proved somewhat reluctant'. *The Registers of the Church of St Mary, Dymock, 1538–1790*, ed. Irvine Gray and J. E. Gethyn-Jones (Bristol: Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1960), p. 113. *Allegations for Marriage Licences Issued by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster 1558 to 1669*, ed. Joseph Lemuel Chester and Geo. J. Armytage (London: Harleian Society, 1886), p. 162. *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 63–4.

<sup>52</sup> Arthur Bryant, *Samuel Pepys: The Saviour of the Navy* (London: Collins, 1938; new edn. 1949), pp. 228–9.

<sup>53</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 235.

The pleasure trip up the Thames provides an instance of servants being included in communal pleasurable reading. However, as Elspeth Jajdelska has shown, Pepys's diary also documents the extent to which reading aloud was a service performed for superiors by those of lower status—be they servants or kin.<sup>54</sup> For Pepys, this was a service most often done by male servants, and new recruits were put through their paces. The day after Jane Birch's 11-year-old brother Wayneman arrived from the village of Dymock to serve as a footboy, Pepys 'had the boy up tonight for his sister to teach him to put me to bed, and I heard him read, which he doth pretty well'. This was part of a more general testing of Wayneman's abilities but reading aloud was, perhaps, something Pepys's footboy was required to do as part of the normal routine of putting his master to bed. Three years later Pepys was forcing Wayneman to practise his writing.<sup>55</sup> Heads of household were expected to see to the education of youths in their care and tasking a servant with reading aloud was an easy, convenient, and common way of fulfilling the obligation. Pepys's contemporary Robert Hooke appears to have had his servant Harry reading within a few days of his arrival.<sup>56</sup> Tom Edwards, who took over the role of Pepys's footboy in 1664, read to his master to help him to sleep after the Great Fire, and Will Hewer also read to Pepys just before bed. In Will's case the nature of these episodes of reading altered with his rise in status and growing independence. In June 1663, for example, Pepys was 'making' Will read parts of the Latin testament at night to him, more for the purpose of improving Will's Latin than for his own edification. By December 1668, when Will was still working at the Navy Office but was now wealthy in his own right, reading sessions were more companionable, with Pepys bringing Will home 'to read and talk' before heading off to bed 'in mighty good humour'.<sup>57</sup>

Elizabeth's waiting women, such as Mary Ashwell, who had taught small children at a school in Chelsea, or her successor Deb Willet, who had spent seven years at school in Bow, would likewise have been expected to read for Elizabeth's entertainment and perhaps to write for her.<sup>58</sup> In 1673 an unauthorized biography of Hannah Woolley described how, while employed as a waiting woman, she had acted as the 'Scribe or Secretary' to her mistress. Reading aloud was represented as a rewarding part of her duties:

that which most of all increaseth my knowledg, was my daily reading to my Lady, Poems of all sorts, and Plays, teaching me as I read, where to place my accents, how to arise and fall my voice, where lay the emphasis of the expression. Romances of the best sort she took great delight in; and being very well versed in the propriety of the *French*

<sup>54</sup> Elspeth Jajdelska, 'Pepys in the History of Reading', *Historical Journal*, 50 (2007), 549–69, doi: <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X07006255>> (p. 555).

<sup>55</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 250, 251; vol. 4, p. 193. *Registers of the Church of St Mary, Dymock*, p. 120. For a case of a servant reading while the employer dressed/undressed, see [Fell], *Life of . . . Dr H. Hammond*, p. 112.

<sup>56</sup> *Hooke's Diary 1672–1683*, 9 and 15 Jan. 1672/3.

<sup>57</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 283; vol. 4, pp. 189, 190, 193; vol. 9, p. 387.

<sup>58</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 45; vol. 8, p. 451. Pepys bought a music book for Ashwell to play for the family (vol. 4, pp. 75–6).

Tongue, there was not any thing published by the *Virtuosi of France*, which carefully and chargably she procur'd not; this put me upon the understanding of that Language.<sup>59</sup>

Woolley is here made to credit reading aloud with giving her important components of a genteel female education and access to a range of literature (plays, poems, and romances) that she would not otherwise have encountered. The passage also stresses that reading aloud was a particular skill, requiring expertise in the conventions of pronunciation, appropriate tone, and emphases. Sufficient importance was attached to this aspect of reading for it to be considered worth the attention of the Royal Society's 'Committee for Improving the English Tongue'. In 1665, Pepys's friend John Evelyn wrote to the committee to urge it to propose new punctuation and accents 'to stand as marks beforehand how the voice . . . is to be governed; as in reciting of plays, reading of verses &c., for the varying the tone of the voice, and affections, &c'.<sup>60</sup> Working on the later eighteenth century, Abigail Williams has pointed to the large numbers of guides to reading aloud produced at this time. These instructions on 'domestic oratory', she argues, encouraged readers to project the emotional and dramatic impact of a text in a way that would today be considered over the top.<sup>61</sup> Evelyn's reference to the importance of 'affections' suggests reading aloud in the Restoration also involved emotional delivery. Accomplished performance of texts evidently meant mastering a set of conventions that required practice and assistance to perfect.

In the case of Pepys's household, one particular circumstance had a wide impact on the family's reading patterns, altering who read to whom and the types of texts that were read aloud. By 1667 Pepys began to have serious problems with his eyes that he thought were worsened by reading too much. On 19 August he commented: 'I home to supper and to read a little (which I cannot refrain, though I have all the reason in the world to favour my eyes, which every day grow worse and worse by over-useing them)'.<sup>62</sup> Although he tried various solutions, the most straightforward was to expand the practice of having others read for him. As a result Tom Edwards now found himself reading aloud a diverse assortment of texts that Pepys would formerly have read by himself, among them John Wilkins's *An Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* (1668), a translation of Descartes's *Excellent Compendium of Musick* (1653), and a life of Julius Caesar. Tom was being exposed to the latest works in natural philosophy and history, even if, as Pepys's repeated use of the phrase 'made the boy read to me' suggests, this was not of his own choice.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Hannah Woolley [and anonymous editor/contributor], *The Gentlewomans Companion* (London, 1673), p. 13. Parts of this book were by Woolley, but she disowned it in *A Supplement to the Queen-Like Closet* (London, 1674), pp. 131–3.

<sup>60</sup> Evelyn to Sir Peter Wyche, 20 June 1665, in *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, ed. William Bray, vol. 3 (London, 1863), p. 160.

<sup>61</sup> Abigail Williams, 'Home Improvements: Eighteenth-Century Miscellanies and their Uses', Early Modern Research Seminar, University of Leicester, 5 Mar. 2012.

<sup>62</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 391.

<sup>63</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 215, 400–1. After 4 November 1668 there were two 'boys' in the household, Tom (in his early twenties) and Jack, sometimes called 'the little boy'. The boy reading seems normally



For Elizabeth the change was even greater. Prior to Pepys's eye problems, the couple usually read poetry, plays, or entertaining histories together. Sometimes this was Elizabeth's choice of material. On 2 November 1662, for example, she chose religious poetry: Pepys wrote, 'My wife and I spent a good deal of this evening in reading Du' Bartas's *Imposture* and other parts, which my wife of late hath taken up to read, and is very fine as anything I meet with.'<sup>64</sup> As Pepys's eyes failed, Elizabeth was called on to read more often and more widely. From mid-1667, the books she read aloud included Robert Boyle's *Some Considerations touching the Style of the H[oly] Scriptures* (1663), an essay on war by Sir Robert Cotton, Wilkins's *Essay towards a Real Character*, and *A Philosophicall Discourse concerning Speech* (1668). For the first time, she also helped Pepys with his work by reading naval documents to him.<sup>65</sup> There are no signs Elizabeth had chosen to read naval papers or natural philosophy before, and she was evidently less than keen to do so now. On 29 January 1669 Pepys noted, 'hired my wife to make an end of Boyles book of Forms tonight and tomorrow'. Elizabeth apparently required recompense for reading works for which she had no enthusiasm, such as Boyle's *The Origines of Formes* (a book that Pepys himself found hard going).<sup>66</sup> Although reading arrangements in the Pepys household reflected nuances of the family hierarchy, the types of problems encountered and the solutions found were familiar ones in the households of the gentry. Among Pepys's friends, for example, Sir William Petty (who had once earned money from reading to others) became so poorly sighted that he needed others to read to him. Like Pepys, he made this part of the education of younger members of the household and enjoyed the entertainment it provided. His son Charles, he boasted, was so skilled in mimicry that he could bring 'anything written' to life by adopting 'an Action, Tred, voice and tone suitable to the matter and scope thereof'. However, also like Pepys's household, Petty and his helpers found some types of work were ill-suited to being read aloud. In 1687 Newton's *Principia mathematica* defeated both Petty and his son: 'My bad eyes disable mee to make the most of it, for diagrams cannot bee read by others,' Petty rued.<sup>67</sup>

Together these references to reading in Restoration households suggest that in families where the senior members were regular readers there was considerable incentive, and some direct encouragement, for servants even at the lowest level to

to have been Tom, as occasionally he is named (vol. 9, p. 271) or identifiable by reference to his musical abilities (vol. 9, pp. 400–1).

<sup>64</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 247. Examples of works read by the couple prior to Pepys's eye problems include Quarles's *Emblemes*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (probably in English), Ogilby's *The Fables of Aesop*, Robert Wild's poetry, and Thomas Fuller's *The History of the Worthies of England*. *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 11; vol. 3, p. 289; vol. 4, pp. 154, 285; vol. 5, p. 118.

<sup>65</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, pp. 438, 547; vol. 9, pp. 255, 305, 385, 460.

<sup>66</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 431. The shorthand for 'hired' is not well formed, but William Matthews's reading is persuasive and there are no other plausible alternatives. The reference is probably to the kind of 'merry' contract that Elizabeth and Samuel had drawn up earlier that month (vol. 9, pp. 408, 412).

<sup>67</sup> Petty to Southwell, 8 Apr. 1686 and 23 July 1687 in *Petty–Southwell Correspondence*, pp. 188, 279. Robert Boyle's bad eyesight similarly led him to use a reader. Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994; repr. 1995), p. 368.

improve their literacy. A householder was, at a minimum, expected to see that those in his charge heard the Bible read, and if he chose, to provide instruction in reading and writing suitable to a servant's gender and status. Servants who were mindful of Protestant religious duties already had the incentive to read for the good of their souls, and there were further economic incentives to hone reading skills. Being able to read had advantages even for a cookmaid: it could make you more efficient in the kitchen and was one sign that you were capable of advancement. Along with junior relatives, servants who waited directly on their master or mistress were expected to be able to read aloud to them as part of that service. As a result, some servants were able to gain access to a far wider range of literature than we might expect—especially servants in bibliophile households such as Pepys's. This would not usually be their own choice of material, but there are signs that favoured servants were able to access family collections for work and amusement. Pepys's cook and footboy were taken on leisurely river trips during which they were involved in high-spirited readings of drama and poetry respectively.<sup>68</sup> Access might also come about through loans: in 1674 Robert Hooke recorded lending Nell Young, who was his seamstress, ex-servant, and ex-lover, a copy of Thomas Shadwell's comedy *The Sullen Lovers, or The Impertinents* (1668). *The Sullen Lovers* had been the talk of the Town when it was first performed. In 1674 it was still in the Duke's Company's repertoire, so Nell was getting access to a fashionable piece of literature.<sup>69</sup> Recent studies of literacy have proposed that one factor that increases children's motivation to acquire reading skills is the promotion in the home of literacy as a form of entertainment.<sup>70</sup> If so, servants in a household such as Pepys's saw their employers and sometimes other servants modelling reading as a recreation. Despite considerable obstacles to reading, and especially to the choice of leisured reading, there were nonetheless many encouragements for London servants to acquire reading skills and improve those they had. In a society in which time as a servant was a routine part of the life cycle and many young people came to the city to work, such prompts must have contributed to the rise in literacy, and in particular female literacy, tracked by Cressy for London and Middlesex.

## ATTITUDES TO READING AND BOOK-BUYING

The choice of reading material in the Restoration was often constrained by practical factors (light and money among them) and, for junior members of a household, determined by the decisions of their superiors. Yet even those who could afford to

<sup>68</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 235; vol. 9, p. 552.

<sup>69</sup> *Hooke's Diary 1672–1683*, 1 Jan. 1674 (that is, 1673/4); Pepys, *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 190–1; *The London Stage 1600–1800, Part 1: 1660–1700*, ed. William Van Lennep, introd. Emmett L. Avery and Arthur H. Scouten (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965), pp. 200, 259.

<sup>70</sup> Beth M. Phillips and Christopher J. Lonigan, 'Social Correlates of Emergent Literacy', in *The Science of Reading: A Handbook*, ed. Margaret J. Snowling and Charles Hulme (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), pp. 173–87 (p. 179).

spend on publications and make their own reading decisions were mindful of prevailing views on what constituted worthwhile subjects and purposeful forms of reading. In the late seventeenth century the tension between the perception of books as a necessity and books as a luxury was still very much in evidence across all social groups. On the one hand, reading was important for the cultivation of religion, morality, and learning; on the other, it threatened to become an unwarranted expense of time and money. Readers sometimes expressed their concerns about indulging in books directly or else sought to excuse or curtail their spending in ways that betray their unease. In 1642 Nehemiah Wallington (1598–1658), a Puritan turner living in London, described ‘these littel pamphlets of weekly news about my house’ as ‘so many theeves that had stole away my mony before I was aware of them’. Yet, he consoled himself, his compiling of these pamphlets into a record of the times would enable future generations to discern ‘what God hath done’, so the otherwise sinful expense would serve a religious purpose.<sup>71</sup> Between 1619 and 1637, Wallington instituted a system of vows designed to deter behaviour ‘disagreable to the holy law of God’: he wrote these vows in a book, read them over every week, and paid money into the poor box for any breaches.<sup>72</sup> Buying pamphlets, since it ultimately served the glory of God, did not fall under these rules but other people did take oaths to control their book-buying. Ralph Josselin (1617–83), the vicar of Earls Colne in Essex, made vows on the use of his income with specific provision for spending on books: in 1652 he allowed himself 4 per cent of his ‘rents, or profits’ for each year towards books, and in 1671 he revised this to ‘20s. yearly for books’. Even though Josselin’s reading often served religion and learning, he nonetheless felt it necessary to cap what it was acceptable to spend on himself in this way.<sup>73</sup> For much of the 1660s Pepys too was in the habit of taking oaths, in his case to moderate unnecessary expenses and what he termed his ‘idle courses’.<sup>74</sup> The activities covered by his oaths included wine-drinking, play-going, lazing in bed, and book-buying. In order to discourage himself from breaking his vows, Pepys wrote them down, read them over on Sundays, and instituted fines. If he spent money on books during the period of his oaths, he had to pay half of that cost to the poor box for charitable uses.<sup>75</sup> This method for controlling his ‘delight . . . in multitude of books and spending money in that’ was almost identical to Wallington’s system of oaths and fines for discouraging ungodly behaviour. Pepys, however, was modifying a religious practice to serve secular ends: his intent was not to avoid sin but to avoid the prospect of being ‘mightily wronged in my reputation, and ended in my purse and business’ through ‘fallowing of

<sup>71</sup> *The Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington, 1618–1654*, ed. David Booy (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 156, 157.

<sup>72</sup> London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/521/MS00204, Journal of Nehemiah Wallington, pp. 35–44 (esp. p. 42).

<sup>73</sup> *The Diary of Ralph Josselin 1616–1683*, ed. Alan MacFarlane (London: OUP for the British Academy, 1976), pp. 276, 532, 660; MacFarlane, *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin: A Seventeenth-Century Clergyman* (Cambridge: CUP, 1970), pp. 52–3.

<sup>74</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 117.

<sup>75</sup> For example, *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 242; vol. 3, p. 141; vol. 6, p. 55. Constraints on book-buying were in place by 3 October 1662 (vol. 3, p. 212). On fines, see vol. 4, pp. 122–3 and vol. 5, p. 55.

my pleasure'.<sup>76</sup> To a large extent this worked; yet the amounts he expended on books remained impressive. During 1664, for much of which he was constrained by his vows, Pepys nonetheless managed to spend over £16 on books: this was 4 per cent of his total outgoings of £420, or around 2 per cent of his income of some £960.<sup>77</sup> This was also sixteen times Josselin's 1671 book allowance or, to put it another way, would have paid the wages of five cookmaids in Pepys's household for a year.<sup>78</sup> It was an extravagant amount by most reckonings, but not unprecedented for a dedicated book-collector of the seventeenth century. By way of comparison, in 1624 the bibliophile Sir Edward Dering (a gentleman of higher standing than Pepys) likewise spent 4 per cent of his £323 recorded outgoings on books.<sup>79</sup> Pepys's vows on books did not stem from any immediate financial need to limit his spending at the booksellers. Instead, his desire to curtail his expenses in this area betrays a strong current of thought in Restoration culture that equated spending on books with indulgence and waste. If someone in Pepys's privileged position felt obliged closely to monitor the time and money spent on books, even stronger pressures must have been felt by those more mindful of religious exhortations against idleness, and by those with more limited financial resources.

One means for people to dispel unease over reading and book-buying came from deploying what I will refer to as the rhetoric of 'good use'—this being a phrase that regularly appeared in discussions of praiseworthy reading.<sup>80</sup> Recent studies of early modern reading behaviour have emphasized the extent to which readers examined texts with the intention of gleaning useful knowledge: a range of works were scoured for moral lessons, religious wisdom, or pragmatic precepts. Kevin Sharpe, for example, has shown how the Buckinghamshire MP Sir William Drake read historical and political works, ever alert for precedents and maxims that could be applied to assist him, while Elspeth Jajdelska has similarly argued that Pepys's reading was 'dominated by utilitarian motives'.<sup>81</sup> I do not disagree with these views, but I do want to draw attention to the ways in which readers and booksellers were able to manipulate notions of worthwhile, useful reading to their own ends. As Kenneth Charlton and others have noted, authors of publications that were

<sup>76</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 270; vol. 8, p. 527.

<sup>77</sup> Pepys notes spending 9s. 6d., £10, and £6 from his own funds on books in 1664 (vol. 5, pp. 55, 220, 358). To this should be added the cost of Henry and William Lawes's *Choice Psalmes* (p. 128) and 'a little book of Law' (p. 202). His expenditure for 1664 was £420, and he had saved over £540 (p. 359).

<sup>78</sup> See *Diary*, vol. 10, p. 194 for servants' wages.

<sup>79</sup> Nati H. Krivatsy and Laetitia Yeandle, 'Sir Edward Dering', in *Private Libraries in Renaissance England*, ed. R. J. Fehrenbach and E. S. Leedham-Green, vol. 1 (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies; Marlborough: Matthew, 1992), pp. 137–50 (p. 146).

<sup>80</sup> For example, *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 174. Reading in the early 17th century, Sir Robert Cotton thought a collection of legal precedents would be 'of good use'; quoted in Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 295. Examples of authorial usage include: Daniello Bartoli, *The Learned Man Defended and Reform'd*, trans. Thomas Salusbury (London, 1660), p. 190; Richard Head, *The English Rogue* (London, 1668), fol. A2v; and John Horn, *The Efficacy of the True Balme* (London, 1669), fol. A5r.

<sup>81</sup> Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*, esp. pp. 189–90; Jajdelska, 'Pepys in the History of Reading', p. 560.

considered morally suspect or time-wasting—such as romances and short novels—had long justified them by arguing that the examples of virtuous and sinful behaviour they contained could be turned to good use in promoting moral and religious reflection.<sup>82</sup> Pepys's explanations to himself and his diary of what constituted worthwhile reading show that these authorial justifications played directly to readers' concerns, providing them with arguments to counter their qualms about spending time and money. The diary also shows just how open this rhetoric was to exploitation—by readers as well as booksellers. An extreme case, but one to the point, comes with Pepys's rationalization of why it was permissible for him to spend time reading pornographic literature. This episode occurred on a Sunday—a day that was supposed to be given over to religious reading. On reading *L'École des filles*, a sexually explicit dialogue, Pepys described it as an 'idle, roguish book' and, on further inspection, 'a mighty lewd book'. 'But yet', he added, one 'not amiss for a sober man once to read over to inform himself in the villainy of the world.' Such was the merit (or feebleness) of this justification that he reiterated it when describing how he finished the work that same evening, before resorting to the mixed language he habitually used to describe sexual excitement: it was 'a lewd book, but what doth me no wrong to read for information sake (but it did hazer my prick para stand all the while, and una vez to decharger)'.<sup>83</sup> Safe to say, Pepys was not reading primarily 'for information sake' or because he wanted to be apprised of 'the villainy of the world'. If his explanations here are spectacularly unconvincing, they serve as an apt warning that Restoration readers were often rather good at finding worthy, pragmatic reasons for reading what they wanted to read, just as authors and booksellers could find good reasons for customers to purchase what they were selling; we need to be careful about taking utilitarian explanations for reading at face value.

An alternative way of negotiating the tension between books as luxuries and books as necessities similarly involved attending to the potential good use of works, but this time in relation to the messages conveyed by classification and genre. Pepys sought to reconcile his unease about excessive book-buying and reading by turning to categories that combined pleasure and virtue. One particular episode in Joshua Kirton's bookshop in December 1663 spells out in unusual detail the reasons for Pepys's purchasing decisions, indirectly illuminating seventeenth-century booksellers' marketing strategies in the process. That day, Pepys had

<sup>82</sup> Kenneth Charlton, "False Fonde Bookes, Ballades and Rimes": An Aspect of Informal Education in Early Modern England', *History of Education Quarterly*, 27 (1987), 449–71, stable URL: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/369043>> (pp. 455–6). The influence of Plutarch's advice on reading also encouraged such constructions. See John M. Wallace, "Examples Are Best Precepts": Readers and Meanings in Seventeenth-Century Poetry', *Critical Inquiry*, 1 (1974), 273–90, stable URL: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1342786>>.

<sup>83</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 57–9. When recording sexual mischief Pepys often used a mixed language, made up chiefly of Spanish, French, and English. *L'École* (the second word of the title is variously spelt in early editions) was first published in 1655 but Pepys was probably looking at an edition dated 1667 or 1668.

recouped three pounds from office bills and went to Kirton's shop in St Paul's Churchyard to spend it:

I did here sit two or three hours, calling for twenty books to lay this money out upon; and found myself at a great loss where to choose, and do see how my nature would gladly returne to the laying out of money in this trade. I could not tell whether to lay out my money for books of pleasure, as plays, which my nature was most earnest in; but at last, after seeing Chaucer – Dugdales *History of Pauls*, Stow's *London*, Gesner, *History of Trent*, besides Shakespeare, Johnson, and Beaumonts plays, I at last chose Dr. Fuller's *worthys*, *the Cabbala or collections of Letters of State*—and a little book, *Delices de Hollande*, with another little book or two, all of good use or serious pleasure; and *Hudibras*, both parts, the book now in greatest Fashion for drollery, though I cannot, I confess, see enough where the wit lies. My mind being thus settled, I went by link home.<sup>84</sup>

In this somewhat fraught session, Pepys identifies three categories of books. First are 'books of pleasure', primarily Elizabethan and Jacobean plays such as Ben Jonson's *Works*. These are the items he really wants to buy but feels that he must resist. Then there are works of 'good use'—of educative or practical purpose. These elide easily with a third category of enjoyable but improving texts: works of 'serious pleasure'. From the titles given, it is clear that for Pepys works 'of good use or serious pleasure' often meant histories. Thomas Fuller's *The History of the Worthies of England* (1662) described English counties and their most notable residents, in the process supplying useful precedents and entertaining anecdotes.<sup>85</sup> *Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra* (1663) promised to reveal 'Mysteries of State' through the letters of Tudor and early Stuart monarchs. Jean Nicolas de Parival's *Les Delices de la Hollande* offered a brief account of the government and history of Holland. Interesting in its own right, this book was also potentially relevant to Pepys's naval work, since in 1663 England was once again facing conflict with the Dutch. Finally Samuel Butler's *Hudibras*, a satire on the Presbyterians, was a work that Pepys had read before but so far struggled to enjoy. He was puzzled and somewhat troubled to find that his contemporaries celebrated the poem, while he could see little in it. This was, in fact, the third time he had bought *Hudibras* in an attempt to fit in with the trend.<sup>86</sup> The usefulness of this work therefore lay in the fact that it was in 'Fashion' and required reading among Pepys's fellows.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>84</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 410–11. Besides plays and Chaucer's poetry, the works Pepys turned down were Sir William Dugdale, *The History of St Pauls Cathedral* (1658); John Stow, *The Survey of London* (1633); Salomon Gesner, *Libri quatuor De Conciliis* (1st pub. 1600–1), Paolo Sarpi, *The Historie of the Councel of Trent* (1st pub. 1620). He later went back for the Chaucer and a folio of Shakespeare's plays (vol. 5, pp. 198–9).

<sup>85</sup> Fuller's *Worthies* was subsequently used to supply historical examples and legal precedents for Pepys's naval work and his planned history. See, for example, *Naval Minutes*, pp. 63, 275.

<sup>86</sup> Pepys first bought part 1 of *Hudibras* on 26 December 1662 (*Diary*, vol. 3, p. 294), quickly sold it on, and then bought it again on 6 February 1663 (vol. 4, p. 35); he also borrowed part 2 of the poem from a bookseller on 28 November 1663 (vol. 4, p. 400). Since Pepys took *Hudibras* to Tangier with him in 1683, he either came to like it or thought it would entertain others on the voyage. *Pepys's Later Diaries*, ed. C. S. Knighton (Stroud: Sutton, 2004; repr. 2006), p. 142.

<sup>87</sup> Over 40 years later, the law student Dudley Ryder similarly read *Hudibras* to improve his conversation. Colclough, *Consuming Texts*, p. 74.

## RESTORATION GENRES

Pepys's perceptions of the purposes of a book—whether it should be regarded as for 'pleasure', 'serious pleasure', or 'good use'—relate to the genre of the work. However, the genres habitually used to categorize works during the late seventeenth century do not equate readily with twenty-first-century notions of genres: the terrain being mapped out by early modern booksellers, authors, and readers is not always easy for us to navigate. The late seventeenth century saw booksellers producing catalogues of their new publications that were commonly divided up by topic. Over the same period book-collectors were amassing increasingly large libraries: necessity and fashion meant they went about subject-cataloguing with a new zeal.<sup>88</sup> Both booksellers and collectors faced problems establishing categories that were sufficiently stable and precise to be useful. While adapting classifications derived from ancient authorities, they also experimented with other ways of grouping the new types of publications coming from the Restoration press. The most prestigious categories, and those usually listed first in printed catalogues, were 'Divinity', 'History', 'Law', 'Physick' (Medicine), and 'Mathematicks'. Also common were 'Plays' 'Poetry', 'Musick', and the catch-all 'Miscellanies'.<sup>89</sup> Certain of these topics were stable and well defined. 'Divinity', for example, included sermons, theology, scriptural scholarship, devotional manuals, and religious controversy: this category normally took pride of place in a subject catalogue. Other categories had much more fluid boundaries and were expanding in order to accommodate newly fashionable works. 'History', already a capacious topic, was used for an increasingly diverse set of texts. Francis Bacon's influential schema for history, developed during the early seventeenth century, had divided the field into works of 'Civil History' and 'Natural History'—the latter included descriptions not only of the earth and heavens, but also of arts, crafts, and experiments. Booksellers had similarly broad conceptions of what 'History' entailed. The 'History Books' listed in William London's *A Catalogue of New Books* (1660) included *The Art of Swimming*, *The Whole Art of Drawing*, and *The New World of English Words* (a dictionary).<sup>90</sup> Publications stemming from the new science or 'natural philosophy' could be listed as 'History' in catalogues but these rather troublesome works also turned up under a variety of other headings including 'Philosophy', 'Natural Philosophy', 'Mathematicks' (which traditionally included astronomy, geometry, and music as well as arithmetic), 'Arts and Sciences', 'Medici' (Medicine), or 'Miscellanies'.<sup>91</sup> Texts on

<sup>88</sup> On developments in cataloguing, see Ch. 6, 'News of Books', pp. 166–7 and Ch. 9, 'Closet Design', pp. 255–6.

<sup>89</sup> For example, [William London], *A Catalogue of New Books* (London, 1660); *Term Catalogues*, vol. 1 (1903); Clavell, *Catalogue* (1673); Oxford, The Queen's College Library, MS 44(1), subject catalogue of the 1670s library of Sir Joseph Williamson (with headings in Latin).

<sup>90</sup> Francis Bacon, *De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum*, in *Opera* (London, 1623), pp. 78–9, 82. [London], *A Catalogue of New Books*, fols. C1r, C2v.

<sup>91</sup> For example, works of natural philosophy were listed under 'Humanity, Histories and Poems' and 'Arts and Sciences' in *A Catalogue of Such Books as Have Been Entered in the Register of the Company of Stationers* (London, 1664), while they appeared under 'Mathematicks' and 'Miscellanies' in the *Term Catalogues* (vol. 1, pp. 5, 6). Sir Joseph Williamson's revised subject catalogue used 'Naturall

commerce or contemporary politics proved similarly hard to classify: they might be filed as 'History', 'Arts and Sciences', or 'Law', but were appearing in sufficient numbers that book-collectors were increasingly minded to employ categories such as 'Merchandise' or 'Politicks' to accommodate them.<sup>92</sup>

Among the most problematic works, however, were those associated with 'pleasure': plays, poems, satires, and prose fictions. There was a sufficient customer base for new plays and poems for these works to warrant their own sections in many booksellers' catalogues, but prose fictions were harder to categorize.<sup>93</sup> The default option for booksellers was to list these under 'History'. 'History' was sometimes used in book titles in the sense of 'story' or 'narrative' (not necessarily a true one) and the advertising of prose in the category of 'History' occurred even when the work itself made no secret that it was a fiction. Thus in 1669 the 'Histories' listed in the booksellers' catalogue *Mercurius Librarius* included *The Famous Chinois, or, The Loves of Several of the French Nobility, under Borrowed Names*, as well as *Parthenissa, a Romance*, and *The Unexpected Choice, a Novel*.<sup>94</sup> Restoration cataloguers sometimes classed prose fictions as 'Poetry' or 'Poesy', thereby using 'poetry' in the sense of 'imaginative literature', rather than simply 'verse'. The respectability of 'Poetry' was established by classical antecedents and staunch Renaissance defenders, such as Sir Philip Sidney.<sup>95</sup> There was, however, a discernible tendency among collectors and booksellers to list genres associated with recreational reading under categories more strongly associated with edification—a tendency which resonates with Pepys's reluctance to spend on 'books of pleasure'. A shelf list of 1615 reveals that the family of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, classed modern literary texts as 'philology'.<sup>96</sup> T. A. Birrell cites the example of Scipio Le Squyer (1579–1659), an Exchequer official, whose subject catalogue of 1632 shows he designated his witty miscellanies and satires as 'Morality'. In the 1670s, the Secretary of State Sir Joseph Williamson (1633–1701) listed his plays, romances, and satires (including *Hudibras*) under 'Humanistae' ('Humanities'). In Williamson's later catalogue, probably completed around 1692, he instead moved these fictions to a new category, 'Poetry', where they were listed with classical verse. He kept 'Humanities' as a classification but now used it chiefly for letters and philosophical essays. As Birrell

Philosophy' (Oxford, The Queen's College, MS 14), while John Evelyn's 1687 library catalogue employed 'Philosophy' and 'Mathematicks'—see Geoffrey Keynes, *John Evelyn: A Study in Bibliophily* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pl. 3. In Pepys's 'Appendix Classica', works associated with the new science are found in 'Arts and Sciences' (pp. 1–11), in part of the 'Philosophy' section (pp. 205–6), and in a section devoted to Robert Boyle (pp. 13–19).

<sup>92</sup> For example, Clavell, *Catalogue* (1673), pp. 47–8; The Queen's College, MS 14.

<sup>93</sup> *Term Catalogues*, vol. 1, pp. 3, 26; [London], *A Catalogue of New Books*, fol. C4v; Clavell, *Catalogue* (1673), pp. 12–15 (second pagination sequence). Clavell's 'Poetry' includes prose.

<sup>94</sup> *Term Catalogues*, vol. 1, pp. 9, 13–14, 20.

<sup>95</sup> On Renaissance ideas of 'poetry', see Rosalie L. Colie, *The Resources of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance*, ed. Barbara K. Lewalski (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 8–9.

<sup>96</sup> Pamela Selwyn and David Selwyn, "'The Profession of a Gentleman': Books for the Gentry and the Nobility (c.1560 to 1640)", in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, vol. 1, ed. Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), pp. 489–526 (p. 510).



notes, Williamson was trying to divide verse and light reading from other texts.<sup>97</sup> For this collector, the benefits of employing one capacious, learned heading for literature gave way to a method that tried to separate imaginative (and sometimes frivolous) works from more scholarly prose. This was, predictably, not entirely successful.<sup>98</sup> Given, on the one hand, the evidence that a number of book-collectors preferred to avoid listing works under headings associated with 'pleasure' if more 'serious' alternatives could be found and, on the other, Pepys's greater willingness to purchase texts he could class either as 'good use' or 'serious pleasure', there was a sound commercial logic behind Restoration booksellers' expansive use of respectable categories. History in particular had a reputation among book-buyers and educators for offering both edification and entertainment.<sup>99</sup> As a result, it became the safest label to shore up demand for a work, and perhaps tip a hesitating customer into a purchase. However, while allocating a work to a category such as 'History' or 'Humanities' created agreeable expectations about good use, it came at the cost of creating further instability in the meaning of these headings, and did little in itself to clarify the nature of the work for readers.

#### PEPYS'S PREFERRED READING

Divinity, History (broadly defined), and Law dominated booksellers' catalogues during the 1660s. Pepys's own patterns of reading and book-buying did not, however, follow the booksellers' priorities, nor in at least one significant respect did his preferences follow what we might expect of a seventeenth-century reader. To analyse the topics of Pepys's reading and book purchases I have grouped the diary references into categories that would be recognizable to Restoration readers. In order of popularity, Pepys's favourite topics for reading in the 1660s were History (16 per cent), Plays (16 per cent), Music (9 per cent), Divinity (9 per cent), News (9 per cent), Arts and Sciences (here including natural philosophy and technical manuals) (9 per cent), Politics (7 per cent), Poetry (6 per cent), and Law (5 per cent).<sup>100</sup> Other smaller categories account for the remainder of his reading.

<sup>97</sup> T. A. Birrell, 'Reading as Pastime: The Place of Light Literature in Some Gentlemen's Libraries of the 17th Century', in *Property of a Gentleman: The Formation, Organisation and Dispersal of the Private Library, 1620–1920*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1991; repr. 1996), pp. 113–31 (pp. 120, 126–7). The Queen's College, MS 44(1), Williamson's 1670s subject catalogue, fols. 114–15; MS 14, Williamson's revised subject catalogue, fols. 269–75, 301–5.

<sup>98</sup> If Williamson's 'Humanities' section was largely for serious prose, it nonetheless had room for Rabelais's works and a verse translation of Aesop's fables. The Queen's College, MS 14, fols. 301–4.

<sup>99</sup> For 17th-century views on the merits of history reading, see Ch. 4.

<sup>100</sup> There are, by my count, some 545 mentions of Pepys reading or purchasing texts in the diary where there is enough information to categorize the item, and the proportions are based on this figure (for details on how reading and purchasing are enumerated, see Introduction, n. 38). Figures are rounded to the nearest percentage. 'News' includes newsbooks, mortality bills, and reports of battles. 'Poetry' is here used in the stricter sense of 'verse'. To help with judgements on the categorization of individual works, I have consulted Pepys's 'Appendix Classica' to his later library. My method produces very different results from Pascal Brioi's count of references to '*lectures effectives*' in the diary. Brioi

Perhaps the most striking feature of these figures is Pepys's relative lack of recorded reading on religion when, given other contemporary evidence on readers, we might expect 'Divinity' to head the list. James Raven has calculated that in the later seventeenth century divinity made up 30 per cent of published titles and 42 per cent of new titles.<sup>101</sup> Examples of private library catalogues from both ends of the century show holdings of around 30 per cent.<sup>102</sup> Why is the figure for Pepys's divinity reading comparatively low? Jajdelska suggests that Pepys's Bible-reading may be under-recorded because he refused to buy one Bible offered to him on the grounds it was 'so big' it was impractical to use.<sup>103</sup> There is, indeed, good evidence to demonstrate that Bible-reading was routine enough to be not worth noting, and that communal Bible-reading took place in the Pepys household once and sometimes twice a week. Pepys mentioned Bible-reading only when it was a special occasion, such as the first time he 'had a chapter read' out of the Bible at his new home in July 1660 and then himself 'read prayers out of the Common Prayer book' to his household. More often this Sunday reading was covered by variants of 'to supper, prayer and to bed', and usually this too was missed. We can tell, however, that this was a weekly event, since Pepys remarked that one Sunday in September 1661 was the first time that he had *not* held the family reading. This unusual neglect was because he was shamefully drunk and trying to evade detection: 'I durst not read prayers, for fear of being perceived by my servants in what case I was'.<sup>104</sup> Yet, even when we allow for the under-recording of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, the relative absence of religious reading remains notable, and the vast majority of the religious works mentioned by Pepys do not fall into the predictable categories of sermons or devotional manuals. Pepys's uses for divinity texts, and the meanings he drew from them, will be discussed in Chapter 8, for what we have here is patterns that influenced his religious thinking throughout the rest of his life.

In place of the expected winner, 'Divinity', Pepys's favourite types of recorded reading were 'History' and 'Plays', both at 16 per cent. The definition I have

counts only 160 instances of reading, although in both our analyses plays dominate. Briost, 'Les Cercles intellectuels à Londres 1580–1680' (unpublished doctoral thesis, L'Institut universitaire européen, Florence, 1993), p. 400.

<sup>101</sup> James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450–1850* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 92. Raven's figures are based on the *Term Catalogues*.

<sup>102</sup> In 1615 the Cecils' library had religious holdings of just below 30%. Surveying lists of gentry's sequestered London libraries from 1643, F. J. Levy found religious works were roughly 32% of holdings. Thirty-five per cent of the titles in the 1687 library catalogue of Pepys's good friend John Evelyn were listed under 'divinity' headings. See Selwyn and Selwyn, 'The Profession of a Gentleman', p. 510; F. J. Levy, 'How Information Spread among the Gentry', *Journal of British Studies*, 21 (1982), 11–34, doi: <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/385788>> (p. 31); and Keynes, *John Evelyn*, p. 16. See also Peter Clark, 'The Ownership of Books in England, 1560–1640: The Example of Some Kentish Townsfolk', in *Schooling and Society: Studies in the History of Education*, ed. Lawrence Stone (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), pp. 95–111 (pp. 102–3).

<sup>103</sup> Jajdelska, 'Pepys in the History of Reading', p. 559.

<sup>104</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 206, 261; vol. 2, p. 186. In January 1664 he took an oath 'to say prayers in my family twice in every week' (vol. 5, p. 14).

employed for history here is relatively strict, in line with the definition used in Pepys's later library catalogue, so this category would be much more dominant if we included the 'Natural Histories' and fictions that fall under the most expansive seventeenth-century understandings of the category. Plays share the first place with history because, as we have seen, Pepys was particularly tempted by dramas and would habitually snatch opportunities during his working day to read them. Plays on their own were a significant aspect of his reading, and when these are taken in combination with music books and poetry, it is clear that these three categories primarily associated with 'pleasure' constituted almost a third of Pepys's recorded reading.<sup>105</sup> Also significant was the amount of reading on news and current affairs—and this despite the fact that Pepys's reading of printed newsbooks was greatly under-recorded. Although an inveterate newsgatherer, Pepys made reference to the content of printed newsbooks on average only twice a year. The payments he made to his booksellers for newsbooks and the offhand nature of a number of his references ('little news but what is in the book') show that he was reading them far more often than he mentioned.<sup>106</sup> Quite why the news from printed newsbooks was seldom worth recording will be examined further in Chapter 3. Even with the relative scarcity of references to newsbooks, it is apparent that much of Pepys's reading in the 1660s was given over to keeping up with current events. Many of the works I have classed as 'Politics' were read because they were, in essence, news: these included pro- and anti-Rump pamphlets, proclamations, and copies of the King's latest speeches. Taken together, instances of recorded reading of news and current affairs total at least 16 per cent and were certainly much higher in practice. If we look across all the categories of reading, it is also apparent that many of Pepys's texts were on the topics of the navy, commerce, and navigation (7 per cent); when we add other instances where it is clear he was reading specifically to aid his naval tasks, the figure is over 10 per cent.

This analysis of Pepys's diary of the 1660s gives a clear sense of his reading interests. To some extent these agree with the impressions given by his later library and its subject catalogue known as the 'Appendix Classica' composed around 1700 (Figure 3). In instances where the proportions of subject holdings in the 'Appendix Classica' are broadly in line with the reading and book-buying preferences recorded in the diary, we have good evidence for Pepys's enduring reading interests. The discrepancies between the library holdings and the diary record are also worth attention, not least because they have a bearing on the question of what it was acceptable to be seen to own and read.

In the 1690s, as in the 1660s, Pepys continued to seek out works on the navy. He was particularly proud of this aspect of his collections: a title count of the sections on 'Sea, & Navy' in the 'Appendix Classica' amounts to 9 per cent of holdings, although this figure does not adequately reflect the extent of his

<sup>105</sup> This is the combined proportion for plays, music, and poetry (verse); it does not include the small amount of prose fictions and light literature that falls outside these groups.

<sup>106</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 242.

# Appendix.

## Contents.

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Fig. 3. Contents page of the 'Appendix Classica', Pepys's subject catalogue.  
By permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

manuscript collections on the subject.<sup>107</sup> Pepys's fascination with history is also reflected in his library. The 'Appendix Classica' sections directly associated with history ('History' and 'Lifes') account for 11 per cent of titles, despite the fact that—unlike booksellers—Pepys employed a definition of history that excluded fictions. While references to history books in the diary outnumber those concerning religion, in the library the books that would usually be classed as 'Divinity' surpass those on 'History': the divinity categories in the 'Appendix Classica' amount to 15 per cent of titles.<sup>108</sup> Moreover, Pepys's subject catalogue included a special 'Church' index to help readers navigate religious holdings: this signalled that religious works were not just to be found under the obvious headings such as 'Devotion' or 'Scripture', but also in categories such as 'Law' and 'Lifes'. The 'Appendix Classica' thereby implies, although perhaps not accurately, a more conventional sense of reading priorities than the diary evinces.

The greatest discrepancies between Pepys's library holdings and his recorded reading in the 1660s are in those genres traditionally associated with recreation. In the 'Appendix Classica', 'Musick' amounts to just over 1 per cent of holdings, compared with 9 per cent of references to reading and book-buying in the diary.<sup>109</sup> The 'Appendix Classica' section 'Poems' accounts for 2 per cent of titles and 'Plays' for 3 per cent—the latter figure is a sharp fall from the diary figure of 16 per cent. The figure for 'Plays' in the 'Appendix Classica' is slightly misleading, however: the section 'Plays' names works from 112 published titles, but since some of these are dramatists' collected works, there are in fact references to 308 plays, masques, and essays on drama. This is a level of holdings more in keeping with the enthusiasm for play-reading shown in the diary. Even so, the categories of 'Poems', 'Musick', and 'Plays' together represent only 6 per cent of holdings, whereas the diary indicates the same types of works represented about a third of Pepys's recorded encounters with texts. Intriguingly, the catalogue contains an additional section labelled specifically 'For Diversion'. Clearly, the perception of certain works and genres as 'books of pleasure' demonstrated by Pepys in 1663 continued into his old age. 'Diversion' contains 53 titles, including satires, some poetry, and French and Spanish novels—

<sup>107</sup> The total holdings count is a title count based on the *Census*, not a shelf-mark or volume count. The 'Appendix Classica' does not include all works in the library, but it is comprehensive enough to give a good indication of the proportions of subject holdings. In the analysis of subject holdings, Pepys's five volumes of ballads are counted as five items, rather than individual titles—to treat them as the latter would lead to percentages that dramatically under-represent all other categories in the library as proportions of holdings. Figures are rounded to the nearest percentage. The figure for naval works is Pepys's category 'Sea, & Navy', plus the parts of the 'Appendix Classica' cross-referenced in that category: 'Travels, & Voyages', 'Naval Pamphlets', 'Sea-Tracts', and the subsection 'Sea—Admiralty & Law-Merchant' in the 'Law' section.

<sup>108</sup> The Divinity sections in the catalogue are 'Devotion', 'Liturgys', 'Liturgick Controversies', 'Scripture', 'Sermons, & Preachers', and 'Church'. The section 'Church' is almost entirely made up of cross-references to other sections, but the individual works cited there are counted. The count includes additional contents from Pepys's collections of sermons and his 'Convocation Pamphlets'. To help count religious works the 'Appendix Classica' has been cross-checked with the *Census*, since this sometimes more accurately reflects the number of publications in a volume.

<sup>109</sup> If calculations are based on the works listed in the modern 'music' catalogue, which is more comprehensive, then music holdings total 2%. 'Music', compiled by John Stevens, in *Pepys Catalogue*, vol. 4 (1989).

this was where Pepys listed substantial works of prose fiction. Within the 'Diversion' section there are cross-references to the categories for 'Plays' and 'Poems', as well as to Pepys's collection of chapbooks, which is designated 'Vulgaria'.<sup>110</sup> Many of the texts for diversion, such as Butler's *Hudibras*, Sidney's *Arcadia*, and *chroniques scandaleuses*, were staples of genteel collections, but to find them listed explicitly as 'Diversion', rather than, say, 'Poetry' or 'History', is not the norm.<sup>111</sup>

Pepys was not afraid to advertise the presence of recreational reading in his collection. Yet considerable care went into labelling and presenting these categories in order to discourage negative judgements on the library owner's tastes and interests. First, although the 'Diversion' section highlighted the recreational aspect of Pepys's library, it also rather cunningly implied that all the other works in his collection of some three thousand volumes were primarily for more serious ends and 'good use'. Second, categories that visitors might have been inclined to see as essentially frivolous came with headings and comments to impress their potential good uses. The heading to the section on 'Vulgaria' in the 'Appendix Classica' described the chapbooks as 'the most Noted Pieces of Chivalry, Wit, Pastime, Devotion, & Poetry, in Vogue with ye English Populace'.<sup>112</sup> Not trash then, but select remarkable works that together formed a record of English culture. They were to be understood as reading beloved by 'ye Populace' rather than by the library's owner. Similarly, the first volume of Pepys's collection of some 1775 ballads commenced with a quotation from John Selden announcing that 'More solid things do not shew the Complexion of the Times, so well as Ballads and Libells'.<sup>113</sup> The implication of the 'Appendix Classica' arrangements and the glosses Pepys provided was that users of the library should not mistake a collector's assembling of culturally significant publications for a reader's love of frivolous entertainments.

## CONCLUSIONS

Book-collecting behaviour does not relate in any simple way to reading behaviour; nor do records of book ownership accurately reflect access to texts. The distinction between ownership and access is particularly apparent in the early modern period because of widespread habits of reading aloud and communal reading. Reading aloud was one of a number of different types of literacy on display in Restoration London and one executed with varying levels of skill. Comments made by Evelyn, Petty,

<sup>110</sup> In the 'Appendix Classica' there was the intention to list 'Ballads' under 'Vulgaria', but the entries were not completed. See David McKitterick's 'Introduction', *Pepys Catalogue*, vol. 7, pt. 1, p. xxvii.

<sup>111</sup> 'Appendix Classica', pp. 57–60. An apt comparison is Sir Joseph Williamson's revised library catalogue, where *Hudibras*, *Arcadia*, and Bussy's *L'Histoire amoureuse des Gaules* (a *chronique scandaleuse*) were listed under 'Poetry'. The Queen's College, MS 14, fols. 269–75.

<sup>112</sup> 'Appendix Classica', p. 299.

<sup>113</sup> *Pepys Catalogue*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (1992), compiled by Helen Weinstein, p. xvi; *The Pepys Ballads*, ed. W. G. Day, 5 vols. (Cambridge: Brewer, 1987), facs. vol. 1, title page, verso.

and in Woolley's biography show that accomplished reading aloud meant consciously performing the text by adjusting normal pronunciations, adopting different tones, or mimicking characters. Texts became more accessible through being read aloud, and also through being carried about and shown to others. Reading was not an activity confined to the home, let alone to scholars working in specially equipped rooms: people read a range of texts on the move, in public spaces, and in conditions we would consider adverse to reading. As a consequence, there was a variety of types of reading being modelled in London's taverns, shops, eating houses, and streets. While access to texts was easier for privileged groups such as Pepys's friends and colleagues, there are signs in sources from the period that those further down the social scale made use of the opportunities this environment afforded to hear and lay hands on works.

Pepys's diary is sufficiently detailed to make it apparent that he under-recorded particular types of reading: reading that he regarded as routine such as newsbook reading, reading that was casual (not for a specific purpose), and—as noted in the Introduction—incidences of reading alone, as opposed to reading together in company.<sup>114</sup> If, as seems highly likely, these types of reading are commonly under-represented in early modern records, then this has to be factored into assessments of changing reading behaviour over time. For instance, given that 'extensive' reading is associated with casual, non-purposive reading in situations where encounters with texts are routine, then efforts to identify a point when extensive reading becomes an ordinary activity (for a society or for an individual) will be hampered by the fact that 'intensive' reading is more apt to be recorded than extensive reading.<sup>115</sup> In essence, if extensive reading occurs when encounters with texts become more common and less notable, then readers are less likely to note it. There is no evidence in the diary to suggest that a wide range of Londoners were regularly and casually reading material by themselves that they had purchased for themselves. Yet, the strong implication from Pepys's diary and other records is that the availability of print in London and the practices of reading in a range of social spaces meant it was possible for a spectrum of the metropolitan populace to have casual encounters with short texts (such as poems, ballads, or pamphlets) and with extracts from longer works—encounters that were common enough to be not worth recording or that, because those involved could not write, they did not record.

In Restoration London there were strong religious, economic, and recreational incentives to acquire and develop reading skills. Even lower servants such as cook-maids had prompts to hone their reading abilities, especially if they found themselves in a text-rich household such as Samuel and Elizabeth's home. To counterbalance these incentives there were constraints such as poor lighting, lack of time, lack of money, and a consciousness—even among the rich and individuals who were not fervently religious—that reading and book-buying had to be monitored lest they devolve into wasteful indulgence. Pepys's diary of the 1660s shows his preference for history

<sup>114</sup> See Introduction, 'Sources on Pepys', pp. 12–13.

<sup>115</sup> On intensive and extensive reading, see Introduction, 'Reading Evidence', p. 4.

over divinity, and much attention to politics and controversy. He spent a considerable amount of time reading for entertainment (especially plays)—and would have spent more if he could have reconciled this with his sense that it had a detrimental effect on his purse and his work. Although a text might in practice serve many purposes, including education, diversion, or a combination of the two ('serious pleasure'), Pepys was more cautious about investing in books he associated with diversion. There are some notable differences between Pepys's recorded reading behaviour in his diary and the subject holdings in his surviving collection. Although his library has its idiosyncrasies, its contents and the ways they are presented in the 'Appendix Classica' imply patterns of reading that were much more attentive to the conventional priorities for respectable reading than those apparent in the diary: divinity titles are more prominent, and works 'of pleasure' have a smaller, and carefully honed, profile. These differences might be attributed to changes in Pepys's reading preferences during his lifetime but there are other factors at work in shaping the library, including the need for both collecting and reading to be seen to have justifications beyond personal pleasure.

Concerns about frivolous reading were filtered through perceptions of genres, so one way in which booksellers and readers managed this unease was to expand and reconfigure subject categories. Pepys's need to account for his reading and spending on books, evident in both his diary and his library catalogue, is echoed in booksellers' advertising and in other collectors' cataloguing decisions. There was, for example, little incentive for booksellers or the owners of private libraries to develop a separate category for satire or one for imaginative prose, even though such texts were available in increasing numbers and constituted some of the most fashionable and talked-about works. It was safer—for booksellers and for readers—to accommodate satire and imaginative prose in an established category, especially if doing so impressed that the work had a purpose beyond entertainment. This explicit categorization was a means favourably to alter the horizon of expectations generated by a work. The instability of classifications was sometimes a problem and dissatisfaction with existing categories encouraged book-collectors to revise their catalogues repeatedly. However, instability also allowed for a useful flexibility, permitting not just booksellers but also readers to find ways to explain their books to themselves and to others in the best light. What constituted utilitarian, purposeful reading was open to negotiation and the rhetoric of 'good use' was readily manipulated in order to justify reading preferences.



## 2

### Books, Education, and Self-Advancement

In the seventeenth century attendance at a school beyond early childhood was only possible for those fortunate children whose families could afford to spare them from work and to pay the costs associated with education. Of the boys who went on to grammar school, a small proportion proceeded to university, assisted by family wealth or by a scholarship. Among them was Samuel Pepys, who, as a 16-year-old at St Paul's School, won a scholarship to Cambridge in 1650. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge played a significant role in social mobility, for the award of a degree meant the award, at least nominally, of genteel status to men of humble birth and the opportunity to pursue high office in the church, the law, or the government administration.<sup>1</sup> Yet university education alone could not definitively establish gentility. Contemporary debates frequently cited birth and wealth as important criteria: a gentleman should be descended from gentlemen (preferably through three generations) and he should be independently wealthy with no need of working. In the early 1660s, Pepys's entitlement to be regarded as a gentleman stemmed from his education and his clerical profession—less secure claims to status.<sup>2</sup> Writers on early modern education, among them Peter Mack and Ian Green, have argued that the humanist curricula taught in grammar schools and universities were important in shaping civil society among the elite: this education provided men of diverse backgrounds and divided interests with a common stock of references and methods of argumentation on which to draw.<sup>3</sup> The texts and reading methods taught at grammar school and university certainly had an enduring influence on how Pepys and his companions employed a range of works. Operating amid merchants, navy officers, and courtiers, Pepys provides an intriguing test case for ideas about the role of educational reading in social advancement and in the formation of a group ethos.

<sup>1</sup> See Lawrence Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England, 1560–1640', *Past and Present*, 28 (1964), 41–80, doi: 10.1093/past/28.1.41; Mark H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558–1642* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 269–71; Stephen Porter, 'University and Society', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 4, ed. Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 25–103 (pp. 25–8, 96–101).

<sup>2</sup> See Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994; repr. 1995), pp. 42–60. In 1660, Pepys's public office as Clerk of the Acts meant he was entitled to be called 'esquire' (one step above a simple gentleman). *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 97 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002; repr. 2004), pp. 301–4; Ian M. Green, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education* (Ashgate: Farnham, 2009), pp. 360–1; Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, pp. 269–70.

Although the literature read at grammar school and universities could assist social advancement, even the best university teaching could leave major gaps in an individual's knowledge, especially when it came to mathematics and technical proficiency. The social skills acquired during formal education might also prove inadequate for the stations of life in which men found themselves. Pepys therefore turned to books to repair the deficiencies he perceived in his learning and abilities. To explore the impact of reading done as part of formal education and self-education, I will consider Pepys's use of three sorts of works: the writings of classical philosophers, seventeenth-century guides to conduct, and technical handbooks. In early modern libraries these works shared the same classifications: ancient and modern guides to conduct could both be found listed as 'Moral Philosophy' in catalogues, while the classification 'Arts and Sciences' comfortably held conduct works on topics such as 'the art of conversation' as well as mathematical handbooks.<sup>4</sup> All three types (ancient philosophy, modern conduct literature, and technical handbooks) were, or were treated by seventeenth-century readers as, manuals: works of practical advice that taught important skills. As we will see, acquiring knowledge from a book might be the easiest step—how to display that knowledge, and whether to reveal its source, could prove more problematic for readers.

## UNIVERSITY READING

In March 1651 Pepys arrived at Magdalene College to study under the tutorship of Samuel Morland (1625–95), a mathematician and diplomat for the Commonwealth. Morland became responsible for guiding Pepys's studies and monitoring his conduct—and it did need active monitoring. One of the few times Pepys made an appearance in the official records was when he was rebuked for being 'scandalously overseene in drink' towards the end of his studies in 1653.<sup>5</sup> Although the records of Pepys's time at university are few, we can look to other sources for evidence of the books and reading methods being taught at the time. During the 1640s and 1650s, several guides for students were produced by tutors at Cambridge and Oxford. These instructions circulated in manuscript and described how a student (albeit probably a tutor's ideal student) might progress through a programme of reading. In the late 1640s Richard Holdsworth, formerly the master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, recognized two types of learner in his 'Directions for a Student'. The first sought to 'deserve the name of a Scholar' and worked for four years towards a degree, studying intensively in Latin and Greek.<sup>6</sup> Students arriving from grammar

<sup>4</sup> Oxford, The Queen's College, MS, item 14, Sir Joseph Williamson's revised subject catalogue, pp. 97–8; 'Appendix Classica', pp. 1, 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, part 1* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1876), p. 482.

<sup>6</sup> [Richard Holdsworth], 'Directions for a Student in the Universitie', in Harris Francis Fletcher, *The Intellectual Development of John Milton*, vol. 2 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961), pp. 623–55 (p. 624).

school were already practised in speaking and writing Latin, and had worked on classical texts such as Cicero's epistles, Ovid's verse, and Terence's comedies. Boys from the better grammar schools, such as Pepys's St Paul's School, arrived already knowing some Greek.<sup>7</sup> At university they undertook further work on the scholastic trivium: grammar, rhetoric, and logic. Of secondary importance was the quadrivium of subjects governed by 'mathematical' principles: arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy.<sup>8</sup> Some of the authors studied would be familiar from school, but students were now expected to be versed in a far wider range of texts in Latin and Greek. According to Holdsworth's 'Directions', there were some books that 'no one that pretents to be an University Scholar ought to be unacquainted with' and that a student should find time for, even if these were not among the works his tutor prescribed to him. These included Aristotle's and Cicero's works (with dedicated time for Cicero's epistles and orations); the poetry of Homer, Virgil, Ovid, and Horace; plays by Plautus, Seneca, and Terence; and, although not set down for intensive study, the histories of Suetonius and Livy.<sup>9</sup> Holdsworth's second type of student had no ambitions to be a 'University Scholar' but instead came 'only to gett such learning as may serve for delight and ornament'. For this second group—with whom Holdsworth was less concerned—he provided a reading list of 'Studia Leviora' (lighter studies), including many English works. Among the books were travel narratives (such as Henry Blount's *A Voyage into the Levant*), a number of histories of England (including William Camden's, Samuel Daniel's, and John Speed's works), More's *Utopia*, Bacon's *Essays*, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in English. For these students, Holdsworth acknowledged, the purpose of a university education was to improve 'breeding rather than Scholarship', so this reading list represented books with which any gentleman should be acquainted.<sup>10</sup>

Pepys was there for scholarship and—despite his episode of boozing—took his studies seriously, graduating in March 1654. Among Pepys's surviving books there are three that can be identified as belonging to the end of his time at university: Elias Schedius' *De diis Germanis* (1648), Henry More's *Conjectura Cabbalistica* (1653), and a French translation of the New Testament.<sup>11</sup> On Schedius' book

<sup>7</sup> Green, *Protestantism and Humanism*, pp. 262–3; *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 18.

<sup>8</sup> On the Renaissance arts course, see Victor Morgan, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), p. 512.

<sup>9</sup> [Holdsworth], 'Directions', pp. 647, 638–46. The Cambridge tutor James Duport's similar list was 'Homer, Aristotle, Virgill, Tully [Cicero], Seneca, Plutarch, and the like'. Duport's 'Rules to be observed by young Pupils & Schollers in the University', dated 1660, were copied into a notebook owned by a member of Trinity College. Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O.10A.33, pp. 1–15 (p. 13).

<sup>10</sup> [Holdsworth], 'Directions', pp. 647–8.

<sup>11</sup> Schedius' *De diis Germanis, sive veteri Germanorum, Gallorum, Britannorum, Vandalorum religione* (Amsterdam, 1648) is now PL 520. *Conjectura Cabbalistica* and the New Testament may have been purchased just before Pepys left university. *Conjectura Cabbalistica* (Cambridge, 1653) is PL 884 and has the flyleaf notation 'Samuel Pepys AB Magd. Coll. Camb. 1654' ('AB' means 'BA'). *Le Nouveau Testament* (Paris, 1647) is inscribed 'A Samuel de Pepys. Magdalenien. a Cambrige 1654'; this is now Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 016052. From Pepys's time at grammar school he owned Xenophon's *De Cyri institutione* (Eton, 1613), inscribed in Greek and dated 1649, PL 1304. Other works with both pre-university publication dates and bindings that appear to pre-date 1660 are: Anacreon, *Carmina . . . operaque & studio Hadriani Foppens . . . recusa* (Antwerp, 1651), PL 17; *A True Relation of the Unjust, Cruel, and Barbarous Proceedings against the English at Amboyna* (London, 1651),

Pepys wrote 'E musaeo Samuelis Pepys. Magd. Coll. Cantabr. 1653', thereby identifying it as 'from the study of Samuel Pepys' (Figure 4). 'Museum' or 'study' was a rather grand term for what was probably a very humble room: students' studies were cupboard-like spaces opening off a chamber shared by two or three young men.<sup>12</sup> Pepys's books indicate wide-ranging scholarly interests, since neither More's *Conjectura Cabbalistica* nor Schedius' *De diis Germanis* were the first works one would expect to find in a student's library in Puritan Cambridge. Henry More, a member of Christ's College, was a respected author against atheism, but the *Conjectura* was his bold account of 'Philosophical' and 'Mystical' truths concealed in the books of Genesis by Moses. More argued that Moses' teaching had secretly passed to philosophers, so the works of Pythagoras, Plato, and (more recently) Descartes could be used to explicate Genesis.<sup>13</sup> Schedius, like More, was interested in identifying connections between different belief systems, though in a less contentious fashion. He described the religions of the Germanic, Gallic, and British tribes at the time of the Romans. *De diis Germanis* featured in a mid-1650s guide 'for younger Schollers' as recommended background reading, a work useful for understanding the allusions to pagan deities that were common in histories, oratory, and poetry.<sup>14</sup> Pepys's possession of the New Testament shows he was working on improving his French as well as his classical languages. This was a book he evidently treasured, since several decades later he gave it to his partner Mary Skinner.<sup>15</sup>

Besides these works, a friend putting his head round the door of Pepys's study in the early 1650s would also have spotted romantic fiction among the books, for by 1654 Pepys had developed such a relish for romances that he decided to try his hand at writing one. In 1664 he rediscovered 'a Romance which (under the title of *Love a Cheate*) I begun ten year ago at Cambrige [*sic*]'. There was little place for romance or novels in the university curriculum, although Holdsworth recommended John Barclay's Latin romance *Argenis* (1622) to his students and also expected them to have some acquaintance with Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* (first published 1590). 'Love a Cheate' was therefore the product of extracurricular and intellectually suspect reading. In 1664 Pepys was nonetheless impressed with his juvenile efforts, although unfortunately not enough to prevent him disposing of the manuscript. It fell victim to one of the purges of papers that he judged 'boyish

PL 79; Pepys's 'book of Latin Plays', PL 217; and Henri Louis Chasteigner de la Rochepey, *Celebriorum distinctionum philosophicarum synopsis* (Leiden, 1645), PL 758. Some or all of these books may have been in Pepys's college study. On the dates of bindings, see Howard M. Nixon's introduction to *Pepys Catalogue*, vol. 6 (1984), p. xv.

<sup>12</sup> John Venn, *Early Collegiate Life* (Cambridge: Heffer, 1913), p. 210.

<sup>13</sup> *Conjectura Cabbalistica*, pp. 185–7, 189. On the heterodox elements of the *Conjectura*, see Sarah Hutton, 'Iconisms, Enthusiasm and Origen: Henry More Reads the Bible', in *Scripture and Scholarship in Early Modern England*, ed. Ariel Hessayon and Nicholas Keene (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 192–207 (pp. 201–7).

<sup>14</sup> 'A Library for Younger Schollers' *Compiled by an English Scholar-Priest about 1655*, ed. Alma Dejordy and Harris Francis Fletcher (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961), p. 17.

<sup>15</sup> Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 016052 has Pepys's ownership mark, but also the inscription 'Marie Skinner' on the title page.

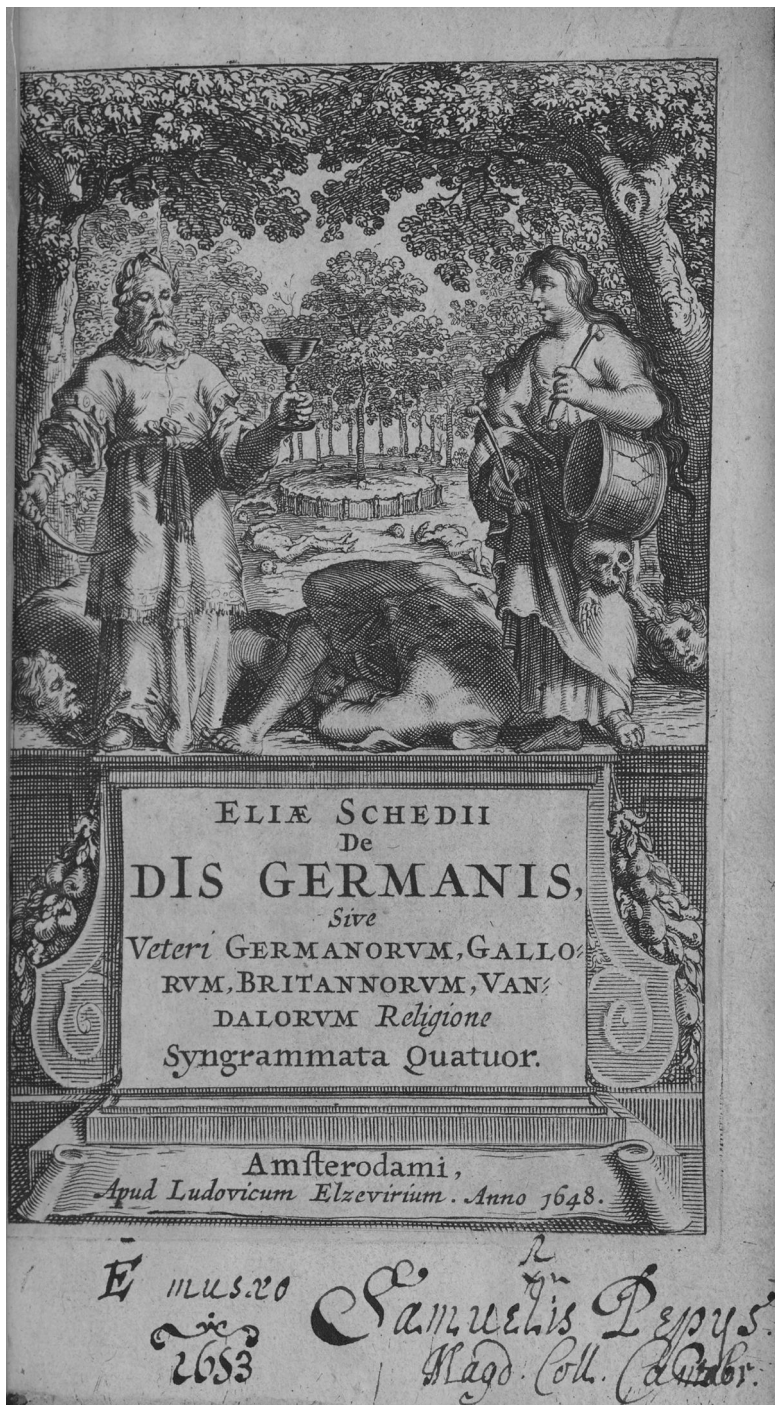


Fig. 4. Pepys's early ownership mark on the title page of Elias Schedius' *De diis Germanis* (Amsterdam, 1648), PL 520.

By permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

or not to be worth keeping', sessions that destroyed many of the records of his early life.<sup>16</sup>

When not penning romances, Pepys would have followed a programme of reading and composition laid out by Morland, employing methods common to wider university teaching. A university education drilled students in how to construct persuasive, eloquent arguments on paper and in speeches: they were required to demonstrate that they could put the principles of grammar, rhetoric, and logic into practice by mustering exempla to support a point, and by adjusting their register and style to suit the topic and audience. As with the texts themselves, some of the methods of reading encouraged were familiar from school work. At grammar school, boys were taught to record wise sayings or eloquent turns of phrase and then to copy their reading notes into commonplace books, organized under headings such as 'Gratitude' or 'Faithlessness'. Erasmus' *De copia*, a highly influential school text, explained that readers should note down

whatever you come across in any author, particularly if it is rather striking . . . be it an anecdote or a fable or an illustrative example or a strange incident or a maxim or a witty remark or a remark notable for some other quality or a proverb or a metaphor or a simile.

This, Erasmus counselled, would help in 'fixing what you have read more firmly in your mind, and getting you into the habit of using the riches supplied by your reading', both in speech and in writing.<sup>17</sup> Holdsworth too advised university students to keep extensive reading notes, although he thought the method of putting these under topic headings was too laborious. He recommended that students maintain octavo 'paper bookes' to collect (in the order that they read them) 'all the remarkable things w<sup>ch</sup> you meet with in your Hystorians, Oratours, & Poets'. The 'remarkable things' were to include common questions in logic disputes, the 'choice & witty sayings' from Latin poets, and any points on which a student needed to seek further advice.<sup>18</sup> James Dupont, a tutor at Cambridge during the mid-seventeenth century, similarly recommended the use of a 'little pocket-paper-book' for notes. The small size meant the book could be carried about 'when you walke abroad', so would be more likely to be studied regularly—university tutors, like physicians, evidently approved of reading while walking.<sup>19</sup> These recommendations to note-taking encouraged two fundamental attitudes to reading. First they prompted readers to see texts as made up of separable, reusable pieces.<sup>20</sup> Second, as Holdsworth's

<sup>16</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, pp. 31, 360. [Holdsworth], 'Directions', p. 644.

<sup>17</sup> Desiderius Erasmus, *Copia*, trans. Betty I. Knot, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 24, ed. Craig R. Thompson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), pp. 636, 638. *De copia* was first published in 1512 and much reissued. Seventeenth-century commonplacing practices are discussed in Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), chs. 8 and 9.

<sup>18</sup> 'Directions', pp. 651–2, also pp. 636, 642.

<sup>19</sup> Trinity College, MS O.10A.33, p. 12. On reading and walking, see Ch. 1, 'Locations for Reading', pp. 28–9.

<sup>20</sup> See Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, pp. 44–5; compare Melancthon's criticism of readers' fragmenting texts, quoted in Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, p. 128.

grouping of 'Hystorians, Oratours, & Poets' suggests, they urged readers to treat all texts as potentially useful, minimizing differences between genres. Regardless of whether the piece was a speech, a letter, a poem, or a play, the student was to be on the lookout for sententiae and striking instances of rhetorical prowess, especially concerning topics that he might encounter in an oral or written test, or that he might have cause to address in daily life. Other methods of teaching ensured that students did not see these priorities as appropriate solely to classical texts. To improve their grasp of ancient languages, schoolboys and students were required to translate Latin and Greek works into English, and then back again into the original language using their English version. Holdsworth also recommended practising Latin by making 'translations out of some plain English bookes, as Historie Dialogues Relations, or some stories, & passages w:<sup>ch</sup> you know & have lately heard & desire to retaine'.<sup>21</sup>

Holdsworth's comment on the need to retain remarkable passages and whole stories points towards another habit of reading that was a pervasive feature of seventeenth-century education. One could 'retaine' a text by writing it down, but students in the seventeenth century were accustomed to memorizing passages. This was a part of reading for all social classes: basic reading skills were acquired by repeating the alphabet and the short texts that made up hornbooks, while the memorization of religious texts was considered a useful exercise in piety.<sup>22</sup> At grammar school and university, students were expected to be able to 'get without book' large sections of texts. Holdsworth recommended that students memorize both sections of works and works in their entirety. In the first year, for example, 'the first hour in every after noon must be set a part for getting without booke some Epistles in Tully, some Coll[oquies] in Erasmus, or some Comedys in Terence'; students were told to get 'at least' one of Terence's plays entirely without book. Frequent rereading over several days was, Holdsworth argued, the best way of memorizing, since what was most useful was a 'readinesse' in having sentences leap to mind, rather than the ability 'to repeat much without book to geather' that came from laborious 'conning' of a text. Duport also urged students to 'gett the Arguments perfectly by heart', rather than read from notes. In this way they would avoid 'dull, cold, idle' speeches and be able to make their case with 'life and courage'.<sup>23</sup>

Duport was referring to the demands of 'disputations', the formal debates that were a principal method of learning and assessment in the universities. Participation in disputations was a requirement of taking a degree and the process honed skills in logic and improvisation that had not featured heavily in grammar school teaching. One student (the 'answerer' or 'respondent') presented an argument on a set question such as 'the production of a rational soul requires a new creation' or 'the origin of well water is the sea'. His argument was then attacked by one or more

<sup>21</sup> Green, *Humanism and Protestantism*, pp. 199–200; [Holdsworth], 'Directions', p. 638.

<sup>22</sup> Keith Thomas, 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England', in *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition: Wolfson College Lectures 1985*, ed. Gerd Baumann (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 97–131 (p. 108); Elspeth Jajdelska, *Silent Reading and the Birth of the Narrator* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), pp. 30–1.

<sup>23</sup> [Holdsworth], 'Directions', pp. 638–9, 640; Trinity College, MS O.10A.33, p. 10.

‘opponents’ who used their skills in syllogisms and logic to try and confute him. A moderator might be used to preside over the debate.<sup>24</sup> Mack has remarked that disputations taught students the importance of a carefully organized argument and of defining terms, for one way to undermine your opponent’s argument was to catch him in misuse or ambiguous use of a key word. The evidence of such training, he has persuasively argued, can be seen in Elizabethan Privy Council records and parliamentary debates.<sup>25</sup> In the 1640s, Holdsworth held that this training had widespread practical application beyond university: expertise in ‘oratory’, he maintained, was ‘very usefull & necessary, not only in all professions of learning, but in any course of life whatsoever’.<sup>26</sup> Pepys’s experiences suggest Holdsworth was not mistaken, for part of his success as an administrator lay in his ability to defend his own actions and those of the Navy Board when called upon. Repeatedly during his career, his oratorical skills were put to the test before committees and the House of Commons. Under pressure he could be an accomplished public speaker, one praised by hearers as ‘another Cicero’—the highest possible compliment, given Cicero’s fame as an orator. Thanks to his training Pepys was able to argue largely from memory, or as he put it ‘acceptably and smoothly . . . without any hesitation or losse’.<sup>27</sup> As we will see later in this chapter, the methods of textual analysis taught in the universities were not confined to professional use or to scenarios that required formal oratory; they were part of the day-to-day conversation of Restoration elites and were employed in the new social spaces of the capital.

## THE USES OF PHILOSOPHY

The vast majority of teachers and university tutors saw no real conflict between Christian teachings and the Stoic principles advanced by pagan philosophers. The works of ancient philosophers were praised not just for their usefulness as models of eloquence and as sources of history, but also for their prudential and moral teaching: these were texts for negotiating life’s challenges. Among Pepys and his acquaintances, knowledge of Stoic philosophers helped to shape individuals’ actions and foster alliances. In the case of Pepys himself, his admiration for the writing of the philosopher Epictetus led him to try and apply this to his life. Epictetus’ *Enchiridion* (meaning ‘handbook’) was a set of maxims extracted from the same author’s *Discourses*; it was recommended by university tutors for its practical

<sup>24</sup> This account of disputations draws chiefly on William T. Costello’s *The Scholastic Curriculum in Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 14–31. The sample questions are from a 1629 disputation, p. 17. For further discussion of these exercises, see Mordechai Feingold, ‘The Humanities’, in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 4, ed. Tyacke, pp. 211–357 (pp. 301–6); Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, pp. 58–60; and John K. Hale, *Milton’s Cambridge Latin: Performing in the Genres 1625–1632* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), pp. 15–31, 67–90.

<sup>25</sup> *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, esp. pp. 71, 211–12.

<sup>26</sup> [Holdsworth], ‘Directions’, p. 643.

<sup>27</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 103, 105. Pepys’s audiences were not always so effusive. At Christ’s Hospital in 1676 Robert Hooke endured Pepys’s ‘Long speech to noe great purpose’. *Hooke’s Diary 1672–1683*, 19 Dec. 1676.



morality and religious precepts.<sup>28</sup> Epictetus stressed the limitations of a man's power: 'For this is your business, to play admirably the role assigned you, but the selection of that role is Another's.' However, he also emphasized the individual's agency in determining his goals and governing himself. It was, for example, ridiculous to 'hand over your mind' to another by being troubled at his insults, while readers were advised to weigh the profits of gaining patronage against the costs of sycophancy.<sup>29</sup> Pepys had memorized (in Greek) the opening line of the *Enchiridion*, 'Of things, some are in our power, others are not'. These were words he recalled as counsel in the face of personal and professional difficulties. In September 1662, for instance, he had the humiliating experience of having his colleague Sir John Mennes reprove him for unauthorized alterations to his home. The result was that Pepys went to bed in a state:

all this evening and all night in my bed, so great a fool I am and little master of my passion, that I could not sleep for the thoughts of my losing the privilege of the leads [i.e. access to the roof walkways] and other things which in themselves are small and not worth half the trouble. The more fool am I, and must labour against it for shame—especially I that use to preach up Epictetus's rule of τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῶν.<sup>30</sup>

Pepys's comment on how he 'preached up' Epictetus shows he had lectured others on the work's benefits. He had cause to counsel himself once more when he was taken to court in a dispute over a family will: 'Waked early, with my mind troubled about our law matters; but it came into my mind that of Epictetus about his ἐφ' ἡμῶν καὶ οὐκ &c., which did put me to a great deal of ease, it being a saying of great reason'.<sup>31</sup> Pepys clearly found Epictetus reassuring, but his preaching of Epictetus was not without irony, since his troubles often stemmed from an inability to accept the advice in its entirety. His favourite line was followed by Epictetus' gloss: 'Under our control are conception, choice, desire, aversion, and, in a word, everything that is our own doing; not under our control are our body, our property, reputation, office, and, in a word, everything that is not our own doing.'<sup>32</sup> Pepys's behaviour consistently shows that he believed that his reputation and his office were within his control and that no attempt to try and improve his public persona or official standing was to be missed. Despite Pepys's praise, Epictetus' words were

<sup>28</sup> Dejordy and Fletcher, eds., *A Library for Younger Schollers*, pp. 3, 21.

<sup>29</sup> Epictetus, *The Discourses as Reported by Arrian, The Manual, and Fragments*, trans. W. A. Oldfather, vol. 2 (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952), pp. 497, 507, 505. The Pepys Library holds several editions of the *Enchiridion*, including Simplicius' *Commentarius in Enchiridion Epiceti* (Leiden, 1640).

<sup>30</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 193–4—as the editors note, Pepys paraphrases the Greek text and his Greek letter forms are not always clear. The transcription in Latham and Matthew's edition was itself subject to correction and miscorrection (on which see Richard Lockett, 'Warty and Nigh Perfect', *Times Higher Education*, 26 June 1995 <<http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/books/warty-and-nigh-perfect/161673.article>> [accessed 9 Aug. 2014]). I have therefore consulted the microfilm of the diary manuscript in rendering the Greek. Oldfather's edition translates Epictetus' phrase as 'Some things are under our control, while others are not under our control', *Enchiridion*, vol. 2, p. 483.

<sup>31</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 16, in consultation with microfilm of the diary manuscript.

<sup>32</sup> *Enchiridion*, trans. Oldfather, p. 483.

therefore treated as a consolation to fall back on when things were not going well, rather than advice to be followed at all times.

Beyond the personal importance of Epictetus for Pepys in his daily travails, the works of Stoic philosophers had a wider role in forging bonds among government administrators. Gerald Aylmer's analysis of office holders under Charles II reveals an administration made up of men from varied backgrounds: many were from the landed gentry, but the naval office holders included merchants, experienced seagoing officers, men appointed for their technical expertise in fields such as shipbuilding, and 'professional administrators' such as Pepys. A high proportion had been parliamentarians before the Restoration. Building on Aylmer's work, Benjamin Kohlmann has identified the emergence of a 'self-conscious rhetoric of "sobriety" and "business"' among Pepys and his fellow administrators that expressed a new sense of professional values and public responsibility.<sup>33</sup> In this context, the works of Stoic philosophers studied at school and university proved a useful resource in establishing shared values with colleagues. Pepys was delighted to find that Sir Philip Warwick, the secretary to the Lord Treasurer, shared his love of Epictetus: Warwick, he wrote, is 'a professor of a philosophicall manner of life and principles like Epictetus, whom he cites in many things'.<sup>34</sup> One of the chief uses of Stoic-influenced philosophers' works was in coping with the vicissitudes of office-holding in the late seventeenth century. In 1667, when Pepys and Sir William Coventry were anticipating being thrown out of office for (in their view) ungrounded charges of misconduct, they consoled themselves by imagining how afterwards they would meet to 'read a chapter in Seneca'. They probably meant one or other of Seneca's *Moral Epistles*, the themes of which include the pleasures of retirement after a turbulent career.<sup>35</sup> The allusion to Seneca signalled a shared sense of uprightness, duty, and public service—a mutual prizing of qualities that were unappreciated but that persisted in the face of adversity. Pepys also developed a relish for Cicero's works, and found them similarly useful in fashioning favourable images of what might otherwise appear as professional failure. Although apparently no fan of Cicero while a student, Pepys revised his views in 1662 when he read Cicero's 'Second Oration against Catiline', which passionately exhorted Rome's citizens to oppose this enemy of the republic. Now, he wrote, Cicero 'pleased me exceedingly; and more I discern therein then ever I thought was to be found in him. But I perceive it was my ignorance, and that he is as good a writer as ever I read in my life.'<sup>36</sup> Pepys's 'ignorance' may have been that of a student who was unaware of

<sup>33</sup> G. E. Aylmer, *The Crown's Servants: Government and Civil Service under Charles II, 1660–1685* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), esp. pp. 179–85; Benjamin Kohlmann, "'Men of Sobriety and Buisnes": Pepys, Privacy and Public Duty', *Review of English Studies*, 61 (2010), 553–71, doi: 10.1093/res/hgp073.

<sup>34</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 110; Warwick was educated at Eton and the Inns of Court; he appears to have spent time at Cambridge in the 1630s. David L. Smith, 'Warwick, Sir Philip (1609–1683)', in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28800>> [accessed 23 Nov. 2010].

<sup>35</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, pp. 507–8. For example, epistles 19 ('On Worldliness and Retirement') and 36 ('On the Value of Retirement'), in Seneca, *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales*, ed. Richard M. Gummere, vol. 1 (London: Heinemann, 1961).

<sup>36</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 107.

the demands of public office, or one who had not yet lived through the domestic tumults of 1658 to 1660: Cicero's speech was an artful piece of manipulation that Pepys was better placed to appreciate in 1662 than before. The fault had lain, then, with a bad reader, not with a bad author, and from this point Pepys's papers show delight in Cicero's works.<sup>37</sup> By the time Pepys was forced into retirement in the 1690s, he had come to identify with Cicero as a man of learning and an embattled public servant, and took to quoting from Cicero's *The Republic* and *Tusculan Disputations* to reinforce the analogy between their two situations.<sup>38</sup> Among Pepys's colleagues, then, shared familiarity with the works of Stoic-influenced philosophers gave their burgeoning sense of professional identity a respectable classical grounding: these writers emphasized the individual's self-government and service to the state in ways that resonated with the administrators' sense of their own independence of mind and their importance to the Crown. References to Seneca and Cicero were particularly useful, since these were examples of men who had served their countries in tumultuous times and had suffered disgrace, but whose learning and virtues were subsequently acknowledged by all right-thinking men. From this sympathetic and self-comforting perspective, the administrators' roles were poorly rewarded and frequently disparaged, but success was not something that should be judged by financial rewards or contemporary public acclaim.

University education meant that, although not born a gentleman, Pepys now shared the learning and demeanour necessary to present himself as one, assimilating with relative ease into the government's administration. Meanwhile, those who failed to use their reading appropriately or to show the requisite cultural knowledge and decorum were regarded with scorn. For example, during an argument with navy officials over the allocation of prizes seized during the war with the Dutch, Edward Seymour MP made the mistake of citing the satire *Hudibras* (1663) as part of his attack on Pepys and other members of the Navy Board. Pepys was scathing: 'I could not but think that a Parliament-man, in a serious discourse before such persons as we and my Lord Brouncker and Sir Jo Minnes, should quote *Hudibras*, as being the book I doubt [i.e. fear] he hath read most.'<sup>39</sup> Pepys was personally no admirer of *Hudibras*, but his point was that by quoting a modern, fashionable English satire, rather than a venerated classical work, Seymour had shown a lack of respect for the genteel company and for the seriousness of the matter at hand. He had also, in Pepys's eyes, demonstrated his own lack of learning, since the frivolous and vernacular *Hudibras* was the only text he could bring to mind to support his point. As this episode suggests, the reading and disputing strategies taught at the universities had left their traces in the conduct of Pepys and his peers. A humanist education had served as his pathway to membership of the social elite and recourse to the knowledge it imparted was a way to consolidate that status—or to denigrate

<sup>37</sup> For example, *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 112; vol. 4, p. 202.

<sup>38</sup> See Ch. 9, 'Growing Collections', p. 250, and 'The Library Room and Retirement', pp. 265–6.

<sup>39</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 262 ('Jo Minnes' is John Mennes). Seymour, being born into a Royalist family in 1633, may well not have attended university. The *ODNB* notes little is known of his early life. W. Hayton, 'Seymour, Sir Edward, Fourth Baronet (1633–1708)', in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25162>> [accessed 27 Jan. 2010].

the status of others. In conversation or in disputes, gentlemen were accordingly judged on their facility in languages, the fitness of their quotation to the point at hand, and the cultural implications of the text they cited.

## CONDUCT LITERATURE AND CONVERSATION

University educators sought to impart the learning necessary for a scholar and the skills to put that learning to use in professional life. However, gentlemen nonetheless had frequent recourse to books as sources of informal education on manners and prudent conduct. In the seventeenth century the conduct manual was a booming genre as readers at all social levels sought advice on what they should know and how to display that knowledge to best effect.<sup>40</sup> Conduct guides targeted everyone from maidservants to courtiers. The vitality of this section of the book trade was due in part to the tendency of those who could afford it to purchase multiple works—one conduct book, it seems, was never enough, for there was always more or better advice to be had, or someone else in the household in need of instruction. For example, the clergyman and Cambridge graduate Giles Moore (1617–79) purchased three conduct manuals between 1658 and 1665: Henry Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman* (first published 1622), Edward Waterhouse's *The Gentlemans Monitor* (1665), and Francis Osborne's *Advice to a Son* (1655–8). Robert Hooke owned at least six such works, including *The Compleat Gentleman*, *The Rules of Civility* (1671), and *Advice to a Son* as part of Osborne's *Works* (1673).<sup>41</sup> The conduct literature aimed at gentlemen and would-be gentlemen came in a variety of formats, from short reflective essays on cultivating a genteel reputation to volumes aimed specifically at the aspiring traveller or courtier. Pepys's preference was for works that offered advice on how to behave strategically in order to shape and magnify one's reputation. Three works that repeatedly drew his attention, and will consequently draw ours, were Osborne's *Advice to a Son*, Francis Bacon's piece 'Faber fortunæ' (first published in 1641), and *Arcana Aulica or Walsingham's Manual* (1655). The last two sought to impress their authority by evoking older traditions of advice on wise conduct. By citing Epictetus, Cicero, and other classical authorities, Bacon and the author of the *Arcana* implied universal principles of conduct, although the ancient philosophers concerned may not have recognized the principles they were being marshalled to support. Osborne's work was addressed to a son starting out in life, Bacon wrote for educated men looking to better their fortunes, and the *Arcana* addressed courtiers: Pepys graduated from book to book, choosing new material appropriate to his changing station and, in the process, revealing the appeal of these works.

<sup>40</sup> On conduct literature, see Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy and Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

<sup>41</sup> *The Journal of Giles Moore*, ed. Ruth Bird (Lewes: Sussex Record Society, 1971), pp. 181, 182, 188. *Hooke's Diary 1672–1683*, 25 Feb. 1677 [that is, 1676/7], 9 Aug. 1677; Leona Rostenberg, *The Library of Robert Hooke: The Scientific Book Trade of Restoration England* (Santa Monica, CA: Modoc Press, 1989), pp. 197, 205, 206.

Francis Osborne's *Advice to a Son* was the conduct manual Pepys took first and most to heart. The first edition of the book came out in autumn 1655, the year after he left university. Pepys's familiarity with it probably dates from around this time, since it was a firm favourite by 1661.<sup>42</sup> Osborne was a Bedfordshire-born gentleman who had held a series of appointments under the Commonwealth. As such, he could provide the counsel Pepys's tailor father could not: Pepys's close relationship with this book led him to refer to the author as 'my father Osborne'.<sup>43</sup> Pepys's surrogate dad was a risqué author: intermixed with his advice were witticisms, lewd jokes, and heterodox religious opinions. In 1658, ministers accused Osborne's book of promoting atheism, which led the vice-chancellor of Oxford to try to prevent its sale. However, as one contemporary reported, this simply meant that the book 'sold the more'.<sup>44</sup> Pepys, too, was undeterred: he wrote of his admiration for Osborne's 'sense and language' and in the early 1660s treated him as the final word on wise and politic behaviour. There are numerous instances where Pepys's day-to-day actions correlate with Osborne's recommendations: for example, Pepys's vow in 1665 against lying in bed after waking may well have been inspired by Osborne's call to 'Leave your *Bed* upon the first desertion of Sleep: It being ill for the Eyes to read lying, and worse for the Mind to be idle.'<sup>45</sup> However, there is only one case where Pepys says explicitly that he needed to act on Osborne's advice. In October 1661, after being treated to a fine dinner with fellow navy officials, he noted that his enjoyment had been diminished by the fact that he was not well dressed. This, he remarked, 'makes me remember my father Osborne's rule for a gentleman, to spare in all things rather than in that'. Osborne had indeed advised: 'Weare your *Cloaths neat*; exceeding, rather than comming short of others of like fortune; a charge borne out by Acceptance where ever you come: Therefore, *spare all other waies, rather than prove defective in this*.'<sup>46</sup> Pepys recalled the gist of this passage with particular attention to the italicized phrase—he had treated *Advice to a Son* according to the practices for the study of esteemed works that he had learned at school and university. Poor clothing was much in his mind during these weeks, and Osborne's advice helped spur him to remedy the situation: a few days later he laid out money on a 'handsome' new belt and then dressed in his 'new Coate of the fashion' in expectation of attending the Lord Mayor's feast.<sup>47</sup> At this early stage in his career, Osborne was assisting Pepys in deploying his limited financial resources effectively to reinforce his new genteel and professional status.

<sup>42</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 199. As the *Diary*'s editors point out, Pepys already owned several of Osborne's works by January 1661. He retained the 1673 edition of Osborne's *Works* in his library (PL 941(1)). *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 22 n. 2.

<sup>43</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 199.

<sup>44</sup> The year 1658 saw the publication of part 2 of Osborne's *Advice. The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, ed. Andrew Clark (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1891), vol. 1, p. 257.

<sup>45</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 96; vol. 6, p. 55. [Osborne], *Advice to a Son* (Oxford, 1656; Wing O509), p. 23. Future references are to this edition unless otherwise stated.

<sup>46</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 199; *Advice to a Son*, p. 17. The italicization of the text is not present in all editions.

<sup>47</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 203.

Importantly, Pepys was not alone in his prizing of Osborne's 'sense and language', nor in being able to bring the writer's words quickly to mind. One afternoon in January 1664, he went to a coffee-house where he met his friend Sir William Petty, 'one of the most rational men that ever I heard speak'. During the conversation, Petty named *Advice to a Son*, Sir Thomas Browne's religious memoir *Religio Medici* (1642), and Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* as the three books 'most esteemed and generally cried up for wit in this world'. He then proceeded to confute this view at some length. Petty argued that

in these [books], in the first two principally, the wit lie in confirming some pretty sayings, which are generally like paradoxes, by some argument smartly and pleasantly urged—which takes with people who do not trouble themselves to examine the force of an argument which pleases them in the delivery, upon a subject which they like; whereas (as by many perticular instances of mine and others out of Osborne) he did really find fault and weaken the strength of many of Osbornes arguments, so as that in downright disputation they would not bear weight; at least, so far but that they might be weakened, and better found in their rooms to confirm what is there said.<sup>48</sup>

There are two intriguing things about this episode. First, Pepys was not the only person in the coffee-house who had passages of Osborne's advice memorized: Petty (admittedly known for his memory) could cite Osborne, but 'others' in the venue also contributed to the 'many perticular instances' used to try and refute Petty. As 'pretty sayings' with practical application, Osborne's phrases were widely seen as apt for memorization. Second, Pepys characterizes the discussion that took place as a 'disputation', the word for formal university debates. If we look more closely, this coffee-house literary discussion does indeed seem to have followed the pattern set by university disputations. Petty, who had held academic posts at Oxford, adopted the role of the respondent in proposing that the celebration of the three writers was misguided; his position was then attacked by multiple 'opponents'. Petty's line of argument appears to have relied on distinguishing terms, as debates at the universities often did. His case was that, although Osborne and Browne were applauded for 'wit', on inspection this wit could be seen as merely superficial rhetorical flourish rather than sound argument. Pepys and the opponents countered by focusing attention entirely on Osborne, citing 'instances' from the text to disprove Petty's claims. However, Petty was then able to show that 'many of Osbornes arguments' did not stand up to scrutiny—either because they were simply wrong, or because a better case could be made to support the point. In the end, the respondent triumphed and the opponents, or Pepys at least, had to concede the case. In April 1664 there were again echoes of university debating procedure when, in a coffee-house by the Exchange, Pepys had 'excellent discourse, with Sir W Petty; who proposed it, as a thing that is truly questionable, whether there really be any

<sup>48</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 27. By 'pretty sayings . . . generally like paradoxes', Petty presumably meant statements such as Osborne's view that a wise man would not be distressed to see universities destroyed ('For, if one Age did not level, what another had erected, Variety were lost, and no means left to render the present or future Generations famous or infamous'). *Advice to a Son*, p. 4.

difference between waking and dreaming'.<sup>49</sup> Petty was proposing a philosophical question not far removed from the set topics of university disputations such as 'all men naturally desire knowledge'.<sup>50</sup> This adaptation of university practices was not just a Petty-related phenomenon, for in November 1663 Pepys described a 'discourse' between 'two Doctors of Physique (of which one was Dr. Allen, whom I knew at Cambrige) and a Couple of Apothecarys; these maintaining Chymistry against their Galenicall physic'. This was a 'passionate' discussion—evidently more heated than the norm—that attracted spectators on a learned question. Pepys found one of the apothecaries 'did speak very prettily; that is, his language and sense good, though perhaps he might not be so knowing a physician as to offer to contest with them'. Apothecaries did not normally have university training, but in this instance the speaker held up his end well in terms of both his rhetoric and the substance of his case.<sup>51</sup>

Signs that experience of university disputations was shaping the performance and evaluation of coffee-house behaviour are significant, because both contemporary sources and historians have tended to emphasize the informality and equality of coffee-house discourse. The coffee-houses were new institutions in the 1650s and 1660s, ones praised by their advocates for their diversity of company, where 'every Man may . . . propose to, or Answer another as he thinks fit'. Those who attacked the coffee-houses instead mocked the absurd mix of ranks and professions to be found there, and the disordered speech that had 'neither Moderators, nor Rules'. As these examples show, both proponents and opponents of these establishments used rhetoric that invoked implicit comparisons between the conversation in coffee-houses and university disputations. For advocates of coffee-houses, the emphasis was on the pleasing informality of these discussions in contrast to university methods; for opponents, the discussions were at best a chaotic parody of university learning.<sup>52</sup> Pepys enjoyed a variety of different types and topics of conversation in coffee-houses and some discussions were evidently more like staged 'disputations' than others.<sup>53</sup> What his comments demonstrate, however, is that knowledge of university methods for analysing texts and arguing points was an asset in coffee-house debate, and that those who did not have this training were likely to find themselves at a disadvantage. Adhering to the methods acquired through a university education allowed men, such as Petty and Pepys, to flourish their intellectual credentials before the assembled company and, potentially, to marginalize those who were unfamiliar with such techniques. University training was being adapted to suit the setting of the new coffee-houses—and since coffee-houses were hotbeds for political debate, it would be surprising if this type of coffee-house disputation were confined to literary and scientific topics.

<sup>49</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 108.

<sup>50</sup> Disputation theme from Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum*, p. 18.

<sup>51</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 361–2.

<sup>52</sup> *Coffee-Houses Vindicated* (London, 1673), p. 4—the italics are in the original; M.P., *A Character of Coffee and Coffee-Houses* (London, 1661), p. 9. On the relative informality of the coffee-houses, see Markman Ellis, *The Coffee House: A Cultural History* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004), 59–64.

<sup>53</sup> On Pepys's use of coffee-houses, see Ch. 3, 'Coffee-Houses', pp. 92–4.

## SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT AND POLITIC CONDUCT

Osborne's appeal for the coffee-house crowd and for university students lay in his 'pretty sayings' and in his cynical, pragmatic world view. For readers used to the moralizing sententiae provided by school books, Osborne's frank endorsement of immoral but prudent behaviour must have seemed especially refreshing. In essence, he held that no one was to be trusted and you should always operate with an eye to how circumstances could be exploited to your benefit or used by others against you. Pepys was particularly receptive to advice on politic conduct and dissimulation, a reading priority he shared with, among others, Sir William Drake.<sup>54</sup> Although the writings of Stoic philosophers could be used to generate fellow feeling among administrators, in fact much of the conduct literature that Pepys read encouraged him in the belief that Machiavellian tactics were unremarkable among public officials and that one should therefore anticipate betrayal and behave accordingly. Writing for young men considering a career in public service or diplomacy, Osborne warned that conversation and writing had to be conducted with care for present and future risks: 'Let nothing unjustifiable or dangerous appear under *your Hand*; which, many yeeres after, may rise up in Judgment against you; when things Spoken may be forgot.'<sup>55</sup> As his diary evinces, Pepys did not scruple to record seditious thoughts and conversation, albeit in shorthand; yet in other respects he heeded Osborne's advice. In conversation with those he mistrusted, such as Sir William Penn, he was careful to say 'nothing that I fear to have said again', and at intervals he cleared out and burnt papers that might be used against him or tarnish his reputation.<sup>56</sup> In religion, Osborne believed one should behave pragmatically, keeping '*your compliance so loose*, as if possible, you may fix it to the best advantage of your profit & honour'. There was a strong vein of anticlericalism in his writing, with comments on the clergy's propensity for hypocrisy, revenge, and self-serving behaviour. Osborne himself did not wholly endorse any church's doctrine, but had kind words for the Socinians and regarded it as an 'indignity' to God to hold beliefs about the deity that were unsuited to the dictates of reason. Pepys shared Osborne's prizing of rationality, his anticlericalism (for the diary is not short on scornful comments about the clergy), and his willingness to observe the religion of the times even while having a keen sense of its flaws.<sup>57</sup> However, Pepys's debate with Petty seems to have lessened his enthusiasm for Osborne's teaching—after Petty's criticisms were recorded in January 1664, there were no more explicit references to Osborne in the diary.

Osborne's cynical perspective on social advancement was shared by other writers Pepys admired, most notably Francis Bacon. During the early 1660s

<sup>54</sup> Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 100–1, 188–9.

<sup>55</sup> [Osborne], *Advice to a Son*, pp. 15–16; see also p. 13.

<sup>56</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 436. For Pepys's purges, see *Diary*, vol. 5, pp. 31, 360 and Pepys to Dr Thomas Gale, 15 Sept. 1692, in *Private Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 60.

<sup>57</sup> *Advice to a Son*, pp. 113, and 105, 106, 127, 128. *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 134–5; vol. 4, p. 372. On Pepys's religious principles, see Ch. 8.



Pepys repeatedly returned to an essay by Bacon entitled ‘Faber fortunae’ (‘The Architect of Fortune’). This was not one of Bacon’s original *Essays*, but an extract from his *De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum*, published with a Latin translation of the *Essays* and other extracts in a volume called *Sermones fideles*.<sup>58</sup> In extracting ‘Faber fortunae’ from a longer piece, the editor made it more suitable for readers seeking concise advice on conduct. Pepys first mentioned the work in May 1661 and always referred to the essay rather than the volume: it was ‘my dear *Faber Fortuna*’ that ‘the oftener I read the more I admire’. Such was Pepys’s enthusiasm for it that he reread it several times within the space of a few months in 1666 and then made his younger brother John turn the essay into English—a common form of university exercise. Pepys’s complaint that John had done it ‘only literally, but without any life at all’ shows he relished the deft style of the Latin; yet the ‘great pleasure’ he took in the work also stemmed from the encouragement it gave him.<sup>59</sup> Bacon held that every man was the architect of his own fortune, with ‘amendment of the mind’ being more important than ‘wealth and means’ in advancing a man.<sup>60</sup> This doctrine was well suited to Pepys, who (while acknowledging the importance of patronage) believed that he had improved his status in large part through his own industry and intelligence, and that he had it in his power to rise further.

Industry and intelligence, however, were not enough—Bacon stressed that a man needed policy to rise.<sup>61</sup> In support of his arguments, Bacon introduced instances from Tacitus’ histories, from Cicero’s epistles, and (albeit occasionally with cautions on their dangerous tendency) from Machiavelli’s works.<sup>62</sup> A passage from Epictetus’ *Enchiridion* on the need to be mindful of wider principles when carrying out an action became, in Bacon’s hands, a call to act strategically: ‘For as Epictetus lays down that a philosopher in every particular action should say to himself, “I both wish to do this, and also to keep to my rule.” so a political man in everything should inwardly resolve, “I will both do this, and learn something more for future use.”’<sup>63</sup> Self-scrutiny was vital to successful action. Men should ‘take an accurate and impartial survey of their own abilities, virtues, and helps; and again, of their wants, inabilities, and impediments’. This would better enable them to adapt

<sup>58</sup> For a history and publishing details of the *Sermones fideles*, see R. C. Cochrane, ‘Bacon, Pepys, and the “Faber Fortunae”’, *Notes and Queries*, 3 (1956) 511–14, doi: 10.1093/nq/3.12.511. The 1662 edition is in the PL, but Pepys first records owning the work in early 1661, which means the first copy that he owned was one from 1641, 1644, or 1659.

<sup>59</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 102; vol. 4, p. 235; vol. 7, pp. 72, 129, 346. Bacon’s style was praised by Pepys’s contemporaries for its succinctness, vigour, and allusiveness. See Brian Vickers, *Francis Bacon and Renaissance Prose* (Cambridge: CUP, 1968), pp. 232–40.

<sup>60</sup> Francis Bacon, ‘Faber fortunae’, in *Sermones fideles* (Leiden, 1644), pp. 319–56 (p. 345). Translation in *De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum*, part of the *Collected Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, and Douglas Denon Heath, vol. 5 (London, 1877; facs. repr. London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1996), p. 72.

<sup>61</sup> ‘Faber fortunae’, p. 351 (trans. in *Works of Francis Bacon*, vol. 5, p. 75).

<sup>62</sup> Bacon cites Machiavelli’s *Discourses* and *The Prince* in ‘Faber fortunae’ at pp. 342–3, 345, 351–2. Bacon’s understanding of ‘policy’ and his debt to Machiavelli are discussed in B. H. G. Wormald, *Bacon: History, Politics and Science, 1561–1626* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), esp. pp. 190–213.

<sup>63</sup> ‘Faber fortunae’, p. 329 (trans. in *Works of Francis Bacon*, vol. 5, p. 64). Bacon is loosely recalling Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, cap. 4.

themselves to the 'general state of the times', to determine on a profession that suited their skills, and make the best use of opportunities for advancement.<sup>64</sup> Pepys's diary is a manifestation of this self-scrutiny. In November 1665, for example, he recorded a conversation with his friend Thomas Hill about his precarious professional situation. He had, he said, first come to the navy haphazardly, through the patronage of Lord Sandwich; he had kept his place through hard work and careful managing of the different court factions: 'chance without merit brought me in', he concluded, and 'diligence only keeps me so'.<sup>65</sup>

In 'Faber fortunae', Bacon argued that self-aware individuals were better able to measure themselves against their peers (the 'competitors in their fortune') and thus able to choose 'that course of life wherein there is the greatest scarcity of distinguished men, and they themselves are likely to be most eminent'.<sup>66</sup> Scrutiny of the self therefore had to be combined with accurate assessments of others. Pepys's observations increasingly led him to conclude that there were few competent, honest individuals in the administration and that his abilities could lead him to eminence if rightly employed—although this might involve hiding the extent of his talents and his true opinions. Bacon viewed dissimulation as routine and offered readers advice on how to discern the truth through a man's countenance, words, and actions. Pepys had reason to regard this as useful advice, for he was increasingly convinced that his colleagues were dissembling with him. In 1662 he decided that Sir William Penn had been covertly acting against him, but that it was 'not policy' to declare his enmity for Penn yet. Indeed Pepys 'did (God forgive mee) promise him all my service and love, though the rogue knows he deserves none from me, nor I intend to show him any; but as he dissembles with me, so I must with him'.<sup>67</sup> He liked to think of his own simulation as defensive, and that of others as malicious in intent. To counter potential enemies and foster alliances, Bacon advised his readers to set about 'procuring good information of the particular persons with whom we have to deal; their natures, their desires and ends, their customs and fashions, their helps and advantages . . . so again their weaknesses and disadvantages'.<sup>68</sup> This was a method Pepys pursued assiduously. Indeed, his diary—with its frequent records of gossip, news, and critical assessments of friends and rivals—is a product of such activity. One of its purposes was to memorialize such information for future use against opponents. In 1663, for example, Pepys documented at length in the diary a private conversation with Robert Blackborne, the former chief naval administrator, during which Blackborne made numerous allegations against Penn and recalled charges of cowardice against him in the 1650s. Later, more details of Penn's malfeasance were supplied by the Clerk of the Survey at Chatham and by Elizabeth Falconer of the rope yard at Woolwich; these went into the diary and the *Navy White Book*.<sup>69</sup> In September 1665, when Lord Sandwich expressed resentment at

<sup>64</sup> 'Faber fortunae', pp. 330–2 (trans. in *Works of Francis Bacon*, vol. 5, pp. 64–5).

<sup>65</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 285.

<sup>66</sup> 'Faber fortunae', p. 332 (trans. in *Works of Francis Bacon*, vol. 5, p. 65).

<sup>67</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 132, 134; compare vol. 4, pp. 438–9.

<sup>68</sup> 'Faber fortunae', p. 321 (trans. in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, vol. 5, p. 59).

<sup>69</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 375–6; vol. 5, p. 231; *Navy White Book*, pp. 20, 73–4.

Penn's power in the fleet and remarked on his falsehood, Pepys was thus well positioned to recall the allegations against Penn and 'as I have formerly done, give my Lord my knowledge of him'.<sup>70</sup> He thereby simultaneously damaged a rival while impressing his own role to Sandwich as a valuable source. As Mark Dawson has argued, Pepys shows an abiding preoccupation with evaluating social status in the diary and in other records: 'Pepys was watching not just himself but paying much keener attention to others watching him.'<sup>71</sup> A major inspiration for this continual social accounting, we can deduce, came from those conduct writers such as Bacon and Osborne who insisted on the need for pragmatic, calculating assessments of social status and the need for strategies to compete with others.

Pepys's rise in status and increased dealings with courtiers encouraged him to read advice literature ostensibly aimed at the most privileged gentlemen and nobles. In 1666, when he recorded his zealous readings of 'Faber fortunae', he was also enjoying the contents of *Arcana Aulica or Walsingham's Manual*. The book was a translation of part of *Traité de la cour*, an early seventeenth-century work by the French statesman Eustache de Refuge—although the publishers either did not know this or were not prepared to admit as much.<sup>72</sup> The printer explained that the manual was named after its translator, the royalist secretary Edward Walsingham. The *Arcana Aulica* agreed with Bacon's Machiavellian perspective and his esteem for Tacitus. However, unlike 'Faber fortunae' or *Advice to a Son*, its advice was explicitly designed for 'the States-man and the Courtier'.<sup>73</sup> It focused on the strategies necessary to survive in a court where deception was the norm and where life was subject to the whims of a tyrannical and arbitrary monarch. The advice, wrote the printer, was not intended 'for the unskilful palate of the vulgar; and indeed onely meant, and fit, for the wisest soules'.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, Walsingham was quoted as regretting that an earlier Latin edition had been printed and thus its secrets divulged to a wider audience than manuscript circulation had allowed. The impression created was that English readers were privileged finally to be granted access to this work on how to manipulate princes and manoeuvre in the cut-throat world of the court.<sup>75</sup>

Pepys was dubious about the value of 'Walsingham's *Manuall*' when he borrowed it from his bookseller in January 1664 'to read but not to buy'. It had been 'recommended for a pretty book by Sir W. Warren, whose warrant however I do not much take till I do read it'.<sup>76</sup> Sir William Warren was a merchant keen to gain

<sup>70</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 230.

<sup>71</sup> Mark S. Dawson, 'Histories and Texts: Refiguring the Diary of Samuel Pepys', *Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), 407–31, doi: 10.1017/S0018246X99008894 (p. 425).

<sup>72</sup> The history of the *Arcana Aulica* is discussed in W. Lee Ustick, 'The Courtier and the Bookseller: Some Vagaries of Seventeenth-Century Publishing', *Review of English Studies*, 5 (1929), 143–54, doi: 10.1093/res/os-V.18.143.

<sup>73</sup> [Eustache de Refuge], *Arcana Aulica: or, Walsingham's Manual* [trans. Edward Walsingham] (London, 1655 [1654]), title page.

<sup>74</sup> *Arcana Aulica*, fols. A5v–A6r.

<sup>75</sup> Ustick notes that, contrary to the *Arcana Aulica*'s claims, the *Traité de la cour* had been available in English since 1622. 'The Courtier and the Bookseller', p. 144.

<sup>76</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 10.

Pepys's support in winning navy contracts, rather than a statesman or a courtier who could authoritatively judge the contents. In recommending the book to Pepys, Warren presumably intended a compliment. Pepys, he was implying, was one of the 'wisest soules' spoken of in the preface, a man who moved among statesmen and who might aspire to be one. Warren was also assuming (rightly as it turned out) that Pepys would share his appreciation of the work's cynical and frequently immoral advice rather than being repelled. Pepys subsequently showed a new esteem for Warren's views on conduct, consulting his 'good friend' on how to 'carry myself to advantage, to contract no envy and yet make the world see my pains'.<sup>77</sup> In this case the recommendation of a Machiavellian advice manual helped strengthen an alliance between Pepys and Warren, his favoured navy contractor, against the rest of the Navy Board. Pepys was evidently also persuaded of the work's merits, because he purchased a copy and reread it in 1666, pronouncing it 'a very good book'.<sup>78</sup> It is tempting to be sceptical about the claims made by such advice manuals concerning their value to the professed readership of courtiers, and instead to view them as aimed at gentlemen and tradesmen seeking insights into court life. However, by the time Pepys gave his verdict in 1666, he was familiar with the court milieu and a minor actor within it: his navy work regularly brought him to Whitehall and he now coveted the role of counsellor to princes. Indeed, as his profile in the navy rose, he found his opinions sought by the Lord Admiral the Duke of York, and even by the King himself. 'Walsingham's *Manuall* suited Pepys's self-image as an embattled, honest servant of the King, one compelled to stoop to the base methods of others in order to survive and defend the kingdom's interest. The book addressed men of integrity: in the author's view, such honest men were unsuited to life at court, although in every court there were some individuals 'drawn thither by their own desire of doing good to others, and infringing the power of evill men'. In an echo of Pepys's favourite maxim from Epictetus, the author advised that the honest man must 'carry himself wisely and accommodate himselfe to those things he sees, he cannot change nor overcome'. Yet this was not Stoic principle but politic strategy, for in this way 'I dare say, he will at last become acceptable to the worst of *Princes*.'<sup>79</sup>

By the end of the 1660s, Pepys had become a rich and powerful man. Although he had largely outgrown the advice books of his youth, the genre still contained valuable cautions. Like 'Faber fortunae' and *Advice to a Son, Arcana Aulica* proffered tactics for impressing others and it also warned against incurring envy—something about which Pepys increasingly worried. To avoid creating enemies, the *Arcana* advised, it was important to avoid 'all pride, over-sumptuous maner [*sic*] of living, unseasonable feasts and boasting' and this was especially the case for those 'who have risen from a mean condition'.<sup>80</sup> In May 1669, Pepys's display of his wealth in the form of a fine coach and 'gold-lace sleeves' was attracting unwanted comment. On 10 May he wrote that John Creed

<sup>77</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 293.

<sup>78</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, pp. 161–2.

<sup>79</sup> *Arcana Aulica*, pp. 16–17.

<sup>80</sup> *Arcana Aulica*, pp. 70–1.

tells me he hears how fine my horses and coach are, and advises me to avoid being noted for it; which I was vexed to hear taken notice of, it being what I feared; and Povy told me of my gold-lace sleeves in the park yesterday, which vexed me also, so as to resolve never to appear in Court with it, but presently to have it taken off.<sup>81</sup>

He immediately called at a tailor's to have the offending lace removed. When he had been a young gentleman, it had been important for him to maximize the social and financial credit others attributed to him by investing in his appearance as much as possible: at this point Osborne's advice to channel any surplus income into clothing was apt. However, as Bacon urged, it was important to be mindful of other's responses and adapt oneself to changing fortunes. Pepys's role now made ostentation in clothing impolitic and the advice he received from *Arcana Aulica* justly counselled him to exercise restraint. A navy official who was in the public eye—particularly one born to a mean family—should not dress like a courtier: to do so was to suggest overweening ambition and stir suspicions that his wealth had been gained through corruption. In the late 1660s, Pepys was still learning to steer a middle course between the sober, modest carriage of a dedicated servant of the King, and the desire to gain esteem, outdo rivals, and enjoy his new wealth.

## PRACTICAL MATHEMATICS

While many gentlemen felt their manners and deportment required continual polishing, some also found their formal education had not adequately covered the skills they required in professional life. Mathematical skills were a case in point. Despite an excellent grammar-school education and having a noted mathematician for his tutor at Cambridge, Pepys did not begin to learn 'the Multiplicacion table' until he employed a private instructor to teach him in the 1660s.<sup>82</sup> In the mid-seventeenth century the status of mathematics was ambiguous, both in terms of the importance of these skills in education and the social status that attached to them. At university arithmetic and geometry were part of the quadrivium. Basic mathematical skills were needed for a gentleman to run his estate or, increasingly, to serve the state. It was also fashionable for seventeenth-century gentlemen to take an interest in the mathematical instruments used for surveying, navigation, and fortification.<sup>83</sup> Yet evidently these encouragements were not strong enough to ensure an otherwise hard-working student such as Pepys emerged with a firm grounding in aspects of mathematics that were useful in many professions and that would today be considered elementary. One factor in the relative neglect of

<sup>81</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 551. 'Povy' was Thomas Povey FRS, holder of court office and formerly Pepys's colleague on the Tangier Committee.

<sup>82</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 131.

<sup>83</sup> See A. J. Turner, 'Mathematical Instruments and the Education of Gentlemen', *Annals of Science*, 30 (1973), 51–88, doi: 10.1080/00033797300200031. On Cambridge and with specific reference to Pepys, see also Geoffrey Howson, *A History of Mathematics Education in England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1982), pp. 32–4 and Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Pepys' Diary and the New Science* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1965), pp. 8–12.

mathematics when it came to the education actually delivered to students was that the subject suffered from a degree of social stigma. John Wallis, recalling Cambridge in the 1630s, claimed that mathematics ‘were scarce looked upon as *Accademical* studies, but rather *Mechanical*; as the business of *Traders, Merchants, Seamen, Carpenters, Surveyors of Lands*, or the like’.<sup>84</sup> Recent research on mathematical expertise in the universities has suggested this was a gross exaggeration, but doubts about the status of mathematical sciences and the extent of gentlemen’s interest in these subjects remained.<sup>85</sup> It was not, for example, until the 1670s that English booksellers were confident enough about the existence of a widespread readership for mathematical texts among their rich clientele to venture into publishing folio compendia on the mathematical sciences designed for gentlemen’s libraries.<sup>86</sup>

Both practical and theoretical mathematics had by this time gained a higher profile among genteel Londoners as a result of the establishment of the Royal Society.<sup>87</sup> In the 1660s, discussion among Pepys’s companions turned to maths on a number of occasions, for his contacts included nobles who studied mathematics (such as Lord Brouncker and Lord Sandwich) and self-made gentlemen who owed their livings to it (such as Sir William Petty and Sir Jonas Moore).<sup>88</sup> Although the Royal Society was in the process of elevating certain practical fields of research into interests worthy of gentlemen’s esteem, in order for this knowledge to be celebrated the processes by which it was attained were sometimes concealed. Steven Shapin has argued that much of the skilled, practical work that went into Royal Society experiments was done by technicians who remained ‘invisible’ in reports of these activities: the experiments were instead considered the work of gentlemen philosophers, such as Robert Boyle, whose status vouched for the credibility of the results.<sup>89</sup> In the early Restoration, practical mathematics remained susceptible to being perceived as a ‘Mechanick’ pursuit, while it was normal for gentlemen to delegate technical work to someone of lower status. When Pepys turned to mathematical manuals to improve his position, he had to allow for these concerns. Pepys’s use of mathematical manuals is a salient reminder that the history of reading involves the history of material culture and technology. Here Pepys set about using one piece of technology (a book) to understand another (a slide rule). In the process, and more than with any other book he read, he changed the course of his career.

<sup>84</sup> Christoph J. Scriba, ‘The Autobiography of John Wallis, F.R.S.’, *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 25 (1970), 17–46, stable URL: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/530862>>, (p. 27).

<sup>85</sup> Mordechai Feingold, *The Mathematicians’ Apprenticeship: Science, Universities and Society in England, 1560–1640* (Cambridge: CUP, 1984), pp. 85–8. On disputes over the relationship between theoretical and practical mathematics, especially in academia, see also Frances Willmoth, *Sir Jonas Moore: Practical Mathematics and Restoration Science* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993), pp. 6–8.

<sup>86</sup> Willmoth, *Sir Jonas Moore*, pp. 208–9.

<sup>87</sup> For debates on the role of mathematics within experimental philosophy, see Shapin, *A Social History of Truth*, ch. 7.

<sup>88</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 31; vol. 9, p. 191. Brouncker, Sandwich, and Petty were active members of the Royal Society in the 1660s, while Moore joined in 1674.

<sup>89</sup> *A Social History of Truth*, ch. 8.

Rather worryingly for the state of government finances, Pepys's shallow grasp of mathematics was apparently no hindrance to his working as a clerk at the Exchequer in the late 1650s. Yet with his appointment as Clerk of the Acts, he found himself doing business with, in Wallis's phrase, 'Merchants, Seamen, Carpenters . . . and the like'. His knowledge, he soon realized, was not up to the tasks he wanted to perform in his new post. Two years into the job, Pepys employed a tutor to help him better understand navy matters: the mate of the *Royal Charles* instructed him in arithmetic as well as in how to read charts, find bearings, and 'things belonging to ships'. Multiplication, said Pepys, was the only aspect causing him trouble.<sup>90</sup> Officially, the Clerk of the Acts served as a secretary to the Navy Board. Pepys, however, was eager to expand his remit and began to encroach upon other aspects of the administration in a calculated and devious manner. The navy was the largest industry in the country and its board was responsible for making contracts with merchants to supply the entire fleet. Pepys wanted 'to do the King great service' in preventing fraud, but he also wanted in on the action.<sup>91</sup> Some of the most valuable contracts were for timber, so an ability to measure timber accurately and thus dispute the terms of contracts with merchants and their patrons on the Navy Board would be a skill worth cultivating. Notably, Pepys did not employ a tutor to help him understand timber measurement (although tuition was available), but instead depended on more discreet sources.<sup>92</sup> Alerted to timber fraud in the King's shipyards by Anthony Deane (c.1638–1721), an assistant master shipwright at Woolwich, Pepys took some advice from him. However Pepys's main source was his 'arithmetique books', chief of which was an unassuming duodecimo volume, John Brown's *The Description and Use of the Carpenters-Rule* (1662) (Figure 5).<sup>93</sup> Brown was a mathematical instrument-maker and this was an instruction book on how to use a ruler to measure various kinds of objects, followed by a more complicated explanation of the use of the logarithmic 'Line of Numbers' on 'a Sliding-rule'.<sup>94</sup> Brown promoted his book as a cheap and easy instruction manual: 'an ABCdarian to the Instrumental way of working, being the most proper for Mechanick men, such as Carpenters, Joyners, Masons, and Bricklayers, and the like'. Pepys was none of these and considered himself considerably above such men. However, his relatively humble background may have been an asset here, for he had no qualms about resorting to a work professedly aimed at craftsmen who were 'for

<sup>90</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 134, 138; vol. 4, pp. 133–4.

<sup>91</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 190. On the navy industry, and the sums paid to navy contractors, see J. D. Davies, *Pepys's Navy: Ships, Men and Warfare 1649–1689* (Barnsley: Seaforth, 2008), p. 33.

<sup>92</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 105. Pepys sought recommendations for a tutor in 1662, but when he talked to the recommended man much later, he found his knowledge inadequate (vol. 5, p. 115). On the difficulties of timber supply and measuring, see Anthony J. Turner, 'Natural Philosophers, Mathematical Practitioners and Timber in Later 17th Century England', *Nuncius*, 9 (1994), 619–34, doi: 10.1163/182539184X00973.

<sup>93</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 151, 169; vol. 4, pp. 85, 406. J[ohn] B[rown], *The Description and Use of the Carpenters-Rule: Together with the Use of the Line of Numbers* (London, 1662) is PL 85. *The Use of the Line of Numbers, on a Sliding (or Glasiers) Rule* has a separate title page dated 1662 but pagination is continuous with the earlier sections.

<sup>94</sup> B[rown], *Description*, p. 177.

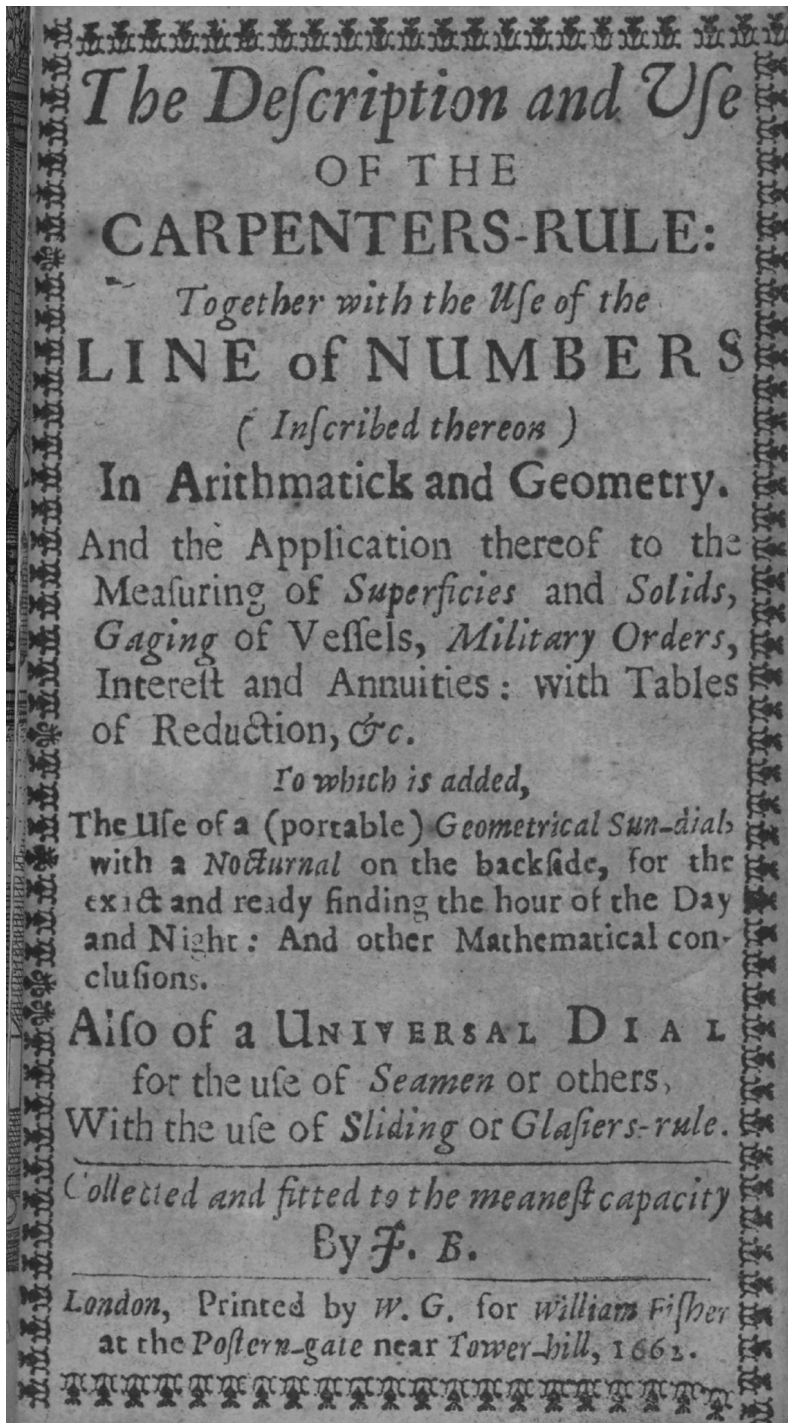


Fig. 5. Title page of Pepys's copy of *The Description and Use of the Carpenters-Rule* by John Brown (London, 1662), PL 85.

By permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.



*the most part . . . ignorant of Arithmatick*'.<sup>95</sup> In March 1663, he therefore bought from John Brown both Brown's manual and the sliding rule, and began using the one to master the other.<sup>96</sup>

Brown described a 'sliding rule' as 'two Rules, or Rule-pieces fitted together, with a Brasse-socket at each end, that they slip not out of the gro[o]ve; and the Line of Numbers thereon, is cut across the moving Joynt on each piece'.<sup>97</sup> He explained in detail how to use this device to calculate the area and volume of different sections of timber, offering tips on the quickest and most accurate means to handle any problem. Pepys enjoyed the manual on his first reading and he was soon taking both the slide rule and the book around with him to study during the day. Walking back from Deptford to London, he was 'all the way reading of my book of Timber measure, comparing it with my new Sliding rule, brought home this morning, with great pleasure'. He writes of how '[I] did con my lessons upon my Ruler to measure timber' using Brown's text. 'Conning', as Holdsworth explained, meant 'plodding', repetitive memorization, of a kind associated with schoolboys' study of texts.<sup>98</sup> Pepys's description of his reading activity here is therefore mildly self-satirical—in the face of Brown's book, he was no better than a schoolboy, although enjoying the experience. Indeed, he was soon developing into something like a slide-rule nerd, buying multiple models and discovering his own methods for quick calculations ('more then my book teaches me').<sup>99</sup> When he felt he had mastered the device, he commissioned his own design. Slide rules were a relatively new invention in the 1660s. The first printed descriptions of models were published in the early 1630s and there was competition among mathematicians and instrument-makers to produce the most efficient and convenient designs.<sup>100</sup> By the mid-seventeenth century, gentlemen often made collections of scientific instruments such as microscopes and telescopes, which were sometimes stored next to their book collections in their studies. These tools served as examples of elegant craftsmanship and pleasing entertainments, as well as items for practical use.<sup>101</sup> It was, however, a rare gentleman who designed his own instrument. By commissioning his own rule, Pepys was making this technology his own and signalling himself above the 'Mechanick' readers who were the book's target audience.

Pepys initially chose not to reveal his new mathematical skill to his colleagues on the Navy Board or to other members of the navy. In May 1663, after he had expressed 'great pleasure' in studying his latest ruler, he had what was, on the face of it, a rather strange interview with Anthony Deane. The previous summer, when

<sup>95</sup> B[rown], *Description*, fol. A3r. On instrument-makers as authors, see D. J. Bryden, 'Evidence from Advertising for Mathematical Instrument Making in London, 1556–1714', *Annals of Science*, 49 (1992), 301–6, doi: 10.1080/00033799200200281, (pp. 313–14).

<sup>96</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 84, 85. <sup>97</sup> B[rown], *Description*, pp. 177–8.

<sup>98</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 104, 132. [Holdsworth], 'Directions', pp. 638–9.

<sup>99</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 180.

<sup>100</sup> On the first slide-rule designs and their inventors, see E. G. R. Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor & Stuart England* (Cambridge: University Press for the Institute of Navigation, 1954), pp. 74, 192–3, 201.

<sup>101</sup> Turner, 'Mathematical Instruments', p. 58; Feingold, *Mathematicians' Apprenticeship*, pp. 205–6.

Pepys was a novice at timber-measuring, he had practised it with Deane over lunch. Now, however, he was cagey about his level of skill:

Deane of Woolwich went home with me and showed me the use of a little Sliding ruler, less then I bought the other day, which is the same with that but more portable;<sup>102</sup> however, I did not seem to understand or even to have seen anything of it before. But I find him an ingenious fellow and a good servant in his place to the King.

Pepys was feigning ignorance in order to test Deane: he was using the slide rule to gauge Deane's competence and loyalty to Charles (and to himself). When Deane passed the test, Pepys was more open about his new expertise.<sup>103</sup> The messages he was receiving from advice literature on the benefits of a guarded, calculating strategy and a willingness to dissemble are likely to have encouraged his sly behaviour here. Later entries show Pepys's cunning had other ends: he was hiding the full extent of his new knowledge until he could display it to Navy Board members in the most startling, impressive, and public way. In August 1663, less than five months after he first bought the book and ruler, Pepys made this triumphant diary entry:

Up and to my office a little, and then to Browns for my Measuring Rule, which is made, and is certainly the best and the most commodious for carrying in one's pocket and most useful that ever was made, and myself have the honour of being as it were the inventor of this form of it.<sup>104</sup>

This was at least the fourth rule Pepys had acquired since March.<sup>105</sup> The same day, after studying the rule 'till my head aked cruelly', he went to inspect Deptford shipyard. Here he encountered his rival on the Navy Board, Penn:

I fell to measuring of some plank that was serving into the yard; which the people took notice of and the measurer himself was amuzed [i.e. astonished] at, for I did it much more ready then he. And I believe Sir W. Penn would be glad I could have done less, or he more.<sup>106</sup>

This performance had the effect of alerting subordinates that incompetence would not go unnoticed and, happily, of getting one over on Penn. Matters did not end there. Pepys had established his professional expertise in matters relating to timber and now moved to take over the making of the navy's timber contracts. Prior to his slide-rule fixation, Pepys had referred to 'we' (meaning the Navy Board) making

<sup>102</sup> Pepys means that the ruler Deane showed him how to use was the same type as his own recently purchased ruler, but smaller.

<sup>103</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 169; vol. 4, pp. 104, 124, 189–90. <sup>104</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 266.

<sup>105</sup> The models are a sliding rule from Brown on 25 March 1663 (*Diary*, vol. 4, p. 85); another one on 15 April (vol. 4, p. 104); possibly a new one in early May, for there is mention of a ruler 'I bought the other day' on 5 May (vol. 4, p. 124); another ordered from Anthony Thomson on 18 July (vol. 4, p. 234); and a model from Brown on 7 August 1663 (vol. 4, p. 266). Pepys had also acquired a 'new sliding-Rule with silver plates' by 10 August 1664 (vol. 5, pp. 237–8).

<sup>106</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 266. This demonstration of mathematical skill before Penn at Deptford followed hard upon another display at Chatham dockyard before the navy commissioner William Coventry, an ally (vol. 4, pp. 259–60).

contracts; now he took the initiative in drawing up contracts and in defending those dealings.<sup>107</sup> The various members of the Navy Board each had their preferred merchants whose bids for timber they supported in return for hefty bribes. Pepys's preferred merchant was Sir William Warren, future recommender of the *Arcana Aulica*. At the same time as Pepys showed off his knowledge of timber measurement at the dockyards in August, he was taking the initiative in designing a contract for masts with Warren worth £3,000: to understand the level of prestige attached to this contract, the 2013 equivalent would be £11.2 million.<sup>108</sup> Having got this past the board with little trouble, he then successfully defended the terms of his contract against fierce criticism from Sir William Batten, who was indignant that his preferred bidder had lost out.<sup>109</sup>

It would be a severe understatement to say Brown's book was a good investment. To judge by Brown's usual prices, *The Description and Use of the Carpenters-Rule* cost Pepys one shilling and sixpence, but its contents aided him in taking a major role in awarding thousands of pounds worth of navy contracts, which dramatically raised his professional reputation, social importance, and financial worth. If we are looking for the most important book Pepys ever read in terms of identifiable effects on his life, Brown's manual has a better claim than any work of literature or history.

By the 1660s, the alliance of 'mechanic' arts and philosophy through the new science made it much more creditable to profess practical mechanic skills, and Pepys's intellectual curiosity, along with his dedication to the King's interest, meant that he was ready to master these skills and turn them to advantage. Early modern conduct writers from Castiglione onwards had encouraged gentlemen to employ *sprezzatura*, to make difficult accomplishments appear easy by disguising the labour that went into attaining them.<sup>110</sup> Contending with ambivalent attitudes to practical mathematics and with his own ambiguous status on the Navy Board, Pepys practised *sprezzatura*; he deliberately concealed the full extent of his hard-won mathematical knowledge and its source in a manual aimed at 'Mechanick men'. Clambering about in the navy yard measuring timber could have been viewed as foolish and incompetent meddling in subordinates' concerns but, rightly presented, such practical skill became the sign of a loyal servant of the Crown and (with the help of a ruler that Pepys had 'the honour of being as it were the inventor of') a genteel accomplishment. Indeed, excellent evidence of the long-term impact of Pepys's slide-rule triumph, and of the growing gentility of practical mathematics, came when a much older, much richer Pepys encountered highway robbers in Chelsea in 1693. The robbers stole from him 'a Silver Ruler, value 30s. a Gold

<sup>107</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 268; vol. 4, p. 303.

<sup>108</sup> £11.2 million using the 'economic status' value. This and other measures of value (including those for measuring the worth of £3,000 as a government project) are found on MeasuringWorth.com <[www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/](http://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/)> [accessed 5 Jan. 2015].

<sup>109</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 303–4, 421; The National Archives, London, SP 29/80, fols. 85–8 (Warren's tender for masts is dated 6 Aug. 1663—the day before Pepys decided to go and ostentatiously measure timber at Deptford); *Navy White Book*, pp. 9–11; Pepys to Sir George Carteret, 6 Nov. 1663, in *Further Correspondence of Samuel Pepys 1662–1679*, ed. J. R. Tanner (London: Bell, 1929), pp. 6–10.

<sup>110</sup> Baldassarre Castiglione, *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio*, trans. Thomas Hoby (London, 1561), fol. Eiiir. This translates *sprezzatura* as 'Recklessness'; modern translators prefer 'nonchalance'.

Pencil value 8*l.* Five Mathematical Instruments, value 3*l.* a Magnifying Glass, value 20*s.*'. Pepys had evidently continued to carry the tools of his trade about him, transformed into genteel signifiers of his learning and his wealth.<sup>111</sup> However, like the Royal Society's technicians, the small, cheap book that was the principal source of Pepys's success took up a more discreet place: it was preserved with other small works on the shelves of his library and listed amid his books on 'Arts and Sciences'.<sup>112</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

Pepys's use of manuals as resources for social advancement was tailored to his changing circumstances, but his activities do suggest broader conclusions about reading behaviour in the period. Pedagogues' advice on how to understand and appreciate texts was, at a basic level, consistent at different stages of education and across the century. These methods were also tried and tested by readers themselves and known to be useful across a range of different types of text. When analysing early modern sources, we can therefore be on the lookout for certain dispositions among readers—approaches to texts that they readily resorted to in order to draw sense and use from works. First was a tendency to look out for 'striking' or 'remarkable things' in a text that were useful and easily extractable. Educators threw their net wide when it came to defining what constituted 'striking' and useful material: a 'witty remark' was not going to have the same uses as a moral 'maxim', but what to select was ultimately the choice of the reader.<sup>113</sup> A second common behaviour was to retain these striking aspects of the text, perhaps by writing, but more likely through memorization. Memorizing was closely associated with reading, whether this meant a studious 'conning' of the words of the text or simply ensuring that one could recall the gist of the contents for possible future application. As we have seen in this chapter, people memorized different types of texts for future use: Pepys 'conned' Brown's technical manual; he and Sir Philip Warwick could both quote Epictetus' maxims; and Pepys, Petty, and a number of coffee-house customers could cite Osborne's advice when the occasion called for it. Third, sustained formal education encouraged readers to evaluate what Pepys termed 'sense and language', that is to make a distinction between the 'basic' argument or narrative and its rhetorical form: one might be compelling and praiseworthy, the other not. These analytical skills were taught in depth at grammar school and university, but the separate appreciation of sense and language was often assumed or explicitly urged in the prefaces and main texts of works. Lastly, a reader should expect to be able to exercise these habits across topics and genres. Educators taught that the

<sup>111</sup> Trial of Thomas Hoyle and Samuel Gibbons (t16931206–24), 6 Dec. 1693, *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* <<http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t16931206-24&div=t16931206-24>> [accessed 13 June 2013]. The 'Silver Ruler' mentioned here may be the 'sliding-Rule with silver plates' that Pepys commissioned in 1664 (*Diary*, vol. 5, p. 237).

<sup>112</sup> 'Appendix Classica', p. 3.

<sup>113</sup> Quotations are from Erasmus, *De copia*, p. 638 and [Holdsworth], *Directions*, p. 651.

same techniques could be applied to advice literature, orations, poetry, and drama, and that their uses were not limited to typical school texts. Indeed, because boundaries between categories were often fluid, it made sense to have established ways of reading that could be employed to turn most kinds of work to good use. All of these reading techniques, we should note, could have been acquired at a basic level without prolonged exposure to formal education—once they became recognized and even esteemed ways of behaving, emulation would have assisted their diffusion.

The content of school and university texts had significant roles in shaping personal and collective identities among Pepys and his associates. For Pepys, and apparently for colleagues such as Sir William Coventry, knowledge of Stoic philosophers helped to relieve the anxieties caused by a lack of control over one's personal life, career, and reputation. Familiarity with these philosophers' works also allowed members of the navy administration to build friendships and to articulate a sense of shared values as servants of the Crown. Often, however, it was the methods of reading and textual analysis learned at school and university that were of use in day-to-day social encounters, rather than the texts themselves. By the 1660s, these methods were evidently shaping debate in London's coffee-houses. Judging the social nuances involved when displaying one's reading was an ongoing, complex, and sometimes bruising experience. For example, quoting the popular *Hudibras* was estimable in coffee-house debate, but Edward Seymour damaged his standing by introducing it into a discussion of navy business. Similarly, it appears to have been perfectly acceptable for a gentleman to reveal in public that he had felt the need to study Osborne's advice book (for there were multiple participants in the debate with Petty); yet when it came to a mathematical instruction manual rather more caution was in evidence. Pepys's well-orchestrated display of timber-measuring was successful because, unlike Seymour, he was careful about how and when he revealed his knowledge of texts. Pepys was aided in his scheme to gain both power and social esteem by the high profile in the 1660s of the new science: this ensured that technical skills, rightly presented, were recognized as markers of genteel ingenuity.

One of the problems with judging the relationship between reading and social advancement is that (to do my own bit of maxim-citing) 'correlation is not causation'. Just because Pepys or any other reader chose to act in a certain way does not mean this happened as a direct result of their reading. It is possible, indeed likely, that Restoration readers of conduct literature were most interested in advice that was in line with their existing behaviour or convictions, in much the same way that modern newspaper readers tend to choose papers that reinforce their established political beliefs.<sup>114</sup> That said, when Pepys reports that he admires a writer's advice, it seems reasonable to look for evidence that he put that advice to use. If one reads the diary against Pepys's choice of conduct manuals and philosophy, it is difficult to escape the sense that his interest in these texts is closely related to the

<sup>114</sup> The basic theories of selective exposure and selective perception are outlined in Joseph T. Klapper, *The Effects of Mass Communication* (New York: The Free Press, 1960), pp. 19–23.

evolving functions of his journal. Journal keeping seems to have provided Pepys with a means of coping with the kinds of worries that led to him quoting Epictetus to himself: 'Of things, some are in our power, others are not.' He could not have complete control over his health, his reputation, and his office, but these could all be carefully monitored and the observations ordered. Keeping up his journal and other records allowed Pepys to achieve the best possible control—or sense of control—over those things that were in his power and offered the potential to expand the remit of that power. The connections between the nature of the material in the journal and the advice given in Pepys's favourite contemporary manuals are even more apparent. Osborne, Bacon, and the *Arcana Aulica* urged readers to self-scrutiny, to strategic action, and to calculated evaluation of others' conduct. Such statements indirectly endorsed Pepys's journal keeping and they may well have encouraged him to maintain the project. These writers also warned readers to expect reversals and betrayal.<sup>115</sup> The diary often seems to anticipate such reversals with extensive documentation of associates' wrongdoing, inaction, or seditious words, together with justification of its author's decisions. Several times in his career Pepys found himself defending his actions to parliamentary bodies or at risk of jail for alleged misdeeds, so extensive record-keeping was always a sensible precaution.<sup>116</sup> By collecting information on himself and others in his journal and papers, he had fixed, defined, and reflected upon these events; they were preserved for future scrutiny and possible future use in adverse times—whether that use was as a source of material to discredit opponents or the comfort of recalling accomplishments in retirement. Among all of Pepys's reading it is conduct literature that provides the strongest sense, and some of the strongest evidence, that Pepys's use of books influenced his writing—that his reading has shaped on a fundamental level what we read when we turn the pages of his diary.

<sup>115</sup> For example, Bacon, 'Faber fortunae' in *Sermones fideles*, pp. 324–5, 348–50; [Osborne], *Advice to a Son*, pp. 13, 15. Compare William Matthews's sense that Pepys's diary owes a debt to Baconian science: *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. cviii–cix.

<sup>116</sup> Compare Pepys's use of the journal to respond to the Committee of Accounts, 1667–70, remarked on by Latham at *Diary*, vol. 1, p. lxix.

### 3

## Pepys and News Networks in Restoration London

Reading and newsgathering were interrelated activities in the seventeenth century, for the acquisition of books and the sourcing of news were linked by location, by shared networks, and by common motives. In Chapter 2, we saw how Pepys sought to improve his social position through his reading; his rapid social ascent from an impoverished government clerk to an extremely wealthy naval official was also facilitated by his skilful use of news. Being a skilled newsgatherer involved accurately interpreting printed, scribal, and oral sources. Indeed, for much of this chapter reading will take second place to other means of obtaining information, since textual sources were often found wanting in comparison with oral reports. An efficient newsgatherer knew how best to acquire information from the metropolis's various news exchanges, ranging from grand venues such as the Royal Exchange to neighbourhood alehouses. Pepys's records document his changing methods of acquiring information, showing how news passed between different groups within the capital. In describing his newsgathering and the networks that facilitated it, I am building on Ian Archer's analysis of social relationships within the diary.<sup>1</sup> I am particularly interested in the ways Restoration newsgathering relates to the social network theories developed by sociologists in order to analyse efficient information flow. Talk about 'networks' in the context of Restoration London can seem anachronistic, so it is worth asking how Pepys and his contemporaries thought about the mechanisms for acquiring and assessing news. Here the conduct books discussed in Chapter 2 can provide evidence about seventeenth-century conceptions of the relationship between social connections and intelligence gathering. The same qualities that made Pepys a valuable source for his superiors in their efforts to gauge public opinion make him today a key source for understanding the transmission of information in Restoration London.

<sup>1</sup> Ian W. Archer, 'Social Networks in Restoration London: The Evidence from Samuel Pepys's Diary', in *Communities in Early Modern London: Networks, Place, Rhetoric*, ed. Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 76–94. Additional work on Pepys's patterns of sociability in the 1660s can be found in Karl E. Westhauser, 'Friendship and Family in Early Modern England: The Sociability of Adam Eyre and Samuel Pepys', *Journal of Social History*, 27 (1994), 517–36, doi: 10.1353/jsh/27.3.517, and Pascal Brioiist, 'Les Cercles intellectuels à Londres de 1580–1680' (unpublished doctoral thesis, L'Institut universitaire européen, Florence, 1993), pp. 398–415.

## RESTORATION NEWS MEDIA

In the early modern period it was a gentleman's responsibility to be well informed about current affairs. This meant comparing the news available through oral communication, manuscript, and print in order to develop the most accurate and comprehensive picture possible of events.<sup>2</sup> The experience of the Civil Wars impressed similar responsibilities on those further down the social scale as a means of protecting one's personal safety and defending the nation from threats.<sup>3</sup> Early in his diary, Pepys registered his sense of obligation to keep apprised of the latest news. In August 1660, a particularly hectic period at work led him to chide himself for remissness: 'Never since I was a man in the world was I ever so great a stranger to public affairs as now I am, having not read a news-book or anything like it, or enquired after any news, or what the Parliament doth or in any wise how things go.'<sup>4</sup> A 'man in the world' was supposed to be informed about 'public affairs'. One consequence of failing to keep up to date with news was that relationships would be damaged, for to 'enquire after news' required having something to tell in return. Decades before, in the 1620s, a Cambridge don Joseph Mead noted this expectation of reciprocity: when asked by a couple of men if he had heard any foreign news, he found that 'because I had not they would not tell anything'.<sup>5</sup> Almost forty years later, when office duties and home renovations had occupied his time, Pepys encountered the same problem: 'I am now become the most negligent man in the world as to matter of newes. Insomuch, that nowadays I neither can tell any nor aske any of others,' he wrote in June 1661.<sup>6</sup> He may not have known exactly *what* to ask, but there is also the implication here that, having nothing to give his fellow Londoners, he no longer had any right to ask. Pepys was not usually so 'negligent', since his role as a newsgatherer was a part of his employment, first as man of business to Edward Mountagu and later as Clerk of the Acts. His desire to maintain his post and improve the efficiency of the navy also encouraged his interests in parliamentary politics and the manoeuvrings at court. As a result, he devoted a prodigious amount of time to the pursuit of news, cultivating his sources, and establishing the credibility of reports.

## Printed News

When Pepys began his diary in the tumultuous month of January 1660, events had given Londoners a decisive role in determining the nation's future. Having

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, David Randall, 'Joseph Mead, Novellante: News, Sociability and Credibility in Early Stuart England', *Journal of British Studies*, 45 (2006), 293–312, doi: <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/499789>>; Ian Atherton, 'The Itch Grown a Disease: Manuscript Transmission of News in the Seventeenth Century', in *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Joad Raymond (London and Portland, OR: Cass, 1999), pp. 39–65 (p. 45).

<sup>3</sup> Loveman, *Reading Fictions, 1660–1740: Deception in English Literary and Political Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 27–8.

<sup>4</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 219; compare vol. 1, p. 201.

<sup>5</sup> BL, MS Harley 389, fol. 145r, quoted in Randall, 'Joseph Mead', p. 299.

<sup>6</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 124.



successfully challenged the authority of the army leaders who were running the country, the Common Council of London (the City's governing body) now contested the authority of the Rump Parliament and called for free elections. Street protesters supported their cause. It was unclear whether free elections would lead to the restoration of the monarchy or to another form of government, and much depended on the decisions of General Monck, whose forces were camped near the capital. Londoners' security and the country's fate were at stake, and the demand for news was correspondingly intense.<sup>7</sup> In the first months of 1660, Londoners had over ten news serials to choose from, including Marchamont Nedham's *Mercurius Politicus* (one of the newsbooks formerly sanctioned by Oliver Cromwell) and Henry Muddiman's *Parliamentary Intelligencer* (which favoured General Monck).<sup>8</sup> A multiplicity of news serials in print was not, however, to be a feature of Restoration culture. Once established, Charles's government moved quickly to control the press: June 1660 saw a ban on printing the 'Votes and Proceedings' of the House of Commons and in the following month those news serials not under government control were suppressed by order of the Privy Council.<sup>9</sup> After August 1660 the only printed newsbooks available in English were *The Parliamentary Intelligencer* (soon to be renamed *The Kingdomes Intelligencer*) and *Mercurius Publicus*, both compiled under the auspices of the Secretaries of State. They were written by Henry Muddiman and supervised by the Under-Secretary of State Joseph Williamson. Further controls came in 1662, when the Printing Act imposed prepublication censorship and restricted the number of presses: all printed publications concerning news were now to be strictly monitored. In August 1663, Roger L'Estrange took over as the government's news-writer, producing *The Intelligencer* and *The Newes* in place of the earlier government-approved titles. During the plague in November 1665, Williamson briefly re-employed Muddiman to work on the new *Oxford Gazette*. The paper, if not Muddiman's employment on it, was enduring and from September 1666 the renamed *London Gazette* was the sole English newsbook for over a decade.<sup>10</sup>

Pepys was a regular reader of newsbooks during the 1660s and beyond. He often purchased them at Westminster Hall, keeping a tab with the stationer Ann Mitchell.<sup>11</sup> When he refers to newsbooks in his diary, it is often on the day of

<sup>7</sup> For an account of news hunger outside the capital at this time, see Jason Peacey, 'Sir Thomas Cotton's Consumption of News in 1650s England', *The Library*, 7th ser., 7 (2006), 3–24, doi: 10.1093/library/7.1.3.

<sup>8</sup> *British Newspapers and Periodicals 1641–1700*, compiled by Carolyn Nelson and Matthew Seccombe (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1987), pp. 646–7; James Sutherland, *The Restoration Newspaper and its Development* (Cambridge: CUP, 1986), pp. 4–6.

<sup>9</sup> 'House of Commons Journal Volume 8: 25 June 1660', in *Journal of the House of Commons*, vol. 8: 1660–1667 (1802), p. 74, *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=26224>> [accessed 19 Feb. 2010]; Sutherland, *Restoration Newspaper*, p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Peter Fraser, *The Intelligence of the Secretaries of State and their Monopoly of Licensed News, 1660–1688* (Cambridge: CUP, 1956), pp. 35–6; J. G. Muddiman, *The King's Journalist 1659–1689: Studies in the Reign of Charles II* (London: Lane, 1923), pp. 172–9; Sutherland, *Restoration Newspaper*, pp. 11–12; *British Newspapers*, compiled by Nelson and Seccombe, pp. 650–1.

<sup>11</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 297; vol. 6, p. 162; vol. 8, p. 98. Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.181, fol. 31 (list of debts from c.1678–80).

publication or the day after, which indicates he was quick to obtain them.<sup>12</sup> He also assessed the government newsbooks carefully: L'Estrange, he complained, made 'but a simple beginning' with his first issue of *The Intelligencer*. This was a fair comment given L'Estrange's apparently self-contradictory stance. In his first issue, L'Estrange attacked the whole concept of a 'Publick Mercury', commenting on the risks involved in making 'the *Multitude* too familiar with the *Actions*, and *Counsels* of their *Superiours*'. Yet he argued that because the people (his readers) were not 'in their right *Wits*', his paper was a necessary corrective.<sup>13</sup> In contrast, Pepys was favourably impressed by the first issue of *The Oxford Gazette* that he saw, describing it as 'very pretty, full of news, and no folly in it'.<sup>14</sup> 'Pretty' here may have meant 'ingenious', but Pepys, who had a keen eye for the aesthetic attributes of publications, was perhaps impressed by the neatness of the new half-folio format and the amount of news that could be packed into the two columns on each side.<sup>15</sup> When Pepys was out of London, he still sought to keep up with the printed news. Staying at his family's home in Brampton during the Exclusion Crisis in 1680, he asked Will Hewer to send him the 'Gazettes' on a weekly basis. Otherwise, he explained, the alternative was to engage in communal news reading in a tavern:

It would not be an unusefull Entertainment to me [to have the newsbooks sent]; for I am not desirous of ye Acquaintance which cannot be avoyded should I resort to that course of reading them, which ye Gentlemen of ye Countrey I understand do ordinarily take for it of meeting at some of ye Drinkeing=Houses upon Market=days at Huntingdon.<sup>16</sup>

Outside London getting access to the newsbooks in a timely way could entail unwanted socializing—although, having been recently arrested for treason, at this point Pepys had particular reason to want to avoid unfamiliar company. Later in life, his interest in the newsbooks as historical records led to extensive collections in his library: he had long runs of *Mercurius Publicus*, *The Intelligencer*, and *The Newes*, along with an almost complete run of *The London Gazette* from 1665 to 1703. As we have already noted, we need to be careful about assuming collecting is a record of reading. In the case of the newsbooks, Pepys's collection of pre-*Gazette* titles was purchased in the 1690s, so is no indication of what he was actually reading in the early 1660s.<sup>17</sup>

There is good evidence that throughout his life Pepys was familiar with the contents of newsbooks and indeed felt negligent when he did not consult them, but in the diary his references to reading this material are few. As we discussed in Chapter 1, this was partly because newsbook reading was so habitual as to be rarely worth explicit mention; yet it also has to do with the nature of the news available

<sup>12</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 35–6; vol. 8, pp. 191, 233–4.

<sup>13</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 297; *The Intelligencer*, no. 1, 31 Aug. 1663, 2.

<sup>14</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 305.

<sup>15</sup> *The Oxford Gazette*, [not numbered] 16–20 Nov. 1665. This issue is noticeably more neatly printed than the succeeding ones.

<sup>16</sup> Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.194, fol. 225, Pepys to Will Hewer, 7 Nov. 1680.

<sup>17</sup> PL 1744–7 and PL 2078–90. *Naval Minutes*, p. 336.

from these sources.<sup>18</sup> The Secretaries of State were concerned to limit domestic reporting in print and the amount of home news in their papers diminished over the decade. By the late 1660s, English news in *The London Gazette* was generally confined to reports of royal proclamations, progresses, and shipping movements. Readers were not happy and there was ‘a general complaint of the Gazettes wanting domestic intelligence’.<sup>19</sup> Pepys’s remarks on newsbooks also show a high degree of scepticism about domestic reporting—he knew only too well that both political and financial interests had a sharp impact on the news in print. In the first days of the diary, he encountered the news-writer Henry Muddiman in a tavern. Muddiman cheerfully told the assembled company that ‘though he writes new[s]-books for the Parliament, yet he did declare that he did it only to get money’. He then proceeded to ‘talk very basely’ about many of the MPs.<sup>20</sup> Pepys did not need this encouragement to recognize the partiality of the newsbooks, but it can only have encouraged his scepticism. In February 1662 Lord Buckhurst and a group of gentlemen were arrested for killing a tanner. Details of the information that they had given before a magistrate were passed to *The Kingdomes Intelligencer*, presumably with their consent and encouragement. ‘They make themselves a very good tale’, Pepys commented dryly. It was indeed an excellent story, which painted Buckhurst and his friends as the heroes of the hour who had pursued a gang of marauding highwaymen. To make things plain, the dead man had thoughtfully confessed his theft to them before he died. ‘I doubt [i.e. fear] things will be proved otherwise as they say’ was Pepys’s conclusion, and indeed Buckhurst had to request a pardon from the King after being charged with murder.<sup>21</sup> The next year Pepys again had occasion to question the credibility of reporting in the government’s newsbooks. On 6 April 1663 *The Kingdomes Intelligencer* reported from Edinburgh that Scotland was now ‘in all peace and quietness’ with only some minor trouble from recalcitrant preachers in Galloway who refused to obey the bishop there. Information from the MP Sir Thomas Crew convinced Pepys otherwise:

Scotland: it seems, for all the news-book tells us every week that they are all so quiet and everything in the Church settled, the old women had like to have killed the other day the Bishop of Galloway, and not half the churches of the whole kingdom conforms [*sic*].<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> See Ch. 1, ‘Pepys’s Preferred Reading’, p. 44.

<sup>19</sup> James Hickes to Joseph Williamson, 27 Dec. 1667, in *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1667–1668*, ed. Mary Ann Everett Green (London: HMSO, 1893), p. 102; Muddiman, *King’s Journalist*, pp. 194–5.

<sup>20</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 12. Muddiman was writing for General Monck at this time, rather than for the Rump.

<sup>21</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 35–6. *The Kingdomes Intelligencer*, no. 8, 17–24 Feb. 1662, 116–18. Harold Love, ‘Sackville, Charles, Sixth Earl of Dorset and First Earl of Middlesex (1643–1706)’, in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24442>> [accessed 12 Feb. 2010].

<sup>22</sup> *The Kingdomes Intelligencer*, no. 14, 30 Mar.–6 Apr. 1663, 209; *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 138. Compare Pepys’s concerns about *The London Gazette* playing down tumult in Scotland in November 1666 (vol. 7, p. 387).

Here, an authoritative oral source was held to trump the newsbook's claims: Sir Thomas Crew, though a Presbyterian and not neutral in such matters, was less obviously compromised than the government's reports.

Although experienced readers expected the newsbooks to be limited and sometimes unreliable in covering domestic politics, they were regarded as credible sources of new appointments and international news. Newsbooks issued in conjunction with the Secretaries of State benefited from access to diplomatic correspondence and offered a relatively high standard of foreign reporting.<sup>23</sup> International news, however, often first arrived at the Royal Exchange, where merchants congregated. If the newsbook, with its access to the government's diplomatic sources, also reported the event, then this was taken as definitive confirmation. This was the scenario in April 1667, when Pepys headed 'to the Change, where for certain I hear, and the newsbook declares, a peace between France and Portugal'. The next month witnessed a similar process: 'This noon I was on the Change, where I to my astonishment hear, and it is in the gazette, that Sir Jo. Duncum is sworn yesterday a privy-councillor.'<sup>24</sup> Readers therefore turned to the newsbooks for confirmation or denial of oral reports, but Pepys also used newsbooks to identify the government's official line on an issue, such as the decision to play down the extent of dissent in Scotland in 1663. In later years Pepys would read official reports of the Second Dutch War keenly to determine which commanders and politicians had the influence to be fully (or undeservedly) credited in print. In the run-up to the war, in December 1664, Pepys was approached by L'Estrange, 'who hath endeavoured several times to speak with me—it is to get now and then some news of me, which I shall as I see cause give him'.<sup>25</sup> Pepys's response shows that he recognized that 'giving' L'Estrange news might be beneficial and, as we will see, he would indeed become party to the strategic dissemination of news in print.

### Manuscript News

For those people who were dissatisfied with the accuracy or comprehensiveness of printed news, various types of manuscript communication offered complementary sources. Although printing was strictly monitored from 1662, restrictions on the content of manuscript news were more lax. There was no prepublication censorship for news-writers to contend with and they had more scope for domestic reporting. The government did, however, exert control over the regular manuscript news services. Alongside publication of newsbooks, the offices of Secretaries of State provided newsletters up to three times a week for a select group of correspondents. Many of these contacts were officials based in towns and ports around the country who received the newsletter in return for sending in their own reports to the editor. The subscribers also included members of the gentry who were prepared to pay up to five pounds per year for a regular and credible supply of domestic news. Control of the manuscript news service became hotly contested among the Secretaries'

<sup>23</sup> Fraser, *Intelligence of the Secretaries of State*, pp. 53–5.

<sup>24</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, pp. 191, 233–4. <sup>25</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 348.

employees. By the late 1660s, Henry Muddiman's newsletter service—run with the agreement of one of the Secretaries but with its own sources for domestic news—was recognized as the most successful, with competition from a rival service run by Joseph Williamson's clerks. Newsletters produced under the auspices of the Secretaries of State could avoid postage costs, which made it very difficult for rival services to compete.<sup>26</sup>

With a number of manuscript news services offering regular, credible, and often detailed domestic reports, it is perhaps surprising that there is no record of Pepys's subscribing to them. I can find no explicit mention of these services in his diary or correspondence for the 1660s, nor does he appear in the extant lists of subscribers.<sup>27</sup> The most plausible explanation is that for Pepys and other London officials such a service was largely redundant. Based in London and with contacts at Whitehall, Pepys was already receiving much of the content that made up the Secretaries' newsletters, and in more lurid detail than these services could provide. Moreover, many of the Secretaries of State's correspondents were based in ports and dockyards: Pepys was already in contact with these men or others like them through his work. As Clerk of the Acts, he sifted correspondence arriving from captains, merchants, and the navy's representatives in British and foreign ports. He wrote wryly to Coventry about his habitual handling of all the Navy Board's correspondence, 'Lett letters be directed to the Board or my self for Twenty to one to mee they will Come at last.'<sup>28</sup> Indeed, when members of the Board were away from London, he turned news-writer himself, briefing them on national and international events.<sup>29</sup>

The more common and less expensive alternatives to the regular manuscript news services were newsletters composed by kin, friends, or clients. Of this practice Pepys had considerable experience. While Pepys was in London during the late 1650s, his patron Mountagu (the future Earl of Sandwich) retreated to Cambridgeshire to wait out events. As Mountagu's man of business, one of Pepys's responsibilities was to keep him apprised of the welfare of his London household and of recent developments in the capital. With tensions in London mounting, Pepys provided eyewitness reports of events.<sup>30</sup> Newsletters to Mountagu were a service Pepys continued into the diary period, making particular enquiries to check that he had the latest news to pass on. For example, on the evening of 28 January 1660 he went 'to Wills for a little news; then came home again and wrote to my Lord'.<sup>31</sup> 'Will's' was an alehouse, so this was a business and pleasure trip combined. With his

<sup>26</sup> Sutherland, *Restoration Newspaper*, p. 7; Muddiman, *King's Journalist*, pp. 181–90, 200–2; Fraser, *Intelligence of the Secretaries of State*, pp. 28–34.

<sup>27</sup> Fraser's *Intelligence of the Secretaries of State* provides a list of Williamson's domestic correspondents in 1667–9, pp. 140–4. Muddiman's *King's Journalist* provides a partial list of Henry Muddiman's correspondents for late 1665, pp. 258–64.

<sup>28</sup> National Maritime Museum, LBK/8, Letterbook of Samuel Pepys, Pepys to Coventry, Apr. 1665, p. 189. On 20 May 1665 Pepys advised Capt. John Taylor, navy commissioner at Harwich, on letter procedure and etiquette. 'Matters clear and relating only to the Board' could be addressed directly to them, while 'things doubtful, or of particular concernment' should be directed to him personally for inspection (and, presumably, filtering). *Shorthand Letters of Samuel Pepys*, transcribed and ed. Edwin Chappell (Cambridge: CUP, 1933), p. 43.

<sup>29</sup> For example, *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 390.

<sup>30</sup> See the letters from Pepys to Edward Mountagu in winter 1659–60, in Howarth, pp. 13–19.

<sup>31</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 32.

letters, Pepys would also send the latest pamphlets.<sup>32</sup> This was a common service performed by clients for patrons—in the 1680s Will Hewer would similarly send new pamphlets to Pepys when he was staying in the country, allowing print and manuscript to supplement each other.<sup>33</sup>

Such letters signified far more than the news contained in them, for a correspondence was an acknowledgement of a client's obligations to a patron. When Lord Sandwich left on embassy to Spain in early 1666 he made a list in his journal of 'Correspondencies whereunto I am to have regard' and these included 'Mr Pepys'.<sup>34</sup> For nineteen months Pepys, however, failed to write—partly because of the demands of his work, but chiefly because he no longer felt a pressing need for Sandwich's support. As Sandwich's return grew closer Pepys grew more anxious about his neglect and took steps to repair it. These steps included loaning Sandwich five hundred pounds, which Pepys described in his diary as reparation for the letters he had failed to send: 'I think it becomes my duty to my Lord to do something extraordinary in this, and the rather because I have been remiss in writing to him during this voyage—more then ever I did in my life, and more indeed then was fit for me.'<sup>35</sup> Instead of letters, he sent a bill of credit (to be cashed by a local naval official) as a sign of his continuing allegiance. The provision of letters of news was part of an economy of obligation and information that was sufficiently intermeshed with financial relations for actual bills of credit to substitute for letters.

### Oral News

In the seventeenth century manuscript and print were significant news sources, but most news spread by word of mouth.<sup>36</sup> Information that was disseminated orally travelled more quickly, was frequently more detailed, and often more scandalous than that obtained through other media. A couple of points should be stressed about the oral news recorded in Pepys's diary. First, Pepys was far better at recording what others said to him than what he said to them. To continue to receive news, he needed to tell something in return but he rarely gave details of his side of the exchange. Perhaps caution discouraged him from detailing his contributions, but most likely the new information received was more exciting (and so more worthy of record) than old news passed on.<sup>37</sup> Secondly, Pepys's diary

<sup>32</sup> Pepys to Mountagu, 20 Oct. 1659, in Howarth, p. 12. Pepys also sent prints to his kinswoman Nan Pepys (*Diary*, vol. 1, p. 56).

<sup>33</sup> For example, Will Hewer to Samuel Pepys, 28 Oct., 15 Nov., and 16 Nov. 1680, in Howarth, pp. 102, 108, 109; Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.194, fol. 218v, Pepys to Hewer, 28 Oct. 1680.

<sup>34</sup> Dorset, Mapperton House, Journals of the First Earl of Sandwich, vol. 2, p. 4.

<sup>35</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 321. Pepys first wrote to Sandwich in October 1667, fibbing impressively about letters gone astray. See Pepys to Sandwich, 7 Oct. 1667, in Howarth, pp. 29–30; compare *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 429.

<sup>36</sup> On the predominance of oral over written sources, see Atherton, 'Itch Grown a Disease', p. 39; Randall, 'Joseph Mead', pp. 299–300; and Richard Cust, 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, 112 (1986), 60–90, doi: 10.1093/past/112.1.60 (pp. 65–6).

<sup>37</sup> Randy Robertson argues for Pepys's lack of detail on his own contributions as a self-defensive measure. 'Censors of the Mind: Samuel Pepys and the Restoration Licensers', *Dalhousie Review*, 85 (2005), 181–94 (pp. 188–90).

specializes in particular types of information that he found worthy of note. While his *Navy White Book* recorded information related to his profession, and his correspondence logged details that were safe for other eyes, his diary was the chief repository for rumour, gossip, and sedition.

Quite how this information was classified by its recorder bears some consideration. In the seventeenth century, as now, to designate a piece of information as 'news' was a positive characterization, implying that it was fresh, relevant, and potentially interesting to the informant and/or the recipient. The fact that 'news' was predominantly oral was signalled in Pepys's common references to it as 'talk', 'discourse', or 'good discourse': the conversations so characterized included a lady's miscarriage while dancing at a ball and 'the Amours and the mad doings' at court.<sup>38</sup> Despite the personal and scandalous content, this was not called 'gossip'—for the noun did not come to mean idle or unrestrained talk until the early nineteenth century.<sup>39</sup> For Pepys, 'gossip' was a term predominantly applied to women, including women who enjoyed scurrilous anecdotes. For example, Elizabeth Turner, Pepys's neighbour and the wife of one of his colleagues, told not news but 'A great deal of tittle-tattle discourse to little purpose; I finding her (though in other things a very discreet woman) as very a gossip, speaking of her neighbours, as anybody'. Pepys affected to be uninterested, but this did not prevent him listening to, and sometimes recording the details of, these discussions at great length. Mrs Turner's sources among local servants and families had told her, for example, about the sordid past of Sir William Penn and Pepys stored this information for future use.<sup>40</sup>

In contrast, Pepys's main informants about court news and scandal were men. They included Ned Pickering, John Creed, and Robert Ferrer (all attached to Sandwich's household); Sir Thomas Crew (an MP and relative of Sandwich); Sir Hugh Cholmley (First Gentleman-Usher to the Queen and a member of the Tangier Committee on which Pepys sat); Sir Thomas Povey (another member of the Tangier Committee); and James Pearse (a royal surgeon). Rather than being explicitly recognized as discussions of exciting sexual antics and outrageous behaviour, exchanges of court scandal were more often described with variants of the solemn formula talking 'of the times' or 'of the ill posture of things at this time'.<sup>41</sup> If Pepys's notes accurately reflect discussions, these conversations generally followed a pattern intended to give the stories a framework of moral and political application: beginning with lamentation of the state of the government, conversation would quickly descend into shocking anecdotes to illustrate the point. Pepys's account of

<sup>38</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 37; vol. 7, pp. 99–100, 399.

<sup>39</sup> 'gossip, n.', in *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, Oxford University Press <www.oed.com> [accessed 19 Mar. 2013].

<sup>40</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, pp. 120–1; vol. 8, pp. 225–9. The gendering of gossip is noted in Kimberly Kay Baldus, 'Scandal's Reign': Gossip and Authorship in Eighteenth-Century England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Northwestern University, IL, 1997), p. 79 and Atherton, 'Itch Grown a Disease', p. 49.

<sup>41</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 377; vol. 9, p. 338. Also known as 'bemoaning the posture of things at present' (vol. 5, p. 56) and 'talking of matters and passages of state' (vol. 7, p. 323).

a discussion with John Evelyn at a booksellers in 1667 provides a condensed example: 'that we must be ruined—our case being past relief, the Kingdom so much in debt, and the King minding nothing but his lust, going two days a week to see my Lady Castlemaine at Sir D. Harvy's'.<sup>42</sup> In these conversations the political usefulness of the information often competed with, and came a poor second to, the entertainment value—both aspects could endear the teller to the recipient. For example, the first piece of 'news' (so-called) that Pepys recorded from a discussion with James Pearse concerned 'the late frolic and Debauchery of Sir Ch. Sidly and [Lord] Buckhurst, running up and down all the night with their arses bare through the streets'. Having obtained the Sedley story from Pearse at Whitehall, Pepys told it to Lord Sandwich a few days later.<sup>43</sup> While Pepys recounted this tale ostensibly as an example of the King's willingness to countenance disorder among his favourites, it is telling that his first choice of a word to describe the episode was not the morally loaded 'Debauchery', but 'frolic'—that is, an entertaining adventure.

Pepys's access to court news from a range of oral sources meant he was privy to far more detailed information than those who relied chiefly on manuscript newsletters or newsbooks. To illustrate the differing reports available in each medium, we can take the news of Queen Catherine's serious illness in October 1663. This was a period when concerns about the Queen's ability to produce an heir were growing. The government's printed newsbooks (at this time *The Intelligencer* and *The Newes*) simply offered a line or two on the Queen's condition, with the most detailed reports stating that, after repeated fits, she had been let blood and given cordials.<sup>44</sup> The Secretaries of State's newsletters also kept reference to the Queen's illness brief, but did more to indicate the gravity of her condition and the King's concern for her. On 27 October, for example, the newsletter reported that the Queen's fever had 'so far prevailed upon her as upon Wednesday [the 21<sup>st</sup>] to disturbe her discourse' and that the King had sat by her bed that night.<sup>45</sup> In contrast, Pepys was receiving copious and up-to-date information from several sources concerning both the Queen's illness and the King's response. On 20 October 1663, Sandwich's housekeeper, Sarah, informed Pepys that the King had wept before the Queen, but added that 'for all that, that he hath not missed one night since she was sick, of supping with my Lady Castlemayne'. Sandwich's Whitehall lodgings were close to those of Castlemaine and Sarah's report was to be believed, wrote Pepys, 'for she says that her husband [a cook for Castlemaine] hath dressed suppers every night'.<sup>46</sup> While official written and printed sources were implying that the Queen's illness had strengthened the royal couple's relationship, Pepys's informants noted that this did not mean that the King's mistress was losing

<sup>42</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 377.

<sup>43</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 335, 338–9.

<sup>44</sup> The newsbooks' first and most detailed report of the Queen's illness and treatment is in *The Newes*, no. 7, 15 Oct. 1663, 56. Updates followed until early November.

<sup>45</sup> Bodl., MS Carte 222, fol. 39v, newsletter addressed to Sir George Lane at Dublin Castle written from Whitehall, 27 Oct. 1663.

<sup>46</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 342.



influence. Six days later, the royal surgeon James Pearse told Pepys even more about the Queen's condition:

That this morning she talked mightily that she was brought to bed [of a child], and that she wondered that she should be delivered without pain and without spueing or being sick, and that she was troubled that her boy was but an ugly boy. But the King being by, said, 'No, it is a very pretty boy;' 'Nay,' says she, 'if it be like you, it is a fine boy endeed, and would be very well pleased with it.'

This was royal conversation at its most intimate, poignant, and revealing. Pepys seems very rarely to have felt that he was hearing information that he had no right to hear or information that was too detailed, but Pearse's report proved one of the few exceptions: 'methinks it was not handsome for the weaknesses of princes to be talked of thus', he noted.<sup>47</sup> His unease on this occasion did not, however, prevent his recording the details: it remained valuable information to be treasured up.

The news Pepys recorded in his diary could hold value for him in several ways. It might be valued simply because it concerned a loved one. It might, as with news on shipping and the cost of goods, be prized because it helped him to perform well in his office. Among the most useful type of news was information that helped him to ingratiate himself with his superiors or to recognize new threats within the navy hierarchy and the court.<sup>48</sup> Information on current events sometimes had an almost tangible monetary value, as when a fresh report enabled him to act quickly to avoid unnecessary expense during the Queen's illness: 'hearing that the Queene grows worse again, I sent to stop the making of my velvett cloak, till I see whether she lives or dies'.<sup>49</sup> The rationale here was that if he had to go into mourning clothes, there would be no point spending money on the new cloak. Alternatively, as with the anecdote about Sedley's 'frolic', a story gained worth from being entertaining. The value of an account might lie more in the act of exchanging it than in any immediate profit to be had from the information—regular exchange of news fomented alliances, even if much of the news exchanged was of limited relevance to the parties involved.

## THE TOPOGRAPHY OF NEWS

Finding out the news in London was not just a matter of knowing what to read or who to talk to but of knowing where to go. Pepys's newsgathering went on in a variety of locations, including through conversations and reading in his own home, in the homes of associates, and through information coming into the Navy Office. However, much of his newsgathering took place in venues across the metropolis that were open to larger groups of Londoners: in the City of London itself lay the Royal Exchange, while to the west in Westminster were Whitehall Palace and Westminster Hall. Together with drinking houses and coffee-houses these were

<sup>47</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 348–9.

<sup>49</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 344.

<sup>48</sup> For example, *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 530.

recognized loci for particular types of news exchange. Some of these places remained important centres for Pepys and fellow Londoners throughout the 1660s; others took on greater or lesser importance according to political developments.

### Drinking Houses

The role of London's drinking houses in news exchange is particularly prominent during Pepys's accounts of the early 1660s. Drinking houses came in a range of shapes and sizes, from small alehouses (which were often simply a room in someone's home), to ordinaries offering inexpensive meals, to the more ample facilities of taverns, where the clientele could drink wine and dine in some style. In taverns, ordinaries, and alehouses Pepys drank, ate, transacted business, and (to his regret) lost money at cards. In the first months of 1660, however, the role of London in determining whether or not the monarchy would be restored meant that drinking houses were also excellent places to hear about the latest events. In the first six months of the diary Pepys usually made at least one visit to a drinking or eating house each day and often more than one. At this time he was living at Axe Yard in Westminster and working at the Exchequer in Westminster, which led him to visit establishments that were conveniently close at hand, but he also took trips into the City of London: in January 1660 alone, his journeys east took him to seven drinking houses within the City walls. News could be picked up casually in the course of socializing, but sometimes visits to drinking houses were undertaken with the specific purpose of newsgathering. For example, on 13 January, at a time when London's Common Council was at loggerheads with the Rump Parliament, Pepys collared the councilman Valentine Fage and took him to the Swan tavern to get details of the latest confrontations. The next month he took Matthew Lock, secretary to General Monck, to a City alehouse in order to hear 'the substance of the letter that went from Monke to the Parliament' demanding new elections.<sup>50</sup> In both cases the implicit trade here was news in return for hospitality. On another occasion, as we have already noted, Pepys went to Will's alehouse in the Old Palace Yard specifically to collect information to put into a letter to Mountagu. Close to Westminster Hall and the Houses of Parliament, Will's was one of Pepys's favourite drinking places. Printed reading material was available at this alehouse. On 31 January Pepys 'sat an hour or two' there and afterwards wrote, 'Here I met, and afterwards bought, the answer to Generall Monkes letter; which is a very good one, and I keep it by me.'<sup>51</sup> The sheet was *To his Excellency, General Monck A Letter from the Gentlemen of Devon*; it may have been supplied by the alehouse's proprietor, left by its distributors to be read by the clientele, or else shown off by a customer. The proximity of Will's to the bookstalls of Westminster Hall no doubt ensured a flow of pamphlets through the alehouse. The location of Will's alehouse made it a centre for

<sup>50</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 16, 51.

<sup>51</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 34.

news in a way more normally seen as characteristic of coffee-houses; moving with the times, the proprietor eventually turned it into a coffee-house.<sup>52</sup>

Pepys's visits to drinking houses remained common throughout the 1660s, but his recorded acquisition of news from these types of venue declined after June 1660. The reasons relate to Pepys's changing personal circumstances but are also suggestive about broader patterns of news acquisition in the capital. After the summer of 1660, Pepys was busy in his new role as Clerk of the Acts and therefore had less time to spend in taverns. Karl Westhauser and Markman Ellis have both argued that Pepys came to see regular trips to alehouses as inconsistent with his new status.<sup>53</sup> Early in the diary, newsgathering in alehouses, taverns, and ordinaries had been useful for gauging local opinion and for pumping specific sources on City politics. When, however, the City became less crucial in national politics and Pepys's mind turned increasingly towards the court, drinking houses were no longer the best venues for news. The opportunities for accessing other sources that Pepys's new position brought meant he no longer needed to resort to alehouses. It is reasonable to assume that Pepys's early use of these establishments to acquire news was more typical of Londoners' practice than other aspects of his newsgathering behaviour. For Londoners who lacked either the status to visit more elite news venues or the time to travel outside their neighbourhood, alehouses and taverns were news exchanges close at hand and they catered to a range of budgets.

### Coffee-Houses

Studies of Restoration politics have emphasized the importance of coffee-houses in the capital's news networks: this new style of institution specialized in news as well as in coffee, offering the latest newsbooks, pamphlets, and manuscript news.<sup>54</sup> Yet Pepys's diary provides a caution against overestimating the importance of coffee-houses as news centres in the early Restoration. Although Pepys enjoyed his visits to coffee-houses, he records only sixteen trips during the first three years of the diary and all but stopped going after 1665.<sup>55</sup> Of his 105 recorded visits to coffee-houses, almost three-quarters (76) took place during 1663 and 1664. He often went to coffee-houses as part of his research into naval affairs and to gather information in the run-up to the Second Dutch War, which was officially declared in London in March 1665, although hostilities had begun months before. Since Pepys usually

<sup>52</sup> *Diary*, vol. 10, p. 428; *The London Gazette*, no. 2708, 22–6 Oct. 1691 (advert for an auction at 'Will's Coffee-house adjoining to the Court of Requests').

<sup>53</sup> Westhauser, 'Friendship and Family', pp. 524–5; Markman Ellis, *The Coffee House: A Cultural History* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004), p. 57.

<sup>54</sup> On coffee-house news, see Steve Pincus, "'Coffee Politicians Does Create': Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture', *Journal of Modern History*, 67 (1995), 807–34, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2124756>> (pp. 818–22) and Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), pp. 250–1.

<sup>55</sup> There is some evidence that the *Diary* under-records coffee-house visits, subsuming them under mention of visits to the Exchange. See, for example, Pepys's *Navy White Book* entry on 10 March 1664 compared with the diary entry of the same date. Any under-reporting is, however, unlikely to affect the general outline of visits given here. *Navy White Book*, p. 36; compare *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 79.

refers simply to going 'to the Coffee-house' or 'a Coffee-house', it is difficult to describe the separate characters of the venues he visited, but his most usual destinations appear to have been the coffee-houses around the Royal Exchange that were much frequented by merchants.<sup>56</sup> A visit to a coffee-house often preceded or followed a visit to the Royal Exchange at noon, and was ancillary to that visit.<sup>57</sup> Coffee-houses were places where Pepys could discuss office business in detail with merchants or find experts on such technical topics as the best way to store mast timbers. The information from merchants that he gathered here was written up and sent to navy officials such as Commissioner Peter Pett and Sir William Coventry.<sup>58</sup> As relations with the Dutch deteriorated, coffee-houses became useful sources of intelligence on enemy activities and on mercantile attitudes towards the impending war.<sup>59</sup> However, with few coffee-house visits recorded before 1663 and very few after 1665, only in the months before the war were coffee-houses a notable source of news for Pepys.

A principal attraction of coffee-houses, as Markman Ellis argues, was not news as such but the intriguing and learned conversation to be had there.<sup>60</sup> Pepys's earliest recorded trips to a coffee-house were in January 1660, when he joined the Rota Club run by the republican James Harrington in the Turk's Head coffee-house in New Palace Yard. 'Admirable discourse' was to be heard in the political debates here, but the club, like its republican aspirations, was short-lived and Pepys did not attend after February 1660.<sup>61</sup> Another early visit to a coffee-house in Cornhill led Pepys to commend 'the diversity of company—and discourse', while 'the great Coffee-house' at Covent Garden, held the attraction of 'very witty and pleasant discourse' from 'the wits of the town'.<sup>62</sup> The wits on this occasion included John Dryden 'the poet (I knew at Cambridge)' and William Howell, whom Pepys knew from Magdalene College. Coffee-house discussions could be highly structured and narrowly focused, as with those debates that resembled university disputations that we saw in Chapter 2.<sup>63</sup> However free-ranging conversation was also enticing: in one session Pepys and his friends managed to encompass a recent court case, music, the creation of a universal written language, and the 'art of Memory'.<sup>64</sup> The most rewarding themes of conversation—and those documented in most detail—related to natural philosophy and to the experience of travellers. For example, Pepys was thrilled to hear William Harrington and other Baltic merchants describe ice fishing and the hunting of bears and wolves in Prussia. He was also excited by experimental trials of the 'double-bottom' ship (a type of catamaran) designed by William Petty—the speed of this revolutionary design potentially had exciting consequences

<sup>56</sup> Ellis identifies Pepys's favourite coffee-house as Elford's in Exchange Alley. *Coffee House*, p. 70.

<sup>57</sup> For example, *Diary*, vol. 5, pp. 49, 55, 71.

<sup>58</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, pp. 14–15, 55, 63, 71; compare reports in National Maritime Museum, LBK/8 Letterbook of Samuel Pepys, Pepys to Pett, 23 Feb. 1663/4, and Pepys to Coventry, 7 Mar. 1663/4, pp. 97–104.

<sup>59</sup> For example, on 14 November 1664, Pepys headed 'to the Coffee-house to hear news' and, on this occasion, coffee-house news was ahead of naval letters in offering information on the Dutch (*Diary*, vol. 5, p. 321).

<sup>60</sup> Ellis, *Coffee House*, pp. 56–68.

<sup>61</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 13, 14.

<sup>62</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 315; vol. 5, p. 37.

<sup>63</sup> See Ch. 2, 'Conduct Literature and Conversation', pp. 63–4.

<sup>64</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 12.

for Britain's naval and trading future.<sup>65</sup> Yet the attraction of enjoyable, learned conversation was not in itself sufficient to make Pepys a regular visitor to coffee-houses. The plague and the press of business during the Dutch War were factors in keeping him away from coffee-houses during 1665, and the Great Fire caused further disruption; yet he did not resume his visits once these troubles were past. This was because from the summer of 1666 Pepys chose to make himself less publicly approachable in an effort to avoid the hostility towards the Navy Office and its employees following the poor conduct of the Dutch War.<sup>66</sup> He had established other means for obtaining news and the benefits of coffee-house attendance no longer repaid the effort entailed. Like drinking houses, these were second-tier venues for newsgathering that Pepys could cut from his routine without substantially damaging his access to information.

### Westminster Hall

Coffee-houses and drinking establishments were not dominant or permanent fixtures in Pepys's newsgathering network. In contrast, Westminster Hall was an important source of information for him throughout the 1660s and one of the main centres for the exchange of news in the metropolis (see map before Introduction). Part of Westminster Palace, the hall contained the law courts of the King's Bench, Chancery, and Common Pleas. The walls were lined with shops and bookstalls—forty-six of them in 1666. The hall adjoined the lobby of the House of Commons, which made it the first resort for parliamentary news.<sup>67</sup> Earlier in the seventeenth century St Paul's Cathedral and its environs had been a prime resort for news, and Westminster Hall shared a number of the same attractions: both offered covered spaces to walk in amid a commercial centre specializing in books (see Figure 7). After the deterioration of the fabric of St Paul's during the Civil Wars, however, it was in Westminster Hall that gentlemen paraded and talked about current affairs.<sup>68</sup> The hall was at its busiest when the law courts were in session and when Parliament was sitting. Here Pepys would walk 'up and down' and 'from one man to another', looking for and talking to acquaintances, sometimes for hours at a time.<sup>69</sup> Walking with companions elicited the most news, but information was to be had from stall keepers such as the bookseller Ann Mitchell. As well as vending news, she was also able to keep Pepys informed of events in the Houses of Parliament, and let him know the latest gossip about the traders in the hall.<sup>70</sup> This was a place for assessing reputation and making a show: in 1666, for example, Pepys noted 'I purposely took my wife well-dressed into the hall, to see and be seen.' In contrast, when Pepys's colleague Lord Brouncker was out of favour with

<sup>65</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 412–14. Instances where Petty's ship was discussed include vol. 4, pp. 256, 263, 437.

<sup>66</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 245.

<sup>67</sup> *Diary*, vol. 10, pp. 473–4.

<sup>68</sup> For St Paul's as a gathering place in the early 17th century, see Jason Scott-Warren, *Early Modern Literature* (Cambridge, UK and Malden, MA: Polity, 2005), pp. 76–80.

<sup>69</sup> For example, *Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 191, 303; vol. 2, p. 130.

<sup>70</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 583; vol. 9, p. 486.

the Commons, Pepys was ‘almost troubled to be seen to walk with him’ in the hall, for fear of damage to his own reputation.<sup>71</sup>

Despite Pepys’s concern to maintain and improve his social credentials before the observers in the hall, neither he nor his fellows seem to have been much concerned that the content of their discussions might be subject to scrutiny or censure by the authorities. Seditious conversation appears to have been far more common here than in the coffee-houses Pepys visited. In 1667, for example, John Evelyn and Pepys spent two hours at the hall, ‘talking of the badness of the Government, where nothing but wickedness, and wicked men and women command the King. That it is not in his nature to gainsay anything that relates to his pleasures’—and so on, at some length. A few months later, William Burgess, a clerk at the Exchequer, told Pepys as they walked that the nation would surely return to a commonwealth ‘and other wise men are of the same mind, this family [of Stuarts] doing all that silly men can do to make themselves unable to support their Kingdom—minding their lust and their pleasure’.<sup>72</sup> The noise in Westminster Hall and the speakers’ constant movement may have made Pepys and his friends confident that their conversations could not be monitored, but it also seems that the hall was a space where the tenor of political discussion was such that trenchant criticism of the authorities was not regarded as unusual or especially daring.

### Whitehall

Gathering news in Westminster Hall was closely tied to the business of establishing a reputation and this was also the case in the more elite space of Whitehall Palace (see map before Introduction). Pepys was often at court on a variety of business: he visited Lord Sandwich’s lodgings there, attended meetings with the Lord High Admiral the Duke of York, and came to see other naval officials, such as Sir William Coventry, who had rooms in the palace complex. Diplomatic correspondence and intelligence sources came first to Whitehall, which meant that foreign news or updates on the progress of wars might be had here.<sup>73</sup> From contacts at Whitehall Pepys also learned of new appointments to the offices of state and of events from around Britain. Although many exchanges took place behind closed doors in officials’ studies or nobles’ apartments, the recognized place to exchange the latest news was the matted (or long) gallery, a semi-private corridor decorated with statues that ran from the King’s rooms to the Duke of York’s lodgings.<sup>74</sup> For example, one day in October 1662 Pepys and his friend John Creed ‘walked long in the galleries’ for several hours till, ‘we not being known’, a man eventually came and questioned them. Pepys doubted the man’s claim that they had walked there ‘four or five houres’ but conceded it might be correct if it counted his walk there earlier

<sup>71</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 89; vol. 9, p. 77.

<sup>72</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, pp. 181, 378.

<sup>73</sup> For example, *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 94; vol. 8, pp. 92, 429–30.

<sup>74</sup> On the palace layout, see Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1230–1698* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 121–4 and *Diary*, vol. 10, p. 482. Pepys sometimes refers to ‘the gallery’ or ‘galleries’ but is occasionally more specific, e.g. ‘the long gallery’ (vol. 4, p. 366) and ‘the Matted Gallery’ (vol. 9, p. 86).

that morning. Having identified themselves, Pepys and Creed were allowed to continue. Pepys's long hours of walking and assiduous attendance on business established his credentials. On 1 January 1663, he judged he would be able to walk 'among the Courtiers . . . with great confidence, being now beginning to be pretty well-known among them'.<sup>75</sup> The walkers in the matted gallery exchanged court scandal and noted the success or failure of the King's servants. During a walk 'up and down the galleries', for example, the royal physician Dr Timothy Clarke told Pepys 'that Sir Ch. Berkely's greatness is only his being pimp to the King to my Lady Castlemayne', while an hour's walk with James Pearse afforded detailed accounts of the King's amours.<sup>76</sup> The significance of the galleries in the dissemination of news is well illustrated by Lady Castlemaine's reported threat that if Charles failed to acknowledge her child as his own she would 'bring it into Whitehall gallery and dash the brains of it out before the King's face'.<sup>77</sup> Evidently, if spectacular public humiliation of the King was in order, Whitehall galleries were the place to do it.

### The Royal Exchange

In the west of the metropolis, Westminster Hall and the more exclusive Whitehall Palace were chief forums for news exchange, specializing in court and parliamentary politics. In the City, the chief resort was the Royal Exchange in Cornhill (see map before Introduction). This was the major trading centre of the City of London and consisted of a large courtyard where merchants assembled, surrounded by two storeys of shops. 'The Change' supplied shipping information and was long established as a place to learn about foreign news and City politics.<sup>78</sup> Among the shops were booksellers, while newsbooks were hawked on the Change by mercury women. Notices were posted up on pillars, including playbills and advertisements from private individuals.<sup>79</sup> As at Westminster Hall and Whitehall, Pepys was eager to make himself a recognizable and esteemed figure on the Change. His court and naval contacts were great helps in this. On 8 May 1662, the Treasurer of the Navy, Sir George Carteret, gave Pepys a lift to the Exchange in his coach, telling him on the way 'how Sir John Lawson hath done some execution upon the Turkes in the Straight'. 'Of which', wrote Pepys, 'I am glad and told the news the first on the Exchange. And was much followed by merchants to tell it'.<sup>80</sup> News that Lawson had sunk several of the Algerian ships that preyed upon merchant vessels in the Mediterranean was welcome to the Exchange traders, and evidently being

<sup>75</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 239; vol. 4, p. 1.

<sup>76</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 282; vol. 5, pp. 20–1.

<sup>77</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 355.

<sup>78</sup> See Michael Harris, 'Exchanging Information: Print and Business at the Royal Exchange in the Late Seventeenth Century', in *The Royal Exchange*, ed. Ann Saunders (London: London Topographical Society, 1997), pp. 188–97; and Natasha Glaisyer, *The Culture of Commerce in England, 1660–1720* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 28–37; *Diary*, vol. 10, pp. 357–8. The New Exchange, a shopping emporium off the Strand, was sometimes also called the Exchange.

<sup>79</sup> James Hickes to Joseph Williamson, 18 Nov. 1665, quoted in Muddiman, *King's Journalist*, p. 179; *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 298; vol. 6, p. 165.

<sup>80</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 79.

the centre of attention was welcome to Pepys. By June 1662 he noted, 'I begin to be known' at the Exchange and in November 1663 he felt his current spate of dealing would make him 'pretty well-known quickly'.<sup>81</sup> Appearing on the Exchange, he remarked, had the advantage of magnifying 'my report of fallowing of business', that is, his reputation for diligence. Pepys indeed established his reputation as a man in the know and worth knowing: when Roger L'Estrange, the writer of government newsbooks, chose to seek Pepys out to ask him to supply news, he did so on the Exchange.<sup>82</sup>

Pepys's visits to the Royal Exchange were concentrated in 1663 and 1664. By the first few months of 1665 he was making two or three trips per week, before the plague became rife in the City and activity on the Change all but halted. As with Pepys's coffee-house visits, this pattern reflects his use of the forum for information gathering in the run-up to the Second Dutch War. He was in the process of learning the tricky business of drawing up contracts, which involved not simply knowing about prices and suppliers, but being able to judge the condition of the commodities on offer and identifying the underhand means suppliers used to maximize profits.<sup>83</sup> In addition, the merchants here often learned of foreign news before it reached the court, especially when it concerned the Dutch preparations for war. A visit to the Change in February 1664, for example, provided a raft of foreign news:

Great talk of the Duch [*sic*] proclaiming themselves in India lords of the Southern Seas and deny traffique there to all ships but their own, upon pain of confiscation—which makes our merchants mad. Great doubt of two ships of ours, the *Greyhound* and another very rich, coming from the Streights, for fear of the Turkes. Matters are made up between the Pope and the King of France; so that now all the doubt is what the French will do with his armies.<sup>84</sup>

The City was financing the war effort and merchant ships and seamen fought as part of the navy: this meant that the merchants' and traders' own views of events were valuable in assessing first the likelihood of a war, and subsequently its progress and the outcomes.<sup>85</sup> In return, Pepys could offer naval and court news. On 16 January 1667, for example, he heard at Whitehall that the King's cousin Prince Rupert, though very ill, was improving; on arriving at the Exchange he found 'it was hot that the Prince was dead, but I did rectify it'.<sup>86</sup>

The Royal Exchange was the place where the court communicated with the City: proclamations were read there and semi-official communiqués delivered. In July 1667, when the nation was waiting to hear if peace would be made with the Dutch, the King told the banker Alderman Backwell 'to declare upon the Change' that he had determined upon peace, a move Pepys recognized as an encouragement to the merchants to lend the government money.<sup>87</sup> Pepys himself served a similar role

<sup>81</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 120; vol. 4, p. 398. For discussion of reputation on the Exchange, see Glaisyer, *Culture of Commerce*, pp. 38–42.

<sup>82</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 365; vol. 5, p. 348.

<sup>83</sup> For example, *Navy White Book*, p. 39.

<sup>84</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, pp. 41–2.

<sup>85</sup> For example, *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 112; vol. 7, p. 144; vol. 8, p. 151.

<sup>86</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 16.

<sup>87</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 328.



when, during the plague, he was allowed by the Duke of Albemarle (as the Duke of York's representative in the metropolis) to take a copy of a letter announcing Lord Sandwich's capture of a group of Dutch ships to show upon the Exchange.<sup>88</sup> Indeed, Pepys probably posted up information there himself. In his papers are lists headed 'Royall Exchange 1665'. These lists, which name men who had died aboard ship and soldiers discharged from the fleet, were presumably posted on the Exchange. Pepys, who was managing naval business in London during the plague, might well have been responsible for posting them.<sup>89</sup> The Exchange's markets were closed on Sunday but during the Four Days' Battle in June 1666, crowds gathered there on that day 'only for news', awaiting communications from the court or direct from the ports.<sup>90</sup> Londoners did not want to wait for their news in the semi-weekly government newsbooks, and the Exchange was expected to have the most current reports. Pepys was impatient when a visit to the Exchange on a Friday, the day after *The London Gazette* was published, produced 'little news but what is in the book'.<sup>91</sup>

When the Exchange building was destroyed in the Great Fire, the traders relocated to Gresham College a short distance away and the transplanted Change rapidly resumed its function as a news centre. Two days after the fire had been quelled, Pepys found at the new site 'infinite of people; partly through novelty to see the new place, and partly to find out and hear what is become one man of another'.<sup>92</sup> The re-establishment of the Exchange was a vital step in minimizing the damage to London's economy and to its internal and external communication networks. Pepys's diminishing visits to the Exchange, however, had less to do with the consequences of the fire and far more to do with the consequences of the Dutch War. A shortage of funds meant that the government struggled to repay the debts it had incurred to London's merchants during the war. Moreover, the expenditure seemed to have been to little effect when the English fleet suffered severe casualties during the Four Days' Battle without defeating the Dutch. As a result, before the fire the Exchange had become an uncomfortable place for Pepys: on 14 August 1666 he noted that he took 'no pleasure nowadays to be there, because of answering questions that would be asked there which I cannot answer'.<sup>93</sup> The Navy Board was further humiliated when, in June 1667, the Dutch attacked and burnt the English fleet at anchor at Chatham. With the peace declared, Pepys no longer needed to make himself so accessible to his merchant contacts and could therefore afford to avoid critical public opinion on the Exchange by relying on contacts at Whitehall Palace and Westminster Hall for his news. When, however, he put on a fine performance in defending the navy before the Commons in March 1668, he

<sup>88</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 224. Albemarle was the erstwhile General Monck.

<sup>89</sup> Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.184, fols. 311–12.

<sup>90</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 142. On news reporting and news hunger during the war, see Steven C. A. Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650–1668* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), ch. 18.

<sup>91</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 242.

<sup>92</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, pp. 281–2.

<sup>93</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 245.

soon heard at Whitehall 'how the world upon the Change talks of me' and found time to visit that very day 'only to show myself'.<sup>94</sup>

During the 1660s, London's distinctive topography of news proved resilient in the face of citywide disasters such as the fire. The larger news centres in London were noted for particular types of information: for mercantile, foreign, or City news, the first port of call might be the Royal Exchange; Westminster Hall could be relied upon for parliamentary and court news; while for those of sufficient status, court and diplomatic reports were to be had direct from Whitehall. The cross-checking of news from different sources and in different locations was crucial, because financial and professional fortunes hung on the accuracy of reports. The diary portrays drinking houses and coffee-houses as second-tier venues for most kinds of news: under normal conditions the larger public forums could supply a more diverse range of information and supply it more quickly. Those who could attend the main forums often used alehouses, taverns, and coffee-houses for more prolonged discussion and analysis of information acquired elsewhere. Not everyone, however, had a job such as Pepys's that gave them the time, money, and incentive to travel about the capital, which means that his ability to bypass drinking houses and coffee-houses as news centres would not have been typical. The patterns early in the diary suggest that for many Londoners—especially those more concerned with City and neighbourhood news—the metropolis's drinking and eating establishments were the chief resorts to learn about current affairs.

## NEWS NETWORKS

Surveying Pepys's many friendships, Ian Archer has proposed that 'networks like that of Pepys connecting City and Court must have been critical in the circulation of news and information'.<sup>95</sup> By 1663 it was certainly the case that Pepys's network had extensive links to the court and the City, and included powerful individuals from both sectors. The development of his news network and the motives that shaped it can be further understood by factoring in his interest in advice manuals and by applying concepts from social network theories. If seventeenth-century conduct writers and modern sociologists seem strange bedfellows, they share an interest in the efficient acquisition of information. Both groups can therefore help us understand the principles that underpinned Pepys's behaviour and that sustained London's networks.

As we discussed in Chapter 2, some of Pepys's favourite writers emphasized the need to cultivate connections strategically, with an eye to future advantages and possible dangers. Francis Osborne's *Advice to a Son* advised readers to 'Court Him alwaies, you hope one day to make use of, but at the least Expence you can'—expense here primarily meant financial expenditure, but also applied to the investment of time

<sup>94</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 109–10; see also p. 136. Pepys additionally went to Westminster Hall and among the virtuosi at Gresham College for the purpose of showing himself (vol. 9, pp. 106, 113).

<sup>95</sup> Archer, 'Social Networks in Restoration London', p. 86.

and effort.<sup>96</sup> Furthermore, Pepys's repeated readings of Francis Bacon's 'Faber fortunae' exposed him to guidance on the importance of

procuring good information of the particular persons with whom we have to deal; their natures, their desires and ends, their customs and fashions, their helps and advantages, with their principal means of support and influence; so again their weaknesses and disadvantages, where they lie most open and obnoxious; their friends, factions, patrons and clients; their enemies, enviers, and competitors; their moods and times.<sup>97</sup>

For Bacon, the 'most compendious way' to acquire intelligence required establishing

a general acquaintance with those who have a varied and extensive knowledge both of persons and things; but especially to endeavour to have at least some particular friends who, according to the diversity of business and the diversity of persons, can give perfect and solid intelligence in every several kind.<sup>98</sup>

Pepys deliberately cultivated a wide-ranging acquaintance as part of a strategy for newsgathering, and he evaluated connections in terms similar to those proposed by Bacon. Sometimes this evaluation process is explicitly stated in the diary. After meeting his old school friend Jack Cole in the street and going to drink with him, Pepys remarked, 'I find him a little conceited, but he hath good things in him and a man may know the temper of the City by him, he being a man of general conversation and can tell how matters go; and upon that score, I will encourage his acquaintance.'<sup>99</sup> A meeting at Pepys's home a year later with this City business owner provoked a similar comment:

I find him ingenious, but do more and more discern his City pedantry; but however, I will endeavour to have his company now and then, for that he knows much of the temper of the City and is able to acquaint therein as much as most young men—being of large acquaintance, and himself I think somewhat unsatisfied with the present state of things at Court and in the Church.<sup>100</sup>

As a man of 'large acquaintance', Cole was the kind of connection with 'varied and extensive knowledge' that Bacon recommended cultivating. Cole's contacts made him an excellent source on the topic of City politics but he was also guilty of 'City pedantry'—unfashionable manners. Despite having been educated alongside Cole, Pepys no longer identified with the City interest and felt that, in reacquainting himself with his school friend, he was associating with an inferior. In his diary, Pepys repeatedly justified the friendship to himself in terms of Cole's value as a source but there are signs that this was not the whole story. He had a genuine fondness for Jack Cole: when Cole was compelled to give up his business, Pepys consoled him by detaining him till eleven at night to talk about 'old school

<sup>96</sup> [Francis Osborne], *Advice to a Son* (Oxford, 1656; Wing O506), p. 14.

<sup>97</sup> Francis Bacon, 'Faber fortunae', in *Sermones fideles* (Leiden, 1644), pp. 320–1. Translation in *De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum* in *Collected Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, and Douglas Denon Heath, vol. 5 (London, 1877; facs. repr. London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1996), p. 59.

<sup>98</sup> Bacon, 'Faber fortunae', p. 328 (trans. in *Works of Francis Bacon*, vol. 5, p. 63).

<sup>99</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 254. <sup>100</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 333.

stories'.<sup>101</sup> This was, in other words, a relationship with affective rewards as well as information benefits, but one that Pepys preferred to explain to himself as based on newsgathering.

Pepys's relationship with Jack Cole was not the only time he referred to news-gathering as a motive for maintaining a relationship, for he also saw this as a reason for continuing links with certain Nonconformists. When an old college connection, Joseph Hill, visited Pepys, they discussed 'several matters of state till 11 at night'. 'I was not unwilling to hear him talk,' wrote Pepys, 'though he is full of words, yet a man of large conversation, especially among the presbyters and Independents.' A former fellow of Magdalene College, Hill had lost his post for nonconformity. He now told Pepys that he was confident that the bishops would 'ruin themselves' and that the Commons' current attempts to pass a new bill sentencing the holders of conventicles to transportation would prove impracticable.<sup>102</sup> Ever since the Act of Uniformity had forced many ministers out of the Church of England in August 1662, Pepys had been keeping an eye on the mood of the Nonconformists and their sympathizers. If civil unrest was likely, or the Independent and Presbyterian interests showed signs of renewed influence, he wanted to be forewarned. Pepys's continued acquaintance with a man called Will Swan was an aspect of this project. In early 1660 Swan worked for the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; he cooperated with Pepys in managing a lawsuit related to the Exchequer and they were on good terms. Following Charles II's return, however, Pepys developed a very low opinion of Swan, describing him as 'an old Hypocrite' and 'a Coxcomb' who doled out 'old simple religious talk'. By June 1662 this religious talk included the belief that Pepys and Lord Sandwich were 'given up to the wickedness of the world' and that 'a fall is coming upon us all'. Pepys put up with this condemnation because Swan's other sentiments were of interest: at this time, Swan held that 'he and his company' (the 'fanatiques' in Pepys's phrase) would defy the Act of Uniformity and that they were 'the greater part of the nation'. In December of that year, Pepys took him to an alehouse, explaining 'I do it for discourse and to see how things stand with him and his party.'<sup>103</sup> Later, as political currents shifted, Pepys found another reason for keeping in with Swan: in July 1668, Swan ('a factious fanatic still') visited Pepys at home, but 'I do use him civilly, in expectation that those fellows may grow great again.'<sup>104</sup> Swan was an untrustworthy, annoying, and potentially dangerous acquaintance, but Pepys felt that he knew how to judge the quality of Swan's reports and that his sporadic investment of time and hospitality was worth maintaining for the information (and possibly the influence) that Swan might hold.

In these three examples we find Pepys deliberately investing in a relationship because the individual was well connected within a specific community. These men of 'general conversation' and 'large acquaintance' provided intelligence from their own networks that would otherwise have cost Pepys more effort to obtain. While Pepys's actions were in line with the seventeenth-century conduct manuals that he

<sup>101</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 221.

<sup>102</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 243.

<sup>103</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 179; vol. 2, p. 235; vol. 3, pp. 117, 275.

<sup>104</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 264.

enjoyed, his behaviour also anticipates aspects of social network theories advanced in recent decades by sociologists. Ronald Burt has argued that an efficient network supplies information benefits in three ways. First, it provides an individual with access to valuable information, with irrelevant reports being screened out by the network. Second, it delivers information in a timely fashion, enabling members to act early enough to reap potential benefits. Third, it provides referrals by passing information about a member through the network and potentially boosting his or her reputation and credibility.<sup>105</sup> Pepys's position as Clerk of the Acts gave him the advantage of a ready-made network of navy contacts, but this was not enough. He needed both to maintain this network and to cultivate new contacts in order to take advantage of opportunities and keep abreast of affairs. According to Burt's thesis, in order to create an efficient network, an individual needs to 'maximize the number of nonredundant contacts'—that is, he or she must try to ensure that each new contact brings access to new information not available via existing members. There is, Burt argues, little benefit to be had from investing in multiple contacts if all these contacts are receiving their information through the same route: you would reap the same information rewards from communicating with just one of them. For Burt, an efficient network structure connects an individual to a relatively small number of primary contacts and these primary contacts access other (secondary) clusters of contacts that do not overlap. The individual at the centre of the network can therefore spend minimal resources in cultivating his primary contacts and yet reap the information benefits from a far larger and more diverse range of sources.<sup>106</sup> When Pepys refers to the advantages of associating with a man 'of general conversation' who knows 'the temper of the City' or a man 'of large conversation, especially among the presbyters and Independents', he is identifying the same principle: these individual relationships are worth investing in because they give him ready access to different groups of people who hold potentially useful information. Recognizing this principle meant Pepys was able to extend and manipulate his network in order to obtain valuable news with minimal effort.

Pepys's practices of newsgathering also fit well with Mark Granovetter's theory concerning 'the strength of weak ties'. Granovetter posits that new information is less likely to come from those we have close and frequent contact with and more likely to come from those we see relatively infrequently and with whom we have comparatively little in common. This is because empirical evidence demonstrates that 'the stronger the tie connecting two individuals, the more similar they are'. Individuals with strong ties will have associates and interests in common, with the result that clusters of individuals with 'strong ties' tend to share the same information. Innovative ideas and news of opportunities are therefore more likely to be introduced into such clusters through a 'weak tie' to a (less similar) individual. In such cases a weak tie is a link along which new information travels between two clusters of strongly linked individuals. Granovetter holds that individuals with

<sup>105</sup> Ronald S. Burt, *Structural Holes: The Social Structure of Competition* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1992; repr. 1995), pp. 13–15.

<sup>106</sup> Burt, *Structural Holes*, pp. 20–1.

multiple weak ties are best placed to diffuse new ideas and information, since some of those weak ties will be ‘local bridges’, the most direct points of contact between two sectors of a network.<sup>107</sup> Pepys’s relationships with Jack Cole, Joseph Hill, and Will Swan all fit Granovetter’s description of a weak tie, being respectively an old school friend, a former college connection, and a (disliked) acquaintance from his previous job. Pepys knew how to benefit from such weak ties. His connection to Valentine Fage—the Common Councilman who provided him with political information in 1660—was, for example, a weak one. He was Pepys’s apothecary (first consulted about a swollen nose) and the council member for Pepys’s father’s ward. Pepys picked up information from Fage during medical consultations, met him casually in Westminster Hall, and, as already noted, took him to a tavern to repay him for information on Council debates with drink. After 1660, Fage does not appear in the diary—largely because, we can deduce, information from the Common Council ceased to be of such interest to Pepys and he stopped investing in the relationship.<sup>108</sup>

On inspection, many of the news forums of London had mechanisms that promoted the use of weak ties as a means of transmitting news around the capital. One benefit of the codes of behaviour at Westminster Hall and the Royal Exchange was that in both places strangers or men of slight acquaintance were encouraged to approach each other and exchange news: the practice of walking ‘up and down’ the Hall, and converging on the Royal Exchange at noon facilitated opportunities for information to pass between different groups. Seventeenth-century comments on coffee-houses also indicate that one of the advantages these establishments had over taverns and alehouses was that the social norms in coffee-houses actively supported information transmission through weak ties. Pepys, as we have seen, emphasized the ‘diversity of company – and discourse’ that might be found in these venues and he renewed old, lapsed acquaintances there. The seating arrangements for coffee-houses allowed a visitor to take the first available seat, rather than relying on social rank or existing acquaintance to determine where he sat.<sup>109</sup> This encouraged the formation of new connections and the transmission of information between individuals who might not otherwise have met. For example, it was at a coffee-house in 1664 that Pepys first met the merchant Thomas Hill and was impressed by his talk of music and travelling: ‘had I time’, he wrote, ‘I should covett the acquaintance of that Mr. Hill’.<sup>110</sup> This was one ‘weak tie’ that gradually became a ‘strong tie’. A friendship developed between the two that survived Hill’s move to Lisbon. During the 1670s, Hill would become part of Pepys’s international network of contacts, exchanging gifts and recommending skilled personnel to Pepys.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>107</sup> Mark S. Granovetter, ‘The Strength of Weak Ties’, *American Journal of Sociology*, 78 (1973), 1360–80, stable URL: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2776392>> (pp. 1362, 1364, 1367).

<sup>108</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 9, 16, 47, 49. Fage (or Fyge) was active in City politics till at least 1662. See J. R. Woodhead, *The Rulers of London, 1660–1689* (London: London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, 1965), p. 74.

<sup>109</sup> Ellis, *Coffee House*, p. 59. <sup>110</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 12.

<sup>111</sup> See Ch. 7, ‘International Networks’, pp. 213–14.

Pepys's papers provide us with a partial record of an egocentric network—a network plotted outwards from one individual. His records do not offer us information on all his contacts and seldom supply sufficient detail to allow us to judge the importance of Pepys's role in the networks of his various associates. There is, however, enough information to deduce that Pepys's relationships often served as 'local bridges' between the court, the City, and the navy. While Pepys was rarely in the position of being the sole contact point between sectors of his news network, his ready access to information and habit of visiting multiple news centres in a day meant that he was able to pass news more directly and more speedily than others. His position on the Exchange in particular seems to have been partly dependent on information relayed from his contacts at the court. He also carried information in the opposite direction from the City to Whitehall. For example, five days after Pepys heard Swan's claims that the Act of Uniformity would be widely defied, he reported this encounter to the Earl of Sandwich as evidence of the mood of the Nonconformists and the possible extent of their influence.<sup>112</sup> In fact, Pepys regularly appears to have been acting as a 'gatekeeper'—someone 'whose relationships span boundaries, often both those within and beyond [an] organisation'. Gatekeepers are involved in processing and sifting information for consumption by members of an organization and in external representation for that organization.<sup>113</sup> We can see this most obviously in Pepys's work at the navy, which entailed filtering oral and written communications to be passed to the Navy Board and representing the board in financial and political matters.<sup>114</sup> Investigations into the roles of gatekeepers have studied the way in which such individuals have to be adept in 'understanding and translating the "languages" and perspectives present within different domains'.<sup>115</sup> Sociologists often have in mind mastery of the technical language and specialized knowledge that develops within organizations, but Pepys was arguably also performing this 'translating' function in a broader capacity. His position in the networks that spanned the metropolis was due to his ability to communicate effectively with individuals from a range of backgrounds. Bred in the City, genteelly educated at Cambridge, familiar with mercantile practice, and increasingly established among the courtiers, Pepys learned which information would be appropriate to his contacts in each sector of his network and how best to represent this information. Issues of rank were often of moment in the flow of news. The Earl of Sandwich had contacts other than Pepys who could tell him of the temper of Nonconformists in the City, but for the information to reach Sandwich and be

<sup>112</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 117, 123.

<sup>113</sup> Steve Conway and Fred Steward, *Managing and Shaping Innovation* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), pp. 90–1. See also Howard Aldrich and Diane Herker, 'Boundary Spanning Roles and Organization Structure', *Academy of Management Review*, 2 (1977), 217–30, doi:10.5465/AMR.1977.4409044 (pp. 218–20).

<sup>114</sup> See, for example, *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 103, and Pepys's role in responding to the Brooke House Committee, *Navy White Book*, pp. xxviii–xxxv.

<sup>115</sup> Conway and Steward, *Managing and Shaping Innovation*, p. 91. See also Michael L. Tushman and Ralph Katz, 'External Communication and Project Performance: An Investigation into the Role of Gatekeepers', *Management Science*, 26 (1980), 1071–85, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1287/mnsc.26.11.1071> (p. 1072).

recognized as valuable it had to come from a reliable and impartial source who was well versed in Sandwich's concerns and, crucially, of sufficient standing to converse with him privately on such matters.<sup>116</sup> As a gentleman, Pepys was in a position to talk knowledgeably and comparatively freely with individuals of different social stations, in a way that for example Sandwich (as a nobleman) or Elizabeth Pepys (as a woman) could not. The network he created was efficient because he had both horizontal ties connecting him to different communities across London and vertical ties that allowed him to pass information to and from individuals of different ranks.

Pepys's role as a gatekeeper, his range of connections, and his knowledge of the mechanisms by which news was transmitted meant that by the mid-1660s he was counselling others on public opinion and how best to shape it. At times of national crisis, courtiers and politicians were acutely conscious of the need to manage public opinion and turned to subordinates, such as Pepys, for assistance. During the Second Dutch War, for example, the fleet's admirals knew that their individual performances in battle might count for little if their contributions were not acknowledged in official printed reports. After the Battle of Lowestoft on 3 June 1665, Pepys and the Earl of Sandwich's other clients were troubled to find Sandwich's role in the battle was not being discussed or reported, while the actions of the Duke of York and Prince Rupert were celebrated.<sup>117</sup> This was remedied when Henry Moore, Sandwich's current man of business, showed Roger L'Estrange a letter from a captain praising Sandwich's conduct, with the result that the next issue of *The Newes* 'did do my Lord Sandwich great right as to the late victory'.<sup>118</sup> On his return, however, Sandwich was resentful. He suspected that William Coventry, who had been with the fleet as the Duke of York's secretary, was trying to undermine him. Sandwich intimated to Pepys that Coventry had made a calculated attack on him by failing to acknowledge his heroism in the official 'printed relation' of the battle, which had been published as a pamphlet. Pepys was anxious to prevent an open breach between Sandwich and Coventry, two of his chief allies. He was able temporarily to salve the matter by using his knowledge of the genesis of the official account. The printed narrative, he told Sandwich, 'was not compiled by Mr. Coventry, but by Lestrange out of several letters'.<sup>119</sup>

Here Pepys's knowledge of how manuscript news made its way into print allayed tensions between his superiors. He was, however, in a delicate situation, because he was also providing counsel to Coventry on the managing of public opinion. When, for example, Coventry was facing ruin over the failures of the Four Days' Battle in

<sup>116</sup> Sandwich's Puritan and Nonconformist connections included his brother-in-law Sir Thomas Crew and his client John Creed. Neither might have been regarded as impartial and the latter was later suspected of being a 'serviceable friend' to 'fanatiques'. *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 107.

<sup>117</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, pp. 123, 127.

<sup>118</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 128.

<sup>119</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, pp. 134–5. Sandwich is not mentioned in *A Summary Narration of the Signal Victory . . . on the 3d of June 1665* (London, 1665), while the longer *A Second Narrative of the Signal Victory* (London, 1665) simply says that his squadron was 'in the Rear' (p. 7). These pamphlets were licensed by Roger L'Estrange on 8 and 10 June respectively. Coventry and Sandwich did later fall out over this issue (vol. 6, p. 276).



1666, he consulted with Pepys about his being ‘under the lash of people’s discourse’. Pepys (who had been tracking opinion on the Exchange, among bankers, and in Westminster Hall) corrected Coventry’s belief that ‘towne-talk’ was chiefly directed against his failure to summon Prince Rupert’s ships quickly to the battle. At this meeting, Coventry also sought Pepys’s advice on the best way to suppress another ‘talk he hears about the town’ that compared the failures of the Four Days’ Battle to the success of the Battle of Lowestoft the year before. Realizing that this talk benefited Sandwich (who had been present at Lowestoft but not at the latest battle), Pepys was cautious in his counsel. He told Coventry that ‘I doubted it could not [be suppressed], otherwise then by the fleet’s being abroad again, and so finding other work for men’s minds and discourse.’<sup>120</sup> While the main topic of Pepys and Coventry’s discussion was the opinion of the populace, Pepys was well aware that a second subject at issue was Coventry’s opinion of him: Pepys’s knowledge was being called upon but his loyalties were also being tested.

## CONCLUSIONS

In the 1660s, a Londoner who relied chiefly on newsbooks for his news would have found himself at a considerable disadvantage. Generally, these had little to offer in terms of domestic news and could be expected to deliver news after it was first mooted by oral and scribal sources. When used in conjunction with other media, however, newsbooks were valuable, especially for foreign news and in identifying the government’s public position on an issue. For more detailed reports, the best course was to go to one of the capital’s news exchanges. In the Restoration the primary venues included the Royal Exchange, Westminster Hall, and, for those with access, Whitehall galleries—news was likely to arrive in these venues quickly and from them it was disseminated around the capital. Second-tier venues such as taverns and coffee-houses were also good sources for news, providing opportunities to talk over the implications and access expertise on particular subjects. The social conventions in Westminster Hall, the Royal Exchange, and the coffee-houses assisted the transmission of information through the creation and maintenance of weak ties that bridged different sectors of London society. Notably, amid all the information flowing through these venues, there is little sign that Pepys’s acquaintances were reluctant to criticize the authorities for fear of treason or sedition laws. Either Pepys was peculiarly skilled in inspiring confidences or, more likely, seditious talk in London’s news centres was far from unusual.

Pepys deliberately manipulated his network of contacts in response to changing priorities in government and to anticipate future developments. Drawing on his own experience and probably aided by his reading of conduct literature, he recognized certain of the principles of efficient information flow that underlie modern social network theories. He described building ties to certain individuals—

<sup>120</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, pp. 178–9. For examples of Pepys’s monitoring of public views, see vol. 7, pp. 153, 156, 171.

men 'of large acquaintance' among a target group—in order to benefit from ready access to information about their communities. At the start of 1660 some of his most valued contacts were clerks and tradesmen whom he met in alehouses and Westminster Hall; City politics were of great importance and he ranged about the metropolis in search of this information. After 1660 his interests shifted more towards court affairs, while he used well-placed contacts such as Jack Cole to keep abreast of developments in the City. His growing influence in the navy, and subsequently at court, was due in the first instance to his knowledge of sea matters: by April 1665 he could record with pride that the King 'doth now know me so well, that he never sees me but he speaks to me about our Navy business'.<sup>121</sup> Pepys's mastery of other forms of news and opinion continued to magnify his importance to friends and colleagues. Within networks, status could be gained by taking on the role of gatekeeper, so individuals such as Pepys profited socially and financially from serving as familiar, immediate links between different sectors of the capital. This was a role that required not only detailed knowledge of the topography of news in London, but the facility to adapt conversation to the ranks and interests of his various contacts. The consequence of all this investment of time and energy was that by end of the decade Pepys was being consulted by principal officers of state on how to interpret reports and manage opinion: to the skills of a clerk had been added those of a courtier.

<sup>121</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 91.

## 4

### Reading History in the Restoration

Parler

6 Leather chairs on[e] Joint stoole a foulding table a rosework carpet 2 chuchings [i.e. cushions] of the same 2 branches [i.e. branched candlesticks] on[e] Lookinglass a cronacle & the history of England Scotland & Ierland a pair of snuffers

Inventory of goods left in John Pepys's home  
for the use of Thomas Pepys, 1661<sup>1</sup>

History was one of the most prestigious categories of learning in the seventeenth century: there was no shortage of educators, conduct writers, essayists, and (of course) historians who were eager to persuade readers of its merits. Commentators frequently echoed Cicero's praise of histories as '*the witnesses of times, the light of truth, the life of memory, the mistress of life, the messenger of antiquitie*'.<sup>2</sup> Knowledge of histories equipped you for living in the world and, in the families of the gentry and the middling sort, this meant histories became part of the equipment for good living. In August 1661 John Pepys, the diarist's father, turned over a houseful of goods to his younger son Tom, who was taking over the family tailoring business. Two books (and only two) were of sufficient financial and cultural value to specify in the inventory: one was a chronicle, the other a history of England, Scotland, and Ireland.<sup>3</sup> These histories were loaned as part of the furniture of a well-appointed home and kept in the reception room. Like the parlour's rose-work carpet and the looking glass, the books were signs of Tom's status as a flourishing citizen—or, since he quickly ran into debt, a citizen who needed to look like he was flourishing. The implication to the guests hosted in Tom's parlour was that the knowledge contained in the books was part of the mental furniture of the householder. Even if neither Tom nor his visitors opened them, these histories were serving a purpose.

<sup>1</sup> Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.182, fol. 311r, inventory of 25 Aug. 1661.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, *De oratore*, bk. 2, ch. 9, quoted in Richard Brathwait, *The English Gentleman* (London, 1630), p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> Histories are one of the very few types of books that merited specifying in early 17th-century wills and inventories. See Peter Clark, 'The Ownership of Books in England, 1560–1640: The Example of Some Kentish Townsfolk', in *Schooling and Society: Studies in the History of Education*, ed. Lawrence Stone (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), pp. 95–111 (pp. 102–3); and Ian W. Archer, 'Discourses of History in Elizabethan and Early Stuart London', in *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*, ed. Paulina Kewes (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 2006), pp. 201–22 (p. 205).

History reading was estimable, but it was also regarded as challenging. There was a sufficient number of people who wanted to be well read in history to create a market for guides specifically on history reading: where to start, what to read, and how to read. Tom's studious elder brother acquired several of these guides, including Degory Wheare's *The Method and Order of Reading Both Civil and Ecclesiastical Histories* (1685). Wheare's book was extremely successful: first published in Latin in 1623, it was expanded, much reprinted, and then translated into English in 1685, with two more English editions before the end of the century. Wheare elaborated on Cicero's commendation of historical knowledge:

History is a treasury of very many and different good things: For in History you will find some things which tend to the increase of Learning, others of Prudence, other things you may observe which tend to the improvement of the Language, and which do contribute to the perfecting the Faculty of speaking well; and, lastly, other things which tend to the well forming the Life and to the polishing the Manners.<sup>4</sup>

Histories were to be read not just for knowledge of past events, but to learn prudence, rhetoric, morality, and civility. Yet among commentators, doubts about readers' capacities to interpret histories were a recurring theme. Wheare argued (citing Aristotle and others in support) that history was unsuitable reading for 'young Men'. He emphasized that to be a 'competent Reader of Histories' required great judgement in order to draw out precepts and infer the correct meanings.<sup>5</sup>

Wheare was writing in the early seventeenth century; the challenges for history readers in the Restoration were perceived as even more formidable. Anyone who had lived through the Civil Wars knew all too well that competing interpretations of the past impacted directly—sometimes painfully—upon the present. After Charles II's return, it briefly seemed possible that a consensus on the events of the recent past might be reached. In September 1660 the London barber Thomas Rugg believed that soon nothing in 'the managment of publique affares will arise to trouble studies or disturbe the press' and that this would enable the publishing of 'impartial history'.<sup>6</sup> Such hopes must have been short-lived. Indeed, if readers were not aware of the difficulties of history writing before they picked up a book, then many historians both during the Interregnum and after the Restoration worked hard to ensure that they became aware. As we will see, writers of contrasting political views dwelt on the problems they had faced in establishing facts or in expressing truths under constraint—and these were problems that they recognized their readers might also face.

<sup>4</sup> Degory Wheare, *The Method and Order of Reading Both Civil and Ecclesiastical Histories*, trans. and enlarged by Edward Bohun (London, 1685), pp. 321–2, PL 929. On the publishing history of Wheare's guide, see J. H. M. Salmon, 'Precept, Example, and Truth: Degory Wheare and the *Ars Historica*', in *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric, and Fiction, 1500–1800*, ed. Donald R. Kelley and David Harris Sacks (Cambridge: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 11–36.

<sup>5</sup> Wheare, *Method and Order*, pp. 298–300.

<sup>6</sup> *The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg 1659–1661*, ed. William L. Sachse, Camden 3rd ser., 91 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1961), p. 108. Rugg's notion of 'impartial history' was royalist in tendency.

Besides the complications of politics, the sheer variety of ‘historical’ genres now available put readers’ interpretative skills to the test. In the term catalogues of newly published books, works classed as ‘History’ came second in number only to ‘Divinity’.<sup>7</sup> As we discussed in Chapter 1, ‘History’ was a nebulous term and routinely included romances and fantastical tales. What at first glance appeared a reverential, factual narrative might prove to be something quite different. For example, one self-described ‘History’ Pepys acquired was an inexpensive quarto entitled *The Honour of Merchant-Taylors* (1668) by William Winstanley. Since the title page promised an account of the ‘Noble Acts, Valliant Deeds . . . Pious Acts and large Benevolences’ of the Merchant Taylors’ Company, Pepys may have expected to glean at least a few interesting facts about the guild to which his father belonged. What he got was the extraordinary adventures of the (real) Sir John Hawkwood and his encounter with a (not-so-real) dragon, intermixed with the variously heroic and comic exploits of an apprentice and a journeyman tailor. Pepys, like the author, was content to refer to it as ‘history’, while also deeming it ‘a ridiculous book’.<sup>8</sup> It was nevertheless entertaining and eccentric enough to be worth keeping: *The Honour of Merchant-Taylors* was preserved in his collection of cheap print (‘Vulgaria’).<sup>9</sup> Often, as here, seventeenth-century readers of history had to be flexible enough in their expectations and approach to find interest in whatever species of history a text provided.

Nonetheless, both the experience of recent conflict and the advice of learned authorities were factors that encouraged Restoration readers to approach the interpretation of histories as a serious affair with potential real-world consequences. Guides to history reading, such as those by Degory Wheare and Mathias Prideaux, stressed the diligence required and urged the note-keeping, commonplacing, and reflection that scholarly reading conventionally entailed.<sup>10</sup> Modern historians of reading, such as Lisa Jardine, Anthony Grafton, and Kevin Sharpe, have tended similarly to emphasize the studiousness with which seventeenth-century readers approached histories. In some cases, history reading was undoubtedly work: a ‘scholarly service’ done by clients who compiled notes on specific subjects to aid their patrons, and expected reward or remuneration in return.<sup>11</sup> Yet Daniel Woolf argues that as the century drew to a close history, reading was increasingly associated with leisure. Using Pepys’s diary among other sources, Woolf makes a persuasive

<sup>7</sup> James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450–1850* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 92.

<sup>8</sup> William Winstanley, *The Honour of Merchant-Taylors* (London, 1668), title page, p. [4]; *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 277.

<sup>9</sup> Collection of ‘Vulgaria’, PL 1193 (13); see *Census*, p. 119.

<sup>10</sup> Wheare, *Method and Order*, pp. 19–20, 322–4. Mathias Prideaux listed ‘Matters of Enquiry, and Discourse’ after each of his chapters to encourage reflection; see *An Easy and Compendious Introduction for Reading All Sorts of Histories* (Oxford, 1648), p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, “‘Studied for Action’: How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy”, *Past and Present* 129 (1990), 30–78, doi:10.1093/past/129.1.30; Lisa Jardine and William Sherman, ‘Pragmatic Readers: Knowledge Transactions and Scholarly Services in Late Elizabethan England’, in *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), 102–24; Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 95–102, 183–6.

case that by the eighteenth century history had become 'a key part of sociable relations' and 'a significant specie of conversational currency'. No longer chiefly the province of scholars, this was a form of knowledge that cultured men and women should be able to bring to bear in daily interactions.<sup>12</sup> As we have already noted, Pepys tended to class histories among works of 'good use or serious pleasure'—as enjoyable but useful reading that was all the more pleasurable because their potential usefulness alibied and added to the enjoyment he took from them.<sup>13</sup> In categorizing histories as a happy medium between work and leisure Pepys was in agreement with his favourite historian, Thomas Fuller, who (contrary to Wheare) described history as 'a velvet-study, and recreation-work' suited to both young and old.<sup>14</sup> Tracking Pepys's experiences of the pleasures and problems of history reading allows us to explore the views of seventeenth-century authors and readers on a series of historical genres, including parliamentary history, collections of correspondence, and lives. With authors voicing concerns about readers' use and misuse of histories, this investigation also entails discussion of how the reading of history influenced the writing of it.

### THE CHALLENGES OF 'MODERN HISTORY'

During the seventeenth century, formal education emphasized knowledge of ancient history, as opposed to what was termed 'modern history'. Although, as Wheare and others pointed out, it was a 'shamefull thing' to be ignorant of the history of one's own country, sustained attention to modern history most often came through extracurricular or postgraduate reading. In particular, many educators recommended that only mature individuals should use history to study politics and that special care was needed in studying the recent past.<sup>15</sup> A minority, however, felt that the recent past was by far the most relevant and useful form of history on which to concentrate. Thomas Fuller and Francis Osborne, two of the writers Pepys valued most, both recommended modern over ancient history. Fuller, a historian and royalist cleric, felt a reader would be more '*morally edified*' by reading of matters close to his own experience, while Osborne's concern with pragmatism and politic conduct led him to argue that '*more naturall and usefull knowledge*' could be found in accounts of the Civil Wars than 'in the mouldy Records of Antiquity'.<sup>16</sup> Pepys felt similarly, for during the 1660s he almost entirely ignored

<sup>12</sup> D. R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000; repr. 2005), pp. 131; Daniel Woolf, 'From Hystories to the Historical: Five Transitions in Thinking about the Past, 1500–1700', in *Uses of History in Early Modern England*, ed. Kewes, pp. 31–67 (p. 33).

<sup>13</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 410–11. See Ch. 1, 'Attitudes to Reading and Book-Buying', pp. 38–9.

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Fuller, *The Historie of the Holy Warre* ([Cambridge], 1651), fol. ¶3v (1st pub. 1639). Pepys owned the 1651 edition, PL 2095(1).

<sup>15</sup> Wheare, *Method and Order*, p. 131; Mordechai Feingold, 'The Humanities', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 4, ed. Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 211–357 (pp. 334–5, 343–4).

<sup>16</sup> [Francis Osborne], *Advice to a Son* (Oxford, 1656; Wing O509), p. 6; T[homas] F[uller], *Ephemeris Parliamentaria* (London, 1654, PL 2115), fol. ¶2v. Pepys also owned the 1660 reissue of

classical historians and focused on modern history, with particular attention to events from the Reformation onwards. By the Restoration there was much to read in this field and, apparently, considerable demand for such works: Woolf has argued that a ‘discernible shift in focus toward the recent past’ is evident among historians writing from the 1640s onwards as writers sought to trace the origins of the conflict.<sup>17</sup>

Readers such as Pepys who avidly read ‘modern’ histories had their attention repeatedly drawn—implicitly and explicitly—to the fact that these texts were necessarily problematic and incomplete accounts. On the one hand, avoiding the ire of present and future governments was a serious concern for writers, influencing both their choice of topic and their coverage. Walter Raleigh’s warning that ‘*who-so-ever in writing a moderne History, shall follow truth too neare the heeles, it may happily strike out his teeth*’, was alluded to by more than one of the historians that Pepys read.<sup>18</sup> On the other, it was argued that modern histories were, in any case, intrinsically less reliable. In 1623, Francis Bacon considered the problem of modern history in his expanded version of the *Advancement of Learning*. He observed that partisanship infected accounts written about the recent past, but felt that it was possible to find a way to truth by reading the accounts of opposing parties and choosing a middle path that avoided extremes on each side.<sup>19</sup> Writers who had experienced the Civil Wars were less sanguine about resolving such conflicts. Fuller held that partisanship was ‘the *Epidemicall disease* of the books in our *Age*, wherein all are so engaged in parties, that their *writings* will rather appear *pleadings* then *reports*’.<sup>20</sup> Supporters of the King and of the Parliament who agreed on little else concurred that even the most basic facts could be hard to discern because of the falsehoods and errors spread in newsbooks and pamphlets. Margaret Cavendish, the royalist Duchess of Newcastle, attacked those historians who knew only ‘what they learned in the Gazets, which, for the most part, (out of Policy to amuse and deceive the People) contain nothing but Falshoods and Chimeraes’.<sup>21</sup> On the other side, the parliamentarian John Rushworth began his *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State* (1659) by remarking on the confusion caused by forged and inaccurate records. The preface to the *Historical Collections* noted the vogue in recent years for

publishing Speeches as spoken in Parliament, which were never spoken there; printing Declarations, which were never passed; relating Battels which were never fought, and Victories which were never obtained; dispersing Letters, which were never writ by the Authors; together with many such Contrivances, to abet a Party or Interest.

the latter, entitled *The Parliament of the Third and Fourth Years of Our Sovereign Lord King Charles the First*, PL 2024. The preface is signed ‘T.F.’: it is not clear if Pepys himself regarded this work as by Thomas Fuller. *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 10.

<sup>17</sup> Woolf, ‘From Hystories to the Historical’, p. 48.

<sup>18</sup> Walter Raleigh, *The Historie of the World* (London, 1614), fol. E4r; see [Fuller], *Ephemeris Parliamentaria*, fol. ¶3v, and John Rushworth, *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State* (London, 1659; Wing R2316A), ‘Preface’, fol. b1r. Pepys’s copy is PL 2386.

<sup>19</sup> Bacon, *De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum*, in *Opera* (London, 1623), p. 95.

<sup>20</sup> *Ephemeris Parliamentaria*, fol. ¶3r.

<sup>21</sup> Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *The Life of the Thrice Noble, High and Puissant Prince William Cavendishe* (London, 1667), fols. c2v–d1r.

It would, Rushworth concluded, be impossible for any future historian to ground a 'true History' on 'the printed Pamphlets in our days'.<sup>22</sup> The corrosive effect that partisanship had on historical truth was therefore recognized as going beyond the historian's own bias, infecting the primary materials of history. Indeed, Francis Osborne maintained that the mass of contradictory reports during the Civil Wars made him less willing to advise the reading of any form of history, ancient or modern: there were 'Romances, never acted' that were 'born purer from Sophistication, then Actions reported to be done; by which Posterity hereafter, (no lesse then Antiquity heretofore) is likely to be led into a false, or at best but a contingent beliefe'. Caesar, Livy, and Tacitus, he now suspected, were just as prone to invention as modern historians.<sup>23</sup>

Osborne's pyrrhic doubts about all historical accounts were an extreme response, but readers of modern history in the Restoration frequently found themselves faced with writers who drew attention to their own limitations and required readers to fill in the gaps—sometimes literarily. When dealing with matters that were too dangerous or divisive to relate, an ostentatious or abrupt descent into silence was one option for writers. Mathias Prideaux's *Easy and Compendious Introduction for Reading All Sorts of Histories*, first published in 1648, contained an account of the succession of English kings. In the editions published during the 1650s, the account ended suddenly with the heading

CHARLES The First, &c. —————

Readers were left to draw their own conclusions from this brutal and eloquent silence, a silence that Pepys's 1664 edition preserved.<sup>24</sup> Other writers whom Pepys read chose to make the procedures of their self-censorship explicit, stating that they were avoiding contentious topics or curtailing comments that might offend the prevailing regime. Fuller's address 'To the Reader' at the start of his *Church-History of Britain; from the Birth of Jesus untill the Year 1648* (first published in 1655) gave notice that he had adapted his style to the times: 'The three first Books of this Volumn were for the main written in the Reign of the late King, as appeareth by the passages then proper for the Government. The other nine Books were made since Monarchy was turned into a State'.<sup>25</sup> As Fuller's chief critic remarked, this unfortunately implied that the author never had truth as his end, but sought chiefly to please the current government.<sup>26</sup> When Fuller reached Charles I's reign, he declared that he would not write directly about the wars because he despaired of

<sup>22</sup> *Historical Collections* (Wing R2316A), fols. b1v–b2r.

<sup>23</sup> [Osborne], *Advice to a Son*, p. 6. Osborne expands on his doubts about history in *Advice to a Son, the Second Part* (Oxford, 1658), pp. 72–9.

<sup>24</sup> Prideaux, *An Easy and Compendious Introduction for Reading All Sorts of Histories* (Oxford, 1648; repr. 1664), p. 341. Pepys's copy is PL 1210.

<sup>25</sup> Thomas Fuller, *The Church-History of Britain; from the Birth of Jesus Christ untill the Year 1648* (London, 1656), fol. a4r. PL 2437 is an edition of 1656.

<sup>26</sup> Peter Heylyn, *Examen Historicum* (London, 1659), fol. b7r. On Heylyn and Fuller's disagreements and the issue of Fuller's bias, see Royce MacGillivray, *Restoration Historians and the English Civil War* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1974), pp. 41–7.



establishing the facts and it was not safe to be truthful.<sup>27</sup> Prudent self-censorship remained necessary even under regimes that the author applauded. After the Restoration, the Duchess of Newcastle authored a biography of her husband. At the start she made sure readers knew that, though she was eager to name those who had failed in their duty to the royalist cause, she had reluctantly obeyed her husband's command not to mention 'any thing or passage to the prejudice or disgrace of any Family or particular person'.<sup>28</sup> Even with this measure of restraint, however, her text required additional censorship. Many copies of the first edition have two politically sensitive passages scored out by hand, on the author's initiative.<sup>29</sup> The names of royalist commanders whom Cavendish accuses of incompetence are deleted, as is a passage that criticizes Charles I for failing to pay the Duke's troops—not the most tactful of comments in a work dedicated to Charles II.<sup>30</sup>

When silence, omission, and ostentatious self-censorship were not feasible, history had literally to be rewritten. The rapid changes of regime in the 1650s and early 1660 meant historians sometimes felt they had no option but to revise material that had already been published in order to suit prevailing opinion. John Rushworth, whom Pepys rated highly, had fortunately kept anti-Stuart comment to a minimum in his *Historical Collections*, but he and his publishers nonetheless had to make some politic adjustments to keep abreast of regime changes.<sup>31</sup> The first edition, published in February 1659, was dedicated to the Protector Richard Cromwell. It also contained a preface praising my 'good and worthy Friends of the Army' and identifying the author as a historian 'not engaged on the King's side'.<sup>32</sup> This edition was still being sold after the Restoration, though with the dedication to Richard Cromwell removed: this was the text Pepys owned.<sup>33</sup> In Charles's reign a second edition appeared—although it was not announced as such. This was also dated '1659' but altered to lessen the risks of antagonizing royalists. The new edition had no dedication and elements of the preface were reworded: for example, both the reference to Rushworth's allegiance and his praise of the army were cut, as was a now impolitic allusion to the 'strange Contrivances' revealed by

<sup>27</sup> *Church-History of Britain*, bk. 11, p. 164.

<sup>28</sup> *Life of William Cavendishe*, fol. a1v.

<sup>29</sup> See James Fitzmaurice, 'Margaret Cavendish on her Own Writing: Evidence from Revision and Handmade Correction', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 85 (1991), 297–308 (pp. 302–4).

<sup>30</sup> *Life of William Cavendishe*, pp. 9, 26. Copies so censored include British Library copies 194 c.15, G.1712, and 614.1.37.

<sup>31</sup> On traces of partisanship in Rushworth's work, see MacGillivray, *Restoration Historians*, pp. 100–4.

<sup>32</sup> *Historical Collections* (1659), 'Preface', at fols. b2v, b3v–b4r. This edition is R2316A in Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue*. It includes a dedication, preface, and an apology from the printer to the reader for errors resulting from a rush to publish before the start of term. These copies often have a fountain ornament on the title page, but some have a rose and crown. The author's gift of the first edition to the Bodleian (E.5.1. Art) is dated 21 February 1658, i.e. 1658/9.

<sup>33</sup> Pepys's copy (PL 2386) is the edition Wing R2316A, minus the Cromwellian dedication (although the *Census* mistakenly identifies it as the later edition, Wing R2316). Pepys bought his copy on 30 November 1663, so it can safely be assumed the dedication was no longer being sold with the rest of the book's sheets at this stage. Cambridge University Library R.8.45 is an example of another copy in the same state.

the seizure of Charles I's papers after the Battle of Naseby.<sup>34</sup> There were also additions: the main text now included speeches from 1627 by the Lord Keeper and the Speaker of the House that praised the pre-war constitution as 'the best of Monarchies . . . the best for Peace, for Strength, or for continuance'.<sup>35</sup> Anthony Wood mentions an edition published 'by stealth' around 1675 and this was presumably it.<sup>36</sup> The impetus for these particular revisions must have come from the author or publisher, anxious to move with the times. However, retailers of histories also spotted a market in readers' desire to have an edition that displayed the correct political allegiances. Pepys owned a 1652 edition of John Selden's *Mare clausum* containing a dedication to the Parliament that attacked the naval policies of James I and Charles I. In April 1663 a bookseller, Robert Walton, began to offer customers the opportunity to substitute the outmoded dedication and prefatory material for a royalist version. Pepys was quick to act: 'I to Pauls churchyard to cause the title of my English *Mare Clausum* to be changed and the new title, dedicated to the King, to be put to it, because I am ashamed to have the other seen dedicate[d] to the Commonwealth'.<sup>37</sup> This was a book about British claims to control of the seas, so its relevance to Pepys's work for the King presumably made him all the more eager to get it altered. His book now had a title page and engraving of the Royal Arms from 1663, a dedication to Charles I from the 1635 Latin edition, and the main English text of 1652.<sup>38</sup> It was a melange of a volume but, thanks to what Pepys called the 'Orthodox' title page, he judged it 'very handsome'.<sup>39</sup>

Although Pepys wanted to be seen to own 'Orthodox' editions, he made a point of reading histories whose authors professed a diverse set of allegiances. As with his reading of the authorized printed newsbooks, he wanted to know the official line on an issue but also to be apprised of alternative perspectives. In the early 1660s he took the step of brushing up on his royalist historiography, making several purchases. For example, in October 1660, when Henrietta Maria returned to England for the first time since 1644, Pepys bought a laudatory account of her life.<sup>40</sup> Later, he purchased the most recent edition of Charles I's *Workes* (1662) and he was

<sup>34</sup> *Historical Collections* (Wing R2316A), 'Preface', fol. b4v; compare the reworded passage in the second edition (London, 1659, Wing R2316), b3v. The second edition lacks the printer's note and, normally, a dedication, but contains some additional passages in the main text.

<sup>35</sup> *Historical Collections* (Wing R2316), pp. 481–9, esp. pp. 485–6; compare Wing R2314A, p. 485. An extra passage was also included at Wing R2316, p. 193; compare Wing R2316A, p. 197. Some readers noted these changes: a copy of Wing R2316 from the Bridgewater House Collection in the Huntington Library has annotations in the hand of John Egerton, second Earl of Bridgewater (1623–86) marking the added passages.

<sup>36</sup> [Anthony Wood] *Athenae Oxonienses* (London, 1692), vol. 2, p. 645.

<sup>37</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 105.

<sup>38</sup> PL 2131(1), described in *Census*, p. 216. See also Charles A. Rivington, *Pepys and the Booksellers* (York: Sessions Book Trust, 1992), p. 45.

<sup>39</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 107.

<sup>40</sup> [John Dauncey], *The History of the Thrice Illustrious Princess Henrietta Maria de Bourbon* (London, 1660); *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 275. Pepys's response was not, however, laudatory. See, in this chapter, 'Lives', pp. 121–2.

intrigued by David Lloyd's 'well writ' book on royalist martyrs in 1667.<sup>41</sup> An even-handed work was likely to earn his commendation. Rushworth's *Historical Collections* limited overt political commentary in its main text, instead allowing the reader to infer from the documents provided where the blame lay for misdeeds and mismanagement. Pepys declared it 'a most excellent collection of the beginning of the late quarrels in this kingdom'. Similarly, a life of Oliver Cromwell that he casually picked up at Will Hewer's lodging proved to be to Cromwell's 'honour as a soldier and politician, though as a rebell, the first of that kind that ever I saw, and it is well done'.<sup>42</sup> Meanwhile, Pepys also owned Sir Edward Peyton's *The Divine Catastrophe of the Kingly Family of the House of Stuarts* (1652) and Anthony Weldon's *The Court and Character of King James* (1650), both of which regarded the downfall of the Stuarts as well earned. The first alleged, among other things, that Charles I was not the son of King James; the second was likewise concerned with vice at the Stuart court and was offered by its publishers as an exposé of villainy that revealed '*the Justice of God*'. Pepys accordingly described Weldon's book in serious terms as a 'treasonous' work that was 'worth reading, though ill intended'.<sup>43</sup> However, despite the grave preface, not all of the 'worth' of Weldon's history was necessarily in learning about the workings of divine providence or heinous conspiracies. In the course of attacking courtiers involved in the Overbury plot, for example, Weldon seized the chance to describe how they were entertained by a musician with novel abilities:

Hee had a *Catro* [catso, i.e. penis] of an immense length and bignes, with this, being his Tabor stick, his palme of his hand his Tabor, and his mouth his pipe, hee would so imitate a Tabor Pipe, as if it had been so indeed: To this Musick would Mrs. *Turner*, the young Ladies, and some of that Gig, dance.<sup>44</sup>

Pepys, we might suspect, thought *The Court and Character of King James* 'worth reading' in much the same way that he dignified gossip about the royal brothers' sexual preferences as 'matters and passages of state'—or, given Weldon's lewd content, perhaps in the same sense that reading the pornographic *L'École des filles* was excusable because it was 'not amiss for a sober man once to read over to inform himself in the villainy of the world'.<sup>45</sup> With Weldon's history, as with *L'École*, informing oneself about villainy could coexist with entertainment and titillation—notably Pepys read the history on what was essentially a pleasure trip. Seventeenth-century histories could take readers to unexpected places, and part of the art of reading those histories was to be ready to derive profit and pleasure from what was offered.

<sup>41</sup> *Basilika. The Workes of King Charles the Martyr* (London, 1662): see *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 101; David Lloyd, *Memoires of the Lives, Actions, Sufferings & Deaths of those . . . Excellent Personages* (London, 1668): see *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 547.

<sup>42</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 434; vol. 8, p. 382.

<sup>43</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 102. Sir Edward Peyton, *The Divine Catastrophe of the Kingly Family of the House of Stuarts* (London, 1652), p. 22; Sir A[nthony] W[eldon], *The Court and Character of King James* (London, 1650), fol. A3r. Pepys had these books bound as one volume, PL 62.

<sup>44</sup> *Court and Character of King James*, p. 107. A tabor player blows a pipe while banging on a drum.

<sup>45</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, pp. 323–4; vol. 9, p. 58.

## READING FOR WORK

The ways in which Pepys dealt with bias in histories depended on the uses to which he intended to turn a work. His interest in history was frequently governed by professional concerns and, in particular, by a need to understand the recent history of the navy. The fact that histories contained specific forms of professional knowledge was often advertised by their writers. For example, both Rushworth and Fuller proposed that their collections of parliamentary speeches would be of use to law students seeking arguments or records of cases. Rushworth also described his work as ‘useful for States-men’.<sup>46</sup> Although Pepys was no lawyer and not yet a statesman, the legal and political precedents to be found in histories were of great relevance to his profession. For example, in November 1661 the Duke of York summoned the Navy Board to consult about the recent refusal of a ship carrying the Swedish ambassador to strike sail to a British naval vessel in the mouth of the Thames—this refusal challenged British claims to sovereignty of the seas. The Duke wanted to know what ‘common practice’ was in making foreign ships strike sail to naval vessels in British waters. Caught out, the board members struggled to respond. It was this event which prompted Pepys’s purchase of Selden’s *Mare clausum*, a work that marshalled historical evidence to support ambitious claims for British sovereignty over the seas. Pepys’s intent was ‘to write a little matter, what I can gather about the business of Striking sayle and present it to the Duke, which I now think will be a good way to make myself known’.<sup>47</sup> In the succeeding weeks he studied Selden late at night and read Selden’s Dutch opponent Grotius, along with other authors on the same topic. The project on the dominion of the seas went on until at least January 1662, but Pepys seems never to have completed his intended discourse.<sup>48</sup> What he was proposing, however, was a form of ‘scholarly service’, akin to that which Jardine and Sherman describe the scholar Gabriel Harvey undertaking for his patrons in the late sixteenth century when he read to put together a legal argument.<sup>49</sup> Pepys, however, was not commissioned to do this reading, but was acting on his own initiative, with the aim of advancing himself in the eyes of the Duke and of his colleagues.

While Pepys’s reading of Selden and Grotius had been highly specific in its aims, he also derived professional knowledge from reading history in a less directed fashion. In November 1663, Pepys bought two histories, explaining he would ‘make the King pay for [them] as to the office’.<sup>50</sup> These were Rushworth’s *Historical Collections* and Henry Scobell’s *Collection of Acts and Ordinances of General Use*,

<sup>46</sup> Rushworth, *Historical Collections* (Wing 2316A), fol. b3r; [Fuller], *Ephemeris Parliamentaria*, fol. ¶¶1r. The prefaces to these two histories often make the same points in similar language, for Rushworth was drawing directly on *Ephemeris Parliamentaria*. The endorsement of history as reading for would-be statesmen was also made by Osborne, *Advice to a Son*, p. 7.

<sup>47</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 222, 223.

<sup>48</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 233–4, 235; vol. 3, p. 6. He may not have been able to tell the Duke anything he wanted to hear—certainly by the 1680s Pepys was scornful about Selden’s claims. *Naval Minutes*, pp. 275, 322.

<sup>49</sup> ‘Pragmatic Readers’, pp. 114–16.

<sup>50</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 395.

*Made in the Parliament* (1658). The first contained parliamentary speeches, letters, and political papers from 1618 to 1629, and the latter parliamentary acts from 1640 to 1656. Pepys charged them to the King to avoid breaking his vow about spending money on books, but evidently these were histories that others would accept were useful for his work. He immediately started reading the *Historical Collections* and went through its 750 folio pages in a month, reading it sequentially (if not perhaps thoroughly) in eight sessions and growing more enthusiastic as he went.<sup>51</sup> Rushworth had been an eyewitness to many events and assembled his collection by consulting the papers of those involved.<sup>52</sup> To judge by Pepys's comments on histories, this work had three main uses for his naval work. First, it offered precedents that were immediately relevant to current debates about the navy. For example, in 1665 when the navy was unable to spare ships to defend a convoy heading to the Levant, Pepys reread Rushworth's account of the Duke of Buckingham's impeachment in 1626, since the charges laid against the Duke included his failure as Lord Admiral to protect merchant shipping.<sup>53</sup> Second, Pepys regarded Rushworth's work as offering precepts for politic conduct. Rushworth's excised dedication to Richard Cromwell had advised the Protector to study the actions of the men within the text, for '*What is that we call Prudence or Policy, but a Systeme of Observations and Experiences, deducted from other Mens Principles, Practises, Purposes, and Failings?*' Rushworth also repeated the statement that 'Policy' could be gathered from history in his preface, so comments like these were not excised in copies (such as Pepys's) which lacked the dedication to Cromwell.<sup>54</sup> 'Policy' was a usefully polysemous term, for it could be interpreted to mean everything from 'principles for wise conduct' to 'cunning Machiavellian tactics'. Like other historians of the mid-century, Rushworth enticed readers with promises to reveal '*Secrets of State*' and show the behaviour of a prince '*wisely dissimulating with his People*'—statements that tipped the understanding of 'policy' in the direction of Machiavelli.<sup>55</sup> As we saw in Chapter 2, Pepys was drawn to works that offered counsel on politic strategies for self-advancement, and he seems to have seen the *Historical Collections* in this light. On finishing the work in 1663 he endorsed it as 'a book the best worth reading for a man of my condition, or any man that hopes to come to any public condition in the world, that I do know'.<sup>56</sup> Understanding '*Secrets of State*' was relevant to a man who took civic responsibility and public office seriously, as was other information the work provided on the causes of the Civil Wars and on parliamentary procedure.

Collections such as Rushworth's had one further use: the improvement of the reader's rhetoric. Degory Wheare's advice that readers of history should observe

<sup>51</sup> Reading began on 30 November. *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 402.

<sup>52</sup> *Historical Collections* (Wing R2316A), 'Preface', fols. b1v, b3r.

<sup>53</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 10. Rushworth, *Historical Collections* (Wing R2316A), pp. 312, 385–6.

<sup>54</sup> *Historical Collections* (Wing R2316A), Dedication to Richard Cromwell, fol. A2v and 'Preface', fol. A4v (citing Raleigh's *Historie of the World*). Compare also [Fuller], *Ephemeris Parliamentaria*, fol. ¶4v.

<sup>55</sup> *Historical Collections* (Wing R2316A), 'Preface', fol. A4v. The comment about princely dissimulation was cut from the later edition, Wing R2316.

<sup>56</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 435.

those aspects 'which tend to the improvement of the Language' was widely endorsed.<sup>57</sup> Parliamentary collections supplied examples of powerful rhetoric that had influenced the course of war. Rushworth encouraged his readers to attend to this skill, breaking off in the middle of one episode to remark that if a forthcoming speech seemed 'tedious' to the reader, he could 'observe the Language and Stile, as well as the subject Matter, [and] perhaps it will be no penance unto him'.<sup>58</sup> Here Rushworth implied two levels of reading: attending to 'language' and to the political argument. Pepys, we should remember, similarly distinguished between 'sense and language' when evaluating oral or textual arguments.<sup>59</sup> This was also a model shared by Thomas Fuller, who advised in the preface to *Ephemeris Parliamentaria* (1654) that 'such *young folk* whose short capacities as yet are unable to reach the policie and *State part* in these pieces, may better themselves by the very *language* and *expressions* therein'.<sup>60</sup> To concentrate chiefly on language over a piece's wider sense and implications was regarded as a habit of weaker or novice readers; yet reading with a mind to rhetorical models was nonetheless recommended. Pepys was particularly impressed by the models offered by *Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra* (1663), an assemblage of letters concerning 'Mysteries of State and Government' from the reigns of Henry VIII to Charles I. He purchased this in December 1663 as one of his books of 'good use or serious pleasure', but the first time we hear about its contents is during a conversation with John Creed in a coach on 1 July 1667. The two men were 'very merry' and 'Creed did also repeat to me some of the substance of letters of old Burleigh in Queen Elizabeth's time which he hath of late read in the printed *Cabbala*, which is a very fine style at this day and fit to be imitated'.<sup>61</sup> Pepys's own reading of the letters of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, probably contributed to this verdict, but Creed had plainly identified, and then memorized, some salient instances of Cecil's language in the course of his reading. The collection contained letters sent by Cecil as Secretary of State to Sir William Norris, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador to the French court. To Creed and Pepys this series of letter was of interest because the situations described were not remote from their own sphere and ambitions. Like Pepys and Creed, Cecil and Norris were government officials operating under demanding monarchs; in their letters they sought to relay news and encapsulate public opinion, while avoiding expressions or sentiments that could be charged against them. Pepys does not specify what qualities he thought made Cecil's style still contemporary and 'fit to be imitated' but a comparison between his correspondence and Cecil's points to a diplomatic use of litotes as one possibility.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Wheare, *Method and Order*, pp. 321–2.

<sup>58</sup> *Historical Collections* (Wing R2316A), p. 574.

<sup>59</sup> See Ch. 2, 'Conduct Literature and Conversation', pp. 62–4 and 'Conclusions', p. 77.

<sup>60</sup> *Ephemeris Parliamentaria*, fol. ¶4v.

<sup>61</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 313. The first edition of the *Cabala* has the imprint year 1654; Pepys owned the 1663 edition, PL 2261.

<sup>62</sup> Briefly, Cecil is fond of expressions such as 'no small misliking' or 'not fully to their contentation' to capture royal or ambassadorial rage. Pepys and his correspondents also favoured negative constructions to indicate that strong feelings were being moderately expressed. Take, for example, Will Hewer's 1682 letter on how he was 'not a little surprized' to hear news that Pepys and the heir to

Pepys's professional interests made him a collector of 'collections': in the four years to 1667 he acquired Rushworth's *Collections*, Scobell's *Ordinances*, Fuller's *Ephemeris Parliamentaria*, and *Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra*, as well as beginning his own collection of manuscript sources on the navy. The advantages of this type of history included the supply of detailed historical precedents and extensive instances of the language of powerful men. The disadvantages included the fact that these were not histories for novices. Collections often assumed considerable prior knowledge in their readers, introducing documents with little comment or gloss: without knowledge of the contexts acquired from elsewhere, both the '*State part* in these pieces' (to use Fuller's expression) and implications of the rhetoric might be missed. The fact that readers had to work to draw layers of meanings from the collections was, however, part of their attraction and related to another advantage of the form. The publishers of the *Cabala* declared that it reproduced original documents 'without any the least Bias or false Gloss' and thereby offered 'more truth and sincerity then *Annals* usually declare to posterity'.<sup>63</sup> It is collections of documents that Pepys most often mentions in connection with his job or as containing material worthy of imitation. With historians constantly warning of the corrosive effects of partisanship on the accuracy and credibility of modern history, these collections must have seemed to offer the most direct access to the past, for they entrusted the majority of the interpretative work to their readers.

## LIVES

Pepys was judicious when choosing the histories he employed professionally, selecting ostensibly moderate works or taking care to read both sides of the question. One particularly problematic historical genre when it came to issues of bias was biography or, to use the seventeenth-century term, the 'life'. Surveying seventeenth-century biographies, Allan Pritchard has shown that religious and secular life-writing was dominated by a tradition of 'exemplary' lives: writers were concerned with presenting models of virtue for readers to imitate or, less often, models of vice for them to eschew. This was a tradition of biography easily adapted to serve as political or religious propaganda. During the Civil Wars biographers had both the opportunity and the motivation to print scurrilous exposés, although this freedom from press controls was short-lived. Well into the later seventeenth century, Pritchard argues, most authors of printed biographies continued to exclude details of a subject's private life that were not closely related to their exemplary purpose, preferring 'a decorum of dignified impersonality'.<sup>64</sup> As a result,

the throne might have drowned in a shipwreck, and learned the contrary with 'noe small Joy and Satisfaction'. *Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra* (London, 1663), pp. 140, 161. Hewer to Pepys, 13 May 1682, in Howarth, p. 136.

<sup>63</sup> *Cabala*, fol. A3r.

<sup>64</sup> Allan Pritchard, *English Biography in the Seventeenth Century: A Critical Survey* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005; repr. 2009), esp. pp. 64–5, 92–3. See also Harold Love, 'Gossip

it was in reading lives that the differences between an author's agenda and a reader's own views or knowledge were apt to become most gratefully apparent. A case in point is Peter Heylyn's *Cyprianus Anglicus* (1668), a panegyric life of the royalist archbishop William Laud. The publicity surrounding Laud's trial and execution in 1645 meant his life had already been much discussed in print and Pepys owned several histories that featured him: Laud appeared in Fuller's *Church-History of Britain* and was portrayed less than favourably in Rushworth's *Historical Collections*.<sup>65</sup> On 'looking over' Heylyn's work in a bookshop, Pepys's first impression was of 'a strange book of the church history of [Laud's] time'. 'Strange' presumably because the author's strong endorsement of Laud was at odds with other histories and because, as subsequent inspection confirmed, he advanced views that Pepys thought 'Popish'. Pepys was nonetheless intrigued by this contrary argument: he bought the book and had a determined push 'to get through' it in late 1668, aided by Elizabeth and his boy servant. Early on, Pepys was persuaded that—contrary to its author's intent—*Cyprianus Anglicus* 'will do the Bishops in general no great good, but hurt—it pleads so much for the Popish'. His evaluation was based not solely on his own reaction, but what he estimated the general reception of the work would be. Having 'made an end' of the life, Pepys decided it 'is worth reading, as informing a man plainly in the posture of the Church, and how the things of it were managed with the same self-interest and design that every other thing is, and have succeeded accordingly'.<sup>66</sup> Although the work concluded with Laud's 'Soul ascending on the wings of Angels into *Abrahams* bosom', Pepys did not read it as a vindication of a royalist martyr, but as a political history of an institution that was governed by secular motives.<sup>67</sup> Here the presence of overtly partisan content appears to have encouraged purchase of the work out of curiosity, followed by a reflective and independent assessment of its contents and its probable impact.

Partisan bias could help make a history 'worth reading'; however, it might also render a work 'ridiculous'. If an author chose to exclude intimate or damaging details from his or her account, it did not follow that readers simply consented to ignore this information—especially when what the author considered should remain private was regarded by a reader as common knowledge. Therefore, one of the factors that initiated ridicule of a work was when readers' knowledge of the oral history provided by gossip ran dramatically contrary to the version offered in print. In 1660, Pepys purchased John Dauncey's *The History of the Thrice Illustrious Princess Henrietta Maria de Bourbon, Queen of England*, apparently in a spirit of royalist curiosity about the Queen Mother. However, when he and Elizabeth sat down that day to read it, 'it was so sillily writ that we did nothing but laugh at it: among other things, it is dedicated to that Paragon of virtue and beauty, the

and Biography', in *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representation in Early Modern England*, ed. Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Oxford: OUP, 2008), pp. 91–104 (p. 99).

<sup>65</sup> Fuller, *Church-History*, bk. 11, pp. 215–19; Rushworth, *Historical Collections* (Wing R2316A), pp. 61–2, 444.

<sup>66</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 291, 308, 373, 379.

<sup>67</sup> Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus: or, The History of the Life and Death of . . . William . . . Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1668), p. 537. This is PL 2222.



Duchesse of Albemarle'. 'Paragon of Vertue and Beauty' was exactly the phrase Dauncey used to address the Duchess, wife of the erstwhile General Monck. The author continued in unusually effusive terms, explaining that the book was proffered to her as Paris presented the golden apple to the fairest goddess.<sup>68</sup> Hyperbole was a standard feature of panegyric and might be intended to persuade the subject of a biography or a dedication to cultivate virtues they did not yet possess. However, Samuel and Elizabeth clearly felt Dauncey's praise was too divorced from reality. Thanks to Pepys's enthusiastic newsgathering, they had heard of the Duchess's avarice and presumably also knew of her famed ugliness (Pepys later called her 'a damned ill-looking woman'). It was also said she had begun life as a seamstress, conducted an illicit affair with George Monck while he was imprisoned in the Tower, had a child by him, and then married him at a point when it was not certain that her first husband was actually dead.<sup>69</sup> The egregious dedication was only one of the objectionable elements of the work but, for readers who knew their oral history, it was enough to undermine the author's credibility.

In 1668, the Duchess of Newcastle's life of her husband William Cavendish met with similar mockery in the Pepys household: once again the triggers were prior knowledge acquired through gossip and the ineptitude of the praise lavished on a subject. Pepys had been fascinated by the Duchess on her visit to London in April 1667, making special trips to try and catch sight of her in her famously fantastical clothing.<sup>70</sup> Elizabeth was apparently similarly intrigued, for a friend, Betty Turner, had lent her Margaret Cavendish's most recent work *The Life of the Thrice Noble, High and Puissant Prince, William Cavendishe, Duke, Marquess, and Earl of Newcastle* (1667). Samuel claimed to have picked it up because its 'fair print' allowed him to read without paining his eyes. Part way through, he described it as 'the ridiculous history of my Lord Newcastle wrote by his wife, which shows her to be a mad, conceited, ridiculous woman, and he an asse to suffer [her] to write what she writes to him and of him'. However next day he read more, 'with much sport, it being a foolish book'.<sup>71</sup> There was, in truth, quite a lot to snigger at in this biography. When Pepys criticized what the Duchess wrote 'to' her husband, he meant the prefatory letter to the Duke in which she described the Duke's support for her publications, despite the many '*Censures*' they attracted. These censures she embraced, for they proved '*my Actions are more then ordinary*'.<sup>72</sup> Besides the inference that the author was 'conceited', Pepys took this to mean that the Duke had failed to exercise proper authority over his wife and was complicit in the 'ridiculous history' that resulted. Indeed, if painting one's subject as an exemplar of virtue was

<sup>68</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 275; [Dauncey], *History of . . . Princess Henrietta Maria*, fol. A3r.

<sup>69</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 181; vol. 6, p. 324. John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Andrew Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), vol. 2, p. 73. Ronald Hutton, 'Monck, George, First Duke of Albemarle (1608–1670)', in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18939>> [accessed 17 Apr. 2014].

<sup>70</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, pp. 163, 186–7.

<sup>71</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 123, 124.

<sup>72</sup> *Life of William Cavendishe*, fol. b1r. Pepys's charge that the Duke was an 'asse' was probably prompted by the Duchess's recounting Aesop's tale of an old man, a boy, and an ass to illustrate the travails she and her books had suffered (fols. a2r–v). There is no role for the Duke in this anecdote, but Pepys seems to have supplied one.

standard, the Duchess of Newcastle made some very grand claims for her husband. His martial feats, she argued, were comparable to those of Julius Caesar: 'Nay, in some particulars he did more then *Caesar* ever did,' she announced.<sup>73</sup> She manifested her sense of the injustices he suffered by repeatedly returning to the subject of his financial losses, which rather undermined the portrayal of his magnanimous self-sacrifice. Bathos and highly personal details added to a sense of absurdity. The Duke, readers learned, adopted current fashion only when the style proved

one that is not troublesome and uneasy for men of Heroick Exercises and Actions. He is neat and cleanly; which makes him to be somewhat long in dressing, though not so long as many effeminate persons are. He shifts ordinarily once a day, and every time when he uses Exercise.<sup>74</sup>

It apparently had not occurred to the Duchess that readers might not regard her husband's habit of regularly changing his undergarments ('shifting') as worthy of public commemoration. Pepys found this work amusing because of its lack of tact and repeated violation of decorum. While the Duchess stated that she was writing a 'Heroical' form of history, he seems to have read it almost as a mock-heroic work.<sup>75</sup> Pepys's diary makes it clear that exemplary biographies involved considerable risk for authors and their subjects: a laudatory life could greatly improve the subject's reputation but the effect would be counter-productive if readers identified tactful silence as wilful omission, candour as indiscretion, or bias as outright distortion, and thereby felt provoked into ridicule. Well-informed readers could be expected to measure the author's words against oral history and (thanks in part to historians' complaints of writing under constraint) readers were not inclined automatically to treat print as more authoritative than other sources.

In the cluster of reading methods Samuel and Elizabeth applied to panegyric lives, we can see the seeds of success for a new genre of historical writing. This was the *chronique scandaleuse*, a genre that portrayed the misdeeds of courtiers in semi-fictionalized form and that first developed on the Continent in the mid-century.<sup>76</sup> A readiness to be entertained by history, to laugh at the biographical subject, and to bring gossip to bear in interpreting the account were all reading habits that the *chronique scandaleuse* played to and rewarded. Pepys was an early reader of one of the first and best-known contributions to the *chronique scandaleuse* genre, the *roman-à-clef Histoire amoureuse des Gaules* (1665). Written by Roger de Rabutin, comte de Bussy, this was to become a touchstone of fashionable and cultured reading in England.<sup>77</sup> When Lord Brouncker gave Pepys a copy in May 1666, he read it the same day on the boat to Redriffe.<sup>78</sup> The episodic plot concerned wanton

<sup>73</sup> *Life of William Cavendish*, p. 192.

<sup>74</sup> *Life of William Cavendish*, p. 151.

<sup>75</sup> *Life of William Cavendish*, fol. c1v.

<sup>76</sup> On the success of the *chronique scandaleuse* and allied forms of secret history in the late 17th century, see Ros Ballaster, *Seductive Forms: Women's Amatory Fiction from 1684 to 1740* (Oxford: OUP, 1992), pp. 56–60; Eve Tavor Bannet, "'Secret History': Or, Talebearing Inside and Outside the Secretorie", in *Uses of History in Early Modern England*, ed. Kewes, pp. 367–88; Rebecca Bullard, *The Politics of Disclosure, 1674–1725: Secret History Narratives* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2009).

<sup>77</sup> Sir George Etherege, *The Man of Mode* (London, 1676), Act 4, scene 1, p. 62.

<sup>78</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 114.

courtiers, such as the beautiful but impudent Ardelise (aka the comtesse d'Olonne), who conducted many adulterous affairs. Much comedy arose from Ardelise's willingness to cut to the chase. When Crispin (alias Monsieur Paget) wrote to offer her 2,000 pistoles, explaining that this was far above his usual rate for a mistress, Ardelise replied that she was charmed and admired his style. 'Six mois de coqueterie, & d'infidelité' promptly ensued.<sup>79</sup> Pepys called it 'a pretty Libell against the amours of the Court of France', thereby identifying political satire rather than romance or fiction as the most significant element in his eyes.<sup>80</sup> At this point recognizing that it was a satire may well have been the extent of his ability to decode the *roman-à-clef*, for in his diary he referred to events at the French court in only the most general of terms. However, it was evidently a work worth keeping and one whose factual content was not to be dismissed: as part of a collection on 'Histoire Amoureuse de France' this was one of the very few novelistic works that would make it into Pepys's 'Classis of History' in his subject catalogue, though it was also listed in 'Diversion'.<sup>81</sup> This and the other *chroniques scandaleuses* ostentatiously combined 'Diversion' and 'History', offering mocking exposés of the private occurrences that respectable histories were supposed to ignore. The rapid success of the genre was assisted by the fact that it catered to reading habits that had already developed as a result of dissatisfaction with laudatory biographies: rather than using mockery and gossip in defiance of an author's intent, a reader's role was to be complicit with an author in bringing oral history to interpret the work.

## HISTORY AND CONVERSATION

The versions of history presented in *chroniques scandaleuses* drew on outrageous gossip, calculatedly profiting from controversy. Yet the relationship between histories and conversation was already proving controversial even without the added ingredient of scandal. Daniel Woolf argues that the tradition of using history to teach rhetoric helped historical knowledge to become more widely used in social intercourse. Histories were read for anecdotes that could be repeated in conversation again and again 'the way jokes and urban folk-tales circulate today'.<sup>82</sup> The connections between history reading, storytelling, and jesting ran even deeper than Woolf suggests, and they did not go unnoticed or unchallenged by contemporaries. Scholarly writers took a dim view of reading history to aid conversation, since, like

<sup>79</sup> Translation: 'Six months of coquetry and infidelity'. [Roger de Rabutin, comte de Bussy], *Histoire amoureuse des Gaules* ('Liège' [Brussels, 1665]), p. 18.

<sup>80</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 114.

<sup>81</sup> 'Appendix Classica', pp. 57, 96. Pepys's library copy is *Recueil des histoires galantes* (Cologne, [c.1670?]), PL 90. This edition does not use pseudonyms for the courtiers, strengthening its ties to 'history'.

<sup>82</sup> Woolf, 'Speaking of History: Conversations about the Past in Restoration and Eighteenth-Century England', in *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain 1500–1850*, ed. Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 119–37 (pp. 127, 133); see also Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England*, ch. 2.

reading chiefly for examples of good style, it was regarded as a superficial way of appreciating a text. Lamenting the state of 'natural' history in the early seventeenth century, Bacon grumbled that its '*Fables*' and '*vain Controversies*' were better suited 'to Table-talke, or the *night-discourses* of Learned men' than to establishing a new philosophy.<sup>83</sup> At least this material was fit for the talk of 'learned' men: Wheare described reading history chiefly for 'pretty Stories' to tell as the behaviour of 'Children and Ignorant Men'. He was sufficiently riled by this approach to quote the words of the Dutch humanist scholar Gerardus Vossius:

*They are to be esteem'd a sort of ridiculous silly people, who read Histories for no other end, but that they may divertise themselves, and lay up a stock of Chat for entertainments and common meetings.*

Such people should, Wheare agreed, betake themselves to read romances instead.<sup>84</sup> He was fighting a rearguard action, for many writers now encouraged the reading of history as an excellent source of entertaining conversational material. For example, Richard Brathwait's *The English Gentleman* (1630) advised that the '*Store-house of History*' afforded 'better meanes, than all the *Helpes to Discourse* which our weake Pamphletters can publish, to enable you for discourse in all companies'. In Brathwait's view, history's 'variety' made it suitable 'both for table-talke to delight, and discourse of more serious consequence'.<sup>85</sup> Obadiah Walker's *Of Education, Especially of Young Gentlemen* (1687)—a work Pepys owned when he was overseeing the education of his two nephews—argued a similar point. 'The most innocent, grateful, and universal Discourse, is *telling stories*,' Walker advised and he recommended '*Travels, Government of forreign Countries, Histories* of times past or present of other Places' as safe and inoffensive topics.<sup>86</sup> Table talk—the telling of witty, relevant anecdotes acquired through reading, conversation, and personal experience—was an esteemed skill. Besides noting entertaining conversations in his diary, Pepys also maintained a separate 'book of tales' or 'book of stories' (unfortunately now lost) in which he wrote down the anecdotes he picked up orally. Thus, after a dinner at William Coventry's lodgings in 1664, Pepys noted in his journal, 'We had excellent good table-talk, some of which I have entered in my book of stories.'<sup>87</sup>

History's capacity to provide material for table talk was a major attraction for Pepys and his friends. This appeal may be one reason why the two history books passed to Tom Pepys were kept in the parlour, along with six fine chairs to seat guests, rather than in the nearby study. The discussions between Samuel Pepys and

<sup>83</sup> Francis Bacon, *Of the Advancement or Proficiency of Learning*, trans. Gilbert Wats (Oxford, 1640), p. 85.

<sup>84</sup> Wheare, *Method and Order*, pp. 306–7, quoting Gerardus Vossius, *Ars historica*, cap. 5.

<sup>85</sup> Brathwait, *English Gentleman*, p. 220. 'A Help to Discourse' was a type of inexpensive advice book and miscellany. Over 60 years later Brathwait's counsel was cited in *The Young-Students-Library* (London, 1692), p. v.

<sup>86</sup> [Obadiah Walker], *Of Education, Especially of Young Gentlemen* (Oxford, 1673; repr. 1687), pp. 264, 266. Pepys's copy is PL 678. Travel narratives were often classed as history.

<sup>87</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 103; compare vol. 4, pp. 346, 405–6; vol. 8, p. 95.

his companions frequently involved historical allusion or turned directly on the history texts they had read. As we have seen, John Creed had parts of Cecil's letters from *Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra* memorized. Other companions also had historical reading committed to memory. An after-dinner talk with the Reverend John Turner led Pepys to comment, 'I find by discourse Mr. Turner to be a man mighty well read in the Roman story, which is very pleasant,' while another enjoyable evening was spent with Captain Cocke, who talked 'of some of the Roman history very well, he having a good memory'.<sup>88</sup> At a tavern after a Royal Society meeting, Dr Daniel Whistler enlivened a discussion about blood transfusion by introducing a historical anecdote taken from Thomas Moffet's *Healths Improvement* (1655). Dr Caius, a sixteenth-century Cambridge scholar, had survived in his old age on breast milk and this apparently had mood-altering properties. Whistler related that while Caius 'fed upon the milk of an angry fretful woman, [he] was so himself; and then being advised to take of a good-natured patient woman, he did become so, beyond the common temper of his age'. This 'pretty story' (in Pepys's words) was well applied to the occasion, for it amusingly supported the proposition that a donor's temperament could be imparted to a host through the transfer of bodily fluid.<sup>89</sup> However, Pepys's own efforts to introduce historical anecdotes into conversation were not always as adept as Whistler's. In 1664 he read Samuel de Sorbière's newly published *Relation d'un voyage en Angleterre*. Then, on meeting Cromwell's former chaplain Jeremiah White, he allowed his curiosity about one report to get the better of his tact:

I told him of what I found writ in a French book of one Monsieur Sorbiere, that gives an account of his observations here in England—among other things, [Sorbière] says that it is reported that Cromwell did in his life-time transpose many of the bodies of the kings of England from one grave to another, and that by that means it is not known certainly whether the head that is now set up upon a post be that of Cromwell or one of the kings—Mr. White tells me that he believes he never had so poor a low thought in him to trouble himself about.<sup>90</sup>

Sorbière introduced the stories about Cromwell's efforts to disguise his resting place with the words 'Je ne dis rien d'un bruit ridicule qui courut à Londres . . .' ['I say nothing of a ridiculous rumour that spread in London . . .'].<sup>91</sup> He then went on to say quite a bit about it. Pepys took the hint that the author did not consider such rumours completely 'ridiculous', and so followed it up when he got the chance. In doing so it sounds very much as if he managed to offend his new companion. This was a good example, in other words, of how not to intrude history into conversation.

<sup>88</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 517; vol. 4, p. 362.

<sup>89</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 543; Thomas Moffett and Christopher Bennet, *Healths Improvement* (London, 1655), p. 123. Whistler's analogy between breastfeeding and blood transfusion was not quite as bizarre as it now sounds, for, following Aristotle, milk was considered a product of the blood in 17th-century medicine.

<sup>90</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 297.

<sup>91</sup> [Samuel de Sorbière], *Relation d'un voyage en Angleterre* (Paris, 1664), p. 165.

While readers were honing their conversational skill through the acquisition and deployment of historical anecdotes, historians were at odds over the extent to which such interests should influence histories. The reception of Thomas Fuller's works exemplifies the many uses of history reading and especially the contention over reading to aid conversation. Pepys found reason to return to Fuller's histories again and again. His first purchase was Fuller's *Church-History of Britain* in 1660, which he took to reading alone on Sunday evenings. He read the work out of chronological sequence, apparently choosing chapters that suited his interest at a given time. He first mentions reading about Mary's reign (book 8) in 1660; the same year he went back and read about Henry VIII (book 5) and 'The History of Abbeys' (book 6); after a break of nearly three years, he read material from Elizabeth's reign (book 9)—probably not for the first time.<sup>92</sup> Sometimes the choice seems to have been religiously motivated. Thus one evening, having been disgusted at the 'pitiful sorry devocioun' in evidence during a service at Westminster Abbey, Pepys read 'part of the Maryan persecution in Mr. Fuller'. It was presumably no coincidence that this section offered sterling examples of the Protestant devotion that had been lacking earlier in the day.<sup>93</sup> However, Pepys's reading of the *Church-History* was not particularly studious and he sometimes misremembered what he had just read. As Latham and Matthews note, Pepys mistakenly named the writer of one letter to Elizabeth I as the (by then) long-dead Archbishop Cranmer. His gloss on the letter also replicated Fuller's statements rather than representing independent conclusions: Fuller praised the letter-writer for his 'spirit', 'humility', and 'necessary boldness' that arose from 'the goodness of the cause', while Pepys praised his 'zeal, obedience and boldness in a cause of religion'.<sup>94</sup> Pepys was here attending to the exemplary and rhetorical gist of a section, rather than to historical context or detail. Along with the *Church-History*, Pepys also enjoyed Fuller's *The Historie of the Holy Warre*, which illuminated the dubious motives behind the Crusades, and *The History of the Worthies of England*, which described the notable inhabitants of English counties.<sup>95</sup> All of these books were often read in leisurely circumstances. For example, one Sunday in 1661 Pepys stayed in, took a laxative for his health, and settled down to enjoy himself:

all the day, as I was at leisure, I did read in Fuller's *Holy Warr* (which I have of late bought) and did try to make a Song in the prayse of a Liberall genius (as I take my own to be) to all studies and pleasures.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>92</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 261, 308, 312; vol. 4, pp. 329–30. <sup>93</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 261.

<sup>94</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 329–30; compare *Church-History*, bk. 9, p. 130.

<sup>95</sup> Fuller's *Historie of the Holy Warre* was first published in 1639; Pepys had the 1651 edition: PL 2095(1). *The History of the Worthies of England* (London, 1662) was first read as a loan, then purchased, and read 'in pleasant talk' with Elizabeth (*Diary*, vol. 3, p. 34; vol. 4, p. 410; vol. 5, p. 118). It is now PL 2438. Fuller's emphasis on entertainment in the *Worthies* is discussed in Pritchard's *English Biography*, pp. 151–3.

<sup>96</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 207. See vol. 3, p. 34 for a similarly gratifying session with a loaned copy of Fuller's *Worthies*.

Although the song did not turn out well, evidently reading Fuller's works fed Pepys's self-esteem and his idea of himself as an accomplished gentleman.

A large part of Fuller's appeal was that his learning was delivered with wit, which ensured that even reading for devotional purposes did not have to be solemn reading. Fuller had a gift for aphorism and figurative language. Of the Crusades he wrote, 'warre is a Tragedie which alwayes destroyeth the stage whereon it is acted' and 'When a Crown is the prize of the game, we must never expect fair play of the gamesters'—sentiments that, by 1660, resonated strongly with recent English history. He also had an irreverent sense of humour that he deployed on the gravest of subjects. Strife in the Holy Roman Empire during the thirteenth century was summed up with the statement: 'Then was all Italie (resembled by Geographers for the fashion thereof, to a mans legge) troubled with the incurable gout of schisme and faction.'<sup>97</sup> Even in describing the Marian persecutions, a grim humour was in play. Bishop Bonner and Dr Story were both 'damnable Tyrants', Fuller wrote, for '*Bonner* persecuted by *whole-sale*, *Story* by *Retail*; the former enjoyed, the lat[t]er attended the execution.'<sup>98</sup> Commercial metaphor breaking out amidst accounts of torture may seem inappropriate but it acerbically conveyed the scale and organization of the persecutions. Fuller's witty, pithy phrases made him eminently suited to commonplacings. William Bright (1626–1707), a Suffolk gentleman, recorded sardonic phrases and metaphors from Fuller's works in his notebook, while William Jackson, a Yarmouth customs master whose antiquarian interests meant he was primarily concerned with noting facts, found himself reproducing Fuller's trenchant turns of phrase.<sup>99</sup> Fuller's conversational approach also allowed for much digression. His discussion of the Reformation under Henry VIII, for example, included a table of arguments for and against the licensing of brothels.<sup>100</sup>

To Fuller's critics, this digressive method and witty style breached historical decorum and undermined the credibility of his account. Peter Heylyn accused the *Church-History* of being so '*Heterogenous*' and full of 'impertinencies' that 'it might have past [*sic*] by the old Title of *Fullers Miscellanies*'. The impertinencies, according to Heylyn, included 'old ends of Poetry' and '*Popish Legends*', as well as '*Merry Tales*, and scraps of *Trencher jests*, frequently interlaced in all parts of the History' to provide 'something of entertainment for the gentle Reader'. In fact, Heylyn alleged, if all the jokes were extracted, they would make a sequel to the jest-book *A Banquet of Jeasts* (1630).<sup>101</sup> Fuller was, in other words, charged with catering all too well

<sup>97</sup> *Historie of the Holy Warre*, pp. 14, 92, 166.

<sup>98</sup> *Church-History*, bk. 8, p. 18.

<sup>99</sup> Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 6160, William Bright's notebook, fols. 64r–65v, notes on Fuller's *Andronicus* (London, 1646) and on *Historie of the Holy Warre*. On Bright, see Ch. 5, 'Reading *Arcadia*', pp. 144–5. Cambridge University Library, MS OO.6.115, William Jackson's notebook, fols. 119r–126r, notes on the *Church-History*. *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: CUP, 1861), p. 534.

<sup>100</sup> *Church-History*, bk. 5, pp. 240–1.

<sup>101</sup> *Examen Historicum*, fols. A7v, b1v, b2r. Heylyn's sarcasm about 'Fuller's *Miscellanies*' plays on the facts that (1) a 'miscellany' often meant titles such as *A Helpe to Discourse, or a Miscelany of Merriment* (1620), which mixed jests, facts, and riddles; (2) 'Fuller's *Miscellanies*' was the short title used to refer to Nicholas Fuller's *Miscellaneorum theologicorum* (1612), a work of biblical scholarship.

for an audience whose priority was entertaining conversation. Heylyn's view of Fuller was shared by William Nicolson at the end of the century: 'If a pretty Story comes in his way, that affords scope for Clinch and Droll, off it goes with all the gayety of the Stage; without staying to enquire whether it have any Foundation in Truth, or not.'<sup>102</sup> Heylyn and Nicolson had a point. Fuller had far fewer compunctions than Sorbière when it came to inserting a good story simply because it was a good story. His analysis of charges that abbeys were dens of vice was followed by the comment: 'Indeed, *tradition* is the onely Author of many stories in this nature, amongst which the insuing story intituleth it self to as much probability as any other . . .'. Whereupon Fuller proceeded to tell how Sir Henry Colt (famed for 'his merry conceits') laid a trap for a group of monks who were sneaking back from a night-time trip to a nunnery and then presented his catch to Henry VIII, 'who had *often* seen *sweeter*, but *never fatter* Venison'.<sup>103</sup> Heylyn's accusation in 1655 that Fuller was purveying not history but '*Merry Tales*, and scraps of *Trencher jests*' proved prescient. The *Church-History* described an incident during Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion against Queen Mary in which a herald, who had come to rebuke Wyatt, was nearly drowned while riding across a ford. When the herald angrily challenged the man who had claimed it was safe to cross, the man said he had relied on the fact that '*the Duckes came over not long before you, whose leggs were shorter then your horses*'. The same tale appeared in the jest-book *Fragmenta Aulica* in 1662.<sup>104</sup> The crossover between jest-books and history books was not confined to Fuller's works: the writings of the period's most famous historians were mined for jokes. For example, in the late seventeenth century material from William Camden's *Remaines*, a historical collection first published in 1605, appeared in *Cambridge Jestes* (1674) and *London Jestes* (1684).<sup>105</sup> While Camden presented his *Remaines* as miscellaneous 'out-cast rubbish . . . of a greater and more serious worke', Heylyn's charge was that Fuller had deliberately introduced miscellaneity into serious narrative history, thereby disrupting the decorum of style and content that helped to lend a historical work credibility.<sup>106</sup> Fuller, however, literarily knew his audience: Pepys met him in taverns and enjoyed his talk.<sup>107</sup> Fuller's digressive, conversational approach broadened his works' appeal: they could be read for historical information, devotional purposes, witticisms, and merry tales, without readers necessarily experiencing any sense of conflict between these ends.

<sup>102</sup> William Nicolson, *The English Historical Library*, pt. 2 (London, 1697), p. 93.

<sup>103</sup> *Church-History*, bk. 6, p. 317 (fol. Rrr3r).

<sup>104</sup> *Church-History*, bk. 8, p. 12; T.S., *Fragmenta Aulica, or Court and State Jestes* (London, 1662), pp. 69–70.

<sup>105</sup> [William Camden], *Remaines of a Greater Worke, concerning Britaine* (London, 1605), pp. 227–8; compare *Cambridge Jestes* (London, 1674), p. 103 and *London Jestes* (London, 1684), p. 53. Camden's story concerns a friar who is told off for babbling in church by a female parishioner; in *Cambridge Jestes* the friar has become the Puritan Hugh Peters.

<sup>106</sup> [Camden], *Remaines*, fol. A3v.

<sup>107</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 144, 239; vol. 2, p. 21.



## READING TO WRITE

From very early in his career, Pepys thought of history as a form he might write as well as read. If this marks him out as an unusual reader, it would not have seemed so to him. In the 1660s, many of his acquaintances were considering authoring, or had already authored, works that qualified as species of 'history' by seventeenth-century definitions. Thomas Fuller is only one example. Just among Pepys's coffee-house acquaintances, Silas Taylor had written on the history of gavelkind (a law work), Henry Blount had written on his travels in the Levant, John Graunt on mortality records, and William Petty on natural history.<sup>108</sup> Pepys's good friend John Evelyn had struggled with a 'History of Trades' and, in 1669, would start work on a history of the Dutch Wars. Even Elizabeth's drawing master Alexander Browne produced *Ars Pictoria* (1669), which, as a treatise on his craft, fell under 'history'.<sup>109</sup> One motive for gentlemen, aspiring virtuosi, and artisans to read histories was therefore as models to learn how to write them. Crucially, becoming a recognized author did not mean going into print: manuscript circulation was the aim of many writers and this could be just as effective as print in transmitting knowledge and promoting reputations. Writing history was recognized as, in Pepys's phrase, 'a good way' to become 'known' within professional or learned circles, so there was much talk of works in progress, as well as of those already produced.<sup>110</sup>

Pepys's ambitions as a writer crystallized around his work for the navy.<sup>111</sup> His effort in late 1661 to produce a short historical treatise on the dominion of the seas for the Duke of York was mentioned earlier. As his naval collections grew, so did his authorial ambition. In 1664, Pepys and William Coventry agreed there was a need for 'a History of the Navy of England'. At Coventry's suggestion, Pepys also considered writing an account of the First Dutch War of 1652 to 1654, a project that he thought fitted 'mightily with my genius [i.e. spirit]—and if done well, may recommend me much'. In 1668, he remarked that Richard Gibson's anecdotes about commanders 'will be an admirable help to my writing a history of the Navy, if ever I do'.<sup>112</sup> Pepys continued to collect materials for his grand naval history throughout his life. These included details of ancient shipping that suggest Pepys intended to cover not just hundreds but thousands of years of history.<sup>113</sup> Notes from Pepys's reading towards this project during the 1680s and 1690s were copied

<sup>108</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 63; Silas Taylor, *A History of Gavel-kind* (London, 1663). *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 274; Sir Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant* (London, 1636). *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 52; John Graunt, *Natural and Political Observations . . . upon the Bills of Mortality* (London, 1662). Petty's work in the late 1650s and 1660s included the unpublished 'History of the Down Survey' and a paper on the 'history' of dyeing.

<sup>109</sup> Gillian Darley, *John Evelyn: Living for Ingenuity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 140, 241. *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 561. Works on drawing and trades were often classed as 'History': see Ch. 1, 'Restoration Genres', p. 40.

<sup>110</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 223.

<sup>111</sup> Pepys did pursue other historical projects, including gathering a collection on Charles II's escape in 1651. See *Charles II's Escape from Worcester*, ed. William Matthews (London: Bell, 1967).

<sup>112</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, pp. 177–8; vol. 9, p. 26.

<sup>113</sup> See, for example, *Naval Minutes*, pp. 103, 158, 205–7, 325.

out by his clerks into a volume entitled 'Naval Minutes'. Often these were directions to himself to 'Examine' or 'Read over' a manuscript or printed source for information on a specific query, but they also show the works he did get around to consulting.<sup>114</sup> He returned to histories he had owned since the 1660s, such as Selden's *Mare clausum* and Rushworth's *Historical Collections*.<sup>115</sup> The wide remit of Pepys's proposed history also meant that travel narratives and ecclesiastical history served as sources. He produced notes on George Sandys's *Travels* and Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, and reminded himself to read Sorbière's comments on English shipping in *Un voyage en Angleterre*.<sup>116</sup> Fuller's *Holy Warre* was consulted on 'King Richard Ist's granting away to his subjects the right to wrecks', while the absence of 'sea-worthies' in comparison to 'land-ones' in Fuller's *Worthies of England* led to grouchy comments.<sup>117</sup> To judge by Pepys's notes, he intended his own history to do due honour to seamen where other historians had failed, and he also meant finally to have his say on the problem of 'the dominion of the sea'. Back in 1661 he had studied this controversy with enthusiasm, but his experience and reading had since left him jaded: 'The Dominion of the Sea', he concluded in 1681, 'seems to have principally served for a ground for our princes to ask money upon, and for the people to reproach their princes with the decay of.'<sup>118</sup>

Overwhelmed by material, Pepys never published his grand history of the navy. He did however produce a shorter work, *Memoires Relating to the State of the Royal Navy* (1690) (Figure 6).<sup>119</sup> Covering the period 1678 to 1688, this was written after the Revolution of 1688 had removed Pepys from his post as Secretary for the Affairs of the Admiralty and it was designed to vindicate his performance in that office. The result was an odd combination of self-aggrandizement and self-effacement. Pepys's name did not appear on the title page. However, his portrait served as a frontispiece to the work: this did give his name and identified him, in Latin, as Secretary of the Admiralty under Charles and James. Unusually for a history there was no preface or introduction of any kind. The *Memoires* began:

'Twas in April 1679, when (my unhappy Master, his then Royal Highness, having but newly been commanded abroad, and my self now shut up in the Tower) His Majesty K. Charles the Second was led to the exchanging the Method, wherein the Affairs of his Admiralty had for some years before been manag'd under his own Inspection, for that of a Commission, charg'd with the Execution of the whole Office of his High Admiral.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>114</sup> For example, *Naval Minutes*, p. 58.

<sup>115</sup> *Naval Minutes*, pp. 31, 94, 175.

<sup>116</sup> *Naval Minutes*, pp. 80, 219–20, 172. Pepys owned Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1599–1600), PL 2111–12, and a 1670 edition of Sandys *Travells*, PL 2469.

<sup>117</sup> *Naval Minutes*, pp. 89–90, 266–7, 419, 421.

<sup>118</sup> *Naval Minutes*, p. 92.

<sup>119</sup> Pepys also contributed information on the development of navy arsenals to *Camden's Britannia Newly Translated into English*, ed. Edmund Gibson (London, 1695); see esp. fol. a1r, pp. 229–30.

<sup>120</sup> [Samuel Pepys], *Memoires Relating to the State of the Royal Navy of England* ([London], 1690), pp. 1–2. This issue, which does not name the publishers in the imprint, was the one circulated privately in advance of commercial sale.

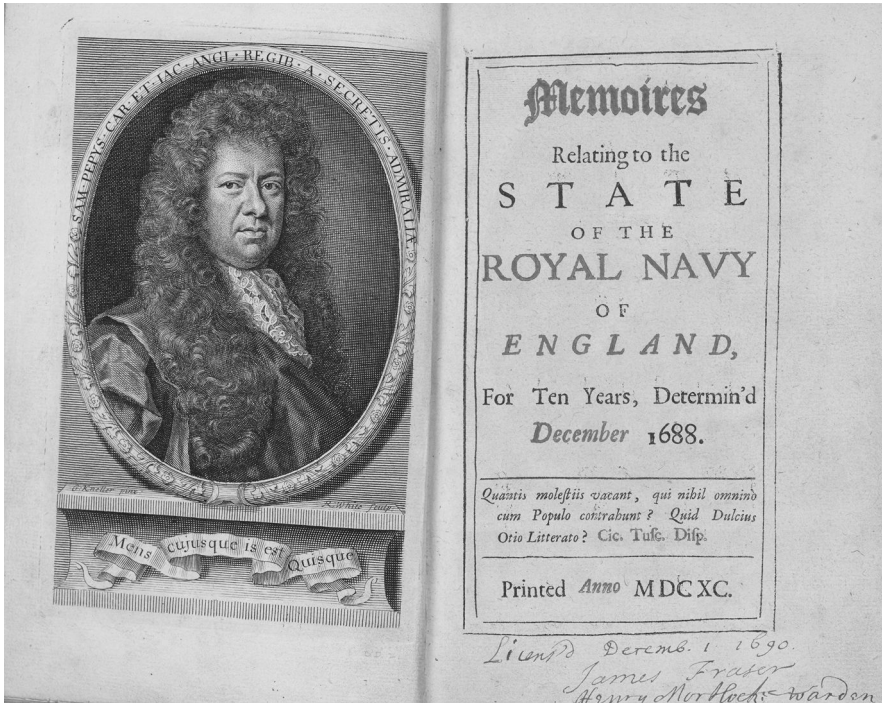


Fig. 6. Pepys's *Memoires Relating to the State of the Royal Navy* ([London], 1690), PL 1143. The annotation gives the date the book was licensed, with the names of James Fraser (licenser at Stationers' Hall) and Henry Mortlocke (master warden of the Stationers' Company).

By permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

This assumed readers were familiar with 'my self' and needed no discussion of the reasons why Pepys had been imprisoned the Tower in 1679. This is partially explained by the fact that the primary readership for the work consisted of the select colleagues and notables to whom Pepys presented it, but it was also sold publicly and Pepys made no concessions to this wider readership.<sup>121</sup> It was presumed that, if you were curious enough about naval affairs to pick up the book, you already had good knowledge of Samuel Pepys. He was performing—not very successfully—the difficult balancing act of magnifying his own achievements while trying to appear modest and fair-minded. To support his arguments, much of *Memoires* was made up of documentation: lists of the numbers and rates of ships, navy regulations, an order of the Privy Council, and copies of the Admiralty Commission's accounts were just some of the papers adduced. Pepys's documentation was strategic. As J. D. Davies

<sup>121</sup> On the work's publication, see Samuel Pepys, *Memoires of the Royal Navy 1690*, introd. J. D. Davies (Barnsley: Seaforth; Annapolis, MA: Naval Institute Press, 2010), pp. v–xvii; Loveman, 'Pepys in Print, 1660–1703', *Oxford Handbooks Online* (New York: OUP, 2015) <<http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com>>.

argues, he misrepresented facts and suppressed evidence in order to throw the blame upon his opponents who had charge of the navy in the early 1680s.<sup>122</sup> In his method of history writing, we can see the influence of the printed collections that he admired and used in the 1660s. Always impressed by collections that seemed to offer unmediated access to documents, speeches, and letters, he had learned the value of moderating explicitly partisan comment and letting (carefully selected) documents appear to speak for themselves.

## CONCLUSIONS

In the late seventeenth century, well-to-do readers could access an impressive and increasing variety of historical writings. The forms of history were sufficiently 'various' that the nature and purpose of a work might not be initially apparent to readers. In order to benefit from what a work had to offer, experienced readers of Restoration histories learned to be ready to turn history to different uses—sometimes uses they had not anticipated or that the author discouraged. While seventeenth-century historians frequently expressed deep concerns about the unreliability, incompleteness, and partisan bias of works, there are few signs in Pepys's records that readers were greatly troubled by issues of bias in histories. Pepys himself generally felt secure about his ability to discern truth and detect unreliable accounts—a confidence bolstered by his access to oral history. His journal strongly suggests that readers who were well informed about the latest news and gossip were more inclined to read printed histories sceptically. Certain genres of history writing were regarded as more susceptible to bias and distortion than others: the personal and political investments of biographers in their subjects made 'lives' particularly suspect, while 'Collections' of documents or letters were held to give more direct access to the past, and thus to be more reliable.

Bias, far from being a problem, could add to a reader's enjoyment. Part of the fascination of an account might be unravelling the 'truth' from partisan rhetoric (as with Heylyn's work); a partisan attack could furnish intriguing and scandalous anecdotes (as with Weldon); and panegyric could be enjoyably turned to ridicule by readers (as with Dauncey's book). Significantly, it did not take much to prompt readers such as Samuel and Elizabeth to start construing a work in ways that ran deliberately counter to the author's intentions. This mischievous misreading could be triggered when oral gossip contradicted printed accounts or when a writer went beyond the bounds of acceptable historical decorum through excessive panegyric or inappropriate personal detail. It also happened when self-professed histories included manifestly fantastical fictions. Book historians have not to date commented on the fact that early modern readers might be drawn to a history on the grounds that it was 'so bad it's good', but for Samuel and Elizabeth the uses of a history included the fun to be had from satirizing it. There is reason to suspect that reading

<sup>122</sup> J. D. Davies, 'Pepys and the Admiralty Commission of 1679–1684', *Historical Research*, 62 (1989), 34–53, doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2281.1989.tb01077.x; Pepys, *Memoires of the Royal Navy 1690*, intro. Davies, pp. ix–xv.

against the grain and a readiness to mock a work were common reading habits among history readers with good access to multiple sources on news and past events, for these behaviours made otherwise unpalatable works acceptable. A willingness to read satirically produced unexpected entertainment from the Duchess of Newcastle's folio life of her husband. It presumably also excused the reading of chapbooks and other texts that catered to less educated readers: mocking the likes of *The Honour of Merchant-Taylors* for being 'ridiculous' meant readers could derive enjoyment from 'Vulgaria' while simultaneously signalling themselves above such things.

Finally, there are indications in Pepys's records of how common reading habits influenced what was written. Thomas Fuller was justly accused of shaping his works with an eye to the conversational habits of his readers—a sin as far as his fellow historians were concerned but no sin to readers such as Pepys, who ensured that his works sold well. In Samuel and Elizabeth's tendency to mock panegyric 'lives' we can also see readers chaffing at the conventions of biography. Such reading habits helped ensure English scandal chronicles would subsequently find a large audience. The scandal chronicle may have been a novel form (in more ways than one) but it catered directly to existing behaviours used to turn the problems of history reading into pleasures. From Pepys's papers we can see how, on a personal level, he was gleaning hints from his reading of history about which genres and methods of historical publication would suit his ends as an author. More generally, his papers highlight how seventeenth-century writers adapted existing forms to appeal more directly to readers' favourite ways of drawing sense and amusement from histories.

# 5

## ‘Books of Pleasure’

### Plays, Romances, and Novels

On visits to bookshops in the 1660s, Samuel Pepys had to fight off his desire to buy ‘books of pleasure’, such as plays, in favour of more worthy works.<sup>1</sup> Forty years later, he still felt that some genres were primarily recreational: a section of his library catalogue of 1700 was given over to works ‘For Diversion’. These books were chiefly witty poems, satires, and novels in English, French, and Spanish. There were also cross-references to his separate sections on ‘Plays’, ‘Poems’, and ‘Vulgaria’ (chapbooks).<sup>2</sup> Pepys’s notions of the genres that constituted ‘light literature’ were typical of the gentlemen of his time.<sup>3</sup> This chapter is largely concerned with romances and novels, but I will also give some attention to plays and poems. One of the advantages of considering these genres together is that it allows for sustained attention to Elizabeth Pepys’s reading alongside her husband’s, since most of her recorded reading involved plays, poetry, and romances. Details of recreational reading by early modern women are relatively scarce, which makes evidence about Elizabeth and her female contemporaries particularly valuable.<sup>4</sup> In Restoration sources the types of books strongly associated with reading for entertainment were also associated with the creation and negotiation of intimate personal relationships. Recreational reading was often communal reading and could affirm bonds between partners, friends, or members of a household—but such texts also fuelled simmering suspicions or were the basis for retaliatory strikes in power struggles. Along with many of her contemporaries Elizabeth regarded romances (such as Sir Philip Sidney’s *Arcadia*) as offering information and models for conduct that could be employed in daily life. In this respect, there were strong similarities between romance reading and the types of history reading discussed in Chapter 4. Furthermore, both history and romance were commonly read with an

<sup>1</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 410.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Appendix Classica’, pp. 57, 60. Pepys’s ballad collection was supposed to be added to the list of ‘Vulgaria’ but this task was not completed.

<sup>3</sup> On recreational genres owned by gentlemen, see T. A. Birrell, ‘Reading as Pastime: The Place of Light Literature in Some Gentlemen’s Libraries of the 17th Century’, in *Property of a Gentleman: The Formation, Organisation and Dispersal of the Private Library, 1620–1920*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul’s Bibliographies; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1991; repr. 1996), pp. 113–31.

<sup>4</sup> On evidence for women’s reading, see Jacqueline Pearson, ‘Women Reading, Reading Women’, in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1500–1700*, ed. Helen Wilcox (Cambridge: CUP, 1996; repr. 1998), pp. 80–99 (pp. 82–3).

eye to extracting material for use in conversation. In this chapter, I will look in more detail at how early modern reading practices were strongly bound up with sociability and storytelling. These reading habits had implications not just for the reception of particular texts, but for the development of genres and for perceptions of literary property.

## RECREATIONAL GENRES

### Plays

There are, of course, many different ways to divert yourself with fiction, and the behaviours of Samuel and Elizabeth illustrate the range of reading practices in one seventeenth-century household. Plays had a particularly strong connection with recreational reading. Large collections of drama, as T. A. Birrell notes, are a striking feature of seventeenth-century private libraries: often acquired ‘on a systematic scale’, plays were one of the most accessible forms of fiction for the gentry.<sup>5</sup> Gentlemen and ladies could lay hands on multiple play quartos because these publications were relatively cheap (at one shilling unbound) and also plentiful, with new plays appearing regularly in the Restoration.<sup>6</sup> The public theatres had been closed from 1642 until 1660. When they finally reopened, play-lovers had greater opportunities to compare text and performance, and this prompted new ways of evaluating plays. Pepys was, for example, rather taken aback to discover that a play he had enjoyed reading could prove disappointing when staged. On attending an English version of Corneille’s *The Cid* in December 1662, he remarked that it was ‘a play I have read with great delight, but is a most dull thing acted (which I never understood before), there being no pleasure in it’. ‘Nor’, he added of the audience, ‘did the King or Queene once smile all the whole play’.<sup>7</sup> Advertised as a ‘Tragicomedy’, *The Cid* was a problem play: the hero and heroine found love and duty constantly at odds, and there was no comic resolution of the plot, with their marriage deferred and remaining uncertain.<sup>8</sup> The nuances of their complicated dilemmas, it seems, could be appreciated when reading, but in performance the same dilemmas appeared lacking in variation or alleviation—monotony was the result. In contrast, playgoers might find that a drama improved with reading. On first watching Samuel Tuke’s *The Adventures of Five Hours* in January 1663 Pepys described it as ‘the best, for the variety and the most excellent continuance of the plot to the very end, that ever I saw or think ever shall. And all possible, not only to be done in that time, but in most other respects very admittible and without one word of ribaldry’. He was here taking cues from the play’s epilogue that celebrated the drama’s plausibility and its lack of obscenity.<sup>9</sup> Set during a single evening in Seville,

<sup>5</sup> Birrell, ‘Reading as Pastime’, pp. 114–15.

<sup>6</sup> Prices from *Term Catalogues*, vol. 1, pp. 10, 20. <sup>7</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 273.

<sup>8</sup> [Pierre Corneille], *The Cid* [trans. Joseph Rutter] (2nd edn., London, 1650).

<sup>9</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 8. [Samuel Tuke], *The Adventures of Five Hours* (London [1663]), p. 72. Tuke adapted an anonymous Spanish play *Los empeños de seis horas*.

the action involved multiple coincidences, reversals, and mistaken identities as the heroine, Porcia, attempted to elope with her lover. Her aim was to avoid a forced match with Antonio—who proved to be the mysterious rescuer of the second heroine, her cousin Camilla. A few months later, Pepys read the playbook and reiterated his enthusiasm: ‘though I have seen it twice, yet I never did admire or understand it enough—it being a play of the greatest plot that ever I expect to see, and of great vigour quite through the whole play, from beginning to the end’.<sup>10</sup> Reading Tuke’s play had further improved Pepys’s appreciation of its plot, probably because the quarto (which supplied detailed stage directions concerning characters’ reactions and the timings of entrances) made it easier to follow which protagonist knew what at any one moment. Pepys habitually evaluated playbooks, like other texts, in terms of their ‘language’ and their ‘sense’. However, with plays he also regarded tightly paced and well-integrated plotting (often referred to as ‘design’) as an important feature, both in watching a performance and in reading. Plays that appeared to him to have ‘no design at all’ repeatedly met with condemnation.<sup>11</sup> In the case of Tuke’s *Adventures*, Pepys was tremendously impressed by the intricacy and speed of the plot, but also—as his comments on the performance indicate—by its ‘variety’. Without resorting to a separate comic subplot, Tuke’s play packed in tragic narrations of past events, heroic speeches, witty exchanges among servants, sage aphorisms (helpfully marked with inverted commas in the playbook to aid extraction), and plenty of fights.

With dramas now being regularly performed, audience members had the chance to adapt their reading habits to complement their play-going. In December 1660, Pepys apparently tried reading along during a performance at the Theatre Royal, Vere Street:

in Paul’s churchyard I bought the play of *Henery the fourth*. And so went to the new Theatre . . . and there saw it acted; but my expectation being too great, it did not please me as otherwise I believe it would; and my having a book I believe did spoil it a little.<sup>12</sup>

This was not an experiment he would try again. A more rewarding method, he discovered, was to supplement his play-going with history reading. In 1667, he ‘read the history of [15]88 in Speede, in order to my seeing the play thereof acted tomorrow’: the play in question was a version of Thomas Heywood’s *If You Know Not Me, You Know No Bodie: or, The Troubles of Queene Elizabeth*. Pepys also turned to John Speed’s *The History of Great Britaine* the evening after seeing a performance of the Earl of Orrery’s *The Black Prince*, out of a desire ‘to read the true story’.<sup>13</sup> History reading, he hoped, would add to his appreciation of the play (both of these dramas were disappointments), but he was also doing some educational ‘fact checking’ in more reliable sources than drama.

<sup>10</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 165.

<sup>11</sup> Examples of plays analysed in these terms include a translation of Corneille’s *Pompey the Great* (‘the words and sense not very extraordinary’), Thomas Heywood’s *If You Know Not Me, You Know No Bodie* (‘Neither the design nor language better’), and Thomas Shadwell’s *The Sullen Lovers* (‘tedious and no design at all in it’). *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 176; vol. 8, p. 388; vol. 9, p. 183.

<sup>12</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 325.

<sup>13</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, pp. 387, 498.



A major incentive for readers to invest in playbooks was that these texts were rich and adaptable resources: they were portable, suitable for varied company, and capable of inspiring a range of amusements. For Pepys these were books that could be read alone during a leisurely afternoon, at the beginning or end of a hard day's work, or in spare moments while travelling.<sup>14</sup> Like the more expensive habit of play-going, play reading was also a shared pleasure.<sup>15</sup> An excellent example of the delights a play could offer a household comes from one of Samuel and Elizabeth's favourites, *The Siege of Rhodes* by Sir William Davenant. This was a stirring two-part drama of nobility, jealousy, and warfare in which the besieger of Rhodes, Solyman the Magnificent, was drawn to Ianthe, the wife of one of his enemies—much to Ianthe's alarm and the rage of Solyman's wife Roxolana. The production made impressive use of scenery, and Samuel and Elizabeth saw at least three lavish performances of the second part in 1661 and 1662.<sup>16</sup> After the text of both parts was published in 1663, they acquired a copy and read it to each other on two occasions at home.<sup>17</sup> Pepys also took the book with him on a sea voyage to visit the fleet in October 1665. He and Captain George Cocke 'spent most of the morning talking, and reading of *The Siege of Rhodes*, which is certainly (the more I read it the more I think so) the best poem that ever was wrote'.<sup>18</sup> Pepys's love of the play subsequently stimulated his own act of authorship: he set one of Solyman's speeches to music. The composition impressed his actress friend Elizabeth Knepp enough that she circulated it around her acquaintances. It was 'mightily cried up' (as Pepys was pleased to note).<sup>19</sup> Then, one Sunday in August 1666, Samuel, Elizabeth, her gentlewoman Mary Mercer, and the cook Jane Birch set off on a trip on the Thames, taking the playbook with them. It was a journey of 'great pleasure, and a fine day—reading over the second part of *The Siege of Rhodes* with great delight'.<sup>20</sup> In Ianthe (virtuous but feisty) and Roxolana (murderous), there were two excellent female parts whose confrontations encouraged energetic reading aloud—and presumably fun to be had from at least one of the women helping Samuel with the heroic dialogues between the male characters.

### Poems

Pepys's praise of *The Siege of Rhodes* as 'the best poem that ever was wrote' shows he appreciated its language as much as the spectacle of performance. He and Elizabeth read a range of poetry together in circumstances similar to their play reading. For

<sup>14</sup> For example *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 259; vol. 4, p. 167; vol. 5, p. 280; vol. 7, p. 352.

<sup>15</sup> The cheapest theatre seat cost 1s. and a seat in the pit 2s. 6d. (*Diary*, vol. 10, p. 444).

<sup>16</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 214; vol. 3, pp. 86, 295. Pepys, and possibly Elizabeth, also saw the play in July 1661 (vol. 2, pp. 130–1).

<sup>17</sup> Davenant's first part of *The Siege of Rhodes* was published in 1656. Samuel and Elizabeth read the 1663 edition featuring a revised version of part 1 and the new part 2. *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 278; vol. 9, p. 396.

<sup>18</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 247.

<sup>19</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 320; vol. 7, pp. 257, 362. Pepys was so proud of this composition that he holds it in his portrait by John Hayls of 1666.

<sup>20</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 235.

example, one winter evening in 1666 Pepys spent an hour reading to his wife and brother ‘something in Chaucer with great pleasure’.<sup>21</sup> Chaucer was a long-standing delight: in 1699 Pepys recommended to John Dryden a section from Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales* concerning the character of a good parson. This led to Dryden’s imitating the passage in his *Fables Ancient and Modern* (1700).<sup>22</sup> Modern poetry was also entertaining reading for Samuel and Elizabeth, but not always because they were impressed. Robert Wild’s poem *Upon the Rebuilding the City* (1669) was part of a pleasure trip: ‘my wife and I all alone, with the boy, by water up as high as Putney . . . talking and singing, and reading a foolish copy of verses up[on] my Lord Mayors entertaining of all the Bachelors, designed in praise to my Lord Mayor’.<sup>23</sup> As we saw in Chapter 4, Samuel and Elizabeth sometimes enjoyed laudatory biographies because praise of the subject was judged excessive or inept, and thereby provided unintended fun. In this poem Wild’s praise of the Lord Mayor’s virtues took an unexpected turn in hailing his chastity, before moving on to good-humoured mockery of the group of bachelors (*Virgins in Breeches*) that the mayor had recently feasted. It cannot have helped that Wild’s tone was hard to gauge. For instance, he described the *Batchelor Lord Mayor* as ‘a wise Imitator of his King’—a strikingly bizarre claim given that Charles II was not exactly renowned for his chastity.<sup>24</sup> However, the intended parallel, revealed in the next line, was that both men endeavoured to heal divisions. Samuel and Elizabeth recognized that the poem was ‘designed’ in celebration of the Lord Mayor, but it seems the deliberate mock-heroic sections were not easily distinguishable from the heroic praise, which made it enjoyable bad: ‘foolish’ rather than witty.

### Novels and Romances

‘Plays’ and ‘Poems’ were readily identifiable genres and each had marketable appeal: both were given their own sections in the term catalogues that booksellers used to advertise new publications. Prose fiction, in contrast, had no permanent home in contemporary catalogues: Pepys’s section on ‘Diversion’ served—among other purposes—as a novel means of resolving this issue.<sup>25</sup> The fictions he labelled as ‘For Diversion’ included Sidney’s *Arcadia* (in a 1674 edition), Quevedo’s rogue tale *The Life and Adventures of Buscon* (1670 edition), and Cervantes’s *Don Quixote* in Spanish and English editions. Under the subheading ‘Novelas, & Novels’ Pepys individually listed tales from collections by Cervantes and the seventeenth-century Spanish writer María de Zayas.<sup>26</sup> In the Restoration, a ‘novel’ generally meant a short story, often of French or Spanish origin; such a work might claim to be a ‘history’ or define itself against the impossibilities of romance. A ‘novel’ could, however, be synonymous with a ‘romance’, or be used to describe one of the short

<sup>21</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 378.

<sup>22</sup> John Dryden to Pepys, 14 July 1699, and Pepys’s reply of the same date, in Howarth, pp. 280–1.

<sup>23</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 552.

<sup>24</sup> [Robert Wild], *Upon the Rebuilding the City* ([London], 1669).

<sup>25</sup> See Ch. 1, ‘Pepys’s Preferred Reading’, pp. 46–7. <sup>26</sup> ‘Appendix Classica’, pp. 57–60.

stories incorporated into a long romance to complement the main plot.<sup>27</sup> The term 'romance' was used of a range of works, from chivalric tales deriving from medieval sources to respected pastoral romances such as *Arcadia*, and fashionable heroic romances.<sup>28</sup> Pepys owned a 1664 edition of Mathias Prideaux's much reprinted guide to history reading that classified different types of romances or, as Prideaux called them, 'the Bastard sort of Histories'. There were, he explained, seven kinds: '1. Rude, or 2. Endless, 3. or Depraved, 4. or Superstitious; or else 5. Moral, 6. Political, or 7. Satyrical'. 'Rude' described old chivalric romances such as *Valentine and Orson* that were lacking in 'Ingenuity, Language, or invention'. 'Endless' were works such as *Amadis de Gaule* that, while not without good examples of noble conduct, were boundless and led the reader into 'a *Quagmire*'. The 'Depraved' and 'Superstitious' classes were both blamed on Roman Catholics, being, respectively, the work of monks who corrupted historical sources and 'Miracle-mongers' seeking to shore up 'Popery'. However, even a hostile critic could find some romances to praise. Prideaux commended 'Moral Romances', such as *Arcadia* and Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1590–6), for being 'Poetical *Ethicks*'. 'Political' romances such as John Barclay's *Argenis* (1621) 'point at policy', while 'Satyrical Romances' such as *Don Quixote* (1605–15) and *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554–5) 'wittily scourged' the follies of the first four kinds. Prideaux wanted to see the Rude, Endless, Depraved, and Superstitious romances kept 'from Youth of both kinds' and the Moral, Political and Satyrical types permitted only to those who could 'make use of them with discretion'.<sup>29</sup> As in this example, John Barclay's Latin *Argenis* and Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* were regularly held up by commentators as superior romances and were even considered worthy of study. At Cambridge University Richard Holdsworth encouraged his students to consider the 'rais'd and pollish'd' Latin of Barclay's *Argenis*, and assumed that they were familiar with Sidney's style.<sup>30</sup>

Prideaux and Holdsworth were writing before a new type of romance aimed at elite readers became well established in England. Heroic romances by authors such as Madeleine de Scudéry and Gautier de Coste, sieur de La Calprenède, arrived from France in the 1640s, subsequently inspiring English translations and imitations.<sup>31</sup> These long, multi-volume romances were set in the distant past or in exotic locations: La Calprenède's *Cléopâtre* (1646–57), for example, took place in the reign of the Roman emperor Augustus, while Scudéry's *Artamène, ou Le Grand*

<sup>27</sup> For example, Pepys appears to use 'romance' as synonym for a short 'novel', when he refers to reading 'little French Romances'. *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 35.

<sup>28</sup> On the different types of romance, see Paul Salzman, *English Prose Fiction 1558–1700: A Critical History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), esp. pp. 98–101 and ch. 12.

<sup>29</sup> *An Easy and Compendious Introduction for Reading All Sorts of Histories* (Oxford, 1648; repr. 1664), pp. 348–50.

<sup>30</sup> 'Directions for a Student in the Universitie', in Harris Francis Fletcher, *The Intellectual Development of John Milton*, vol. 2 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961), p. 644. Compare Degory Wheare, *The Method and Order of Reading . . . Histories* (London, 1685), p. 307, where *Arcadia* and *Argenis* are also noted as superior romances.

<sup>31</sup> Madeleine de Scudéry's romances were published under the name of her brother but the fact that she was in large part the author was known to English readers in the early 1650s. See Dorothy Osborne to Sir William Temple, Sept. 1653, in *The Letters of Dorothy Osborne to William Temple*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928; repr. 1947), pp. 82–3.

*Cyrus* (1649–53) was set in ancient Persia. However, as tales of displaced and suffering royalty, heroic romances lent themselves to being read as political allegories and some were also designed as *romans-à-clef*.<sup>32</sup> The heroic romance's unstable associations with history provoked grumbling among Pepys's acquaintances in the 1660s. Sir Edward Walker, himself a historian, complained of the 'writing of Romances' in general, and La Calprenède's *Cléopâtre* in particular, on the grounds that 'five hundred years hence, being wrote of matters in general true, as the Romance of *Cleopatra*, the world will not know which is the true and which the false'.<sup>33</sup> This was a reaction to the esteem accorded to these works, for, tellingly, by the 1670s there was some support for placing heroic romances in the first rank of worthy romances that merited readers' serious attention. *The Gentlewomans Companion* (1673), which claimed to be by Hannah Woolley, proposed a programme of reading for young women to include 'Romances which treat of generosity, gallantry, and virtue, as *Cassandra*, *Clelia*, *Grand Cyrus*, *Cleopatra*, *Parthenessa*, not omitting Sir *Philip Sydney's* *Arcadia*'. These were works by Scudéry, La Calprenède, and Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery (Sidney's romance was an afterthought—it was now nearly a century old). Such romances were held to provide examples of good conduct to both sexes: 'There are few Ladies mention'd therein, but are character'd what they ought to be; the magnanimity, virtue, gallantry, patience, constancy, and courage of the men, might intitle them worthy Husbands to the most deserving of the female sex'.<sup>34</sup> None of these educators—Prideaux, Holdsworth, nor the writers of *The Gentlewomans Companion*—regarded romances as books that were solely aimed at a female readership. Although in the late seventeenth century some female commentators argued their sex spent too much of their reading time on romances, this was a genre read avidly by both men and women.<sup>35</sup>

As a young man, Pepys was an enthusiastic reader of romances, for at university in the early 1650s he began writing 'a Romance . . . under the title of *Love a Cheate*'.<sup>36</sup> His reading at this time may well have included the French heroic romances that were then being published. Later he would read parts of heroic romances such as Scudéry's *Ibrahim* and La Calprenède's *Cassandre* with Elizabeth.<sup>37</sup> However, the

<sup>32</sup> Salzman, *English Prose Fiction*, pp. 157–75, 180; Annabel Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), pp. 185–202; Philip Major, 'A Credible Omen of a More Glorious Event': Sir Charles Cotterell's *Cassandra*', *Review of English Studies*, 60 (2009), 406–30, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/res/hgn161>.

<sup>33</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 319. La Calprenède's romance featured a number of actual historical individuals, including Caesarion (Cleopatra's son) and the emperor Augustus. While, according to historians, the former was murdered by order of the latter, in *Cléopâtre* they are reconciled.

<sup>34</sup> Hannah Woolley [and anonymous editor/contributor], *The Gentlewomans Companion* (London, 1673), p. 9.

<sup>35</sup> On the female readership of romances, see Pearson, 'Women Reading', pp. 91–3; Helen Hackett, *Women and Romance Fiction in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000; repr. 2006), pp. 6–12; Margaret J. M. Ezell, 'The Politics of the Past: Restoration Women Writers on Women Reading History', in *Pilgrimage for Love: Essays in Early Modern Literature in Honor of Josephine A. Roberts*, ed. Sigrid King (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999), pp. 19–40 (pp. 27–9).

<sup>36</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 31.

<sup>37</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 247, 545.

title of 'Love a Cheate' suggests it was more along the lines of the witty, dramatic novels that Pepys read in the 1660s, among them those of Paul Scarron translated under titles such as 'The Hypocrites' and 'The Innocent Adultery'. During the diary period, Pepys preferred shorter prose fictions to long romances. He took a collection of *Scarron's Novels* (1660) to bed to read on 15 October 1660 and enjoyed the first tale so much that he finished the other two stories on a boat journey the next day.<sup>38</sup> When he took a medicinal purgative one Sunday in February 1661, he indulged in 'reading of some little French Romances', although he felt these were not suitable material for a day when he should have been at church.<sup>39</sup> The most avid reader of romances in the household was, however, Elizabeth. Romances in French and in English make up three of the five works that can be confidently identified as part of her personal book collection. Samuel says explicitly that Elizabeth owned Scudéry's *Ibrahim, ou L'illustre Bassa* (first published 1641) and La Calprenède's *Cassandra* (first published 1642–5). The first was certainly a French text, the latter probably in the English translation by Sir Charles Cotterell.<sup>40</sup> The English translation of Scudéry's *Artamenes, or The Grand Cyrus* (1653–5) was evidently also among Elizabeth's books.<sup>41</sup> The other works she owned included Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (probably an English verse translation), John Guillim's *A Display of Heraldry*, and unspecified 'French books'. The edition of Gomberville's romance *Polexandre* that she read in 1660 was probably hers too.<sup>42</sup> Elizabeth had rather more free time than many women of her rank since she did not have children in her care. When she was not overseeing the household, a long romance offered one form of recreation. Romances were also, as *The Gentlewoman's Companion* suggests, educational texts: like her husband, Elizabeth was engaged in self-improvement, with particular emphasis on acquiring the skills and knowledge that would allow her to project the image of an accomplished gentlewoman. Teachers of music, dancing, and drawing were employed, chiefly at her own instigation, to bolster her list of accomplishments.<sup>43</sup> Pepys, who had been improving his own mathematical skills, set about teaching Elizabeth arithmetic. This subject she learned 'with great ease and pleasure', and she also persuaded him to teach her about 'globes'—geography and astronomy. In this context, Elizabeth's

<sup>38</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 266, 267.

<sup>39</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 35.

<sup>40</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 89 (*Ibrahim*); vol. 9, p. 365 (*Cassandra*). Pepys's reference to *Ibrahim* as 'L'illustre Bassa in four volumes' shows it was in French, possibly the duodecimo edition of 1665 (vol. 9, p. 89). His description of buying 'Cassandra and some other French books' implies a text in French but he twice uses the English spelling in longhand (vol. 9, pp. 365, 545). There were a number of recent English editions in 1668.

<sup>41</sup> Reading of *Artamenes* is alluded to three times in the diary between 1660 and 1667; only one of these occasions involved Samuel doing the reading, and he was reading to Elizabeth. Pepys specifies *Artamenes* was in English (*Diary*, vol. 8, p. 225), apparently the edition that was published between 1653 and 1655. Although Latham and Matthews mention a 1660 edition of *Artamenes* (*Diary*, vol. 1, p. 312 n. 2), this is on the basis of an entry in the Stationers' Register and I can find no evidence an edition was actually produced in that year.

<sup>42</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 289; vol. 8, p. 422; vol. 9, p. 365. Pepys spelt Gomberville's title as 'Polixandre' in longhand (vol. 1, p. 35). This spelling (ending in 're' not 'er') indicates a French edition, probably one from after 1637 when the author finished revising the story.

<sup>43</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 190; vol. 3, pp. 213–14; vol. 4, p. 109; vol. 6, p. 98.

romances appear as sources of 'serious pleasure' or 'recreation-work', as the type of mixed, beneficial reading that Samuel and male educators associated most strongly with histories.<sup>44</sup> As we will see, during the 1660s, Elizabeth became an astute consumer of these fashionable books.

### READING *ARCADIA*

By the late seventeenth century, Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* was the exemplar of respectable romance and a standard title in gentlemen's libraries.<sup>45</sup> It is therefore not surprising to find that there was a copy in the Pepys household. While romances are often mentioned in Pepys's diary in situations suggesting pleasurable, shared reading, *Arcadia* is different: it is mentioned only once, in 1665, as a weapon in a battle from which Elizabeth emerged as the winner. She won not just because she chose the right moment and the right text to challenge her husband, but because she had the printing history of *Arcadia* and traditions of reading behaviour behind her to support her when she did so. The reception of *Arcadia* in the early seventeenth century has been well studied. However, the status of *Arcadia* later in the century had altered; nor was the text the same: both of these changes proved to Elizabeth's advantage. *Arcadia* had been left unfinished on Sir Philip Sidney's death and was first published in 1590. Three years later a second version, completed under the auspices of his sister the Countess of Pembroke, was published and this became the basis for seventeenth-century editions. The text of *Arcadia* itself included poems, songs, and letters, and it was accompanied by other of Sidney's works. As Peter Lindenbaum explains, there were thirteen editions between 1590 and 1674, with the frequent addition of new material such as extensions to *Arcadia*, commendatory verses, and details of Sidney's life.<sup>46</sup> The copy of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* in Seething Lane in 1665 was almost certainly one of the two most recent editions of Sidney's works, either that of 1655 or the nearly identical 1662 edition. It is not clear whether this book belonged to Samuel or to Elizabeth or to both of them. In 1700 Samuel owned the 1674 edition of *Arcadia*, but there are signs that the earlier copy of *Arcadia* was Elizabeth's book or at least shared property. She could apparently lay hands on it at will, indicating that it was not among the books locked up in Samuel's closet. Elizabeth's ready access was far from unusual: Heidi Brayman Hackel's research shows *Arcadia* was often owned, or shared, by women.<sup>47</sup> With over 650 folio pages,

<sup>44</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 43, 302, 344, 410–11; vol. 5, p. 6. Thomas Fuller, *The Historie of the Holy Warre* (Cambridge, 1651), fol. ¶3v. See Ch. 4, especially 'History and Conversation', pp. 124–9.

<sup>45</sup> David Pearson, 'Patterns of Book Ownership in Late Seventeenth-Century England', *The Library*, 7th ser., 11 (2010), 139–67, doi: 10.1093/library/11.2.139 (p. 147).

<sup>46</sup> Peter Lindenbaum, 'Sidney's *Arcadia* as Cultural Monument and Proto-Novel', in *Texts and Cultural Change in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Cedric C. Brown and Arthur F. Marotti (Basingstoke: Macmillan; New York: St Martin's Press, 1997), pp. 80–94 (pp. 80–2).

<sup>47</sup> Brayman Hackel examined 63 copies of *Arcadia* with early modern ownership signatures and found that almost half had at some stage been owned by a woman. *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005; repr. 2009), p. 159.

the 1655 edition of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* was a weighty tome and the editor sought to impress readers with the work's intellectual weight: 'the *Arcadia*', he wrote, 'is a continual Grove of moralitie; shadowing moral and politick results under the plain and easie emblems of Lovers'. One of his additions was 'An ALPHABETICAL TABLE, or, CLAVIS, whereby the Reader is let in to view the principal Stories contain'd in the *Arcadia*, as they stand in their proper places'.<sup>48</sup> Lindenbaum observes that this index resembles 'the first step towards a Common-place Book', for, along with entries to locate stories or incidents, there are entries that lead the reader to illustrative examples ('Gratitude: *a notable [sic] example of it*', or, 'Justice *to bee preferred before the nearest Relations*').<sup>49</sup> The apparatus of the 1655 and 1662 editions represented *Arcadia* as a scholarly authority, fit to be studied with the same commonplacing and memorizing strategies as grammar school teachers and university tutors recommended for classical texts.

Editors' and educators' claims that *Arcadia* was a useful work were heeded by many readers; indeed, the edition of 1655 was well devised to encourage reading behaviour already evident decades earlier. As Brayman Hackel points out, *Arcadia* was one of the most regularly annotated works in the early modern period.<sup>50</sup> Both Lindenbaum and Fred Schurink have drawn attention to annotations on a 1593 copy of *Arcadia* that can be cautiously attributed to William Blount, Lord Mountjoy (c.1561–94). With this edition lacking a contents page or index, Blount added his own navigation aids: an 'Index rerum' (covering characters and incidents) and a list of the first line of every poem.<sup>51</sup> He took a determinedly scholarly attitude to the text, annotating the margins of his copy with political cross references to classical historians, and marking up passages on ethics with references to Cicero, Horace, Seneca, and others. Several of Blount's annotations, Schurink argues, show him producing a misogynistic reading of *Arcadia*—ignoring the context of an episode, Blount would gloss it with comments from sources that attacked the pernicious influence of women upon men.<sup>52</sup> William Blount's notes on *Arcadia* indicate a very different reading experience from that of another William fifty years later. William Bright (1626–1707) read *Arcadia* in 1646, the same year he became a student at Gray's Inn.<sup>53</sup> Between 1644 and 1676 Bright, the son of a Suffolk landowner, kept a notebook on his reading, which chiefly consisted of

<sup>48</sup> *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (London, 1655), fols. b3r, Iii6r. Future references are to this edition.

<sup>49</sup> Lindenbaum, 'Sidney's *Arcadia*', pp. 83–4. *Arcadia*, fols. Iii6v, Kkk1r.

<sup>50</sup> *Reading Material*, p. 159.

<sup>51</sup> Lindenbaum, 'Sidney's *Arcadia*', p. 86. Fred Schurink, "Like a Hand in the Margine of a Booke": William Blount's Marginalia and the Politics of Sidney's *Arcadia*', *Review of English Studies*, 59 (2008), 1–24, doi: <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/res/hgm039>> (pp. 3–4, 15). The annotated copy is Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, shelf mark STC 22540 Copy 1.

<sup>52</sup> Schurink, "Like a Hand", pp. 16, 21–2.

<sup>53</sup> The owner of the notebook (Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 6160) can be identified as William Bright of Little Bricett because the ownership signature matches the signature on Suffolk Record Office, Lowestoft, 741/HA12/B4/4/26. He was very probably the William Bright who matriculated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge in 1643. *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521–1889*, ed. Joseph Foster (London: privately printed, 1889), p. 241; *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, ed. John Venn and J. A. Venn, pt. 1, vol. 1 (Cambridge: CUP, 1922), p. 219.

histories and travels. However, he was rather taken with Sidney's works and made several pages of notes on *Arcadia*.<sup>54</sup> Like Blount and the compiler of the 1655 edition, he saw a need for navigational aids. Some of Bright's notes give the page numbers for stories or incidents ('Miso's tale of an old Grandome [*sic*] that told her what love was, & shewed her ye picture thereof 152').<sup>55</sup> However most of Bright's notes were not navigational aids but examples of rhetoric. Bright's interests in this respect would probably not have met with a tutor's approval: while he sometimes noted phrases of apology, he also recorded witty insults and many of his notes concerned amorous compliments. Frequently the compliments Bright noted were divorced from characters' names, which suggests he intended to apply them elsewhere:

whose breath is more sweet then a gentle South=West wind *which* comes creeping over ye flowerie fields and shaddowyd waters in ye extreame heat of summer.[...]

Her lips though they were kept close with modest silence, yet *with* a pretty kind of naturall swelling, they seemed to invite ye guezze [i.e. gaze] *that* lookt on *them*. [...]

If silence please you it shall please me, since my heart is wholly pledged to obey you: otherwise if if [*sic*] you would vouchsafe myne eares such happinesse as to heare you, they should convey your words to such a mind as will with ye humblest degree of reverence receive *them* 98.<sup>56</sup>

Both the pillaging of *Arcadia* for courtship rhetoric and its role in romantic sparring between the sexes were noted at least as early as 1609.<sup>57</sup> So widely recognized were these uses later in the century that they featured in a printed jest-book. In 1684 *London Jests* offered this joke:

One having written a Letter to his Mistriss, taken word for word out of Sir *Philip Sidney's* Arcadia, which Book she had formerly perused; having read the Letter, she sent it back again by his servant, saying, *Friend thou art mistaken, for the Superscription of the Letter is to one Mistriss Pomelia* [*sic*].<sup>58</sup>

The letter alluded to in the jest can be identified as one in book 2 of *Arcadia* in which Musidorus (who is disguised as a shepherd) declares his love for the Princess Pamela. It begins

<sup>54</sup> There is not sufficient information to identify which edition of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* Bright was using for his reading in 1646, although on the basis of the pagination, it was an edition published between 1621 and 1638.

<sup>55</sup> Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 6160, Notebook of William Bright, fol. 144v; compare *Arcadia*, bk. 2, p. 152.

<sup>56</sup> Notebook of William Bright, fols. 144r and 145v. The passages from *Arcadia* are: bk. 1, p. 2, Claius' description of Urania; bk. 1, p. 30, the narrator's description of Parthenia; bk. 2, p. [98], Basilius to Zelmane.

<sup>57</sup> 'Instructions by Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland to his Son', communicated by James Heywood Markland, *Archaeologia*, 27 (1838), 306–58, doi: <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0261340900012169>> (p. 331). [Thomas Dekker], *The Guls Horne-book* (London, 1609), p. '30' (for p. 32, fol. E4v).

<sup>58</sup> *London Jests* (London, 1684), p. 197.



Most blessed paper, which shalt kiss that hand, whereto all blessedness is in nature a servant, do not yet disdain to carrie with thee the wofull words of a miser now despairing: neither bee affraid to appear before her, bearing the base title of the sender

and continues in a similarly eloquent and self-abasing vein.<sup>59</sup> Musidorus' letter may be heartfelt, but it is also generic: he protests that he is dying of love, does not name his mistress, and (usefully for would-be plagiarizers) avoids compliments that are tailored to Pamela's own qualities. In the jest-book, rather than being duped by this borrowed rhetoric, the mistress proves a careful reader. Wise in the plagiarizing tactics of admirers, she is ready with a witty rebuke. The joke would work all the better if readers were themselves well versed enough in *Arcadia* to recognize that a specific passage was at issue. The jest-book satirically imagines male and female readerships for *Arcadia* with conflicting interests: men seek to benefit from courtship rhetoric that they can pass off as their own; women benefit from knowing the romance well enough to avoid being tricked about the abilities and emotions of their professed admirers.

By the 1660s, then, Sidney's *Arcadia* was regarded as an authority on morals, politics, and rhetoric. It had a particular place as a useful text on matters of gender relations and love, and also tended to be mentioned in connection with the respect (or lack of respect) due to women. It was to *Arcadia* that Elizabeth turned when her relationship with her husband was in difficulties. On 19 December 1664 the couple came to blows over Elizabeth's management of the servants. Samuel gave Elizabeth a black eye, which led her to stay inside till the bruise healed. This incident became part of a long-running contest over her freedom. That Christmas, Samuel worried about his wife staying up all night till 8 a.m. merrymaking with the rest of the household while he went to bed. Then, on 30 December, Elizabeth talked of her resolution to stay indoors until Easter. Samuel pretended to argue against this while (he noted) having no real objection to the plan. Elizabeth's understanding of events has to be constructed through her husband's account, but her putative resolution to live a hermit-like existence seems to have been a gambit. She was testing just how far Samuel relished her restricted lifestyle and wanted to see her continue in it.<sup>60</sup> By 2 January she had clearly decided that much of her trouble was the result of her husband suffering from one of his periodic bouts of jealousy. At this point she reached for *Arcadia*. Samuel returned home from a pleasurable day at the bookseller's (and at his mistress's) to a nasty surprise:

So back again home, where, thinking to be merry, was vexed with my wife's having looked out a letter in Sir Ph. Sidney about jealousy for me to read, which she industriously and maliciously caused me to do; and the truth is, my conscience told me it was most proper for me, and therefore was touched at it; but took no notice of it, but read it out most frankly. But it stuck in my stomach.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>59</sup> *Arcadia*, bk. 2, p. 117. There is another possible candidate reiterating the same sentiments from Musidorus to Pamela in bk. 3, pp. 233–[5], but this is a verse epistle and designed as a farewell.

<sup>60</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, pp. 349, 356, 357, 358.

<sup>61</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 2.

Sidney's romance is not short on criticisms of jealousy, and there are two possibilities for the passage Elizabeth found. The first is a letter from Philanax to the ruler Basilius that, among other counsels, warns Basilius against restricting the liberty of his two daughters. Philanax argues that possessiveness towards women is self-defeating: 'what doth jealousie, but stir up the minde to think, what it is from which they are restrained?' Prompting women's interest in forbidden delights, he says, makes it all the harder to keep their 'thoughts' of men from becoming 'accomplishment'.<sup>62</sup> Philanax's reference to jealousy is comparatively brief and concerns a father's relationship with his daughters, not a husband's with his wife. The second—and in several respects the stronger—candidate for Elizabeth's passage offers more pointed arguments and also involves a 'letter'. This is a song that forms part of the third Eclogue of *Arcadia*. The singer, Nico, tells the tale of a fellow shepherd who married a 'bonny Lass'. The match brought him little joy:

*Now whether mov' d with self-unworthiness,  
Or with her beauty fit to make a prey,  
Fell jealousie did so his brain oppress,  
That if hee absent were but half a day,  
Hee guest the worst (you wot what is the worst)  
And in himself new doubting causes nur't.*<sup>63</sup>

The jealous shepherd is at first quite happy to welcome a friend favoured by the court and asks his wife to entertain the guest. Yet, true to his nature, he soon becomes suspicious and turns on his wife, 'With chumpish looks, hard words, and secret nips / Grumbling at her when shee his kindness sought'.<sup>64</sup> If this was indeed Elizabeth's choice of passage, it becomes very clear why Pepys was annoyed: she saw her husband's behaviour in this description and so—much against his will—did he. In the Eclogue, the husband's jealous behaviour provokes his wife's curiosity about the 'sweet' he seeks to keep her from. She therefore writes a love letter to herself, claims to have received it from the guest, and has her husband return it to him. The letter serves to alert the guest to the wife's interest in him, and the two take advantage of the husband's absence to give him the 'blow' he feared. The song ends with a moral:

*Thus may you see, the jealous wretch was made  
The Pandar of the thing hee most did fear.  
Take heed therefore, how you ensue that trade,  
Lest the same marks of jealousy you bear.*<sup>65</sup>

Nico insinuates the 'marks of jealousy' borne by a husband might ultimately be cuckold's horns. Whether Elizabeth chose Philanax's letter or Nico's song, her selection offered her husband counsel to moderate his behaviour. This was also a sharp criticism and, indeed, a threat about the possible consequences of his

<sup>62</sup> *Arcadia* (1655), bk. 1, p. 13.

<sup>63</sup> *Arcadia*, bk. 3, pp. 390–1. The pagination is confused in this part of the book but the song starts at fol. L13v.

<sup>64</sup> *Arcadia*, p. 391.

<sup>65</sup> *Arcadia*, p. 393.

actions—one she made very sure he understood by ‘industriously and maliciously’ forcing him to read it aloud in front of her.

Samuel thought his wife had ‘looked out’—that is, deliberately gone looking for—the passage in question. What he did not say, and probably did not realize, was that Elizabeth’s search was enabled by this particular scholarly edition of *Arcadia*. Unlike readers of previous editions, Elizabeth had the advantage of an index designed for those seeking apt commonplaces to fit their occasions. In the ‘Alphabetical Table’ supplied with the editions of 1655 and 1662, the first entry under ‘J’ was ‘*A Jealous husband made a pander to his own wife*’. Philanax’s letter was indexed less prominently and described as counsel against ‘solitariness’ (given Elizabeth’s concern with isolation, this too had the potential to catch her eye).<sup>66</sup> Elizabeth’s use of the text to reprove her husband was presumably not the kind of educational use the scholarly editor intended when he compiled the table. Nonetheless, by compelling Samuel to read, Elizabeth brought the cultural authority of *Arcadia* to bear on him in a manner that avoided direct confrontation and was difficult to counter. Indeed, Elizabeth seems to have won this round of the ongoing contention over her desire for greater freedom. Within a few days their quarrel had died down: on Twelfth Night she again sat up all night making merry (without recriminations) and, contrary to her resolution in December, she was soon out and about at her tailor’s and visiting the playhouse with her husband.<sup>67</sup> For Elizabeth, *Arcadia* was not just pleasurable reading, but a text in which she found her own dilemmas reflected; moreover, because of its status as a learned work, it also offered her the means to assert herself and help resolve difficulties. It appears that she was aided in this by the scholarly apparatus now attached to *Arcadia* and by traditions of reading that supported the use of the text in romantic negotiations. She adapted these when she used it in marital argument to reject the view of her as a wilful, disobedient wife and, with learning on her side, instead painted her husband as the foolish, erring spouse. Whereas Samuel went to history to learn policy and prudent precepts, Elizabeth got similar benefits from romance and, as with Samuel’s reading, the results were not necessarily those that would have met with authorial or editorial endorsement.

## READING HEROIC ROMANCES

Elizabeth had good reason to value *Arcadia*. However, her greatest pleasure came from French heroic romances and she spent many hours reading these lengthy works. Elizabeth’s habit is mentioned in the first month of the diary, when, on 31 January 1660, Samuel went to bed ‘leaving my wife reading in *Polixandre*’. *Polixandre* by Marin Le Roy, sieur de Gomberville plunged readers into the middle of the hero’s adventures and kept them guessing about characters’ identities and

<sup>66</sup> *Arcadia*, fol. Kkk1r. The section containing jealousy is headed ‘I’ in the original (I and J being interchangeable). ‘Philanax . . . his dissuasive letter to Basilius from solitariness’ is under ‘P’.

<sup>67</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, pp. 5, 7, 10.

quests—it was intriguing enough in Elizabeth’s view to be worth staying up late.<sup>68</sup> In the 1660s, she also made her way through all or much of La Calprenède’s *Cassandra*, Scudéry’s *Ibrahim, ou L’Illustre Bassa* (four duodecimo volumes in the French edition), and Scudéry’s *Artamenes, or The Grand Cyrus* (weighing in at five folio volumes in English). As with *Arcadia*, Elizabeth read her heroic romances attentively—certainly attentively enough to enable debate. For example, she was able confidently to identify when other writers had adapted material from heroic romances. In late 1666 Elizabeth told Samuel that, as an experienced playgoer, she had ‘grown more Criticall then she used to be’.<sup>69</sup> Spotting sources was part of this critical acumen. After seeing Dryden’s new comedy *An Evening’s Love, or The Mock-Astrologer* in 1668 she returned home unimpressed. This ‘though the world commends, she likes not’, wrote Pepys. Part of the problem was Dryden’s use of Scudéry’s *Ibrahim*: ‘my wife tells me [it] is wholly (which he confesses a little in the epilogue) taken out of the *Illustr. Bassa*’. Elizabeth then proved her point by locating the inset narrative, ‘Histoire du feint astrologue’, in Scudéry’s work and reading it to Samuel, who agreed it was ‘most exactly the same’.<sup>70</sup> This was an even cannier piece of reading than Pepys’s comments at first suggest. Dryden’s epilogue joked that he ‘stole’ and ‘spoil’d the feint Astrologue’ from a French source.<sup>71</sup> The most obvious reference was to Thomas Corneille’s play *Le Feint Astrologue* (published in 1651), which Dryden had indeed imitated. Elizabeth, however, had rightly identified that Scudéry’s version of the same tale was also a major source for the play, with Dryden using names and pieces of dialogue from *Ibrahim*.<sup>72</sup>

Elizabeth talked about heroic romances not only with her husband but with Henry Sheeres, a military engineer whom Samuel had met through his connection to Lord Sandwich. This led to her picking out another piece of a heroic romance for Samuel’s attention. In May 1669 ‘she read to me the *Epistle of Cassandra*, which is very good ended, and the better to her because recommended by Sheres’.<sup>73</sup> In the epistles that preface the five parts of La Calprenède’s *Cassandra*, both the author and the heroine Cassandra write to the author’s mistress ‘Calista’ to convey their admiration for her: she is superior to the romance heroines.<sup>74</sup> The epistles combine

<sup>68</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 35.      <sup>69</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 398.

<sup>70</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 247. The section Elizabeth identified is [Madeleine de Scudéry], *Ibrahim, ou L’Illustre Bassa* (Rouen, 1665), pt. 2, bk. 2, pp. 83–182.

<sup>71</sup> John Dryden, *An Evening’s Love* (London, 1671), p. [90].

<sup>72</sup> The network of sources behind *An Evening’s Love* is complicated. The case for Scudéry as a direct source is given in the notes to *An Evening’s Love* in *The Works of John Dryden*, vol. 10, ed. Maximillian E. Novak and George Robert Guffey (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), pp. 436–7. Novak and Guffey argue that Dryden must have been using the English translation of *Ibrahim* because of a case of direct verbal borrowing in Act 4 scene 1. In fact, the English *Ibrahim* is a direct translation of the French *Ibrahim* at this point and both contain a similar line, so it remains possible that Dryden was using the same French version that Elizabeth and Samuel consulted. *Ibrahim, ou L’Illustre Bassa*, pt. 2, bk. 2, p. 144; compare *Ibrahim, or The Illustrious Bassa*, trans. Henry Cogan (London, 1652), pt. 2, bk. 2, p. 35.

<sup>73</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 545.

<sup>74</sup> Depending on whether this was a French edition or the English translation by Sir Charles Cotterell (see n. 40), Pepys’s reference to the ‘Epistle of Cassandra’ could mean any of the five

truth and fiction in an elaborate game of compliment that involves the author, his heroine, and his ideal reader. While Samuel was impressed by the sentiments of the epistle read to him, his comment that Elizabeth admired it more 'because recommended by Sheres' was not a simple observation but registered jealousy. For several months, Pepys had worried that Elizabeth showed 'mighty kindness' to Sheeres (being impressed by his skill as a poet): he hoped she was not 'too fond' of her companion.<sup>75</sup> Sheeres and Elizabeth's discussion of *Cassandra* was therefore unwelcome, for as with *Arcadia*, heroic romances were a source of inspiring rhetoric and ideas for lovers. By way of illustration, in the late 1670s Pepys came across an egregious example in the correspondence that passed between Lady Frances Vane and Pepys's avowed enemy, the conman John Scott.<sup>76</sup> Lady Vane addressed Scott as 'Artaban', the hero of La Calprenède's romance *Cléopâtre*; this was because, as Scott himself boasted, Artaban was a person who 'lived a greate while as a private man but afterwards proved a Prince'.<sup>77</sup> Other readers were more subtle. In the 1650s Dorothy Osborne (1627–95) guided her admirer William Temple's romance reading. Living at Chicksands in Bedfordshire, Osborne sent a series of letters to Temple describing her enthusiasm for French romances and drawing his attention to particular sections. In Scudéry's *Artamène* for example, she singled out 'fower Pritty Story's' told by lovers, each of whom argued that they were the most unfortunate in their love. 'Tell mee w<sup>ch</sup> you have most compassion for,' she commanded, but warned that Temple was to show no sympathy for the jealous lover, whose self-inflicted plight was so ridiculous it had made her laugh.<sup>78</sup> (If Elizabeth wanted further attacks on jealousy, she could have found them in Scudéry.) Osborne also picked out the tale of Amestris in the same work: 'I know you will pittie Poore Amestris strangly when you have read her Storry. i'le swear I cryed for her when I read it first though shee were but an imaginary person, and sure if any thing of that kinde can deserve it her misfortunes may.'<sup>79</sup> Osborne and Temple's discussion of romance conveyed more than a shared love of stories. As Jacqueline Pearson remarks, their courtship was opposed by Osborne's family, and romances therefore offered Osborne 'an effective shared language for the emotional troubles undergone by herself and the man she love[d]'.<sup>80</sup> It certainly seems that Osborne's selection of Amestris's tale was a recommendation with a subtext, since Amestris's plight, besieged by unwelcome suitors, was similar to her own situation and thus a call for Temple's sympathetic understanding. In this context, Pepys's nervousness at his wife and Henry Sheeres's mutual admiration for *Cassandra*

dedicatory epistles that begin the parts or else Cotterell's dedicatory letter to the King, which linked the plight of the romance characters with that of the royalists in the 1650s. Since 'of Cassandra' can mean 'from Cassandra', the letter 'Cassandra to Calista' (pt. 2, bk. 1), being the only epistle written by the character Cassandra, is a strong candidate.

<sup>75</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 504, 541.

<sup>76</sup> Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.176, fols. 105–6, 'Constantia' to 'Artaban', 25 Sept. 1678.

<sup>77</sup> 'John Joyne's Journal, 1679', ed. R. E. Hughes, in *Diaries of the Popish Plot*, introd. Douglas C. Greene (Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1977), pp. 55–84 (pp. 74–5). Pepys owned a manuscript copy of Joyne's journal, PL 2881, pp. 285–324.

<sup>78</sup> *Letters of Dorothy Osborne*, [3 Sept. 1653], p. 81. The tales are in *Artamène*, pt. 3, bk. 1.

<sup>79</sup> *Letters of Dorothy Osborne*, [Sept. 1653], p. 85. <sup>80</sup> Pearson, 'Women Reading', pp. 92–3.

becomes easier to understand. Selecting particular passages from the text and discussing the ideas in a heroic romance was a means for men and women to establish shared understandings on a variety of issues related to conduct (especially conduct in love), to advertise themselves as discerning, sensitive readers, and to exchange tacit compliments. Elizabeth was facilitating her husband's reading in this way, but Sheeres was also helping Elizabeth's reading. Pepys was not as knowledgeable about heroic romance as his wife but he knew enough to know that, in recommending part of *Cassandra* to Elizabeth, Sheeres was, however innocently, recommending himself.

Looking at evidence from drama and satire, Frances Harris has argued that after 1660 women's reading, especially their reading of romances, was increasingly mocked and criticized.<sup>81</sup> There is, however, little sign of this hostility to women's reading among Pepys's immediate peers and there are no signs that Elizabeth's recreational reading, including her interest in romances, was seen as objectionable by Pepys in and of itself. In certain circumstances he had qualms about the strength of his own interest in fiction (for example, when it came to Sunday reading, or the prospect of investing large amounts of money in fiction); yet he never expresses concern that women's reading of poetry or romances was detrimental or dangerous; rather his behaviour indicates the contrary. Where it is possible to identify the works of poetry and romance Elizabeth owned, it is usually because Samuel bought them for her. In purchasing romances Pepys was giving his wife extremely expensive works that conveyed his respect and attention to her tastes.<sup>82</sup> *Ibrahim* was a gift in February 1668 and that November saw the purchase of '*Cassandra* and some other French books for my wife's closet'.<sup>83</sup> Pepys's gifts sometimes followed fights and were intended to show his love and contrition: notably, the expensive *Cassandra* was bought soon after Elizabeth discovered her husband's affair with Deb Willet. Samuel probably also saw fiction as a means to allay Elizabeth's persistent complaints of lack of 'money and liberty': long romances allowed her to occupy her time indoors pleasurably, and could therefore act as substitutes for alternative leisure activities, such as trips to see friends or town attractions, that he wanted to discourage.<sup>84</sup> Yet if Samuel sometimes gave romances in the hope that they would help reconcile his wife to her situation, Elizabeth's deployment of *Arcadia* shows that she could also use romances for the opposite purpose, to argue against the restrictions he placed on her. Both partners recognized these books had a role as cultural capital, assisting their participation in fashionable forms of sociability.

<sup>81</sup> Frances Harris, 'The Englishwoman's Private Library in the 17th and 18th Centuries', *Bibliotheken in der literarischen Darstellung/Libraries in Literature*, ed. Peter Vodosek and Graham Jefcoate (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), pp. 189–203 (pp. 189–90).

<sup>82</sup> *Cassandra* (at over 850 pages in the most recent 1667 folio edition) was advertised as 16s. bound in Robert Clavell's *A Catalogue of All the Books Printed in England since the Dreadful Fire of London [to 1672]* (London, 1673), p. 31. In 1675 the English translation of Scudéry's *Ibrahim* in one folio was advertised at 10s. See Robert Clavell, *The General Catalogue of All the Books Printed in England since the Dreadful Fire of London [to 1674]* (London, 1675), p. 33.

<sup>83</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 89, 365.

<sup>84</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 20, 365. Compare the intended purchase of *L'École des filles* for Elizabeth that also followed an argument (vol. 9, pp. 20, 21–2).

Elizabeth Pepys's ownership of Scudéry's and La Calprenède's modish works meant she was well positioned to solicit and reciprocate loans of books from her friends.<sup>85</sup> Familiarity with these heroic romances also helped to make readers astute critics of drama (which frequently borrowed from the genre) and culturally informed conversationalists. In short, these were fine and valuable additions to a gentlewoman's closet.

## MEMORIZING AND STORYTELLING

I want now to turn to look more closely at the uses of fictional texts as sources of stories for entertaining others, and at the consequences of this in early modern literary culture. Memorizing was a routine aspect of reading at all levels of seventeenth-century education. As we have seen, grammar school boys and university students were required to commit words from a variety of genres to memory. Pepys's acquaintances introduced quotations from conduct books, classical philosophy, historical letters, and Roman history into conversation, either quoting them word for word or closely recalling them. Verse too was recited and discussed, for this had the advantages of rhyme and rhythm to aid memorization and, of course, made for good material to entertain friends. For example, in June 1663 Sir John Mennes brought 'many fine expressions of Chaucer, which he dotes on mightily' into conversation at Sir William Penn's sickbed. In November 1664, Pepys spent part of a Sunday learning the 'To be or not to be' soliloquy from *Hamlet* 'without book'.<sup>86</sup> Personal enjoyment of the verse was one motive for memorizing the speech, but presumably so too was its potential to be recited in company. It certainly paid to be prepared, as quoting and discussion of poetry could occur in unexpected situations. A few months before, Pepys's conversation about the best light for engraving with the engraver Edward Cocker led to discussion of lines from Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* on that subject, and more talk of poetry. Cocker proved (rather to Pepys's surprise) 'well read in all our English poets' and a capable critic, being prepared 'to judge of them all'.<sup>87</sup>

Memorizing for entertainment went beyond short passages of texts or anecdotes to include whole works and long stories. Roger Chartier associates 'a culture of recitation', in which written tales are memorized in order to tell them, with the 'village culture of the Early Modern period' and 'peasant culture' in the late seventeenth century.<sup>88</sup> Yet Pepys's diary makes clear this was not a phenomenon confined to rural, lower-class readers: it was thriving in an urban setting, among elite groups. If a reader enjoyed a text, an immediate consideration was whether to

<sup>85</sup> For an instance of an expensive book loaned to Elizabeth by a female friend, see *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 123.

<sup>86</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 184; vol. 5, p. 320.

<sup>87</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 237.

<sup>88</sup> Roger Chartier, 'Leisure and Sociability: Reading Aloud in Early Modern Europe', trans. Carol Mossman, in *Urban Life in the Renaissance*, ed. Susan Zimmerman and Ronald F. E. Weissman (Newark: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1989), pp. 103–20 (pp. 114–15).

memorize it in order to savour its pleasures and add it to a mental fund of stories to share with friends. So strong were the rewards of this practice that readers attempted it not just with texts such as poems or play speeches that were suited to memorization, but with works whose language and structure presented major challenges. One day in May 1666, Elizabeth, Samuel, and a family friend, Elizabeth Pearse, went on a pleasure trip in a coach. To pass the time, Elizabeth Pepys recounted tales from the heroic romance *Artamenes, or The Grand Cyrus*. The next day Samuel recorded, 'At noon home, where I find my wife troubled still at my checking her last night in the coach in her long stories out of *Grand Cyrus*, which she would tell, though nothing to the purpose nor in any good manner'.<sup>89</sup> Elizabeth must have been telling these 'long stories' from memory: they were travelling at night (with no light for reading) and *Artamenes* was hardly a portable work—published in folio, it ran to over 1,900 pages in the English translation owned by Elizabeth. In narrating Scudéry's *Artamenes* 'without book', Elizabeth was trying to entertain and to display her own knowledge of a much-applauded and expensive romance. However her display failed to please. It was not that the setting was inappropriate for storytelling: the next year, Samuel, Elizabeth, and Deb would spend an enjoyable coach journey to Brampton 'talking and telling tales and singing'.<sup>90</sup> The problems were that Elizabeth intruded the stories into the conversation (they were 'nothing to the purpose') and, worse, told them poorly. If one looks at Scudéry's romance, it is not hard to guess why Elizabeth ran into trouble. *Artamenes* impressed seventeenth-century readers with its elevated language and sentiments. The eponymous hero is a prince in disguise and seeks to win the Princess Mandana. This plot is a backdrop for a series of inset stories, recounting the trials in love of various noble couples. These inset stories are recounted orally by a character to an audience (useful when telling a tale without book), but they are not designed for the uninitiated: it often takes some time for the action to commence and understanding the plot can require knowledge of several characters' backstories. For someone telling the tales without a book, it would be very difficult to reproduce Scudéry's eloquent language and to keep the various (rather similar) stories straight. Difficult, but not impossible, for Elizabeth was not alone in attempting an oral performance of a heroic romance. Roger North (1651–1734), a lawyer and historian, recalled how in the late 1650s his sister Mary attracted considerable admiration for her recitation of stories. Roger was a small boy at the time, but he could still remember how

for Hours and Hours together, she diverted her Sisters and all the female Society at Work together (as the Use of that Family was) with rehearsing by Heart prolix Romances, with the Substance of Speeches and Letters, as well as Passages; and this with little or no Hesitation but in a continual Series of Discourse.<sup>91</sup>

The description of the 'prolix Romances' featuring epistles and speeches identifies these as the heroic romances that were coming into English translations in the

<sup>89</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 122.      <sup>90</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 465.

<sup>91</sup> Roger North, *The Life of the Right Honourable Francis North* (London, 1742), p. 35.



1650s. Mary, who was in her late teens or early twenties, also led ‘a sort of Order of the Wits of her Time and Acquaintance’—perhaps inspired by talk of Scudéry’s salon. Roger’s comments on his sister’s ‘prodigious Memory’ for heroic romances imply that he regarded both the language and length of the romances as obstacles to successful performance.<sup>92</sup>

It is intriguing that readers of the 1650s and 1660s should excerpt from and perform heroic romances, because the published texts generally did little to facilitate this practice. Despite including novella-length tales, the French and English editions of *Artamène* from the 1650s provide scant help with navigating the text or excerpting the stories. First, there is no index or contents table for any version. Second, the inset stories often break off in one volume, only to be picked up several volumes later. Finally, while the story is divided into books and parts, and the inset stories have headings, both English and French editions contain little or no indication of when an inset tale ends and the main narrative continues, so that a reader trying to find the end of one narrator’s tale would have to spend some time doing so.<sup>93</sup> If Scudéry desired her readers to imitate the practice of her salon and discuss the characters’ dilemmas, the published texts did little to assist them in this. Resourceful readers nonetheless found ways around the obstacles. As we have seen, Dorothy Osborne repeatedly described the French edition of *Artamène* in terms of the inset stories, stating her preference for one or the other. In February 1654 she wrote to Temple that she was ‘hugely pleased’ with ‘a peece of Cyrus’ and instructed him, ‘i’le send it you. at least read one Story that ile marke you downe, if you have time for noe more.’<sup>94</sup> Osborne presumably intended to annotate the romance, or perhaps fold down pages, to aid Temple’s reading. A copy of the English *Artamenes*, owned by John Egerton, second Earl of Bridgewater (1623–86), contains similarly suggestive annotations. The Earl added a contents page in pencil at the start of the first three volumes of his five-volume set, showing where each inset tale begins and ends.<sup>95</sup> There was, of course, precedent for this way of supplementing a text—William Blount added an index to his copy of *Arcadia*, and the later seventeenth-century editions of Sidney came with printed indexes to help locate episodes. However, the Earl of Bridgewater’s annotations betray an interest in reading for plots rather than incidents or precepts. A note at the start of each story refers the reader to the page on which it ends, and the ending is then marked out in the margin. This annotation system is designed to allow readers to navigate

<sup>92</sup> *Life of Francis North*, p. 35. Mary North was born in 1638 and died in 1662.

<sup>93</sup> I have not found any editions of *Artamène* from the 1650s that contain navigational aids such as a contents page, index, or clear divisions for the inset stories. Versions checked include volumes of the second edition of 1650 published in Paris; the 1653–5 London edition; and the 1654 edition ‘imprimé à Rouën & se vend à Paris’.

<sup>94</sup> *Letters of Dorothy Osborne*, [11 Feb 1653/4], p. 144. This was a work often described as made of ‘pieces’: a ‘piece of *Grand Cyrus*’ is also a phrase used by Pepys. *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 225.

<sup>95</sup> [Madeleine de Scudéry], *Artamenes, or The Grand Cyrus*, trans. F.G. (London, 1653–5), Huntington Library, San Marino, CA, shelf mark 23236.v.1–5. The annotations on *The Third Volume of Artamenes* can be seen in *Early English Books 1641–1700*, microfilm 579:2. I am grateful to Stephen Tabor of the Huntington for identifying the annotator and providing additional information on the volumes.

the romance easily and choose their own ways through it: a reader can pick out a single inset tale to enjoy, or follow the main narrative while skipping inset stories at will, or else pursue one narrative thread by quickly jumping from the unresolved end of one tale to its continuation later in the work.

The reading practices of Elizabeth Pepys and her contemporaries were noticed by authors and booksellers. The second English edition of *Artamenes*, published in 1691, added 'A Table to find the Part, Book and Page of the Several Histories contained in the Ten Parts of *Grand Cyrus*'.<sup>96</sup> Scudéry herself acknowledged her readers' impulse to excerpt, when, in 1680, she began a series of volumes entitled *Conversations*: in these she selected and adapted discussions between her romance characters. The first, *Conversations sur divers sujets*, was translated into English. Readers who did not wish to buy or read an entire romance could now purchase a volume of discussions on subjects such as 'Raillery' and 'Dissimulation'.<sup>97</sup> Pepys, who retained none of Scudéry's longer works, kept a copy of one of the series, *Conversations nouvelles sur divers sujets* (1685), as a 'Diversion'.<sup>98</sup> Elizabeth Goldsmith observes that the *Conversations* made Scudéry's romances 'more accessible to a broader audience' and that they 'responded to the new taste for shorter, fragmentable texts that could easily pass from written to spoken form, that could be freely borrowed and imitated in the verbal marketplace of court and salons'. Goldsmith argues that both Scudéry's *Conversations* and her romances offered readers guides to polite interaction, and this was certainly part of their appeal.<sup>99</sup> However, the evidence concerning Elizabeth Pepys's, Mary North's, and Dorothy Osborne's uses of heroic romance shows that for English readers the tales themselves were also perceived as cultural capital. Rather than just imitating the characters' phrases or manners, these readers excerpted their stories, recited them, and discussed them enthusiastically.

## NOVELS, BORROWING, AND ORAL CULTURE

Among Pepys's acquaintances, it was usual for a reader who was impressed by a story to try and memorize it, even if the nature of the text made this problematic. It follows that readers were drawn to works because the stories seemed suited to oral performance. This was part of the appeal of the Restoration novel. Unlike heroic romances, the short stories in collections of novels were packaged in a way that aided excerption and they often had features that aided memorization and performance. Sailing to collect Charles II from The Hague in May 1660, Pepys and his new friends Dr Timothy Clarke and Charles North found ways of passing the

<sup>96</sup> [Madeleine de Scudéry], *Artamenes; or, The Grand Cyrus*, trans. F.G. (London, 1691), fol. A6v.

<sup>97</sup> Madeleine de Scudéry, *Conversations upon Several Subjects*, trans. Ferrand Spence (London, 1683).

<sup>98</sup> Madeleine de Scudéry, *Conversations nouvelles sur divers sujets* (The Hague, 1685), PL 93. 'Appendix Classica', p. 57.

<sup>99</sup> Elizabeth C. Goldsmith, *Exclusive Conversations: The Art of Interaction in Seventeenth-Century France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), p. 71.

time: 'In the afternoon upon the Quarter-deck, the Doctor told Mr. North and me an admirable story called *The Fruitlesse præcaution*: an exceeding pretty story and worth my getting without book when I can get the book'.<sup>100</sup> 'The Fruitless Precaution' was a translation by John Davies of Paul Scarron's recent French novel 'La Précaution inutile'.<sup>101</sup> Pepys's paradoxical phrasing ('worth my getting without book when I can get the book') represents the 'book' as simply the medium for the 'story' and easily separable from it. He viewed the book as the intermediate stage of transmission between two, more important, oral deliveries of the tale. Later that year Pepys laid hands on a copy:

And so home, where I fell to read *The fruitlesse præcaution* (a book formerly recommended by Dr Clerke at sea to me), which I read in bed till I had made an end of it and do find it the best-writ tale that ever I read in my life.<sup>102</sup>

Clarke's social performance impressed Pepys and inspired his private reading, with the aim of a further social display. Memorizing the sixty-four octavo pages of 'The Fruitless Precaution' would take some effort. However, neither Pepys, nor Clarke, nor North seems to have regarded memorizing it as particularly startling—Charles North, being the brother of Mary and Roger North, had no doubt heard far more impressive tale-telling feats in his time. Certain features of this story made it suited to memorization and retelling. The opening lines of the story establish a conversational narrative voice:

A Gentleman of *Granada*, whose true name I shall forbear to discover, and on whom I will bestow that of *Don Pedro* of *Casteel*, *Aragon*, and *Toledo*, or what you please, since that a glorious name in a *Romance* costs no more than another, (which is haply the reason that the *Spaniards*, not content with their own, ever give themselves of the most illustrious, nay hardly sit down with one:) this Gentleman, I say, (now *Don Pedro*) being arriv'd at the twentieth year of his age, lost both Father and Mother, and by their death came to a very great estate.<sup>103</sup>

This narrator rapidly demonstrates that he views events with a sardonic eye. He will digress into witty asides (here sniping at both romance convention and Spanish pride) but he is nonetheless concerned that readers and auditors should register important points, and he reiterates to this end: 'this Gentleman, I say, (now *Don Pedro*)'. This was a persona that storytellers such as Pepys could readily adopt and one suited to entertaining a merry company. If recalling all the narrator's witticisms proved a problem, the narrative could be streamlined by leaving some out. Also an advantage was the episodic nature of the story, for this allowed a storyteller to memorize the whole or to drop or adapt particular incidents at will. The story is as follows. Don Pedro falls in love with Seraphina—only to find her secretly giving birth to another man's child. Disgusted, he sets off travelling. His misfortunes

<sup>100</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 135.

<sup>101</sup> The 1660 edition read by Pepys is not extant. The text was, however, reprinted with additional tales in *Scarron's Novels* (London, 1665), pp. 1–64. References are to this edition. 'La Précaution inutile' appeared in Scarron's *Nouvelles tragi-comiques* (Paris, 1655).

<sup>102</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 266.

<sup>103</sup> *Scarron's Novels*, pp. 1–2.

continue when, having found himself a new mistress, he discovers her in the company of her dying black servant, who is in the middle of reproving her for giving him syphilis. Don Pedro then suffers a bed trick at the hands of two cunning ladies, before enduring the stratagems of his next lover, a duchess. While aspects of these encounters mirror each other, each episode is a tale in itself and easily separable from the rest of the narrative. Finally, sick of clever women and hoping that a naïve girl will prove chaste, Don Pedro marries Laura (the child of his first love Seraphina), who has been raised by nuns. To test Laura's simplicity, he teaches her that a wife's duty to her husband in the bedchamber is to dress in armour and patrol the room all night. Laura is so naïve that she has no concept of sex or of adultery. She quickly falls prey to a passing gallant who gives her a practical education in the true duty of a wife. Laura eagerly tells Don Pedro of her gallant's 'Lectures' and 'instructions', and the humiliated husband is forced to concede that witty women make better wives, for, if not always virtuous, at least they have the intelligence to hide their adultery.<sup>104</sup> This was, in other words, another case of a jealous husband given his comeuppance. It was not, however, entirely the work of Paul Scarron. Scarron's 'La précaution inutile' was a translation of María de Zayas's Spanish novel 'El prevenido engañado', which had been first published in 1637.<sup>105</sup> There are signs Pepys made the connection in later life. A 1664 edition of Zayas's collection was retained in his library while, despite Pepys's early admiration for 'The Fruitless Precaution', *Scarron's Novels* was not.<sup>106</sup>

As a risqué and urbane tale 'The Fruitless Precaution' appealed to Restoration taste. Its episodic structure meant that it could circulate both whole and in shorter sections. Pepys was not the only one to see its oral potential. Richard Head's jest-book *The Complaisant Companion* (1674) contains a five-page story called 'The Amorous Contest' that incorporates one of the bed tricks perpetrated on Don Pedro.<sup>107</sup> The story of a foolish wife who puts on armour appears in Humphrey Crouch's *England's Jests Refin'd and Improv'd* (1702).<sup>108</sup> Whereas earlier editions of Crouch's jest-book had included 'characters', a genre particularly popular in the early seventeenth century, Crouch's 1702 edition substituted what he called 'Eight new Novels' instead.<sup>109</sup> This is a revealing change: novels had surpassed characters

<sup>104</sup> *Scarron's Novels*, p. 62.

<sup>105</sup> For a comparison between the two works, see Twyla Meding, 'Translation as Appropriation: The Case of María de Zayas's *El prevenido engañado* and Paul Scarron's *La Précaution inutile*', in *The Shape of Change: Essays in Early Modern Literature and La Fontaine in Honor of David Lee Rubin*, ed. Anne L. Birberick and Russell Ganim (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2002), pp. 91–118.

<sup>106</sup> María de Zayas y Sotomayor, *Primera, y segunda parte de las novelas amorosas* (Madrid, 1664), PL 1552(2).

<sup>107</sup> [Richard Head], *The Complaisant Companion* (London, 1674), pp. 105–10; compare *Scarron's Novels*, pp. 29–35. In the preface to *The Complaisant Companion* Head mentions that 'late Books in the French Tongue, and other Language' were among his sources (fol. A2v). Besides Scarron's translation of Zayas's tale, there was a second translation into French by Le Métel d'Ouille in 1656.

<sup>108</sup> [Humphrey Crouch], *England's Jests Refin'd and Improv'd* (London, 1702), pp. 163–70. Here the husband is an 'old superannuated Collonel of the Malitia in Kent' seeking to hide his impotency from his wife.

<sup>109</sup> *England's Jests*, title page.

as a fashionable and entertaining form of social currency. Barbara Benedict, in a study of early modern anthologies, argues that commonplace books, courtesy books, and collections of short genres all characterize literature 'as composed of quantifiable, malleable, even mechanical units' that are 'responsive to new or personal recombinations and reinterpretations'.<sup>110</sup> Given evidence from Pepys and others, it seems this appeal was also driving sales of Restoration novels: the tales could be retold not only by other authors in print but by readers in discourse.

The case of 'The Fruitless Precaution' also points to the fact that readers in the Restoration period soon became used to encountering familiar stories. 'Novels' were seldom wholly novel. Twyla Meding (with some justice) refers to 'the "cut-and-paste" tradition of borrowing that characterizes the novella genre'.<sup>111</sup> The repeated appearances of 'The Fruitless Precaution' suggest it was not just multilingual book-collectors or inveterate novel readers who would have had the experience of reading or hearing the same tale again. A reader picking up Zayas's *Novelas amorosas*, Scarron's *Nouvelles tragi-comiques*, or Davies's *Scarron's Novels* would discover the whole tale, but it was also true that readers of cheaper works such as jest-books would find episodes from the story.<sup>112</sup> The wife-in-armour plot also appeared in Edward Ravenscroft's comedy, *The London Cuckolds* (1682), thanks to one of the characters trying to recreate 'a very pretty passage' that he had read 'in a waggish book when I was a Prentice'.<sup>113</sup>

To modern eyes, this frenetic borrowing of material raises questions about the appeal of familiar stories to consumers and about plagiarism on the part of writers. The genre where borrowing was most likely to attract comment was drama. Laura Rosenthal and Paulina Kewes have both argued that disputes about plagiarism in plays were driven by contention over whether drama was an elite or a popular form and by the varied social status of its writers, who ranged from penurious professionals to titled amateurs. The genre of the source material also influenced debates over playwrights' copying, with, for example, borrowing from romances gradually becoming less respectable.<sup>114</sup> As we have previously discussed, in 1668 Elizabeth and Samuel found cause to be displeased with Dryden's *An Evening's Love*, in part because Dryden had made detailed use of Scudéry's romance *Ibrahim*. In later years, Samuel owned Gerard Langbaine's *Momus Triumphans* (1688) and *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (1691), guides for collectors of drama that

<sup>110</sup> Barbara M. Benedict, *Making the Modern Reader: Cultural Mediation in Early Modern Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 34–5.

<sup>111</sup> 'Translation as Appropriation', p. 92.

<sup>112</sup> In 1673 an edition of *Scarron's Novels* containing seven stories cost 3s. bound. See Clavell, *Catalogue* (1673), p. 35. This was twice the price of *The Complaisant Companion*, advertised at 1s. 6d. bound in 1674 (*Term Catalogues*, vol. 1, p. 180). *Englands Jestes Refin'd* (1702) probably cost 1s. bound, the same price as earlier editions. See *Term Catalogues*, vol. 2 (1905), p. 201.

<sup>113</sup> Edward Ravenscroft, *The London Cuckolds* (London, 1682; repr. [1683]), p. 40 (fol. g4r).

<sup>114</sup> Laura J. Rosenthal, *Playwrights and Plagiarists in Early Modern England: Gender, Authorship, Literary Property* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1996), introd.; Paulina Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation: Writing for the Stage in England, 1660–1710* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), esp. pp. 76–80.

itemized playwrights' sources and took them to task for their 'plagiaries'.<sup>115</sup> Langbaine saw plagiarism as defrauding both consumers and authors: consumers were duped by theatre entrepreneurs and by 'crafty Booksellers' into paying for old plays with new titles, while those authors whose works were borrowed without acknowledgement were 'robb'd... of their Fame'.<sup>116</sup> Ravenscroft's *The London Cuckolds* was therefore denounced as 'patcht up from several Novels', including Scarron's 'The Fruitless Precaution', while Dryden was taken to task for having 'wholly stollen' from French sources in *An Evening's Love*.<sup>117</sup> In the preface to his play, Dryden declared that '*the Story is the least part*' of a literary piece and that he therefore had no hesitation in taking '*any story in a Romance, Novel or forreign Play*'.<sup>118</sup> Langbaine in fact had some sympathy with this view: Kewes highlights his argument that 'plots (ideas, themes, sentiments) can be borrowed legitimately, whereas the language (style, words, expression) must be altered if the work is not to degenerate into literary theft'. She astutely notes that Langbaine's construction of plagiarism 'locates the author's property right in the linguistic "form" of a literary work. The "stories", which seem to belong to a kind of common domain, are allowed to circulate freely (in a manner reminiscent of oral transmission)'.<sup>119</sup> It is not surprising that Langbaine's, and indeed Dryden's, ideas appear to draw upon notions of oral transmission, since, as we have seen, the plots used by playwrights were indeed in oral circulation. The parallel between oral circulation and playwrights' borrowings was, in fact, Dryden's first defence in the epilogue to *An Evening's Love*—the epilogue in which, as Pepys remarked, Dryden partly 'confesses' his dependence on others' works. The actor delivering the epilogue claims to have been watching goings-on in the pit:

*And where a knot of Smilers lent an eare  
To one that talk'd, I knew the foe was there.  
The Club of jests went round; he who had none  
Borrow'd oth' next, and told it for his own:  
Among the rest they kept a fearfull stir,  
In whisp'ring that he stole th' Astrologer.*<sup>120</sup>

Members of the audience, he claims, have (predictably) been showing off their wit by accusing the author of theft—all the while being guilty of passing off others' wit as their own. This epilogue indicates that theatrical borrowing was peculiarly subject to scrutiny because the theatre was a place where the audience members' literary acumen was on stage: esteem was won by spotting a dramatist's sources and spreading the word. The analogy between the oral repetition of another's jest and heavy borrowing from printed sources was deliberately facetious; yet given the rapid

<sup>115</sup> Gerard Langbaine, *Momus Triumphans: or, The Plagiaries of the English Stage Expos'd* (London: 1688 [for 1687]), PL 1604(14); Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (Oxford, 1691), PL 881.

<sup>116</sup> *Momus Triumphans*, fols. A4r, A4v.

<sup>117</sup> *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets*, pp. 163–4, 421.

<sup>118</sup> *An Evening's Love*, fols. a3v, a4r.

<sup>119</sup> Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, p. 116.

<sup>120</sup> *An Evening's Love*, p. [90].

circulation of material between genres, and between speech and print in this period, it was not frivolous. Indeed, the fact that jests, novels, and play plots were circulating orally seems to have provided writers in all genres with a tacit justification for copying each others' stories, and even for lifting whole passages of print.<sup>121</sup> If in company a man could win esteem for adapting or recounting another's tale or jest, writers implied, should not the same apply to writers who perform in print?

The analogy between oral practice and printed borrowing was used defensively by authors who anticipated readers' criticism, but it also serves to contextualize seventeenth-century readers' pleasure in reiterated material. Examining the esteemed sources used in seventeenth-century commonplace books, Ann Moss observes that educational practices encouraged readers to associate enjoyment of literature with recognition of its sources. Readers were prompted to 'read intertextually, recognizing quotations and allusions, and appreciating the difference wrought by the new author'.<sup>122</sup> In the preface to his jest-book *The Wise and Ingenious Companion* (1700), Abel Boyer indicates that this form of appreciation applied not just to classical but to popular works, and to tales that were heard as well as read. Many of his jests and stories, he remarked, would be well known 'to Persons of good Education, and to Men of Learning' but 'tis hoped they may be glad to find them here again, just as we are pleased to hear a fine Tune over and over, provided it be well Sung'.<sup>123</sup> Performance in print, Boyer proposes, should be judged by similar criteria to oral performance, and repetition should be accepted if the experience was pleasurable. According to this understanding of reading, anyone recognizing a familiar tale, while they might feel impatient with the author, would also be made aware of their own cultural knowledge and sophistication. Furthermore, Pepys's diary provides evidence that, even when readers or audience members disapproved of borrowing, this did not prevent a work from being entertaining. For people who professed to dislike *An Evening's Love*, Samuel and Elizabeth spent a good deal of time and money on it. Elizabeth and Deb's first trip to see the play on 19 June 1668 led Elizabeth to tell her husband it was no good. Yet the next day Samuel went to see the play and Elizabeth went along too—perhaps a bad play was better than no play. Samuel found the comedy 'very smutty' and below Dryden's usual standard; the unacknowledged borrowing that Elizabeth had detected was brought in to support this verdict. Then, the day after, the couple spent more time confirming their opinion, with Elizabeth tracking down Dryden's source in *Ibrahim*.<sup>124</sup> While a work that borrowed heavily from other sources could

<sup>121</sup> Jest-book writers regularly defended lifting material from novels, from other collections, and from conversations. One justification they offered was that they had improved the jests by reworking them; see William Hicks, *Oxford Jest* (London, 1671), fol. A3r–v and *Poor Robin's Jest* (London, [1667]), fols. A2v–A3r. In *The Complaisant Companion* Richard Head maintained 'a nimble Theft of this kind is not only fashionable but plausible' [i.e. pleasing] (fol. A2v). In a tacit demonstration of this point, he plagiarized the next part of his introduction from the address 'To the Discerning Reader' in *The Book of Bulls* (London, 1636).

<sup>122</sup> Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 220.

<sup>123</sup> Abel Boyer, *The Wise and Ingenious Companion, French and English* (London, 1700), fol. A7v.

<sup>124</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 247.

lead to pleasurable recognition and appreciation of an author's skilful changes, there were other pleasures to be had when the use of sources was judged inept or underhand. In this case at least, while the experience of an adapted work proved unsatisfactory, the process of trying and convicting a writer for taking material seems to have been highly satisfying.

There is one final consequence of Restoration readers' interest in oral performance that is worth examining, and again this has connections to the appearance of the same stories and material in multiple works and genres. A number of critics have sought to make connections between the oral performance of texts and the forms of early modern works. Walter Ong, for example, argues that before the early nineteenth century 'lengthy narrative' tended to be episodic without a 'climactic linear plot' and he traces this to practices of storytelling in an earlier oral culture. Long narratives constructed during oral recitation, he states, were frequently episodic and non-linear, for they had to remain coherent even if the teller missed or rearranged episodes.<sup>125</sup> Looking at eighteenth-century novels, J. Paul Hunter remarks on their tendency to 'digressiveness' and 'fragmentation'; he proposes that authors' penchants for inset narratives and anecdotes—which tend to trouble critics—are tactics to recreate a lost communality and orality.<sup>126</sup> Perhaps these experiences were not so lost. William Nelson, responding to Ong, counters that if writers mysteriously persisted in catering to listeners into the nineteenth century, it was because they very often *were* catering to listeners: reading aloud remained a common practice for all kinds of texts during the early modern period and beyond. Works that took longer than an hour to read aloud, he suggests, benefited from a loose, episodic structure, for this allowed listeners to miss a session or have lapses in concentration without losing track of the narrative.<sup>127</sup> The writer's aim was to 'hold on to his audience by providing entertainment, instruction, emotional excitement, surprise from moment to moment, avoiding monotony at all costs'.<sup>128</sup> Nelson's focus is on sixteenth-century texts but these observations are relevant to Restoration literary culture. Not only did reading aloud remain common, but readers were trained and encouraged to memorize and to retell passages and stories 'without book'. Variety, rather than unitary plotting, could therefore be an asset in these works.

The prevalence of memorizing and storytelling habits helps explain otherwise puzzling authorial decisions and the appeal of literature that strikes twenty-first-century

<sup>125</sup> Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen, 1982; repr. London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 143–9.

<sup>126</sup> J. Paul Hunter, *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New York and London: Norton, 1990), pp. 24, 47, 158, 160–1.

<sup>127</sup> William Nelson, 'From "Listen, Lordings" to "Dear Reader"', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 46 (1977), 110–24, doi: 10.3138/utq.46.2.110 (pp. 119–20). On a different but related point, Elspeth Jajdelska makes a case for a decline in reading aloud corresponding to a move away from authors writing for the reader as a speaker. Texts that imagine the reader as a speaker, she suggests, can more easily change location and context, as someone reading aloud can use 'gesture, shared space, pausing, and intonation' to manage change for an audience. *Silent Reading and the Birth of the Narrator* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), p. 177.

<sup>128</sup> Nelson, 'From "Listen, Lordings"', p. 119. See also Marion Trousdale on the Elizabethan attitude to structure and variety in drama: 'A Possible Renaissance View of Form', *ELH* 40 (1973), 179–204, doi: 10.2307/2872655.



readers as ‘bad’—by which I mean works that appear substantially plagiarized, internally inconsistent, or frustratingly episodic. A convenient illustration of the benefits of a disjunctive, heterogeneous approach to structure comes from Francis Kirkman’s *The Unlucky Citizen* (1673). The unlucky citizen was Kirkman himself, for this was an account of the troubles he had encountered as a London bookseller. The title page promised that the ‘misfortunes’ of the Londoner would be ‘Intermixed with severall Choice Novels’ and ‘Stored with variety of *Examples and advice, President and Precept*’. The ‘Choice Novels’ appear midway through the narrative, when the young Kirkman finds himself walking to Windsor with a group of travellers who tell stories to pass the time. His own contribution is a tale about a gambler—a tale actually taken from the main plot of James Shirley’s comedy *The Gamester* (1637), although of course this was not acknowledged.<sup>129</sup> After several chapters given over to the storytelling exchange, the main narrative again resumes, with Kirkman as narrator cheerfully professing that the whole exchange was itself a fiction, devised because ‘I thought it convenient for varieties sake to clap in these Stories’.<sup>130</sup> As a bookseller, Kirkman knew his readers and evidently expected them to tolerate—and indeed welcome—his sudden shifts from fact to fiction, changes in tone, interruptions to the main narrative, and intermixing of novels from a range of sources. Pepys had praised Tuke’s play for its ‘variety and the most excellent continuance of the plot’: writers of other types of fiction often judged the former quality to be the more important in pleasing readers. Kirkman anticipated a readership so keen for ‘variety’ that they would not mind if stories were ‘clapped in’ without much art. When we remember Samuel, Elizabeth, and Deb ‘talking and telling tales’ while travelling to Brampton or Elizabeth’s efforts to entertain Samuel and Mrs Pearse, it seems Kirkman knew what he was doing. The storytelling exchange in *The Unlucky Citizen* was not just a means to offer readers changes of tone and subject; it also offered material that they themselves might employ to entertain others and Kirkman’s scenario heavily signposted this fact. With such reading priorities in mind, the benefits of clapping in stories more than outweighed any qualms the writer had about interrupting his main narrative. Readers’ interests in variety and excerpting from texts help explain why sudden changes in tone, content, and even genre, are often encountered in early modern prose fiction.<sup>131</sup> While some readers might prefer a carefully woven plot and a consistent attitude or tone, there were distinct advantages in creating a more loosely structured narrative. Incorporating variety meant appealing to the widest possible audience, while a work with an episodic structure tacitly communicated to readers in search of stories to tell that this particular work could be seen as made up of separable, reusable parts—and that they could themselves put the pieces to use. Rather than readily ascribing such shifts in tone and content to authors’ ineptitude or lack of attention to structure, we

<sup>129</sup> Francis Kirkman, *The Unlucky Citizen* (London, 1673), ch. 6; compare a storytelling episode using play plots at *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 59.

<sup>130</sup> *Unlucky Citizen*, p. 107.

<sup>131</sup> For discussion of this phenomenon in relation to early eighteenth-century prose fiction, see Loveman, ‘“A Life of Continu’d Variety”: Crime, Readers, and the Structure of Defoe’s *Moll Flanders*’, *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 26 (2013), 1–32, doi: 10.3138/ecf.26.1.1.

need to be conscious that these may be deliberate decisions by authors who had a keen sense of their readers' priorities.

## CONCLUSIONS

The diversions provided by 'books of pleasure' were not all frivolous. Although the reading of romances came under attack, even romance's detractors could find examples to commend, among them Sidney's *Arcadia*. The heroic romances that arrived later in the century did not achieve *Arcadia*'s level of respectability, but they remained fashionable and esteemed reading for several decades. To judge by reports from and about women readers, these works offered absorptive reading experiences that were both emotionally and intellectually involving.<sup>132</sup> Professing close kinship with histories, heroic romances similarly served as sources of rhetoric, models of conduct, and guides on prudence or 'policy'. Romances were especially valued by both men and women because their contents could be used to communicate persuasively with the opposite sex, not just during courtship but after marriage. Readers hoped that the rhetoric of esteemed romances could be lifted to woo a partner (behaviour that was sufficiently clichéd to attract jokes), while discussions of the stories could serve as ways to convey personal values and to negotiate relationships. Critics of romances sometimes claimed these books would encourage women to hanker after unlawful loves and teach them deceitful practices that would allow them to pursue their lusts.<sup>133</sup> The points that women such as Elizabeth Pepys and Dorothy Osborne drew from these texts were not so devious, but they did find endorsements for their own agency and views, which they used to good effect. If *Arcadia* could be employed to support misogynistic viewpoints, there was also—as Elizabeth recognized—material that could be used tactically to assert a woman's moral authority, as well as her power over her partner's reputation. A husband who, like Pepys, hoped that romances would placate his wife or keep her quietly entertained, might find that these were also serving her as an educational resource—and as a resource that she would in turn use to educate him, not always to his taste.

Instances of domestic conflict over the genres associated with recreation are, however, rare. More often Pepys's diary and other sources show that these works lived up to their designation as 'books of pleasure' and, crucially, were read with a mind to finding material that could in turn give pleasure to others. A common feature of recreational reading was the identification, memorization, and extraction of stories for retelling: readers found a far wider range of works suited to this purpose than we might expect and they sometimes demonstrated considerable

<sup>132</sup> Osborne reported crying over a heroic romance and Elizabeth Pepys stayed up late to read one. *Letters of Dorothy Osborne*, [Sept. 1653], p. 85; *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 35.

<sup>133</sup> Sasha Roberts, 'Shakespeare "Creeper into the Womens Closets about Bedtime": Women Reading in a Room of their Own', in *Renaissance Configurations: Voices/Bodies/Spaces, 1580–1690*, ed. Gordon McMullan (London: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 30–63 (pp. 44–5); Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material*, p. 154; Hackett, *Women and Romance Fiction*, pp. 10–11.

ambition in trying to master challenging plots and language for pleasure. This had profound implications for the literary culture of the time. Notably, it influenced developing concepts of literary ownership and plagiarism. Rehearsing familiar material was not seen as a crime peculiar to authors in print but as a behaviour common to storytellers in all media. Therefore, when beleaguered authors sought to draw parallels between their borrowings and oral practices, the comparison was a salient one, if not exactly a compelling defence. The interest in reading for stories to retell was also a factor shaping literary taste. There was evidently a widespread tolerance for the reuse of stories, episodes, and even whole passages of prose in early modern fiction. This reuse was the more acceptable because it was not seen merely as writers passing off old material as new, but as a practice in which readers themselves could participate and from which they could learn. Even if readers were not interested in retelling or reworking a tale, reading or hearing a familiar story had its pleasures, not the least of which was a sense of one's sophistication in recognizing the source. Since a work that catered to readers' interest in sociable storytelling was a more saleable work, this pervasive reading behaviour affected not just the construction of individual works but the popularity and development of genres. Packaging fiction to suit discussion and excerption was evidently a worthwhile endeavour, as happened with the reworking of elements of Scudéry's romances into *Conversations*. The appeal of the Restoration novel rested in part on its potential for use in sociable storytelling. As short fictions that generally dealt in domestic concerns rather than extravagant heroics and that often adopted a witty, conversational tone, Restoration novels seemed to lend themselves to retelling in company. It paid authors of longer prose fictions to be mindful that a significant proportion of their readership was interested in material for excerpting and retelling: narratives that featured poems, letters, short stories, and digressions catered to this tendency. There was, therefore, considerable incentive for authors of prose fiction to inject variety into their works' content and structure—features that today are likely to be regarded by readers as a sign of poor planning or lack of artistry. Seventeenth-century readers, on the other hand, frequently found diversity of content and an episodic narrative to be intriguing rather than troublesome, and to be positive assets in works 'for diversion'.

## 6

# Buying Books in Restoration London

How did people obtain books in late seventeenth-century London? What influenced their choice of bookshop and, once inside, their choice of book? What other routes were there to lay hands on works? Samuel Pepys's papers go some way to answering these questions—at least so far as concerns one inveterate, affluent book-buyer. This chapter concentrates on Pepys's dealings with book-trade professionals from the 1660s to the 1690s, a period that saw severe challenges for the book trade as well as major innovations in the ways books were advertised and sold. Alongside these developments, Pepys's own professional circumstances changed, which altered the ways that he made use of trade networks in order to build his collections. Excellent work has been done on the Restoration book trade by scholars including Giles Mandelbrote, James Raven, Charles Rivington, and Leona Rostenberg, and this chapter draws on their research.<sup>1</sup> Here, however, I am particularly interested in the experience of book-buying for the customer—in the practicalities of choosing and acquiring a work. While books were sold in a variety of establishments and there was a thriving trade in second-hand works, my focus is on the upper echelons of the London bookselling market, on those businesses that chiefly sold new books and sold to a wealthy clientele. Many of these booksellers were not only retailers but owned the rights to certain texts, organizing their production and their distribution. This meant they acted as 'publishers' in the modern sense and stood to profit more if their own works sold well.

The process of obtaining a book influences a reader's expectations of it and can affect interpretation. To take a modern example, if today I were to walk into a city-centre bookshop to browse the shelves for a book on Jack the Ripper, I would head towards one of several sections, depending on the kind of book I was after: 'Crime Fiction and Thrillers', 'Literary Fiction', 'True Crime', or 'History'. My expectations of the work would be influenced to some extent by where I found it. Alternatively, if I decided to shop online for a work on the same topic, I would have limited access to the text before I purchased it, so customer reviews on the site

<sup>1</sup> For example, Giles Mandelbrote, 'From the Warehouse to the Counting-House: Booksellers and Bookshops in Late 17th-century London', in *A Genius for Letters: Booksellers and Bookselling from the 16th to the 20th Century*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1995), pp. 49–84; James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450–1850* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), ch. 4; Charles A. Rivington, *Pepys and the Booksellers* (York: Sessions Book Trust, 1992); Leona Rostenberg, *The Library of Robert Hooke: The Scientific Book Trade of Restoration England* (Santa Monica, CA: Modoc Press, 1989).

might play a large part in my choice and set the conditions for my interpretation of the book. When we are shopping today, there are important aspects of behaviour that we take for granted and that therefore do not require comment. For example, I just assumed, perhaps wrongly, that you knew how a bookshop in twenty-first-century Britain might be laid out and how customers are expected to act (you find the book yourself, you take it to the counter, you pay for it . . .). The purchasing process in an upmarket seventeenth-century bookshop was very different but, as today, customers similarly assumed that much that went on in bookshops was too obvious to merit mentioning. Pepys's diary is one of the very few seventeenth-century sources that provides detail on purchasing decisions in shops. To reconstruct how booksellers and their customers interacted, we can also look to other evidence, including catalogues, advertisements, trial records, and fictional portrayals of bookshops. Besides describing the acquisition of printed works, Pepys's papers also show the importance of manuscript texts and how these were obtained. As Harold Love has demonstrated, scribal publication thrived in the late seventeenth century, not least because circulation by manuscript offered a way to circumvent the government's attempts at censorship.<sup>2</sup> The provision of illicit works—in print or in manuscript—was a service provided by booksellers but also by friends and colleagues. Special efforts towards acquisition were similarly needed in the case of scarce and foreign works, and here late seventeenth-century collectors were able to take advantage of recent developments in the English book trade to improve their libraries.

## NEWS OF BOOKS

Before a London bookseller could make a sale, he or she had first to win the customer's attention. One of the oldest forms of book advertising was to put up title pages on posts around the city; therefore, title pages, with their detailed descriptions of books' contents, were designed with this function in mind. In 1682 one newsbook noted that it was '*usual and long-accustomed for Book-binders servants on Saturday-nights, to Post up the Titles of such Books as their Masters have to Bind, and which are to be Publisht in the beginning of the Week following*'.<sup>3</sup> Another tactic was for booksellers to add lists of available works to the blank space on the final page of a book, a measure sometimes also used to warn readers of rivals' pirated or flawed publications.<sup>4</sup> Some booksellers issued catalogues of their wares, often with the aim of publicizing their imported stock. Newsbook advertising became common during the Civil Wars and continued into the 1660s, with several of Pepys's

<sup>2</sup> See Harold Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> *The Impartial Protestant Mercury*, 6–10 Jan. 1681/2.

<sup>4</sup> Examples of warnings to customers include those in Jeremy Taylor, *The Worthy Communicant* (London, 1667), printed for John Martyn and his partners, p. [415] and John Dauncey, *The English Lovers* (London, 1662; Wing D289B), printed for Francis Kirkman and Henry Marsh, p. [191].

favourite booksellers, such as John Starkey, John Playford, and Henry Herringman, advertising in newsbooks.<sup>5</sup>

The disasters of the mid-1660s presented serious, and in some cases insurmountable, threats to London booksellers' livelihoods. Like other tradespeople, the booksellers lost custom as a result of the plague in 1665, but worse was to come.<sup>6</sup> In 1666 the Great Fire laid waste to the many booksellers based around St Paul's Cathedral, and destroyed much of the Stationers' Company stock that had been moved for protection to the crypt under the cathedral. The upheaval of the fire brought ruin for some but improved business for others, especially those who were able to identify new commercial opportunities. In 1668, seeking ways to boost trade, John Starkey decided to produce a regular catalogue of new or reprinted books issued in England. For the privilege of including their titles, booksellers would pay in books. Booksellers preferred to publish works during the law terms when London was at its busiest, so Starkey's *Mercurius Librarius* came out termly, four times a year. The catalogue listed works by topic (Divinity, Law, etc.), naming the format, the bookseller, the author (if known), and sometimes the price of the publication. *Mercurius Librarius* was soon taken over by Starkey's rival Robert Clavell and renamed *A Catalogue of Books*. The term catalogues continued to be issued until 1711.<sup>7</sup> Their appearance seems to have prompted more booksellers to issue their own catalogues, for there was a surge of such publications in the 1670s and 1680s. While some catalogues explicitly targeted 'Gent[lemen] that make Collections', they were also aimed at customers without direct access to London's bookshops: Clavell and Starkey expected that sending catalogues out by post would increase orders from country booksellers and their clients.<sup>8</sup> As had long been the case, catalogues were used to reach an international market. In 1674 Robert Scott, one of the most powerful booksellers of the period, invested in a lengthy Latin catalogue of his foreign language publications and charged 3s. 6d. for it.<sup>9</sup> On its own this was an expensive purchase, and demonstrated Scott's confidence in his ability to attract a wealthy and learned clientele. By 1680 he numbered Pepys among his clients.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> For example, Starkey's advertisement in *Mercurius Publicus*, no. 26, 21–8 June 1660, 413–14 (there are two issues of this number); Playford's advertisement in *Mercurius Publicus*, no. 30, 19–26 July 1660, 473; Herringman's advertisement in *The Kingdoms Intelligencer*, no. 24, 16–23 June 1661, 385. On early book advertising, see Christine Ferdinand, 'Constructing the Frameworks of Desire: How Newspapers Sold Books in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Prose Studies*, 21 (1998), 157–75, doi: 10.1080/01440359808586643.

<sup>6</sup> On 23 Dec. 1665, Robert Boyle wrote to Henry Oldenburg that the plague had interrupted communications to the extent that '*Diurnalls* are the only printed things that have any thing near as quick & generall a Vent as formerly.' *The Correspondence of Robert Boyle*, ed. Michael Hunter, Antonio Clericuzio, and Lawrence M. Principe, 6 vols. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2001), vol. 2, p. 607.

<sup>7</sup> Cyprian Blagden, 'The Genesis of the Term Catalogues', *The Library*, 5th ser., 8 (1953), 30–5, doi: 10.1093/library/s5-VIII.1.30; *Term Catalogues*, vol. 1, pp. viii–ix.

<sup>8</sup> *General Catalogue of All the Stitch'd Books and Single Sheets &c* (London, 1680), title page; Blagden, 'Genesis of the Term Catalogues', pp. 31, 34.

<sup>9</sup> *Catalogus librorum ex variis Europæ partibus advectorum per Robertum Scott* (London, 1674); Leona Rostenberg, 'Robert Scott, Restoration Stationer and Importer', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 48 (1954), 49–76 (pp. 69–70).

<sup>10</sup> Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.181, fol. 31, Pepys's list of debts c.1678–80.

For all the book trade's industrious advertising, Pepys was most likely to buy a book if it had come recommended by word of mouth. We saw in Chapter 5 how Dr Timothy Clarke's storytelling from *Scarron's Novels* resulted in Pepys purchasing the book, but more usually it was simple praise of a work (often over dinner) that led him to consider it.<sup>11</sup> The recommendation of a high-status individual carried great weight. By 1668, Pepys was following up on the advice of bishops and lords. On 2 January 1668, he bought Sir Fulke Greville's *The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney* the day after hearing Lord Crew read it at dinner. Three days later, at Sir George and Lady Carteret's dinner, the Bishop of Chester praised 'the matter and style of a late book called *The Causes of the Decay of Piety*' and so, wrote Pepys, 'I do resolve at his great commendation to buy it'.<sup>12</sup> On 15 March he heard Montaigne's *Essays* 'much commended' by Lord Arlington and Lord Blayney at a dinner; two days later he went looking for it and bought it the day after.<sup>13</sup> Specific recommendations from a valued source could trigger a purchase, but a general sense that a book was much talked about and well received was also reason for searching it out. Pepys more than once mentions the 'crying up' of a book as a reason for his interest, and what he took to be general acclamation could trump his own better judgement and persuade him to a purchase.<sup>14</sup> Then as now, the crying-up of a book was the heart's desire of booksellers and, as we will see later, Restoration booksellers had a number of cunning tactics for encouraging favourable public discussion of their titles.

## VISITING A BOOKSHOP

### Locations

A gentleman seeking a book in 1660 would have been well advised to head for the parts of the City where members of the book trade clustered. These included the area around St Paul's Cathedral and Paternoster Row that had been a centre of the book trade for centuries (see map before Introduction).<sup>15</sup> The smallest bookshops were little more than booths, with shutters that could be folded down to create a counter on which to display books to passers-by. The bigger shops encouraged customers inside with large display frontages. By investigating the book trade in Paternoster Row, James Raven has demonstrated that booksellers sought out locations in main thoroughfares to lure in passing trade and that corner

<sup>11</sup> Ch. 5, 'Novels, Borrowing, and Oral Culture', pp. 155–6.

<sup>12</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 1, 6, 10–11. The Pepys Library has [Richard Allestree?], *The Causes of the Decay of Christian Piety* in the 1694 edition, PL 1086 (probably replacing an earlier edition of 1667).

<sup>13</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 120, 121.

<sup>14</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 35.

<sup>15</sup> On the topography of the book trade, see Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard*, Occasional Papers of the Bibliographical Society 5 (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1990); Giles Mandelbrote, 'Workplaces and Living Spaces: London Book Trade Inventories of the Late Seventeenth Century', in *The London Book Trade: Topographies of Print in the Metropolis from the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press; London: British Library, 2003), pp. 21–43 (pp. 22–7); James Raven, 'Location, Size, and Succession: The Bookshops of Paternoster Row before 1800', in *London Book Trade*, ed. Myers et al., pp. 89–111.

sites with two windows were particularly valued—presumably this offered not only more advertising space, but more daylight. Shuttered windows appear to have been the norm, but glazing was also becoming more widely used in upmarket shops in the latter half of the seventeenth century.<sup>16</sup> Venturing a little further north from the cathedral—300 metres or so—took you to Little Britain and its surrounding streets. This was a good place to pick up imported books: Pepys looked at French books here and found this area the best place to buy Spanish works.<sup>17</sup> In the west of the City, Fleet Street and the Temple offered another concentration of booksellers, many providing legal and political works to members of the nearby Inns of Court. Continuing into Westminster took you to the New Exchange in the Strand, an upmarket shopping emporium that housed booksellers as well as other vendors of luxury items. Further west still were the bookshops of Westminster Hall. Sited near to the law courts and Parliament, these sellers specialized in works on legal and current affairs, from Dryden's celebratory poems to the latest King's speech.<sup>18</sup> A customer roving around London's bookshops would rarely find a bookseller's door shut against him, for like London's other shops, they kept long hours. Pepys records calling at bookshops on a Sunday or 'at night', and even managed, one July morning, to purchase 'a little book of law' in Fleet Street before 6 a.m.<sup>19</sup> It was not just booksellers who sold books, however, for print could be purchased in venues all over the city. Instrument-makers, for example, sold guides to their wares: Pepys acquired John Brown's manual on the use of his slide rule from the author's mathematical instrument shop in the Minories. Books were also sold in coffee-houses, although *Counsel and Advice to All Builders* (1663) picked up in this way unfortunately proved 'not worth a turd'.<sup>20</sup> Hawkers sold newsbooks, pamphlets, and even bound books in London's streets and public forums.<sup>21</sup>

### Customer and Bookseller Relations

Frequent book-buyers had favourite sellers with whom they built up long-term relationships. Pepys's preferred traders together show the variety of bookselling

<sup>16</sup> Raven, 'Location, Size, and Succession', pp. 104–6, 108, 110; Mandelbrote, 'From the Warehouse', pp. 54–5 and 'Workplaces and Living Spaces', pp. 32–4; Nancy Cox and Claire Walsh, 'Their Shops are Dens, the Buyer is their Prey': Shop Design and Sale Techniques', in Cox, *The Complete Tradesman: A Study of Retailing, 1550–1820* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 79–81. See also the illustrations of 17th- and early 18th-century Continental bookshops collected in Sigfried Taubert, *Bibliopola*, vol. 2 (Hamburg: Hauswedell; London: Allen Lane, 1966), esp. p. 69.

<sup>17</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 131; vol. 6, p. 332; vol. 9, p. 173.

<sup>18</sup> See Henry R. Plomer, 'Westminster Hall and its Booksellers', *The Library*, 2nd ser., 6 (1905), 380–90, doi: 10.1093/library/s2-VI.24.380. *Diary*, vol. 8, pp. 40, 52.

<sup>19</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, pp. 46–7; vol. 9, p. 297; vol. 5, pp. 202–3.

<sup>20</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 85, 162.

<sup>21</sup> Maureen Bell, 'Sturdy Rogues and Vagabonds: Restoration Control of Pedlars and Hawkers', in *The Mighty Engine: The Printing Press and its Impact*, ed. Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2000), pp. 89–96; Paul Morgan, 'The Provincial Book Trade before the End of the Licensing Act', in *Six Centuries of the Provincial Book Trade in Britain*, ed. Peter Isaac (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1990), pp. 31–9 (p. 34).



establishments catering to wealthy Londoners.<sup>22</sup> Of all Pepys's relations with booksellers, his friendship with the Mitchells of Westminster Hall was the most enduring, running from the 1650s to at least the late 1670s. From printed records, we might assume that Miles Mitchell was the face of the business, for it was his name that appeared on the few publications issued from the Mitchells' shop in the 1650s and 1660s.<sup>23</sup> However, as the diary amply testifies, it was Ann Mitchell, Miles's wife, who ran the retail business on a day-to-day basis, working from a prime location at 'the first shop in Westminster Hall' just within the main gate.<sup>24</sup> The shops in Westminster Hall were not housed in their own buildings, but were formed from counters lining the two sides of the room. An illustration of the hall from around 1740 shows a number of booksellers: some publications are displayed within customers' reach on counters and the rest of the stock is on shelves stretching far above the owner's heads (Figure 7). Ann Mitchell's shop was big enough for privileged visitors such as Elizabeth Pepys to sit 'in'—presumably behind the counter.<sup>25</sup> Here Mrs Mitchell sold newsbooks along with political and topical works. Like many booksellers, she also sold medicines, among them John Piercy's '*famous and approved Lozanges*' and William Sermon's pills ('an Incomparable Medicine in all Chronical and Dangerous Diseases').<sup>26</sup> Despite Pepys's frequent concerns about his health, he was more interested in Mrs Mitchell's gossip than her pills and wanted to give her reason for 'speaking well' of him to elite customers in the hall. Treating her with gifts of wine and beer indicated his esteem for her and was a means to this end. Further evidence of his regard for Ann comes from the fact he was willing to give in to her requests 'about doing something for her elder son' by way of a position, if only he could think what.<sup>27</sup> No action seems to have been taken in this matter, but the Mitchells were involved in bookselling for over half a century and did well from it: when Miles died in 1679, his wife's inheritance included five tenements.<sup>28</sup>

Along with visits to Mrs Mitchell, in the early 1660s Pepys was a regular customer at Joshua Kirton's bookshop at the sign of the King's Arms in Paul's Cross Churchyard. In the diary, Kirton was distinguished as 'my bookseller', a title largely reserved for him alone before 1666, despite the fact that Pepys was visiting

<sup>22</sup> Robert Hooke's behaviour parallels Pepys's: he too had preferred sellers such as John Martyn and Moses Pitt, but ranged widely. See Rostenberg, *Library of Robert Hooke*, chs. 2 and 3.

<sup>23</sup> Mitchell imprints include Francis Duke's *The Fulness and Freeness of Gods Grace . . . The Second Part*, 'printed . . . for John Clark and Miles Mitchel' in 1655. This imprint formula indicates Mitchell owned a share of the work. However the more usual formula for imprints with his name says they are 'sold by' him, which implies that Mitchell was a distributor rather than a copyright holder.

<sup>24</sup> Fullwood's *The Grand Case of the Present Ministry* (London, 1662), imprint. By 1697 the Mitchells' shop had acquired a sign ('the Crown and Cushion')—see the imprint to M. Marsin, *The Figurative Speeches* (London, 1697).

<sup>25</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 295.

<sup>26</sup> *Mercurius Publicus*, no. 50, 11–18 Dec. 1662, 815; William Sermon, *An Advertisement concerning the Most Famous and Safe Cathartique and Diurectique Pills* (London, 1672), title page, p. 28.

<sup>27</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 296; vol. 4, p. 242; vol. 8, p. 341.

<sup>28</sup> The National Archives, PROB 11/360/636, Will of Miles Michell [*sic*] of St Margaret Westminster.



**Fig. 7.** Interior of Westminster Hall, engraved by C. Mosley, after Hubert-François Gravelot (c.1740), published in *Westminster Hall, The First Day of Term: A Satirical Poem* (London, 1797).

By permission of the Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

other shops. Kirton could supply a wide range of works, from Chaucer's poetry to Rushworth's monumental *Historical Collections*, and Pepys sometimes spent hours reading in his shop.<sup>29</sup> As with the Mitchell family, Pepys and the members of Kirton's business were on friendly terms. When Pepys was at the start of his career he socialized with Kirton's apprentice, walking 'up and down with him two hours, sometimes in the street looking for a tavern to drink at'—a bookseller's apprentice would not be the kind of acquaintance he pursued later in the diary.<sup>30</sup> At the same time that he was using Kirton's, Pepys was also a frequent visitor to John Playford's shop at the Inner Temple, primarily for music books, and to Henry Herringman's shop at the New Exchange for drama. Pepys was particularly taken with Herringman's shop, which had the attractions of a well-informed owner, a tempting stock, and a fashionable location. Built in the early seventeenth century, the New Exchange was a two-storeyed forum containing around a hundred shops that specialized in fine goods such as china, pictures, and gloves. Open in summer from 6 a.m. to 8 p.m. and from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. in the winter, it was designed to be a convenient meeting place, with the aim of drawing in more trade.<sup>31</sup> Samuel and Elizabeth often shopped for goods there. Giles Mandelbrote suggests that an illustration from c.1638 of a bookshop in the Galerie du Palais de Justice, Paris, depicts the French equivalent of the booksellers in the New Exchange (Figure 8).<sup>32</sup> This engraving was published with a verse mocking the decadent clientele of the French forum, but it does convey the refined atmosphere that shoppers at the Exchange enjoyed. During the 1660s Herringman had built up his business by publishing fashionable new plays and verses by William Davenant, George Etherege, Robert Howard, and John Dryden, among others.<sup>33</sup> In April 1666, Pepys went to Herringman's, where he 'looked over some play-books, and intend to get all the late new plays'. This was quickly followed by another trip 'to get a list of all the modern plays—which I intend to collect'—with the result that Pepys became a long-term customer.<sup>34</sup>

The destruction wrought by the Great Fire reshaped the topography of London bookselling, and customers' habits with it. Mandelbrote's research indicates that Little Britain and the western centres of the book trade, having escaped the fire, temporarily became more important in the years immediately following 1666, and Pepys's diary entries support this.<sup>35</sup> To the west of the City and in Westminster, Herringman, Playford, and Mitchell continued to trade, but Kirton in Paul's Churchyard was not so lucky. Pepys heard he was 'utterly undone, and made 2

<sup>29</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 402, 410–11; vol. 1, pp. 56–7. See also Rivington, *Pepys and the Booksellers*, pp. 25–8.

<sup>30</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 53.

<sup>31</sup> Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), pp. 46–61.

<sup>32</sup> Mandelbrote, 'From the Warehouse', p. 60.

<sup>33</sup> C. William Miller, 'Henry Herringman, Restoration Bookseller-Publisher', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 42 (1948), 292–306.

<sup>34</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, pp. 103, 104–5.

<sup>35</sup> Mandelbrote, 'Workplaces and Living Spaces', pp. 21–6.



Fig. 8. La Galerie du Palais (Gallery of the Palace of Justice, Paris), by Abraham Bosse, c.1638.  
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, Rogers Fund, 1922 <[www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org)>.

or 3000*l* worse than nothing, from being worth 7 or 8000*l*.<sup>36</sup> In Kirton's place, Pepys found several new establishments that merited the title 'my bookseller'. John Martyn had been burned out of his St Paul's shop but quickly re-established himself at the sign of the Bell, 'a little without Temple Bar'. As printer to the Royal Society, Martyn specialized in natural philosophy; his advertisements also promised customers 'you may have choice of new Latin and French Books'.<sup>37</sup> Pepys's purchases here included French heroic romances for his wife. Foreign books also came from William Shrewsbury's shop at the sign of the Bible in Duck Lane, near Little Britain. Shrewsbury was able to supply Spanish and French works (sometimes delivering books to Pepys's home), but Pepys's frequent visits there in 1668 had rather less to do with his desire to look at Shrewsbury's stock than his desire to ogle Shrewsbury's wife.<sup>38</sup> The third man whom Pepys called 'my bookseller' after 1666 was the innovative advertiser John Starkey. Starkey's shop 'at the Mitre in *Fleet-Street*, within *Temple-Bar*' seems to have drawn Pepys's attention before the fire, but after Kirton's loss, Starkey's stock of travel literature and histories became particularly attractive.<sup>39</sup> Starkey's location on a main thoroughfare at the boundary between Westminster and the City meant that his shop was also a good place to see acquaintances: Pepys met the lawyer Roger Pepys and the Duke of York's secretary Matthew Wren there.<sup>40</sup> Starkey was publishing manuscript news in the late 1660s: the list of members of a parliamentary commission that Pepys got at his shop in 1667 was almost certainly a manuscript, as were the resolutions of another committee he saw there.<sup>41</sup> Within a few years, Starkey and his partner Thomas Collins were running a flourishing scriptorium centred on news and political information. However, Starkey's provision of manuscript news brought him trouble. By 1675 he was regarded by the government as poisoning the city with 'false newes' and it was reported in 1679 that a notorious opposition club met in his shop.<sup>42</sup> His growing reputation as an opposition publisher (which led to his fleeing the country in 1682) must have made his shop a less hospitable place for Pepys.

<sup>36</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 309.

<sup>37</sup> [Géraud de Cordemoy], *A Philosophicall Discourse concerning Speech* (1668), title page, fol. G5v. Rivington, *Pepys and the Booksellers*, p. 28.

<sup>38</sup> For example, *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 160–1, 284–5, 327. On 13 July 1668 Pepys explained that his latest order with Shrewsbury was the means he 'made way for coming again to the man' to pursue his wife (vol. 9, pp. 260–1).

<sup>39</sup> Starkey's location is taken from the imprint to Emmanuel d'Aranda, *The History of Algiers* (London, 1666). The bookshop at the Temple mentioned on 17 December 1663 (*Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 424–5) was probably Starkey's, since the title Pepys describes, 'Embassages into Moscovia', can be identified with one of Starkey's publications, Olearius' *The Voyages & Travels of the Ambassadors* (London, 1662). *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 291 ('Starkey's my booksellers').

<sup>40</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 291, 430.

<sup>41</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, pp. 576–7. 'My bookseller' in this case meant Starkey, given the shop offered parliamentary news in manuscript and was apparently close to the Duke's Theatre. BL, MS Add. 36916 contains newsletters from Starkey from 1667 onwards.

<sup>42</sup> 'Memorandum about the Booksellers, &c.' in Andrew Browning, *Thomas Earl of Danby*, vol. 3 (Glasgow: Jackson, 1951), p. 2. On Starkey's activities, see Mark Knights, 'John Starkey and Ideological Networks in Late Seventeenth-Century England', in *Media History*, 11 (2005), 127–45, doi: 10.1080/1368880052000342451.

Although Pepys was interested in oppositional and seditious publications, a bookseller's public loyalty to the government was one of the factors that earned his long-term custom. Notably, several of the booksellers he visited in the 1660s (Herringman, Shrewsbury, and Playford) were later nominated as 'Loyall and well affected persons' who could be trusted to govern the Stationers' Company in line with Charles II's wishes. Also named in this 1684 document were two of the booksellers whom Pepys took to using in later life, Robert Scott and Samuel Lowndes.<sup>43</sup> Although Pepys ranged around the booksellers of London, those skilled in meeting his requirements could hope for his custom over years, and sometimes decades. His memo of tradesmen 'Unpaid' from 1679 or 1680 includes 'Herringman Bookseller' and 'Mrs Mitchell': by this time Pepys had been using Herringman's shop for at least thirteen years and Mrs Mitchell's for at least twenty.<sup>44</sup>

It is worth pausing here to deal with an issue that has been lurking in the background during this discussion of customer and bookseller relationships. I have so far been referring to the customers of high-end bookshops as male and I will continue to do so, since the evidence from seventeenth-century sources indicates that the clientele of these shops was for the most part male. However, it is clear from Pepys's diary that female customers could and did visit certain establishments. On several occasions Elizabeth visited Ann Mitchell's shop at Westminster Hall and on one occasion she seems to have visited John Martyn's shop in Temple Bar with her husband.<sup>45</sup> Henry Herringman's shop at the New Exchange was an establishment where women customers were considered unremarkable, as they were in the rest of the New Exchange. Pepys arranged to meet Mary Mercer and Susan Guyat at Herringman's shop before an (innocent) pleasure trip, and (less innocently) suggested to his mistress Deb Willet that she might leave messages for him with Herringman in order to circumvent Elizabeth's scrutiny.<sup>46</sup> It seems that some bookshops were male homosocial environments, others primarily catered to men but were overseen by women, and others still were mixed environments serving male and female customers. No matter how attractive were the wares in a bookshop, female customers therefore had to be more cautious than their male counterparts about which shops they frequented and with whom.

### Shop Layout

Pepys's records tell us quite a bit about his relationships with booksellers, but establishing what he and other customers saw when they entered these shops is more difficult. Research into inventories, illustrations, and maps does suggest

<sup>43</sup> *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents Relating to the London Book Trade 1641–1700*, ed. D. F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell, 3 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 2005), vol. 2, p. 412. For Pepys's connection with Lowndes, see *Private Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 167 and vol. 2, p. 317.

<sup>44</sup> Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.181, fol. 31.

<sup>45</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 31; vol. 7, p. 295; vol. 9, pp. 81, 89.

<sup>46</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 216, 367.

certain patterns in the ways booksellers used their shop space. Once inside the door of one of the larger bookshops such as Kirton's or Martyn's, a customer would find himself in a room lined with shelves and cupboards, with the bookseller and his assistants behind counters on which books (bound or unbound) were laid out. There would be seating for him and, in the most high-class establishments, decorative screens or arches.<sup>47</sup> Firm evidence of how exactly stock was arranged and displayed in booksellers' shops is lacking. It would have been inconvenient simply to organize works alphabetically by author because of the different sizes of book format and the high proportion of anonymous publications.<sup>48</sup> The methods of organisation in inventories and catalogues indicate that one arrangement on the shelves was by size (folio, quarto, octavo, and so on) and then by topics such as Divinity, Law, and History.<sup>49</sup> In the illustrations of the Westminster Hall bookstalls and the bookshop at the Parisian Galerie we can see organization by size, and the latter picture also shows advertising of the shop's stock on removable labels above the shelves (see Figures 7 and 8). Plutarch, Seneca, and Machiavelli are among the authors named on the board. Abraham Bosse, the print's engraver, was having a bit of fun with his choice of the titles here: some of the books advertised are ones he himself had illustrated, and squeezed into a corner is the notoriously pornographic *Postures d'Arétin*. In this picture there is additional labelling on the shelves themselves that implies grouping by topic: 'HISTOIRE DESPAGNE Guichardin Pais Bas HISTOIRE DE FRANCE'—so histories of Spain, the Low Countries, and France, and Italian history by Francesco Guicciardini.<sup>50</sup> It is not clear to what extent English bookshops were organized by topic, but foreign language works and second-hand books sometimes had their own sections.<sup>51</sup>

In the better bookshops a customer did not need to trouble himself with the fine details of a bookseller's system, because he was not expected to browse among the shelves independently. Although some books were within his reach on counters or

<sup>47</sup> Mandelbrote, 'From the Warehouse', pp. 58–61, 69–71; Mandelbrote, 'Workspaces and Living Spaces', pp. 28–9; London Metropolitan Archives, Court of Orphans' Inventories, CLA/002/02/01/0075, Thomas Dring, 4 Jan. 1668.

<sup>48</sup> D. F. McKenzie found around 40% of publications from the years 1644 and 1688 had no author's name. McKenzie, *Making Meaning: 'Printers of the Mind' and Other Essays*, ed. Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), p. 131.

<sup>49</sup> Inventories—for which the appraisers walked round buildings listing contents as they found them—show the importance of size/format as an organizing principle. For example, London Metropolitan Archives, Court of Orphans' Inventories, CLA/002/02/01/444A, George Hurlocke's shop, 30 Sept. 1668, and the 1644 inventory for Mark Foster's bookshop in York discussed in John Barnard and Maureen Bell, *The Early Seventeenth-Century York Book Trade and John Foster's Inventory of 1616* (Leeds: Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1994), p. 38. In booksellers' catalogues, division by topic is the norm, with sometimes subdivision by format in larger catalogues, e.g. Robert Clavell's summary catalogues of books printed 'since the Dreadful Fire', issued from 1673.

<sup>50</sup> 'Guichardin Pais Bas' is most likely Francesco Guicciardini's *Histoire d'Italie* followed by histories of the Low Countries, but it could be Lodovico Guicciardini's *Description de tous les Pais Bas*. For organization on shelves by size, see also Casper Luyken's frontispiece to *L'Impromptu de l'Hostel de Condé* (1697) in Taubert, *Bibliopola*, vol. 2, p. 69.

<sup>51</sup> In 1644 Mark Foster's shop included a second-hand section. Barnard and Bell, *Early Seventeenth-Century York Book Trade*, pp. 38–9. Booksellers' catalogues normally maintain separate categories for Latin or French works.

shelves, the customer's access to the books was assisted and monitored by the staff, who would fetch works for him. Pictures of bookshops from the Restoration and early eighteenth century (which have to be taken with a pinch of salt, as they were sometimes used for advertising) rarely show customers browsing the shelves; instead they are reading while seated, or in the process of having books shown to them by staff.<sup>52</sup> The use of attentive staff to mediate access to stock was supposed to encourage purchases and to guard against theft. The records of criminal trials reveal how thieves exploited the etiquette of bookshop behaviour. In 1681, for example, George Adams stole twelve shillingworth of books from William Cademan's bookshop in the New Exchange, 'which he conveyed away whilst the Apprentice was gone to fetch some Books he pretended to want'. A standard ploy involved two men, one of whom distracted the staff by 'bespeaking' a book while the other made off with stock or robbed the till.<sup>53</sup> Since customers could not themselves browse through the whole range of stock, alerting them to what was available through displays and advertising became particularly important. Some of the methods used were title pages posted up outside the shop, sample copies displayed on counters, and—if the illustration of the bookshop in the Galerie du Palais is any guide—labelling the shelves with indications of the contents. The system of fetching books relied on the bookseller and his assistants being well organized and able quickly to produce a book that suited a customer's needs. The bookseller John Dunton recognized this organizational acumen as a vital part of his trade and praised Pepys's bookseller William Shrewsbury for the skill: 'He keeps his Stock in excellent Order, and will find any Book as ready as I can find a Word in the *Dictionary*'.<sup>54</sup>

This kind of set-up—where a customer looked at lists of titles or at a shelf on which works are only loosely categorized by genre or topic—helps elucidate one of more infamous incidents in Pepys's book-buying career and also certain hazards for the Restoration customer. On 13 January 1668 Pepys

stopped at Martins my bookseller, where I saw the French book which I did think to have had for my wife to translate, called *L'escholle de Filles*; but when I came to look into it, it is the most bawdy, lewd book that ever I saw . . . so that I was ashamed of reading in it.<sup>55</sup>

It seems advertising by title page, or by a booklist that cited the title, had misled Pepys into thinking it was an educational work, for the 1667 title page innocuously announced *L'Escole des filles, Ou la Philosophie des dames. Divisée en deux dialogues*

<sup>52</sup> See the illustrations of upmarket 17th- and early 18th-century bookshops collected in Taubert, *Bibliopola*, vol. 2. Of these only one, depicting two Amsterdam shops in 1715, shows customers browsing the shelves, p. 85. Sale via bookstalls and the arrangements of books on counters within shops clearly would allow opportunities for browsing.

<sup>53</sup> Trial of George Adams (t16810413a-8), 13 Apr. 1681, and trial of James Lerow and Joseph Drouster (t16920629-2), 29 June 1692, *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*, <<http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?ref=t16810413a-8>> and <<http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?ref=t16920629-2>> [accessed 28 Apr. 2014].

<sup>54</sup> John Dunton, *The Life and Errors of John Dunton* (London, 1705), p. 299.

<sup>55</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 21–2.



(The School for Girls, or The Ladies' Philosophy. Divided into two dialogues).<sup>56</sup> Presumably this was grouped with Martyn's French stock, and it was not until Pepys had the chance to look 'into it' that he realized it was pornographic. If laying his hands on it required requesting it first, he had all the more reason to feel 'ashamed' of calling for it and being seen to read it in the shop. He was not, though, sufficiently ashamed to prevent him going back for it a few weeks later, when he bought it in cheap 'plain binding' with the intention of soon burning it.<sup>57</sup> Customers in high-end bookshops had good reason to feel their choices were under scrutiny by both staff and other customers.

### Making a Choice/Making a Sale

Attending to customers' needs could be taxing: Pepys reports sitting in Kirton's shop 'two or three hours, calling for twenty books'.<sup>58</sup> Yet this also provided an opportunity for booksellers to exercise what one of their number, Francis Kirkman, called 'the way of preferring books'—the art of persuading others to take your wares. To sell in great numbers, Kirkman explained, a work needed '*a powerfull Book-seller*' to '*prefer and advance the same*' by marketing the work wholesale to other booksellers and retailing it directly to his own London customers.<sup>59</sup> As Gary Taylor notes, 'bookselling was a conversational art' and a bookseller needed to be 'a good reader of other readers'.<sup>60</sup> In Kirkman's fiction *The English Rogue . . . The Second Part* (1668), he used the character of a jaded apprentice to detail a bookseller's typical tactics:

If a Customer comes into our Shop to buy a book, [the bookseller] hath such ways of preferring and recommending of it, that they seldom go and not buy, for he will open the book, and if it be Divinity, shew them one place or another, out of which he will preach to them, and tell them, that very saying or discourse is worth all the money in the world and if they do not like it when they have read it over, he will take it again.<sup>61</sup>

According to Kirkman, the bookseller's patter also involved disparaging works published by others in favour of his own publications, all the while seeming to have only the customer's best interests in mind. The apprentice recounts how even the best and most famous book in 'Chirurgery, Husbandry, [or] Cookery' would get this treatment from a cunning bookseller if he did not own the right to publish it. If a customer requested such a title, the bookseller would respond along these lines:

<sup>56</sup> The title page claims the place of publication is Paris (it is thought to be Amsterdam).

<sup>57</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 22, 57–8. <sup>58</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 410.

<sup>59</sup> [Francis Kirkman], *The English Rogue . . . The Second Part* (London, 1668; repr. 1671), p. 200, fol. A2v.

<sup>60</sup> Gary Taylor, 'Making Meaning Marketing Shakespeare 1623', in *From Print to Performance in Shakespeare's England*, ed. Peter Holland and Stephen Orgel (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 55–72 (p. 59).

<sup>61</sup> *English Rogue, The Second Part*, p. 206. See also Robert Heath, *Clarastella* (London, 1650), p. 37 (fol. F12r).

Truly Sir, there is such a book, but in regard it is a foolish idle thing, and of no weight, I have not any of them, I will not trouble my shop with them; but Sir, here is another of the same Subject, that is much better, and in great esteem with ingenious and knowing men: If the Customer replies he would have only that book and no other, for that it was recommended to him for an ingenious well-writ piece, then will [the bookseller] reply, Truly Sir, I never heard any of your judgement before, till now I was never asked for them; but since you speak so well of it, I will procure you one: and then it may be, for all this Discourse he will shew you one, as if left by chance, or else send to his neighbour bookseller for one.<sup>62</sup>

Kirkman's portrayal is fictionalized but nonetheless resonates with certain of the strategies used by Pepys's booksellers. Henry Herringman was evidently skilled in talking up his copies and Pepys, impressed, noted his patter at some length:

to the New Exchange to the bookseller's there, where I hear of several new books coming out—Mr. Pratts history of the Royal Society and Mrs. Phillip's poems. Sir Jo. Denhams poems are going to be all printed together; and among others, some new things, and among them he showed me a copy of verses of [Denham's] upon Sir Jo. Minnes's going heretofore to Bulloigne to eat a pig. Cowly, he tells me, is dead; who it seems was a mighty civil, serious man, which I did not know before. Several good plays are also likely to be abroad soon—as, *Mustapha* and *Henry the 5<sup>th</sup>*. Here having stayed and divertized myself a good while, I home again.<sup>63</sup>

With the exception of Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* (1667), Herringman was the publisher of all the books mentioned here: he issued works by Katherine Philips, John Denham, Abraham Cowley, and Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, who was the author of *Mustapha* and *Henry V.*<sup>64</sup> To woo Pepys, he used Kirkman's tactic of pointing out passages that he thought would appeal to his customer, here showing Pepys a poem about his colleague Sir John Mennes. This evidently worked, because Herringman's edition of Denham's *Poems and Translations* is in the Pepys Library.<sup>65</sup> When Pepys visited the shop a couple of days later, Herringman had again been discussing Cowley's death with customers. Pepys heard 'Mr. Cowly mightily lamented' by 'Dr. Ward the Bishop of Winchester and Dr. Bates, who were standing there—as the best poet of our nation, and as good a man'.<sup>66</sup> A cynic might suggest that having Cowley mourned in his shop as 'the best poet of our nation' can have done Herringman's sales no harm at all.

A second revealing account of bookseller's patter is found in Pepys's entries on his dealings with John Starkey over Paul Rycaut's *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, which was published in 1666. This turned out to be the most expensive book Pepys purchased during the 1660s and the negotiations were carefully detailed in the diary. On 15 October 1666, Pepys headed to 'the Temple; and

<sup>62</sup> *English Rogue, The Second Part*, p. 201.

<sup>63</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 380.

<sup>64</sup> Although Herringman did not publish Sprat's *History*, Sprat was evidently a connection, since he wrote the life of Cowley prefixed to Herringman's edition of Cowley's *Works* (London, 1668).

<sup>65</sup> John Denham, *Poems and Translations* (London, 1668), PL 824.

<sup>66</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 383.

there looked upon a new book, set out by one Rycault, secretary to my Lord Winchelsea, of the policy and customs of the Turkes, which is it seems much cried up—but I could not stay'.<sup>67</sup> Pepys's naval employment and his involvement with merchants added to the appeal of this work on a powerful foreign empire. Yet he was here hesitant about whether it actually was 'cried up' or not, suggesting that this may have been information relayed by the bookseller rather than something he had deduced himself—in other words, the equivalent of Kirkman's devious bookseller claiming his own publication was 'in great esteem with ingenious and knowing men'. On 20 March 1667, negotiations with Starkey for the book commenced in earnest:

I by coach to the Temple and there did buy a little book or two; and it is strange how Rycault's discourse of Turkey, which before the fire I was asked but 8s for, there being all but 22 or thereabouts burnt, I did now offer 20s, and he demands 50s; and I think I shall give it him, though it be only as a monument of the Fire.<sup>68</sup>

The information on the scarcity of copies was evidently coming from Starkey, who a few weeks later finally drew fifty-five shillings from Pepys by persuading him of the elegance and rarity of the book and stressing the illustrious, select company he would share as an owner of a coloured copy:

I away to the Temple to my new bookseller's, and there I did agree for Rycault's late history of the Turkish Policy, which costs me 55s; whereas it was sold plain before the late fire for 8s, and bound and coloured as this is for 20—for I have bought it finely bound and truly coloured, all the figures; of which there was but six books done so, whereof the King and Duke of York and Duke of Monmouth and Lord Arlington had four—the 5th was sold, and I have bought the 6th.<sup>69</sup>

An expensive and well-crafted object, 'a monument of the Fire', a work owned by a Secretary of State and three members of the royal family: Starkey offered Pepys a host of reasons to buy this book. The satisfactory transaction secured Starkey a place as 'my new bookseller'—the first time Pepys referred to him in this way. Unusually, Pepys recorded his dealings not only in his diary but in the pages of his new book: on the back of the title page he wrote out an acknowledgement of the payment, signed by John Ford (a servant of Starkey's), and also noted the price of the book before the fire and after it (Figure 9). Starkey had tapped a rich vein in Pepys and proceeded to mine it. The encouragement to buy because 'but a few were saved out of the Fire' seems to have been part of Starkey's standard patter at this time: he tried it again on Pepys a week later in reference to Sir William Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales* (1666)—again to good effect.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>67</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 326.

<sup>68</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 121.

<sup>69</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 156. The work is Rycault's *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1667 [for 1666]), PL 2372(1).

<sup>70</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 168. Dugdale's work was indeed in short supply; see Dugdale to Daniel Fleming, 28 May 1667, in *Historical Manuscripts Commission 12th Report, Appendix, part 7, The Manuscripts of S. H. Le Fleming, Esq., of Rydal Hall* (London: HMSO, 1890), p. 48.

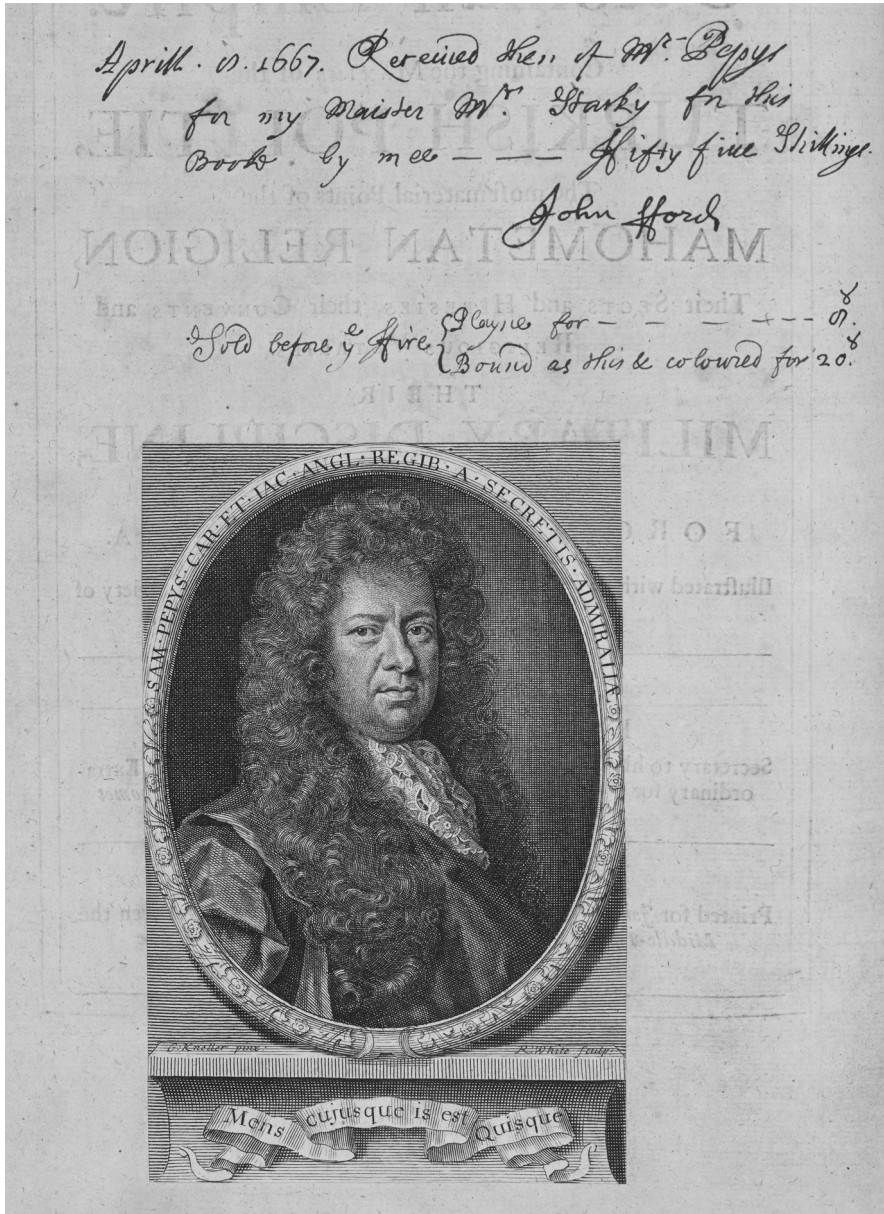


Fig. 9. The verso of the title page of Paul Rycaut's *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1667), PL 2372. Pepys has noted the book's changing price. His bookplate, dating from after 1689, is also shown.

By permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

The booksellers' negotiations with Pepys show a skilled salesman needed to be an astute judge of character; he also needed to be well informed about the availability of works, about the reputation of those works' authors, and about the works' other owners. The bookseller also had to know when to leave a customer alone to make up his own mind. Pepys often read enough of a work in a shop to form an opinion of the argument or decide whether it was 'well writ'.<sup>71</sup> On more than one occasion, he notes spending hours looking at books: one morning, for example, he spotted Thomas Fuller's *The History of the Worthies of England* (1662) in Kirton's shop 'so I sat down reading in it, till it was 2 a-clock before I thought of the time's going'.<sup>72</sup> He was not alone in this habit, for early seventeenth-century satirists remarked on customers spending hours reading and critiquing works in bookshops. Whereas Pepys reports becoming forgetful of his surroundings, the satirists were inclined to see prolonged reading as a performance—an affectation of learning designed to be admired.<sup>73</sup> Reading without buying did have its limits: one visit to a shop in Duck Lane led to Pepys buying a cheap book simply 'to satisfy the bookseller for my stay there'.<sup>74</sup> Yet Restoration booksellers generally seem to have had a high tolerance for customers—at least valued, repeat customers—reading in their shops for hours at a time. Robert Hooke, like Pepys a customer of John Martyn, used the bookshop as a venue for extended reading.<sup>75</sup> In Pepys's case, a bookseller's patience often paid off, with him eventually deciding to purchase the work he had spent time on.<sup>76</sup>

### Agreeing a Purchase

After the choice of book was made, discussions with the bookseller over the type of binding (if any), the price, and the method of payment would ensue. The cost of books was subject to the vagaries of circumstance. As Robert Clavell explained at the start of his 1673 catalogue, prices were '*uncertain, in regard of the various fortune that Books, as well as Men, are subject to; for they continue, rise or fall in their price, according to the repute of the Author, plenty, or scarcity of the Impression, &c.*'<sup>77</sup> Although the advertised price was often discounted and there was scope for haggling, new books were too costly for much of the populace.<sup>78</sup> The average wage for a London craftsman in 1673 has been estimated as 2s. 6d. and a labourer's

<sup>71</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 547. See also *Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 127–8, 424–5; vol. 5, p. 38.

<sup>72</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 26; compare vol. 1, pp. 56–7 and vol. 4, p. 410.

<sup>73</sup> See Taylor, 'Making Meaning', p. 57. <sup>74</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 543.

<sup>75</sup> Leona Rostenberg, 'John Martyn, "Printer to the Royal Society"', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 46 (1952), 1–32 (p. 29).

<sup>76</sup> For example, Fuller's *Church-History: Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 56–7; compare vol. 1, p. 261. Fuller's *History of the Worthies: Diary*, vol. 3, p. 26; compare vol. 4, p. 410. Olearius, *Voyages & Travels: Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 424–5; compare PL 2161.

<sup>77</sup> Robert Clavell, *A Catalogue of All the Books Printed in England since the Dreadful Fire of London [to 1672]* (London, 1673), 'The Stationer to the Reader'.

<sup>78</sup> For evidence of customers paying less than advertised prices, see *A Radical's Books: The Library Catalogue of Samuel Jeake of Rye, 1623–90*, ed. Michael Hunter, Giles Mandelbrote, Richard Ovenden, and Nigel Smith (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1999), p. xxix.

wage as 1s. 8d. per day.<sup>79</sup> In the same year Clavell gave the advertised rate for the 1669 quarto of Milton's *Paradise Lost* as 3s. bound, and the latest folio edition of Rycaut's *Ottoman Empire* (1670) as 10s. bound.<sup>80</sup> 'Bound' in this context meant a binding in calf leather. A short work in a small format or a work intended to be bound together with others might be sold 'sticht'—that is, with the pages 'stab stitched' together but without permanent covers. During the 1660s and 1670s plays were often advertised stitched for 1s., while stitched sermons were 6d.<sup>81</sup> On a number of occasions, bookbinders agreed prices for standard bindings and published shared price lists—a move that must have helped customers to judge fair prices. In 1669, for example, a standard binding in calf for the English folio edition of La Calprenède's *Cassandra* was set at 1s. 6d.; a few years later the advertised price of the sheets and binding together was 18s.<sup>82</sup> The books shown to customers in shops appear usually to have been bound: the apprentice depicted by Kirkman, for example, speaks of his master owning a shop 'very well furnished with all sorts of bound Books, and two or three Warehouses full of Books in quires', while inventories from the period show the same kind of arrangement.<sup>83</sup> If a pre-bound work in a shop was to a customer's taste, he could take a copy home at once; alternatively, he could request the book in sheets and either find his own bookbinder or ask the bookseller to have the sheets bound for him. Pepys varied his types of purchase, occasionally buying works 'in quires' to take away, sometimes buying books pre-bound, and sometimes paying for the work to be bound to his taste. Being rather precious about the appearance of books he intended to keep, Pepys seems often to have asked his booksellers to arrange the binding in order to ensure both the quality and the design suited his requirements. He would then pick up the work on a later visit.<sup>84</sup> While calf was the standard trade binding, there were

<sup>79</sup> See Jan Luiten van Zanden, 'Wages and the Cost of Living in Southern England (London) 1450–1700', International Institute of Social History, <<http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/dover.php>> [accessed 6 Oct. 2010].

<sup>80</sup> Clavell, *Catalogue* (1673), p. 13 (second sequence, fol. D1r), p. 29 (first sequence, fol. H1r).

<sup>81</sup> For example, *Term Catalogues*, vol. 1, pp. 20, 132, 265, 291.

<sup>82</sup> Mirjam Foot, 'Some Bookbinders' Price Lists of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *Economics of the British Booktrade 1605–1939*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1985), pp. 124–75 (p. 153). *Cassandra* was advertised as 18s. bound in 1675: *Term Catalogues*, vol. 1, p. 224.

<sup>83</sup> [Kirkman], *English Rogue, The Second Part*, p. 210. London Metropolitan Archives, Court of Orphans' Inventories, CLA 002/02/01/0463, Samuel Thomson's shop and warehouse, 3 Feb. 1669. CLA/002/02/01/0446B, James Crumpe's shop and warehouse, 13 Dec. 1669. Crumpe's shop building held both plain bound and 'gilt' books.

<sup>84</sup> For a range of different binding arrangements, see *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 140; vol. 5, p. 128; and vol. 8, p. 387. There remains debate among scholars about whether books at this time were normally bought pre-bound or whether the standard arrangement was for a work to be bound after the customer had decided to buy it. In Pepys's diary identifying works bought pre-bound is difficult, but purchases of substantial works decided upon and brought home on the same day are candidates, e.g. Selden's *Mare clausum* (*Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 222–3, 226). However, there is often a gap of a week or more between a session 'bespeaking' books at a bookseller and taking them home, which suggests that Pepys frequently chose his texts and then had them bound. For example, *Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 395, 402 and vol. 5, pp. 190, 198. For detailed discussion of Pepys's bindings, see Howard M. Nixon's introduction to vol. 6 of the *Pepys Catalogue*. On the debate about pre-bound purchases, see Stuart Bennett, *Trade Bookbinding in the British Isles, 1660–1800* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press; London: British Library, 2004); Nicholas Pickwood's review of Bennett's book in *The Library*, 7th ser., 6 (2005), 464–5, doi:10.1093/

other choices of material and a variety of ways to decorate covers. Pepys would have shuddered at the idea of binding his fine copy of Rycaut's *Ottoman Empire* in the cheaper material of sheep's leather (cost 1s. 2d.), but he admired tooled calf covers with gilt edges that could add considerably to the cost of a work (£1 for a large folio).<sup>85</sup> Customers with exacting standards for bindings were regularly encountered by booksellers. In the 1680s, Sir William Boothby complained repeatedly to his London bookseller of margins narrowly cut, weak pasteboard, 'Leather not well polished', and books that 'do open very ill'. John Locke specified that his Bible should be bound with 'the margents all large, the Pastboards strong . . . so well sown and orderd in the back that it will lye open any where'. Both owners wanted their books to be durable, aesthetically pleasing, and—given the comments on margin size—easy to annotate. Locke gave equally precise requirements for the fine binding and gilding of books he gave as gifts.<sup>86</sup>

The choice of binding was one aspect for discussion, but also up for negotiation was whether this was to be an outright purchase, a loan, or a hybrid of the two. Some booksellers rented out works for a fee. Others were prepared to offer to repurchase a work if a customer was dissatisfied, while valued customers could take works away in order to assess them before payment.<sup>87</sup> Pepys negotiated loans with Kirton, on one occasion taking home *Arcana Aulica* 'to read but not to buy' and, on another, the second part of *Hudibras* 'which I buy not but borrow to read, to see if it be as good as the first, which the world cries so mightily up'.<sup>88</sup> This was a way for Pepys to assess works whose merits he doubted, but also to circumvent the oaths he sometimes took against unnecessary expense. The arrangement must have worked for Kirton too because Pepys later bought outright both *Arcana Aulica* and *Hudibras*.<sup>89</sup> In later life, Pepys had loan arrangements with the nautical bookseller John Seller, who saw advantages in keeping on the good side of a wealthy naval official.<sup>90</sup> The bookseller and customer also had to decide on the method and time of payment. Customers might offer to pay wholly or partly by trading in second-

library/6.4.464; and Pickwood and Bennett's subsequent correspondence, *The Library*, 7th ser., 7 (2006), 199–200, doi:10.1093/library/7.2.199.

<sup>85</sup> Foot, 'Some Bookbinders' Price Lists', pp. 154, 151.

<sup>86</sup> British Library, MS Add. 71689–71692, Letterbooks of Sir William Boothby, quoted in Peter Beal, 'My Books Are the Great Joy of my Life: Sir William Boothby, Seventeenth-Century Bibliophile', *Book Collector* 46 (1997), 350–73 (p. 359). Locke to Anthony Collins, 14 May 1704, in *The Correspondence of John Locke*, ed. E. S. De Beer, 8 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976–89), vol. 8, p. 287; compare pp. 7–8, 178. On Locke's exchanges, see Justin Champion, *Republican Learning: John Toland and the Crisis of Christian Culture, 1696–1722* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 37–9.

<sup>87</sup> In *Pittacorum Regio* (London, 1669), Kirkman informed his customers of works to 'buy or have lent you to read on reasonable considerations', p. [157]. For arrangements to allow return of books if unsuitable, or assessment before final payment, see Beal, 'My Books Are the Great Joy of my Life', p. 360; Rostenberg, 'John Martyn', p. 29; [Kirkman], *English Rogue, The Second Part*, p. 206; Helen Carron, 'William Sancroft (1617–1693): A Seventeenth-Century Collector and his Library', *The Library*, 7th ser., 1 (2000), 290–307, doi:10.1093/library/1.3.290, (p. 294).

<sup>88</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 10; vol. 4, p. 400.

<sup>89</sup> Pepys had evidently purchased *Arcana Aulica* (1655) by June 1666 (*Diary*, vol. 7, pp. 161–2) and it is PL 41. *Hudibras* (pts. 1 and 2) was bought 12 days after the loan of pt. 2: vol. 4, p. 411.

<sup>90</sup> Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.178, fols. 27–8, 44. The books and maps named indicate the list is 1679 or later.

hand books.<sup>91</sup> Seventeenth-century booksellers' records show they offered credit over long periods: for established customers from the gentry, credit might extend to a year or more before payment was finally made.<sup>92</sup> By the standards of his day, Pepys offered prompt and reliable payment: his diary records numerous expeditions to settle debts with booksellers and when he made substantial purchases (of, say, £10 worth of books) he paid on the spot or within a few weeks.<sup>93</sup>

## ILLCIT PUBLICATIONS

Being a regular and promptly paying customer helped greatly when it came to laying hands on illicit or scarce publications, for, although anonymous connections were one way for disseminators of these works to limit risk, a longer term alternative was to ensure that those involved were known and trusted. The Printing Act of 1662 was in force until 1679 and again from 1685 to 1695. This contained various provisions for preventing the printing and distribution of 'heretical schismatical blasphemous seditious and treasonable Bookes Pamphlets and Papers'. The requirements included the sanctioning of all printed books and pamphlets by a government-appointed licenser.<sup>94</sup> In addition, the law of seditious libel criminalized the dissemination of print or manuscript works that were judged to harm the authority of the King, his church, or his officials.<sup>95</sup> Simply reading or possessing a work that defamed an official was regarded as suspicious and risked bringing you in reach of the law. Lord Chief Justice Coke, in a key legal text, advised that anyone who came across a libel against a private individual should burn it or else take it to a magistrate 'to keep himself out of danger', adding that all libels against public persons must be reported to a magistrate.<sup>96</sup> In spite of these restrictions and risks, Pepys, his friends, and his booksellers seem rarely to have had difficulty obtaining

<sup>91</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 54. In the early 1680s Pepys was involved in trading in books from Woodhall (childhood home of his partner Mary Skinner) for other books. Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.190, fols. 78–81.

<sup>92</sup> Barnard and Bell, *Early Seventeenth-Century York Book Trade*, pp. 17–21. Cyprian Blagden, 'A Bookseller's Memorandum Book, 1695–1720', in *Studies in the History of Accounting*, ed. A. C. Littleton and B. S. Yamey (London: Sweet & Maxwell, 1956), pp. 255–65 (pp. 256–7); Jason Peacey, 'Sir Thomas Cotton's Consumption of News in 1650s England', *The Library*, 7th ser., 7 (2006), 3–24, doi:10.1093/library/7.1.3, (p. 13).

<sup>93</sup> For example, in 1662 Pepys recorded settling all his booksellers' debts to date on 13 May, 10 June, and 24 December (*Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 82, 105, 290). On 23 July 1664 he paid a debt of £10 covering 3 weeks of purchases (vol. 5, p. 220).

<sup>94</sup> 'An Act for Preventing the Frequent Abuses in Printing Seditious Treasonable and Unlicensed Bookes and Pamphlets and for Regulating of Printing and Printing Presses' (1662), in *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 5: 1628–1680 (1819), 428–35, *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=47336>> [accessed 10 Aug. 2010].

<sup>95</sup> On libel and licensing laws, see Philip Hamburger, 'The Development of the Law of Seditious Libel and the Control of the Press', *Stanford Law Review*, 37 (1985), 661–765, doi: 10.2307/1228713; Fredrick Seaton Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England 1476–1776: The Rise and Decline of Government Controls* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1952), ch. 13.

<sup>96</sup> The phrase in the text is 'a voir preserve luy mesme hors del danger'. *The Fifth Part of the Reports of Sr. Edward Coke* (London, 1624), 'De libellis famosus', fol. Y5v (pagination is erratic in this section of the work).



illicit publications, although they were circumspect in their methods. *The Humble Apology of the English Catholicicks* (1666) was one unlicensed work that Pepys was eager to read. The pamphlet argued that Roman Catholics had continuously proved loyal to the English Crown and criticized Parliament for punishing this loyalty with anti-Catholic legislation. On 28 November 1666 an Order in Council was issued for the suppression of this 'scandalous pamphlet' and for the arrest of the author and printer.<sup>97</sup> This piqued Pepys's interest. Three days later, after visiting Westminster Hall, he wrote, 'I did this afternoon get Mrs. Michell to let me only have a sight of a pamphlett lately printed, but suppressed and much called after, called *The Catholiques Apology*'. Ann Mitchell was clearly not prepared to risk selling the work, but she would let a trusted customer read it. In response, Pepys recorded the pamphlet's arguments in unusual detail, concluding that it was 'very well writt ended'.<sup>98</sup> In this case the government's investigations succeeded in establishing that the pamphlet had first been disseminated via hawkers and unnamed gentlemen, but the efforts at prosecution mysteriously ended when it was discovered that the author was Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemaine (husband of the King's favourite mistress).<sup>99</sup>

Pepys saw no contradiction between his easy and eager acquisition of libellous material and condemnation of those who circulated it in print. In April 1668 he encountered the eye-catchingly titled *The Poor-Whores Petition to the Most Splendid, Illustrious, Serene and Eminent Lady of Pleasure, the Countess of Castlemayne*. This was a satirical response to the bawdy house riots that had taken place in late March, when traditional attacks on brothels by apprentices had escalated into widespread and politically charged rioting. In *The Poor-Whores Petition* the prostitutes of London therefore entreated Lady Castlemaine to defend their practice of 'Venereal pleasures (a Trade wherein your Ladyship hath great Experience, and for your diligence therein, have arrived to high and Eminent Advancement for these late years)'.<sup>100</sup> Hearing on 6 April that Lady Castlemaine was 'horribly vexed' by this libel, Pepys commented:

I have got one of them, and it is not very witty; but devilish severe against her and the King. And I wonder how it durst be printed and spread abroad—which shows that the times are loose, and come to a great disregard of the King or Court or Government'.<sup>101</sup>

In manuscript such a satire would have been less remarkable. Over the next few weeks, the government tracked the distribution of this pamphlet back to the bookseller Ann Brewster and the printer John Darby, but as the Surveyor of the

<sup>97</sup> [Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemaine], *To All the Royalists that Suffered for his Majesty... The Humble Apology of the English Catholicicks* [London, 1666]; McKenzie and Bell, *Chronology*, vol. 1, p. 569.

<sup>98</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, pp. 393–4.

<sup>99</sup> McKenzie and Bell, *Chronology*, vol. 1, pp. 570–1.

<sup>100</sup> *The Poor-Whores Petition* ([London], 1668). The pamphlet and the events surrounding it are discussed in Tim Harris, 'The Bawdy House Riots of 1668', *Historical Journal*, 29 (1986), 537–56, doi: <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X00018902>>.

<sup>101</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 154.

Press diplomatically advised, he ‘could fasten nothing on *The poor whores’ petition* that a jury would take notice of’. In other words, hostility to Castlemaine was such that conviction would prove difficult.<sup>102</sup>

Commonly, access to illicit works in the 1660s was facilitated by friends: it was often they who first brought news of these publications and supplied them. For example, the apothecary Mr Pelling, with whom Pepys enjoyed socializing, brought him a copy of *The Sandy Foundation Shaken* (1668) by William Penn junior. Since this attacked the doctrine of the Trinity, it constituted blasphemy and the author had been arrested.<sup>103</sup> Pelling perhaps fetched this for Pepys, knowing that he would be interested because William Penn junior was the son of a colleague. Alternatively, Pepys may have asked Pelling to act as an intermediary in order to obtain it discreetly. The element of risk in passing on an illegal work to an acquaintance was a way to strengthen bonds of friendship and obligation. The giver offered a scarce commodity in a display of faith that the receiver would recognize this as a gift and respond accordingly, rather than being shocked at the prospect of joining in a potentially criminal act. These ideas were in play when, on 16 September 1667, Samuel and Elizabeth dined with Elizabeth Pearse whose husband was a naval surgeon and a good friend of Pepys’s. Both the food and Mrs Pearse’s use of cosmetics made Pepys nauseous, but there were compensations. At the dinner he saw an unlicensed account of the examinations made by the parliamentary committee investigating the burning of London. This was either the pamphlet *Londons Flames* (1667) or the similar *A True and Faithful Account of the Several Informations . . . [on] the Late Dreadful Burning of the City of London* (1667).<sup>104</sup> The examinations supported the theory that the fire was the result of a Catholic conspiracy and one perhaps abetted by the Duke of York—this was why their publication was unauthorized. Mrs Pearse seems to have made a point of telling Pepys that the pamphlet had ‘been burnt by the hands of the hangman in Westminster Palace’. This prompted him to comment, ‘I will try to get one of them,’ which he did at Westminster a week later.<sup>105</sup> Elizabeth Pearse was offering sight of an illicit and controversial work as part of her hospitality. Indeed, she may well have been talking up the scarcity and illegality of the work in order to emphasize the service of showing the pamphlet, for there is no surviving order to burn it.<sup>106</sup>

Elizabeth Pearse evidently recognized that Pepys had a taste for the illicit, since at the same dinner he was also shown a poem he called ‘a fourth *Advice to the painter*’. This was the latest in a series of poems attacking the conduct of the Second Dutch War. The sequence had been inadvertently initiated by Edmund Waller’s *Instructions to a Painter* (1665), which praised English achievements at the Battle of

<sup>102</sup> McKenzie and Bell, *Chronology*, vol. 1, pp. 591, 592, 593.

<sup>103</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 446.

<sup>104</sup> The printing of these two pamphlets is discussed in Nigel Smith and Maureen Bell, ‘Andrew Marvell and the “Femina Periculosa”’, *TLS*, 26 Jan. 2001, 14–15.

<sup>105</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, pp. 439, 445.

<sup>106</sup> Although there is no order to burn either *A True and Faithful Account* or *Londons Flames*, there were efforts to trace the distributors of the latter. McKenzie and Bell, *Chronology*, vol. 1, pp. 572–3, 578–9.

Lowestoft. As the English failed to follow up on this success, other poets took Waller's panegyric as a model and turned the 'Instructions' and 'Advice' to satirical ends. The 'fourth *Advice*' attacked the state's negligence that had culminated in the devastating Dutch attack on Chatham in the summer of 1667. It made Pepys's 'heart ake to read, it being too sharp and so true'.<sup>107</sup> Mrs Pearse probably had the satire in manuscript: no separate edition of the poem is recorded in print and when it was published as part of a volume, it was under the title *Directions to a Painter*.<sup>108</sup> Pepys also appears to have seen the second and third *Advices* (now both attributed to Andrew Marvell) in manuscript versions. On 14 December 1666 he got home to find that a copy of 'The Second Advice to a Painter' had been left for him by Sir Hugh Cholmley, a naval engineer he knew through his work for the Tangier Committee. Cholmley had left it 'sealed up'—a precaution to prevent others learning its contents. He was showing a good deal of trust in Pepys by passing on this poem, for it abused Pepys's patrons and colleagues, or as Pepys put it, 'the Duke of York and my Lord Sandwich, Pen, and everybody, and the King himself'.<sup>109</sup> The poem was full of allusions to the navy gossip that Pepys usually relished. For example, the author knew about, and ridiculed, Sandwich's resentment at the way the newsbooks had neglected his part in the Battle of Lowestoft.<sup>110</sup> Despite the poem's attacks on his patrons Lord Sandwich and Sir William Coventry, Pepys wanted more—and so apparently did other naval officials. Pepys borrowed 'the *Third Advice*' just over a month later from John Brisbane, Deputy Treasurer of the Fleet. It proved to be a 'bitter Satyr upon the service of the Duke of Albemarle the last year', one that included a large and less than flattering role for Albemarle's wife. Pepys, who liked neither of them, was delighted: 'I took it home with me and will copy it, having the former—being also mightily pleased with it'.<sup>111</sup> He was primed to appreciate these poems not just because they catered to his personal dislikes and to his interest in navy gossip, but because they played satirically with the conventions of panegyric. Pepys had a habit of enjoying the discrepancy between an author's praise and the less glamorous reality—most pertinently in 1660 he and Elizabeth had mocked John Dauncey's celebration of the Duchess of Albemarle, now a target of mock-panegyric in the 'Third Advice'.<sup>112</sup> The naval officials (and, in Mrs Pearse's case, their wives) who were spreading these satires might have alleged professional interest—the need to keep abreast of criticism of their organization—but it is apparent from Pepys's entries that the contents of the poems were thrilling and the act of covert transmission added to the frisson.

<sup>107</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 439.

<sup>108</sup> On the printing history of the *Advices*, see Martin Dzelzainis, 'Andrew Marvell and the Restoration Literary Underground: Printing the Painter Poems', *Seventeenth Century*, 22 (2007), 395–410, doi: 10.1080/0268117X.2007.10555601.

<sup>109</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 407.

<sup>110</sup> 'The Second Advice to a Painter', in *Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660–1714*, vol. 1, ed. George deF. Lord (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963; repr. 1975), ll. 102–8. For the contention over reporting of the battle, see Ch. 3, 'News Networks', p. 105.

<sup>111</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 21.

<sup>112</sup> See Ch. 4, 'Lives', pp. 121–2.

## AUCTIONS AND AGENTS

Acquiring illicit pamphlets often involved employing an intermediary rather than making a direct purchase, and special arrangements were likewise used to obtain rare or foreign works. When a scarce or foreign book could not be tracked down in London's shops, a customer of means could place an import order with a bookseller. Thus in 1668, when Pepys could not find a bookseller who stocked a work on music by the French author Mersenne, he gave 'order for its being sent for over' to the bookseller William Shrewsbury. After eight weeks Shrewsbury duly delivered the book to Pepys's house.<sup>113</sup> Pepys also made use of travelling friends and kin to import books. In January 1669, a neighbour, William Batelier, delivered an assortment of music and history books 'which I bade him bring me out of France'.<sup>114</sup> Getting books from abroad required a bit of nous on how to circumvent the import restrictions on bound books. In 1679 Pepys's brother-in-law Balthasar St Michel was dispatched to France to gather intelligence, but was also given instructions to bring back certain books on 'Sea and Navigation'. Pepys warned Balty to 'tear the Covers off' from any leather-bound items he brought back in order to avoid their being forfeited.<sup>115</sup>

Fortunately, developments in the book trade during the 1670s and 1680s helped Pepys meet his growing desire for foreign and rare books. While he was serving in high office at the Admiralty during the 1670s and 1680s, the pressure of business limited the amount of time he could afford to spend searching out works. Ill health during the 1690s likewise constrained his collecting activities. Yet over the same period his requirements for his library were becoming more taxing, particularly when it came to his naval collections. Increasingly Pepys turned to specialists to seek out works for him. By 1680, he was using the services of Robert Scott, a bookseller in Little Britain who was renowned for his international connections.<sup>116</sup> As Leona Rostenberg documents, Scott made frequent trips to Continental book fairs and maintained warehouses abroad in order to meet his customers' demands for imports. Scott himself knew Latin and Greek and his shop attracted a learned clientele, including Sir Christopher Wren, Robert Hooke, and the Secretary of State Sir Joseph Williamson.<sup>117</sup> Pepys spent time with Evelyn there.<sup>118</sup> Scott's services included brokering sales for his customers. He also wrote speculatively to suggest 'scarce' or 'perfect' copies of printed works or manuscripts that he thought

<sup>113</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 148, 216. Robert Littlebury sought Hooke's custom by offering to order French imports, *Hooke's Diary 1672-1683*, 5 July 1675.

<sup>114</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 428.

<sup>115</sup> Pepys to Balthasar St Michel, 18 Dec. 1679, in *The Letters of Samuel Pepys and his Family Circle*, ed. Helen Truesdell Heath (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955; repr. 1956) pp. 143-4.

<sup>116</sup> 'Mr Scott Bookseller' appears on Pepys's list of people 'Paid' c.1679-1680. Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.181, fol. 31.

<sup>117</sup> Rostenberg, 'Robert Scott'. On Scott and Pepys, see also Rivington, *Pepys and the Booksellers*, pp. 69-73.

<sup>118</sup> Evelyn to Pepys, 7 July 1680, in *Particular Friends*, p. 115.

would be to a customer's taste. 'Without flattery I love to find a rare boo[k] for you,' he wrote when offering Pepys two British histories.<sup>119</sup>

Scott was also involved with a newly popular method of bookselling, being, in the words of John Evelyn, one of 'our Auction-men'.<sup>120</sup> The practice of separately selling off library holdings to the highest bidder became common in London in the late 1670s. In the 1680s there were, at the very least, nine auctions per year in the capital and by 1689 a keen collector such as Robert Hooke could manage to attend four auctions in one day.<sup>121</sup> That same year Evelyn described auctions as 'Epidemical'—an adjective that captures his mixed feelings about the breaking-up of so many collections.<sup>122</sup> Auctions were publicized in advance through catalogues that were sold at bookshops and coffee-houses in London, Oxford, and Cambridge, and also sent out into the country. The catalogues usually proclaimed the collections as those of learned professionals or genteel connoisseurs, although a bookseller might use an auction to dispose of surplus stock, as Scott did in early 1688. Auctions were held at range of venues, including coffee-houses, booksellers' warehouses, and private houses, and they could run for days or even weeks.<sup>123</sup> Pepys sometimes attended the events himself. For example on 31 October 1689 Hooke bumped into him at an auction run by Benjamin Walford, Robert Scott's old apprentice.<sup>124</sup> The library of an unnamed knight was up for sale along with part of the Earl of Lauderdale's collection of '*Curious Prints and Drawings*'. It was probably the latter that drew Pepys: in the late 1680s he was trying to build up his collection of prints under Evelyn's guidance and Evelyn had recently praised the Earl's collection to him while ruing its dispersal by auction.<sup>125</sup>

Despite the opportunities for learned sociability that auctions offered, it was not always possible or desirable for gentlemen to attend and wait (perhaps for days) until a particular lot number was called. Instead, it was recognized that buyers might employ what the auctioneer Walford termed 'Friends in the City, that are proper and skilful Agents to Act for them'.<sup>126</sup> These 'Friends' might be of several

<sup>119</sup> Robert Scott to Pepys, 30 June 1688, in Howarth, p. 189. The books offered were Sir John Price's *Historiae Brytannicae defensio* (London, 1573) and *The Chronicle of Jhon [sic] Hardyng* (London, 1543). These are respectively PL 1165 and PL 1442.

<sup>120</sup> Evelyn to Pepys, 26 Aug. 1689, in *Particular Friends*, p. 201. Rostenberg, 'Robert Scott', pp. 71–4.

<sup>121</sup> The 1680s figure is an average derived from information in John Lawler, *Book Auctions in England in the Seventeenth Century (1676–1700)* (London: Elliot Stock, 1898), pp. 215–23, which is not a complete record. 'Diary of Robert Hooke 1688–1693', in *Early Science in Oxford*, ed. R. T. Gunther, vol. 10 (Oxford: for the author, 1935), pp. 69–265 (p. 111). Hooke listed 57 auction catalogues issued between August 1686 and August 1689, including some for events outside London (pp. 66–7).

<sup>122</sup> Evelyn to Pepys, 26 Aug. 1689, in *Particular Friends*, p. 197.

<sup>123</sup> Lawler, *Book Auctions*, pp. xxiii–xxiv, 6–7, 165; Raven, *Business of Books*, pp. 106–10.

<sup>124</sup> 'Diary of Robert Hooke 1688–1693', p. 161. Rostenberg, 'Robert Scott', p. 72.

<sup>125</sup> Benjamin Walford, *Catalogus librorum instructissima bibliotheca doctissimi cuiusdam equitis...* [auctioned] *vicesimo octavo die Octobris, 1689* (London, 1689), 'To the Reader'. Evelyn to Pepys, 26 Aug. 1689, in *Particular Friends*, p. 201—the editor's note suggest the 'Lord Mateland' Evelyn mentions was John, first Baron Maitland, but the reference is to Richard Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale, and the first auction of his library begun in April 1689.

<sup>126</sup> *Catalogus librorum instructissima bibliotheca doctissimi cuiusdam equitis*, 'Conditions of Sale'.

kinds: acquaintances who were willing to do the would-be buyer a courtesy; booksellers such as Scott; and, finally, specialized book agents—gentlemen or tradesmen who were experts in hunting down works for collectors. There are examples from much earlier in the century of gentry in the country using friends or paid agents in the town to deal with booksellers.<sup>127</sup> However, the vogue for auctioneering assisted the rise of specialist book agents, for they now proved convenient for townsmen as well as country dwellers.<sup>128</sup> Pepys used Scott to spot interesting items for him, but he also made use of John Bagford, a book-dealer and an antiquary in his own right. Bagford was involved in bookselling from at least 1686 and specialized in helping collectors, such as Pepys, Humfrey Wanley, and Hans Sloane, to obtain rare and antiquarian items.<sup>129</sup> On 16 March 1697, for example, Pepys dispatched Bagford to obtain a copy of Stobaeus' *Sententiae* ('a fair one of the last edition') at the auction of Robert Littlebury's books that day.<sup>130</sup> Pepys also drew on Bagford's own collections, asking to see 'your gatherings relating to Fair Writing' and especially for pictures of famous writing masters to help assemble his own material on the subject.<sup>131</sup>

The 'epidemic' growth of book auctions and of the agents who frequented them constituted new developments, but Pepys also found himself a 'proper and skilful Agent' through an older collecting method. Anne Goldgar has described the early modern tradition of the *voyage littéraire* in which young men journeyed across the Continent, visiting centres of learning, copying manuscripts, and purchasing books. This was a means of getting to know and becoming known in the scholarly world or 'the republic of letters'.<sup>132</sup> Pepys was a firm believer in the benefits of travel for young men and so in October 1699 he sent his nephew John Jackson on a trip around Europe. Jackson's tour, which lasted until August 1701, took him to Paris, Rome, Venice, Cadiz, and Madrid. He left England with a clear sense of the 'holes' in his uncle's collection that needed filling, and Pepys sent further requests after him, including orders for prints of Rome and a book of engravings showing the languages found in the Vatican Library. Jackson was also asked to transcribe manuscripts, such

<sup>127</sup> Jason Scott-Warren, 'News, Sociability, and Bookbuying in Early Modern England: The Letters of Thomas Cornwallis', *The Library*, 7th ser., 1 (2000), 381–402, doi:10.1093/library/1.4.381; Peacey, 'Sir Thomas Cotton's Consumption of News', pp. 7, 13.

<sup>128</sup> See, for example, Michael Treadwell, 'Richard Lapthorne and the London Retail Book Trade, 1683–1697', in *The Book Trade and its Customers, 1450–1900: Historical Essays for Robin Myers*, ed. Arnold Hunt, Giles Mandelbrote, and Alison Shell (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1997), pp. 205–22 (p. 209).

<sup>129</sup> Milton McC. Gatch, 'John Bagford, Bookseller and Antiquary', *British Library Journal*, 12 (1986), 150–71 <<http://www.bl.uk/ebj/1986articles/pdf/article12.pdf>>; Theodor Harmsen, 'Bagford, John (1650/51–1716)', in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1030>> [accessed 13 Oct. 2010].

<sup>130</sup> Pepys to John Bagford, 16 Mar. 1696/7, in Howarth, p. 266. The auction was run by John Bullord and had begun on 15 March. See John Bullord, *Bibliopolii Littleburiani* [London, 1697].

<sup>131</sup> Pepys to John Bagford, 11 May 1699, in Howarth, pp. 276–7. Pepys drew up a list of prints and books to discuss with Bagford in c.1699. See *Private Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 166.

<sup>132</sup> Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680–1750* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 1–6.

as the letters of Henry VIII held in the Vatican.<sup>133</sup> Pepys saw the trip as a way to aid collecting in the long term, and asked that while in Rome Jackson ‘make provision for a future correspondence there; that in case of any new books, sculpts, or upon notice of any extraordinary occurrences there, among either the ecclesiasticks or *literati*, one might have it within his knowledge how to come the nearest way at it’.<sup>134</sup> By establishing contacts and correspondences abroad, Jackson would become part of the international community of obligation that assisted scholarship and collecting. Jackson’s voyage was also intended to foster the young man’s connections at home, for by purchasing books and prints for others he could repay the obligations incurred by him and his uncle and, in turn, make others indebted to him. Charles Hatton (a good friend to Pepys in the 1690s) sent Jackson a list of book requests that the young man duly searched out in Rome and Lombardy. Roger Gale—son of Pepys’s close friend Thomas Gale—sent a request for two books. The Houblon family, who had helped Jackson with letters of recommendation, asked for Italian music, while the young scholar Humfrey Wanley sought to contact Jackson while he was in Spain with assorted commissions.<sup>135</sup> Wanley was involved in assisting Pepys with his collections, making visits to check manuscripts in the Cotton library and presenting him with manuscripts.<sup>136</sup> The network of favours that aided collectors meant he was therefore entitled to request help from Jackson via Pepys. In 1701 Jackson returned home triumphant, having sent ahead boxes and boxes of materials with a list of their contents: the headings included ‘Books & Papers &c’, ‘Musick’, ‘Manuscripts’, ‘Mapps’, and ‘Curiosities’ (viz. ‘Pumice-Stones’, ‘A Sea-Horse’, and ‘Sulphur taken red hot out of Mount Vesuvius’).<sup>137</sup> Jackson’s energetic purchasing required energetic organizing on Pepys’s part and in December 1701 he reported to Evelyn on a pleasurable ‘2 or 3 Months by-Worke of sorting and bindeing together my Nephew’s Roman Marketings’.<sup>138</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

In 1701 Pepys was concerned with his vicarious ‘Roman Marketings’, but his collecting had begun over forty years before in the book marts of London. Many of the high-end booksellers Pepys visited had particular specialisms—such as foreign

<sup>133</sup> Pepys to John Jackson, 17 Oct. 1699, 22 Jan. 1699/1700, 29 Jan. 1699/1700, and 8 Feb. 1699/1700, in *Private Correspondence*, vol. 1, pp. 197–8, 277, 281, 288.

<sup>134</sup> Pepys to Jackson, 4 Mar. 1699/1700, in *Private Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 294. ‘Sculpts’ means ‘prints’.

<sup>135</sup> Hatton’s requests are in BL, MS Add. 78680, Evelyn Papers DXIII, item 25, and many are shown as secured in a later list: *Private Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 308. Dr John Shadwell passed on Roger Gale’s request in a letter to Jackson, [28 Jan. 1699/1700 os]/7 Feb. [1700 ns], in *Private Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 280. James Houblon junior asked for ‘a Solemn Church Cantata’ on behalf of his sister, 26 Apr. 1700, in *Private Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 330. Wanley’s list of queries for Jackson in Spain was prepared too late to reach him: Pepys to Humfrey Wanley, 7 Apr. 1701, in Howarth, p. 327.

<sup>136</sup> Examples of Wanley and Pepys’s exchanges are found in Howarth, pp. 328–31.

<sup>137</sup> BL, MS Add. 78680, item 20x.

<sup>138</sup> Pepys to Evelyn, 24 Dec. 1701, in *Particular Friends*, p. 289.

books, news, music, or drama—but apparently never to the exclusion of stocking a wider range of works. A successful London bookseller had to have in place a network to enable him or her to identify and acquire promising titles. The same contacts would also be used to promote that seller's own wares to other retailers and directly to customers. The capital's booksellers won custom through sophisticated verbal and print advertising, and the more successful ones responded to the disasters of the 1660s with innovative methods of promotion. The catalogues that appeared in increasing numbers in the 1670s and 1680s were used to advertise to customers across the city, the country, and beyond. News about books spread more easily than ever before, although this seems sometimes only to have exacerbated the sense among country customers that they were missing out on the delights London bookshops had to offer—negotiating and arranging for the delivery of books at a distance remained a slow and fraught process.<sup>139</sup>

London booksellers were expected to be able either to fetch a desired book from within their shop quickly, or to make arrangements with other traders speedily to acquire it. There was no one way of organizing stock, and prioritizing the topic when shelving books was not ubiquitous. Crucially, in the more upmarket bookshops it seems that customers did not have unmediated access to a wide range of the stock. One consequence of such arrangements was that customers, certainly in the early stages of the purchase, lacked clues to help them categorize a work—or rather, they lacked some of the clues from advertising and stock placement that we would expect in making a purchase today. Title pages, often used as advertising text, might outline a work's contents but these could not be relied upon. Arrangements in upmarket bookshops, combined with dubious advertising, increased customers' dependency on word-of-mouth when selecting books and their reliance on reading works before purchase. Ultimately, a successful sale depended on the bookseller having an excellent command of his or her stock and a well-trained staff—employees who could rapidly identify and locate what a customer sought, or judge the person before them and make astute suggestions. The ways booksellers sold to customers within their shops provide valuable context for understanding the tactics used to win readers within the books themselves. For example, while a book's paratexts, and the preface in particular, needed to communicate directly to potential readers, they would also act as a source of hints for booksellers about to how to market the work to individual customers. The preliminaries of seventeenth-century fictions frequently appealed to as many uses as their authors and publishers judged plausible: the improvement of morality, religion, or learning were favourites, but so too were the enhancement of social status, the entertainment of friends, and the prevention of melancholy. This scattergun approach makes a little more sense when we recognize that it would be up to a bookseller to select and elaborate upon a particular use for the work or to highlight parts of the content, tailoring his or her speech to a customer's interests.

<sup>139</sup> Beal, 'My Books Are the Great Joy of my Life', pp. 358–9; Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.170, fol. 11, Richard Cumberland to Thomas Gale, 14 Jan. 1689/90.



Experienced customers such as Robert Hooke had an eye for bargains and booksellers' correspondence frequently shows them dealing with customers who negotiated fiercely over price and quality. Yet financial considerations were often the last thing anyone in an upmarket bookshop *appeared* to be thinking about. Gentlemen and sometimes ladies spent time in bookshops 'divertizing' themselves with the books and socializing.<sup>140</sup> At the higher end of the market a London bookseller's appeal to customers lay in specialized stock, in the ambience (including who was in the shop), in the conveniency of the location, and in opportunities for customers to gather information. Pepys favoured those booksellers who offered news on the latest publications and those shops where the customers were ready to talk about the latest events. These social factors probably weighed more heavily with elite customers, because variable prices and the issue of bindings made it difficult even for the initiated to make direct comparisons between the values offered by sellers. When conversations did turn to money, a bookseller's flexibility about payment methods and, indeed, about the nature of the transaction (a loan, a purchase on approval, or an outright purchase) would help to ensure a sale. In sum, a transaction with an upmarket bookseller in the seventeenth century involved much more than giving cash in exchange for a book. Indeed, a straightforward sale might involve neither a bound book nor money changing hands at that point: a customer could take away unbound pages, or come back later for a specially bound work, while the odds were high that no coins would be presented because the purchase was on credit.

In the later seventeenth century the book trade developed new specialisms to meet and excite the appetites of wealthy customers. Auctions and the increased availability of auction catalogues were two major developments that assisted collectors from the 1670s onwards. Booksellers such as Scott thrived because their in-depth knowledge of the interests of their bibliophile customers meant they could anticipate those customer's wants and (hopefully) shape them. Book-trade professionals served as agents to seek out specific commissions, attend auctions, or consult collectors about rare copies. However, the acquisition of books frequently depended on networks of obligation that complemented commercial arrangements. We have seen something of this in the circulation of illicit texts among Pepys's acquaintances and in John Jackson's *voyage littéraire*. Jackson's voyage helped Pepys to augment his collections, but it was also a means for Pepys to shape a collector to whom he could bequeath his library. Through his travels, Jackson improved his scholarly knowledge and fostered learned contacts at home and abroad. As this suggests, when it came to acquiring print and manuscript texts in the Restoration, direct dealings with the book trade were only part of the story: the networks of exchange used to produce and obtain works are the subject of Chapter 7.

<sup>140</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 380.

# 7

## Books, Manuscripts, Gifts Scholarly and International Networks

People's access to reading material in the seventeenth century was heavily dependent on contacts outside the commercial networks of the book trade. Works in print and in manuscript were acquired as gifts or as loans from kin, friends, workmates, patrons, clients, or friends of friends—a host of contacts close to home or far afield. Among Pepys's associates these non-commercial exchanges of texts were essential to successful information gathering and important in affirming social ties. In Chapter 3 we saw how, in the 1660s, Pepys set about strategically establishing a network of contacts to serve his need for news. At that stage, his efforts were chiefly directed towards cultivating London-based contacts and establishing himself as a power to be reckoned with in naval networks. His involvement with scholarly networks and his repertoire of international contacts grew in the 1670s and 1680s, and it is these decades with which this chapter is chiefly concerned. Anne Goldgar has detailed how the 'republic of letters'—the sense of an international scholarly community—was held together by the reciprocal exchange of books and services. The scholars, clergy, philosophers, and collectors who made up the community, she argues, regarded themselves as 'essentially egalitarian'; their ideals encouraged glossing over differences of religion and nationality while working to advance knowledge. Dena Goodman, considering French members of the republic of letters, argues that these values of reciprocal exchange and equality ran contrary to those of the state: members found their national allegiance and their allegiance to the republic of letters at odds.<sup>1</sup> A sense of mutual scholarly endeavour and service to learning is evident in Pepys's networks, but it is only part of the picture. Among his connections, there is little sign of tension between the values of international scholarship and pursuit of the national interest: indeed, Pepys and his contacts often showed far more concern for magnifying England's power and wealth than for the international advancement of learning. By comparing their activities against the forms of 'scholarly service' observed in the late sixteenth century, we can trace how practices had developed that assisted a wider range of

<sup>1</sup> Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680–1750* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 3, 6. Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 2. On exchanges in the republic of letters, see also Justin Champion, *Republican Learning: John Toland and the Crisis of Christian Culture, 1696–1722* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 35–41.

learned gentlemen.<sup>2</sup> It was not just scholars who offered their services, however: Pepys and his fellows were supplied with texts and scholarly gifts by individuals who were not themselves directly involved in the republic of letters, but who were motivated to aid its members. Natalie Zemon Davis, studying the sixteenth century, has argued for the importance of understanding the ways that books ‘fit into other systems of gifts in their own day’.<sup>3</sup> In Pepys’s networks the movement of manuscript and printed books emerges as part of national and international exchanges in favours, in intelligence, and in luxury goods.

### PEPYS’S CIRCLE

The extent of Pepys’s influence nationally and internationally rested largely on his power within the government administration, and since his career trajectory was not smooth and continuous, neither was the development of his networks. In 1673 Pepys was promoted from Clerk of the Acts to Secretary to the Office of the Lord High Admiral. In 1679 he was forced from his post by accusations that he had been involved in the Popish Plot—only for him to return as Secretary in 1684, reporting directly to King Charles. Pepys’s new appointment assisted his election as President of the Royal Society later that year. He then continued as Secretary under James II, until the Revolution of 1688 forced him once again to resign in early 1689. As Secretary for the Admiralty, Pepys was without doubt an acquaintance worth cultivating: outside the naval hierarchy, his friendship and patronage networks extended across Europe and beyond. Yet within these networks only a very small number of individuals were trusted and enduring acquaintances—men and women whose attachment to Pepys went beyond their attachment to the Secretary for the Admiralty. The people Pepys trusted to engage in religiously or politically sensitive exchanges were often people he had known since he was Clerk of the Acts in the 1660s. For example, the natural philosopher Sir William Petty and Petty’s close friend Sir Robert Southwell (1635–1702) were long-standing friends to Pepys. He had got to know both these men during the period of his first diary and their shared scholarly and naval interests made them valued acquaintances with whom he continued to consult in later decades.

When Pepys created his own depiction of his circle of friends in 1700, he chose only five men from a lifetime of acquaintances: John Evelyn, Sir Anthony Deane, Sir James Houblon (1629–1700), Dr Thomas Gale (1635/6–1702), and William Hewer. Figure 10 is a page from a section in Pepys’s albums of pictures entitled

<sup>2</sup> Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, “‘Studied for Action’”: How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy’, *Past and Present*, 129 (1990), 30–78, doi:10.1093/past/129.1.30; Lisa Jardine and William Sherman, ‘Pragmatic Readers: Knowledge Transactions and Scholarly Services in Late Elizabethan England’, in *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson*, ed. Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), pp. 102–24.

<sup>3</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis, ‘Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 33 (1983), 69–88, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3678990> (p. 71).



Fig. 10. Pepys and his friends. From PL 2979, 'My Collection of Heads in Taille-Douce & Drawings', vol. 2, p. 127.

By permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

‘Gentlemen, Virtuosi, Men of Letters, & Merchants’.<sup>4</sup> Sociologists now create diagrams of egocentric networks, placing one individual at the centre and tracking his or her connections outwards: Pepys’s page of portraits similarly uses spatial arrangement to identify his closest living allies and it also indicates how he perceived these relationships. These were all men who, as their encircling of his image implies, had supported and protected Pepys. They had stood by him in 1679, when he had faced treason charges and had continued loyal to him after the Revolution, when he was arrested twice for alleged Jacobite plotting. Conveniently for us, on this page Pepys also rounded up a number of the usual suspects in his intellectual network—individuals whose names recur in records of his newsgathering, reading, and collecting. Will Hewer’s relationship with Pepys was the most long-standing of the five, dating back to 1660, when he was employed as Pepys’s clerk and lived in his household. Under Pepys’s patronage, Hewer rose in the navy to become one of its most important administrators, holding numerous offices and becoming MP for Yarmouth.<sup>5</sup> He became as close as any kin, having behaved, in Pepys’s words, with ‘all the Care, kindness and faithfulness of a Son’.<sup>6</sup> Another early acquaintance was Anthony Deane, the Woolwich shipwright who had first won Pepys over in 1662 by educating him in navy practices. Pepys in return made clear his esteem for Deane’s craft, giving Deane’s model ships pride of place in his collections and urging him to write up his insights. This led Deane to produce a manuscript on ‘The Doctrine of Naval Architecture’ (1670), which he presented to Pepys. During the 1680s, Deane was active with Pepys in the Royal Society. Along with naval and scientific endeavours, the two shared an arrest record (both were hauled in on suspicion of plotting in 1679 and 1689).<sup>7</sup> Sir James Houblon, on the other hand, had stood bail for Pepys in both 1679 and 1690. He came from a family of wealthy Huguenot merchants whom Pepys first met in 1665. The relationship grew from a shared love of music, ‘good discourse’, and commercial interests. Houblon was a prominent member of the East India and Levant companies and had trading interests in Spain and Portugal. Pepys showed his affection by ordering naval captains to assist the Houbblons and by referring to James as his ‘cousin’ when doing so—like Hewer, he was so close as to merit treatment as surrogate kin.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> PL 2979, ‘My Collection of Heads in Taille-Douce & Drawings’, vol. 2, p. 127.

<sup>5</sup> C. S. Knighton, ‘Hewer, William (1642–1715)’, in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/41087>> [accessed 17 July 2014].

<sup>6</sup> Pepys to Balthasar St Michel, 14 July 1679, in *The Letters of Samuel Pepys and his Family Circle*, ed. Helen Truesdell Heath (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955; repr. 1956), p. 74.

<sup>7</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 208; vol. 9, p. 531. PL 2910, Deane, ‘Doctrine of Naval Architecture’; Michael Hunter, *The Royal Society and its Fellows 1660–1700: The Morphology of an Early Scientific Institution* (2nd edn., [n.p.]: British Society for the History of Science, 1994), p. 41; Richard Ollard, *Pepys: A Biography* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson: 1974; repr. 1991), pp. 283, 286, 348.

<sup>8</sup> Arthur Bryant, *Samuel Pepys: The Years of Peril* (London: Collins, 1935; new edn. 1948), p. 276; *Private Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 36. *Diary*, vol. 6, pp. 27, 28; vol. 7, pp. 38–9. H. G. Roseveare, ‘Houblon, Sir John (1632–1712)’, in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13861>> [accessed 17 July 2014]; Claire Tomalin, *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self* (London: Viking, 2002), pp. 291–2; Pepys to Capt. Lovell, 9 Feb. 1676/7, in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Naval Manuscripts in the Pepysian Library*, ed. J. R. Tanner, vol. 3 (1909), p. 376.

The remaining two men—Dr Thomas Gale and John Evelyn—were principal guides in assisting Pepys's book-collecting and research. In the early 1670s Thomas Gale had married Barbara Pepys, a distant cousin of Samuel. Gale's doctorate was in divinity. He was briefly professor of Greek at Cambridge in 1672 before taking up posts in London as the high master of St Paul's School and prebend of St Paul's Cathedral. In the 1670s and 1680s, he and Pepys worked together in the Royal Society: Pepys's term as President, from November 1684 to November 1686, partly coincided with Gale's second term as Secretary from December 1685. Gale's published works included collections of classical authors, an edition of the philosopher Iamblichus' *De mysteriis* (1678), and a medieval chronicle. In 1697 he became Dean of York. His consequent departure from London was a serious blow to Pepys, who felt increasingly isolated as friends died or moved out of the capital.<sup>9</sup> One of those who remained nearby was Evelyn, whose portrait takes pride of place at the top of Pepys's circle. Pepys and Evelyn appear first to have had regular dealings with each other in 1665, when Evelyn was commissioner for sick and wounded seamen during the Second Dutch War.<sup>10</sup> It was Evelyn, a founding member of the Royal Society, who took the lead in encouraging Pepys in his collecting. In his diary Pepys soon began to note Evelyn's gifts and loans to him of interesting texts and this was to prove an abiding motif in their friendship. In the 1680s and 1690s, Pepys continued to consult Evelyn as an authority on libraries and on the collecting of medals and prints.<sup>11</sup> Pepys honoured Evelyn's friendship and scholarship by commissioning a portrait of him from the leading artist Sir Godfrey Kneller—the image of Evelyn used in the circle is a copy of this work.<sup>12</sup>

## THE ETIQUETTE OF BOOK GIFTS AND BOOK HOSPITALITY

Across seventeenth-century social networks, the basic etiquette that underpinned gift-giving was widely understood. Someone offering a gift, such as a book, expected the receiver to respond with a similar gift or with the proffer of a service; if nothing comparable was offered in return, this risked insulting the giver. While gift-giving systems rely upon reciprocity and collaboration, studies by anthropologists and cultural historians have tracked how these practices are bound up with displays of social power and dominance. The receiver of a gift—whether this is an object or a favour—is obligated to the giver, while the receiver's honour and

<sup>9</sup> Nicholas Doggett, 'Gale, Thomas (1635/6–1702)', in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10298>> [accessed 17 July 2014]. Hunter, *Royal Society*, p. 82; Pepys to Gale, 9 Mar. 1699, in *The Letters of Samuel Pepys 1656–1703*, ed. Guy de la Bédoyère (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 228–9.

<sup>10</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 217. On the pair's early contact, see *Particular Friends*, pp. 10–11 and sect. 1 'The 1660s'.

<sup>11</sup> For example, Evelyn to Pepys, 26 Aug. 1689 and Pepys to Evelyn, 28 Mar. 1692, in *Particular Friends*, pp. 188–204, 230–1.

<sup>12</sup> Evelyn to Pepys, 26 Aug. 1689, in *Particular Friends*, p. 188; *Pepys Catalogue*, vol. 3, pt. 2 (1994), compiled by Eric Chamberlain, p. 83.

authority are diminished if he or she cannot reciprocate fully. Gifts, argue Pierre Bourdieu, are a form of symbolic capital, creating debts and obligations akin to economic capital.<sup>13</sup> Although Bourdieu counsels against seeing gift-giving as always a rational, calculating act, among Pepys's contacts the sense of gift exchange as a financial transaction was often very close to the surface. It was expected that all parties would keep mental ledgers of letters due, books owed, and services rendered. Thus, in October 1678 Pepys asked Caleb Banks, a pupil of John Locke, to apologize on his behalf for 'comeing againe into a fresh arreare to Mr Lock' as regards the exchange of letters. Pepys urged Banks to 'keep up my Credit with [Locke] in that point', for he intended to write soon. Similarly playful financial metaphors were used when, five years later, Pepys wrote to return a volume of a naval history lent to him by the lawyer William Trumbull. Pepys explained that 'as ye properest interest I could think of for ye loan on't', he had 'encreas'd it by ye addicion' of a missing volume from the series. Gifts and favours, he implied, were investments and careful attention was paid by both sides to the rates of return.<sup>14</sup>

While the principle of reciprocal obligation was familiar from other forms of gift-giving, Pepys was tutored in the specific etiquette for book gifts and scholarly favours by John Evelyn. Indeed, one of Evelyn's first presents to Pepys, in October 1665, was Gabriel Naudé's *Instructions concerning Erecting of a Library* (1661). This was a work that Evelyn himself had translated. Naudé's book was aimed at wealthy, noble collectors and, therefore, Pepys rued, 'above my reach'.<sup>15</sup> Yet certain of the strategies for collectors proved useful to him. By the time he read Naudé, Pepys already knew that admiring someone else's library could result in a present: earlier that year on a visit to his former schoolmaster Samuel Cromleholme he had praised an old edition of Lily's grammar, which had led Cromleholme to give him a copy of the work.<sup>16</sup> Naudé's guide made clear to Pepys that calculated announcement of one's interest in books was a standard and respectable practice. Naudé advised:

publishing and making known to every body the affection which we have to Books, and the extraordinary desire which we have to erect a Library; for this being once

<sup>13</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990; repr. 1997), pp. 122, 126. Pierre Bourdieu, 'Marginalia—Some Additional Notes on the Gift', trans. Richard Nice, in *The Logic of the Gift: Toward an Ethic of Generosity*, ed. Alan D. Schrift (New York and London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 231–41 (p. 234). On early modern gift systems, especially in relation to the market, see Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving: Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008); Jason Scott-Warren, *Sir John Harrington and the Book as Gift* (Oxford: OUP 2001; repr. 2006); Susan E. Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys 1660–1720* (Oxford: OUP, 1999; repr. 2007), pp. 23–33.

<sup>14</sup> National Maritime Museum, LBK/8, Letterbook of Samuel Pepys, Pepys to Caleb Banks, 10 Oct. 1678, p. 828. Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.194, fol. 286r, Pepys to Dr William Trumbull, 9 May 1683. The book Pepys borrowed was an edition of Sir Thomas Ryves's *Historia navalis* from 1629 or 1633. Goldgar's *Impolite Learning* contains examples of scholars using commercial language in a similar fashion to describe their exchanges, pp. 26, 31.

<sup>15</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 252.

<sup>16</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 53. Pepys had first asked Cromleholme to show him a copy of the book, John Colet and William Lily's *Paules Accidence*, two years before (vol. 4, pp. 33–4).

divulged and communicated, it is certain, that if he who designs it be in sufficient credit and authority to do his friends pleasure; there will not be a man of them but will take it for an honour to present him with the most curious Books that come into his hands; and that will not [vo]luntarily admit him into his Study, or in those of his friends.<sup>17</sup>

Having a reputation for collecting books precipitated gift-giving. It also led to introductions to other collectors—useful introductions, since being admitted into someone’s study or closet offered further opportunities to discover a collector’s holdings and to procure copies of rare books or manuscripts.<sup>18</sup> When Pepys visited Evelyn in Deptford, seven weeks after reading Naudé, they enjoyed ‘most excellent discourse’ over Evelyn’s collections. ‘Among other things’, wrote Pepys, ‘he showed me a Lieger [i.e. ledger] of a Treasurer of the Navy, his great-grand-father, just 100 years old; *which I seemed mighty fond of*, and he did present me with it; which I take as a great rarity, and he hopes to find me more, older then it’ (my italics).<sup>19</sup> Evelyn, to his credit, could recognize a cue when he heard it. His learning and his willingness to help Pepys to other works proved the basis of a lifelong affection.

Pepys and Evelyn had the distinct advantage in scholarly networks of being London-based collectors; their situation, amid bookshops and close to many private and institutional libraries, made them well placed to do favours for others. In contrast, scholars and natural philosophers outside the capital frequently complained of their isolation, far from the centre of the book trade, from court patronage, and from what they imagined to be a whirl of intellectual sociability. In 1682, the clergyman Nathaniel Vincent (d. 1722) of Clare College found his spirits stifled in Cambridge and wrote to Pepys of his plans to ‘remove my Bookes to London’. Vincent knew Deane, Evelyn, and the Houblons, and seems to have hoped London would provide a more cheering environment and better opportunities for advancement.<sup>20</sup> Pepys’s old university friend Dr Richard Cumberland was also keen to visit London from Stamford in Lincolnshire, since ‘My residence in this place so distant from the City denies mee the opportunity of knowing many Books which I sometimes hear of, and finde quoted, but cannot see.’ He particularly looked forward to Thomas Gale’s ‘Learned Converse, and skill in Books’. In this instance, Cumberland was helping Gale (who was in fact acting as Pepys’s agent) to search for a residence in the country. Cumberland asked that Gale’s obligation be repaid through learned sociability and help with ‘procureing some such books at the best hand’.<sup>21</sup> Since Pepys was a good friend of Cumberland, his decision to act

<sup>17</sup> Gabriel Naudé, *Instructions concerning Erecting of a Library*, trans. John Evelyn (London, 1661), pp. 57–8. Naudé’s work was first published in French in 1627.

<sup>18</sup> On access to a library providing access to a learned circle, see Champion, *Republican Learning*, pp. 28–33.

<sup>19</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, pp. 307–8.

<sup>20</sup> Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.178, fol. 120r, Vincent to Pepys, 27 July 1682. This Nathaniel Vincent is not to be confused with the Nonconformist Nathaniel Vincent (1637/8–97).

<sup>21</sup> Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.170, fol. 11v, Richard Cumberland to Thomas Gale, 14 Jan. 1689/90—forwarded to Pepys; see fol. 9. Gale himself later complained of leading a ‘bookeless sort of life’ in York. Gale to Pepys, 18 Mar. 1698/9, in *Private Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 169.



via Gale in early 1690 was probably an attempt to avoid surveillance at a time when, being suspected of Jacobitism, he could expect his own letters to be intercepted. The exchange outlined here was a relatively complex one: house-hunting was to be requited by a combination of book-hunting and sociability, and there were three people involved, which made Pepys indebted to both Gale and Cumberland for their assistance.

Despite the intricacy of some of these exchanges, among Pepys's acquaintance serious breakdowns in the reciprocal exchange of texts or open disagreement over the associated etiquette of hospitality were rare. Instances of disruption can therefore be telling. Occasionally these arose from a failure to recognize an obligation, but at root was usually a disagreement over the relative status of those involved. Both factors are apparent in Pepys's dealings with Abigail Williams, who was the mistress of Lord Brouncker, his superior on the Navy Board. For many months after Pepys was introduced to Williams in August 1665 he was unsure of her exact relationship to Brouncker—he believed that she was 'my Lord Brouncker's whore'; yet in March 1666 the couple's public displays of affection made him think that 'she must be my Lord's wife'.<sup>22</sup> Pepys came to resent Williams's intervention in the business of the Navy Office. Their antagonism manifested itself over manuscript gifts, collecting rarities, and the furnishing of closets—practices that Williams, like Pepys, used to establish her genteel credentials. In September 1665 Pepys discovered that one of the navy clerks was transcribing a book on the rates of navy ships without permission, and that Williams was behind this. Pepys thought the book was ultimately intended for a 'gallant' of hers. 'The book was a very neat one and worth keeping as a rarity,' so Pepys schemed to get this fine copy for the Navy Office. However, when Lord Brouncker and Pepys sent to Williams to require that the copy be delivered to them, she instead arrived in person and, perceiving Pepys's intent, asked that the copy be destroyed. The unspoken logic was that, having had her power to exercise patronage using the manuscript challenged, she was not prepared to behave graciously as a learned gentlewoman should and ensure the work was preserved for the greater good. This, complained Pepys, 'was a plaguy deal of spite'.<sup>23</sup> Relations continued to be outwardly friendly but inwardly hostile. After a dinner at Brouncker's home in March 1666, Williams showed Pepys her closet—a room where books, fine furniture, collections of rarities, and other luxuries were kept. 'Endeed a great many fine things there are—but the woman I hate,' he noted.<sup>24</sup> According to the practices of what I will call 'book hospitality', the appropriate response to being shown someone's closet and collections (especially after a fine dinner) was, first, to express great admiration and, better yet, to offer a gift towards further improving those collections. Pepys's stubborn refusal to take a hint was punished a few months later. The Pearses and the actress Elizabeth Knepp told him that Mrs Williams 'doth speak mighty hardly of me' for failing to repay her hospitality, and in particular for 'not giving her something to her closet'. This

<sup>22</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 234; vol. 7, p. 74.

<sup>23</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 217.

<sup>24</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 76. For further discussion of closets and collections belonging to women, see Ch. 9, 'Women's Closets', pp. 259–63.

was a serious slight on Pepys's part. By failing properly to reciprocate the meal and the privilege of the closet visit, he was treating Williams as the 'whore' he believed her to be, rather than with the respect due to a learned and cultured gentlewoman. He continued to be anxious about this issue: in August 1667 he kept a visit to Williams brief 'for fear of her showing me her closet, and thereby forcing me to give her something'; and again in May 1668 'she did show me her closet; which I was sorry to see, for fear of her expecting something from me'.<sup>25</sup> Pepys deduced, probably rightly, that Williams was using Naudé-style tactics to try and shame him into giving a gift that would constitute acknowledgement of her respectability and gentility. Pepys and Williams's relationship shows the codes of hospitality regarding books and collections being breached to the extent that subtext became text. When all went well, little comment was required in contemporary records. For example when, on 15 March 1677, Robert Hooke recorded briefly in his diary that he 'Dined with Lady Harvey, who shewd me all her Rare Entalios [i.e. intaglios]', we can deduce that the same forms of hospitality were at work as in Pepys's exchange with Abigail Williams. Here, however, Hooke was already sufficiently friendly with Lady Harvey and admiring enough of her collection of engravings ('Most rare & curious', he remarked) that gift-giving could go unmentioned and he continued to be a welcome dinner guest.<sup>26</sup>

## CLUBS AND COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE

An enjoyable means of furthering the exchange of books and knowledge—and of limiting misunderstandings—was to club together in societies with those of similar status and shared aims. The capital was host to regular meetings of virtuosi and literati. Most famous among them was, of course, the Royal Society, which met regularly to view experiments and hear papers read. There were also countless informal gatherings in coffee-houses or private homes. Hooke, for instance, organized a number of short-lived clubs for natural philosophers in the 1670s. In late 1675 and early 1676 these included a group who met at Joe's and Garraway's coffee-houses and another 'New Philosophicall clubb' that met at Sir Christopher Wren's home.<sup>27</sup> In the mid-1680s a 'select companie' of Royal Society members met every Monday at Sir Joseph Williamson's house to discuss topics including religion, law, and history. In February 1686 Sir William Petty put the attendance at 'about 12'. Its membership included Evelyn, Gale, Dr Daniel Whistler, and Abraham Hill, with Pepys pressed to ensure that he attended on at least one occasion.<sup>28</sup> Pepys himself hosted one of these 'Weekly Circles' from around

<sup>25</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 237; vol. 8, p. 395; vol. 9, pp. 199–200.

<sup>26</sup> *Hooke's Diary 1672–1683*, 15 Mar. 1677 [that is, 1676/7].

<sup>27</sup> *Hooke's Diary 1672–1683*, 11, 18, and 31 Dec. 1675; 1 Jan. 1676.

<sup>28</sup> *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. De Beer, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), vol. 4, pp. 299–300; Petty to Southwell, 9 Feb. 1685/6, in *Petty–Southwell Correspondence*, p. 182; Evelyn to Pepys, [1 Mar. 1686], in *Particular Friends*, p. 167.

1692 until the summer of 1701.<sup>29</sup> Meeting on Saturdays, this group was referred to by an assortment of joking names including ‘the Club in York buildings’, ‘Saturday’s table’, ‘the *Round Table*’, or ‘Tripe Day’ (in honour of the food served—tripe being one of the host’s favourite dishes). Regular ‘Saturday’s Academists’ or ‘Saturday’s Literati’ included Evelyn, Gale, Richard Bentley (the classical scholar), Captain Charles Hatton (a botanist and the brother of Viscount Hatton), and the Cotton librarian Thomas Smith.<sup>30</sup> The group took in the famous and soon-to-be-famous: Isaac Newton is mentioned in 1692, while in 1699 John Arbuthnot—then a noted mathematician, now a noted satirist—was a member.<sup>31</sup> This was not an exclusively male gathering, for Evelyn also thought it appropriate to praise Mary Skinner, Pepys’s partner, as one of the ‘deipnosophists’—a learned term celebrating the group’s conversation over dinner.<sup>32</sup>

Pepys and his acquaintances were adept in forming ‘communities of practice’: groups who engaged in a joint learning enterprise and were bound together by norms of reciprocity and mutuality, rather than by membership of a formal institution or organizational unit.<sup>33</sup> Individuals with projects to promote sought help through the ties fostered by clubs, coffee-house sociability, and learned correspondence. One of the most famous and longest running examples was Sir William Petty’s scheme for a ‘double-bottom’ or ‘sluice-built’ ship. Petty, who was based in Ireland, began experimenting with designs for a catamaran in the early 1660s, convinced that such a ship would outdo a single-hulled vessel in speed and manoeuvrability. The project held out the prospect of improving the nation’s trade and naval power, so Pepys, Deane, Houblon, and King Charles all took an early interest in the scheme. However sea trials of the first three vessels achieved results that might diplomatically be termed mixed: the first two vessels performed beyond all expectations, the third sank with all hands.<sup>34</sup> Petty abandoned his project for a time but continued to return to it, self-mockingly describing these episodes of

<sup>29</sup> Pepys to Evelyn, 9 Jan. 1692 in *Particular Friends*, p. 229; BL, MS Add. 78462, Evelyn Papers, CCXCV, fol. 31r, Evelyn to his grandson John Evelyn III, 14 June 1701; Evelyn to Pepys, 10 Dec. 1701, in *Private Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 237.

<sup>30</sup> Evelyn to Pepys, 7 July 1694, in *Particular Friends*, p. 245. Pepys to Thomas Gale, 9 Mar. 1699, in *Letters of Samuel Pepys*, ed. de la Bédoyère, p. 229. BL, MS Add. 78462, John Evelyn to his grandson, 26 May 1699, fol. 12v, and 12 June 1699, fol. 14v. Gale to Pepys, 27 May 1699; John Jackson to Pepys, 19 Oct. 1699; and Jackson to Pepys, 22 Dec. 1699/1 Jan. 1700, in *Private Correspondence*, vol. 1, pp. 177, 199, 261–2.

<sup>31</sup> Pepys’s letter to Evelyn of 9 Jan. 1692 mentions Newton and also implies Robert Boyle may have attended before his death at the end of 1691 (*Particular Friends*, p. 229). BL, MS Add. 78462, Evelyn to his grandson, 12 June 1699, fol. 14v. Evelyn experiments with various spellings for ‘Arbuthnot’—here he is ‘Dr Bucknot’.

<sup>32</sup> BL, MS Add. 78462, Evelyn to his grandson, 12 June 1699, fol. 14; compare John Evelyn the grandson to Pepys, 12 July 1699, in *Private Correspondence*, vol. 1, pp. 178–9. ‘Deipnosophist’ is a term derived from Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophistae*.

<sup>33</sup> See Etienne Wenger, ‘Communities of Practice in Social Learning Systems’, *Organisation*, 7 (2000), 225–46, doi: 10.1177/135050840072002, esp. pp. 229, 243–4.

<sup>34</sup> To be fair, the third ship sank in a fierce storm—but Petty’s critics were not disposed to be fair. *Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 256–7, 262–3; vol. 5, pp. 32–3; vol. 6, p. 63. See also *The Double Bottom or Twin-Hulled Ship of Sir William Petty*, ed. the Marquess of Lansdowne (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1931).

activity as ‘fits of the Double-bottom’.<sup>35</sup> When he suffered a relapse in 1683, he used his connections to assemble a meeting of experts at his Piccadilly home to test his latest models. Present were Pepys, James Houblon, Sir Anthony Deane, Will Hewer, Sir Robert Southwell, Captain Henry Sheeres (a military engineer), Sir John Lowther (an MP with a financial interests in trade and navigation), and James Waller (Petty’s brother-in-law).<sup>36</sup> Five of the group—Petty, Southwell, Lowther, Pepys, and Deane—were Fellows of the Royal Society.<sup>37</sup> All the men brought to the project either engineering expertise, the possibility of financial backing, or kudos through their work in the navy and government. For Petty, who had consistently suffered ridicule of his project, the credit the group brought to his scheme was no small consideration. He therefore arranged for the ‘5 howers debate and experiment’ to be written up with the attendees’ names at the head and for the paper to be circulated among them. Sheeres, who had raised objections to Petty’s claims for his designs, was asked to ‘give in’ a paper for further consideration, while Deane, another critic, was to respond by providing a rival single-hulled model of his own design.<sup>38</sup> Manuscript circulation was intended to help consolidate the group’s support, improve the design, and enable news of Petty’s work to spread beyond those present.

### SCHOLARLY SERVICE

The ties formed through communities of practice in Restoration London encouraged the authorship and dissemination of manuscript works. Some texts, such as the account of Petty’s meeting, were the direct product of group activities, while another class of work was the result of the author putting his or her learning at another’s disposal—a special kind of gift designed to cater to that person’s interest. This form of manuscript authorship and exchange had certain similarities with the forms of ‘scholarly service’ used by nobles at the end of the sixteenth century. Lisa Jardine, Anthony Grafton, and William Sherman have identified a class of ‘scholar-secretaries’ employed by members of the nobility. One of the common tasks of a scholar-secretary was to act as a professional reader, providing expert summaries or analyses of texts to aid the political ambitions of his aristocratic patron. Scholarly services might also include intelligence gathering or acting as an agent to purchase books. While the scholars were essentially employees, Jardine and Sherman note that these men occupied a position somewhere between a hired servant’s and ‘rank-equal friendship’: their recompense was often in the form of gifts or, if financial, was

<sup>35</sup> Petty to Southwell, 19 Apr. 1683, in *Petty–Southwell Correspondence*, p. 117.

<sup>36</sup> MS Rawlinson A.178, fols. 264–9: Pepys’s copy of the proceedings in the hand of James Waller. The copy given to Southwell is printed in *Double Bottom*, ed. Lansdowne, pp. 115–18. There were a couple of Sir John Lowthers active in London at this time: Petty’s guest would be the nautically minded second Baronet (1642–1706).

<sup>37</sup> Hunter, *Royal Society*, pp. 134, 156, 166, 170, 204. Sheeres was elected but never formally admitted (pp. 194, 250 n. 11). Hewer was proposed in 1681 but appears not to have been elected (p. 59).

<sup>38</sup> MS Rawlinson A.178, fol. 268v.

paid via intermediaries.<sup>39</sup> Almost a century later, the tasks of expert textual analysis, intelligence gathering, and the procurement of books continued to be seen as related activities; yet rather than being commissioned by nobles these services were commonly sought by men much further down the scales of rank and wealth. Some wealthy gentlemen could afford to employ clerks in their household to act as readers and to work on their libraries: indeed, Pepys was able to hire the Huguenot Paul Lorrain in this role in the late 1670s. Lorrain's duties included the neat transcription of records and the cataloguing of Pepys's library; he also wrote manuscript works that he presented as New Year's gifts to his employer.<sup>40</sup> However, in late seventeenth-century networks, scholarly services—such as the production of briefs on legal, religious, or historical topics—were usually solicited by requests to friends or to clients who normally worked in other capacities. The writer, in return for his work, could expect to be provided with a scholarly service of some sort: perhaps a piece authored for him, but more often the gift of books or access to a library. Assistance or patronage in other areas might also be offered.

This was the set of expectations active when, in the late 1670s, Pepys's eye was caught by a work of controversial theology and he sought out expertise on the subject. *Men Before Adam* was a treatise by Isaac de La Peyrère. Published anonymously in Latin in 1655, it had been translated into English the following year. La Peyrère maintained that there had been men alive prior to Adam's creation and that this proposition was 'neither contrary to Christian Religion, nor the History of *Genesis*'.<sup>41</sup> Twenty years after its first English publication, *Men Before Adam* was enjoying renewed topicality: the subject was discussed at one of Hooke's clubs in late 1675, while 1677 saw the publication of Sir Matthew Hale's attack on pre-Adamism, *The Primitive Origination of Mankind*.<sup>42</sup> Pepys owned both La Peyrère's and Hale's books.<sup>43</sup> To keep abreast of debates, he requested an analysis of La Peyrère's work from a young clergyman of his acquaintance, Jeremiah Wells (1646–79). Wells's connection to Pepys was through his wife Deborah Willet, who had been Elizabeth Pepys's paid companion (and Pepys's mistress). During the 1670s Pepys acted as Wells's patron, helping him to the first of several postings as a naval chaplain in 1671. In return, Wells passed intelligence to Pepys about shipboard activities and kept an eye on Captain William Harman, whom Pepys suspected of corruption. In 1676 Wells left the navy to become curate at All Hallows, Barking in London.<sup>44</sup> It was not long after this that Pepys loaned him

<sup>39</sup> Jardine and Grafton, '“Studied for Action”', pp. 33–5; Jardine and Sherman, 'Pragmatic Readers', pp. 102–12.

<sup>40</sup> Lorrain wrote 'Mulieres non homines' (PL 1234) for New Year 1678 and 'The Royal Anagram of Charles the Second' (BL, MS Stowe 987) for New Year 1685.

<sup>41</sup> [Isaac de la Peyrère], *Men Before Adam* (London, 1656), fol. A2v.

<sup>42</sup> William Poole, 'Seventeenth-Century Preadamism, and an Anonymous English Preadamist', *Seventeenth Century*, 19 (2004), 1–35, doi: 10.1080/0268117X.2004.1055533 (p. 10).

<sup>43</sup> Pepys's copy of *Men Before Adam* is PL 669; *The Primitive Origination* is PL 2380.

<sup>44</sup> *Descriptive Catalogue of the Naval Manuscripts*, ed. Tanner, vol. 2 (1904), pp. 243–4, 303, 337 and vol. 3, pp. 13, 14, 15–16. On Wells's career and contact between the two households, see Loveman, 'Samuel Pepys and Deb Willet after the Diary', *Historical Journal*, 49 (2006), 893–901, doi: 10.1017/S0018246X06005565.

*Men Before Adam*, on the condition that Wells use his theological expertise to evaluate the piece.<sup>45</sup> The result was a ten-page analysis dedicated to ‘the Honorable S. P. Esq’, written, as Wells explained, ‘in obedience to Your Commands’. Wells’s ‘Reflexions’ concentrated on the first part of La Peyrère’s book, which expounded Romans 5:12–14 to support pre-Adamism. The author, Wells maintained, mis-translated scripture from the Greek and his flimsy arguments could be ‘easily answerd’ by considering the ‘receiv’d interpretacion’ of the passages at issue. Wells displayed his learning but kept his tone light. La Peyrère’s account of how his interpretation in fact restored a passage corrupted by scribes was cheerfully dismissed as ‘a pretty Romantic account’—one not worth the trouble of transcribing but that Pepys might like to look up in order to laugh at it.<sup>46</sup> Given the currency of debates on pre-Adamites at this time, there was evident advantage in owning a short, witty, and learned set of ‘Reflexions’ on La Peyrère’s book. For Wells’s part, with this manuscript he was not only showing gratitude for his patron’s help, but demonstrating his fitness to rise further in London’s intellectual elite. No doubt he hoped his arguments would circulate among Pepys’s friends to his own advantage—although (possibly as a result of Wells’s early death) the discourse itself was to remain among Pepys’s unsorted papers.<sup>47</sup>

Wells was a client who had the makings of a friend; Nathaniel Vincent, another supplier of scholarly services to Pepys, was a friend who sought Pepys’s patronage. Vincent was a Cambridge scholar with interests in cryptography, magnetism, and naval history. He may have met Pepys through university contacts (they studied at Cambridge at the same time) or else after 1679, when Vincent took up the post of chaplain-in-ordinary to the King.<sup>48</sup> Sometime before July 1682, the two began discussing Hugo Grotius’ work on the dominion of the sea, which led Vincent to write a manuscript treatise on the early history of navigation. In Pepys’s words, this came from ‘a question . . . which I so accidentally proposed to you out of Monsieur Grotius’.<sup>49</sup> Vincent, enthused and perhaps seeing an opportunity to win himself a powerful ally, composed a work on ships from the time before Noah until the Roman Empire that he called ‘Conjectura nautica’. A few months later, in December 1682, he sent a revised version. This manuscript accompanied a request to promote Vincent’s invention for aiding ‘secret correspondencies’. His catchily named ‘Cryptocoiranicon’ was a form of writing that disappeared soon after reading. Vincent was cagey about the details, since he hoped to obtain at least

<sup>45</sup> The treatise was probably commissioned in early 1678. Pepys’s cryptic memoranda for April and May include the note ‘Hales’s booke’ and a few weeks later ‘Mr Wells 18-7-6 [a sum of money] & bookes’. Bodl., MS Rawlinson C.859, fols. 41r, 55v.

<sup>46</sup> Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.183, fols. 1–6 (fols. 1v, 2v, 3r).

<sup>47</sup> The Rawlinson volume of Pepys’s papers that contains Wells’s ‘Reflexions’ is headed ‘July 6: 1683 Miscellany of Papers Publick and Private out of my Office’.

<sup>48</sup> Pepys took his BA in March 1654. Vincent matriculated at Cambridge in January 1653. *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, ed. John Venn and J. A. Venn, pt. 1, vol. 4 (Cambridge: CUP, 1927), p. 303. Matt Jenkinson, ‘Nathanael Vincent and Confucius’s “Great Learning” in Restoration England’, *Notes & Records of the Royal Society*, 60 (2006), 35–47, doi: 10.1098/rsnr.2005.0116 (p. 35).

<sup>49</sup> MS Rawlinson A.178, fol. 120r, Vincent to Pepys, 27 July 1682; Pepys to Vincent, 23 Dec. 1682, in Howarth, p. 149.

one thousand pounds from King Charles for the secret: his 'Devotion' to the King, he said, was such that he wanted to offer His Majesty first refusal—with a ten-day time limit—before offering his invention to foreign powers. Pepys's reply explicitly acknowledged 'the obligation you have laid on me in your *Conjectura Nautica*' and promised 'your name and it' would be celebrated in his collections. Yet, the contents of the letter were not all that Vincent had hoped: Pepys's response to the request to broker a deal for the 'Cryptocoiranicon' was to outline its impracticalities for high-level government correspondence. He was, he said, 'bound, and of choice desirous, to be employed in' the project, but he would require Vincent to write a revised 'proposition' to counter the objections before he could act. Vincent soon responded with a paper called 'An Advertisement of a newly Invented Monocrypticon', but the plan then stalled.<sup>50</sup> In this exchange, however, Vincent's presentation of the 'Conjectura nautica' to Pepys had already been repaid in two ways: by the promise that the work would take pride of place in Pepys's library and by advice on the 'Cryptocoiranicon' proposal.

Books and manuscripts continued to be the currency of this relationship. Vincent wrote to thank Pepys for his assistance with his scheme, offering as recompense a work on magnetism, Niccolò Cabeo's *Philosophia magnetica* (1629), which 'you have not in your Catalogue'.<sup>51</sup> Then in 1687 he, in turn, sent to 'beg a Book' of Pepys, asking him to pay at the next auction for Philippe Labbe's 'Collection of the Councells' of the Church. This was a work Vincent 'mightily' wanted but that, at a cost of nearly twenty-five pounds, he could not afford. He was confident, he said, that Pepys's 'kindness . . . does amount to a far higher value'.<sup>52</sup> It was a bold request, but apparently Pepys judged it a reasonable one. He gave the money to Vincent's clergyman friend who was representing him at the auction, thereby winning Vincent's gratitude for 'enriching my little Study'. Both the explicit talk of finances and the present of money were unusual in such a scholarly exchange, and Vincent moved to put the relationship back on more equal terms. He put his 'Magnetical Experiments' and the new cipher he had invented at Pepys's command and promised yet another revised version of the 'Conjectura nautica'.<sup>53</sup> Vincent and Pepys's relationship had undertones of client and patron, but was conducted on an ostensibly equal footing, with both conscious of the 'obligations' owed. Over the course of six years, the pair's exchanges involved presents of printed books and

<sup>50</sup> Vincent to Pepys, 11 Dec. 1682 and Pepys to Vincent, 23 Dec. 1682, in Howarth, pp. 145–9; MS Rawlinson A.178, fols. 231–2, 'An Advertisement'.

<sup>51</sup> MS Rawlinson A. 178, fol. 227, Vincent to Pepys, 26 Apr. 1683. The offer may not have been accepted, for the work was not retained in the Pepys Library.

<sup>52</sup> Bodl., MS Rawlinson, A.179, fol. 24, Vincent to Pepys, 1 Nov. 1687. Vincent must have spotted Philippe Labbe and Gabriel Cossart's *Sacrosancta concilia ad regiam editionem exacta* (Paris, 1671–2) advertised in Thomas Bentley and Benjamin Walford's catalogue *Bibliotheca Illustris* (London, 1687): this was for the sale of books owned by Lord Burghley and others that began on 21 November 1687. Labbe is listed as lot 319 of the 'Libri Theologici, in Folio'.

<sup>53</sup> MS Rawlinson A.179, fol. 30, receipt for money for Vincent, 17 Nov. 1687. Vincent to Pepys, 12 May 1688, in Howarth, p. 187. The version of the treatise in the Pepys Library is 'Conjectura nautica, seu disquisitio de origine navigationis', PL 1825(1).

manuscript histories, a gift of money specifically for a book, a learned critique, and offers of scientific expertise and assistance at court.

## SCHOLARLY NETWORKS AND GOVERNMENT POLICY

Well's 'Reflexions' and Vincent's 'Conjectura nautica' were fodder for Pepys's personal interests in religious controversy and naval history. However, in the late seventeenth century the mechanisms of scholarly service were also used to propose new government initiatives. Ideas would be developed outside the hierarchy of government, either speculatively or at the prompting of interested officials, and then be presented to contacts in the administration or at court. In the late 1670s, Pepys was working unofficially on ways to improve the government's sources of international intelligence—and his own power in the process. The procedures of scholarly exchange within his existing networks meant he could draw on the merchant James Houblon's expertise, in effect using his networks to strategize about his networks. In May 1677 Houblon sent Pepys a paper endorsed 'Considerations touching the importance of some provision to bee made for publique Marine Intelligence'. The cover letter shows this was the product of previous discussion, for Houblon (like Wells) said he had followed Pepys's 'Comands' to put down his thoughts on paper. In Houblon's new system the Secretary for the Admiralty would be given a yearly budget to gather intelligence on the 'navall Forces and Trade of all ye European Princes', including shipping activity in the Levant, North Africa, and the Americas. The Secretary's agents would also monitor members of the King's own fleet with the aim of stamping out corruption and debauchery. By creating direct lines of contact to the Admiralty, Houblon and Pepys wanted to ensure that information relevant to naval affairs arrived as speedily as possible and to allow for cross-checking other less reliable sources. In his letter, Houblon told Pepys that the new system would 'serve ye publique Good & the honour of the King' with, he diplomatically added, 'a reasonable advantage to yourself'. Having an allocated budget, Houblon believed, would mean future Secretaries would be rewarded for the additional labour and, importantly, would not have to stoop to taking 'sneaking perquisites', since, if they were to monitor conduct within the navy, they needed to be in a position to resist bribes.<sup>54</sup> Gerald Aylmer has shown that higher salaries were often urged by mid-century reformers as a replacement for licit and illicit perquisites and that, where implemented, higher salaries were indeed a factor in encouraging probity among bureaucrats.<sup>55</sup> Houblon's scheme was forward-thinking in this manner, since it was designed to prevent the Secretary, and with him the intelligence system, from being corrupted.

<sup>54</sup> Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.185, fols. 93–100, 'May 1677 Considerations touching... Marine Intelligence' and fols. 101–2, Houblon to Pepys, 3 May 1677. The letter is printed in *Letters of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Guy de la Bédoyère, pp. 118–19, where the editor speculates it accompanied a 'map or chart'; in fact it accompanied the 'Considerations'.

<sup>55</sup> G. E. Aylmer, *The State's Servants: The Civil Service of the English Republic 1649–1660* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), pp. 327–8.



Houblon warned that the proposal would need further work before being passed on: 'my hopes are ye will lick it into a better forme for view of those ye intend it'. This piece, then, was to be written collaboratively, before being passed on to others: almost certainly King Charles and the Duke of York.<sup>56</sup>

Houblon and Pepys were, in short, proposing that the Admiralty needed its own fully funded international spy network to monitor rival seafaring nations and its own employees. To appreciate the audaciousness of the scheme we should note that the two Secretaries of State already had a system for collecting foreign intelligence very much like that which Houblon described. Ambassadors and consuls posted abroad were expected to send regular intelligence to the Secretaries and much of their power derived from this correspondence.<sup>57</sup> Houblon and Pepys's extraordinary proposition would have wrested some of the power held by the two Secretaries of State to Pepys as Secretary for the Admiralty. It can only be guessed what Sir Joseph Williamson—the Secretary of State for the northern province, who was usually on good terms with Pepys—would have thought of the plan. The scheme seems to have got no further than paper: the Crown's chronic lack of money was a major obstacle and Pepys's ambitions were curtailed when he was forced to resign from office in 1679. The plan was not, however, mere 'blue-sky thinking', for this was an attempt to formalize a network that was already in existence to some extent. The navy already had representatives based in ports around the world who were expected to report to their superiors on developments relevant to British shipping. Pepys also had his own particular clients, such as Jeremiah Wells (in his capacity as a naval chaplain), who wrote to him with news of shipboard politics. With additional funding, he and Houblon could have rewarded some of these individuals with the position of official Admiralty agents. The 'reasonable advantage' that Houblon imagined would accrue to Pepys via this network came through improved intelligence and increased opportunities for patronage: this scheme would have strengthened both Pepys's power within the administration and the influence he exerted beyond the official structures of the navy and government.

Pepys's project for a spy network involved collaborative development of his own policy proposal, but more usually his role as a gatekeeper meant he was asked to review others' manuscripts or champion their schemes. Vincent's desire for Pepys to promote his system of secret writing at court is one example and, as Pepys's power grew, he continued to be the target of others' attempts to use scholarly networks for governmental ends. Sir William Petty was, like Pepys, minded to use his networks strategically in order to promote reforms and further his career. In one of his papers, he explained the steps that a 'private man' blessed with 'some Extraordinary [*sic*] Talent for the publick good' should take. First he should cultivate his talent by making it his 'pastime and Recreation', then:

<sup>56</sup> MS Rawlinson A.185, fol. 101v.

<sup>57</sup> Peter Fraser, *The Intelligence of the Secretaries of State and their Monopoly of Licensed News, 1660–1688* (Cambridge: CUP, 1956), pp. 57–9, 64–72.

2° Entertaine his Ingenious friends with the produce of his studies. 3° Make the same known to the King, and to be understood by himselfe *Personally*. 4° Instruct all *Persons* in the same who have easy access unto, or Credit with the King . . . 5° he should adopt his proposals for universall good, to the Extraordinary and eminent advantage of *Particular Favorites* [*sic*] . . . 6° They [i.e. men of extraordinary talent] must make use of all Men in power as of Laders whereby to gett up themselves & setle Lader upon Lader for that purpose.<sup>58</sup>

Pepys was an 'Ingenious friend' entertained by Petty's writings but he also appeared to Petty, and to other ambitious men, as a sturdy ladder to climb in pursuit of royal favour. In the 1680s manuscript treatises and proposals from many sources thus came to Pepys because he was known to have 'easy access' to both Charles II and James II. On 4 September 1687, Petty sent Pepys some of 'his Political Papers & Calculacions relateing to Ireland & ye Improvements thereof', entreating Pepys 'to make your Remarques with that frendly Severity you promised'. Petty's next letter four days later made clear that this was not simply an arrangement between friends, but one ordered by King James, who had 'appointd you to examine these my Opinions'.<sup>59</sup> In the preceding year Petty had worked, with some success, to have his papers read aloud to the King and had enjoyed a 'private' discussion with James on religious and economic reforms.<sup>60</sup> However James evidently required someone to mediate Petty's outpourings, and Petty too recognized that his more radical proposals would need tempering in content and style. Both men needed an expert reader and adviser to evaluate the proposals, and they turned to Pepys. In this case, Petty had given Pepys a version of his 'Treatise of Ireland', a work in which he argued that both religious peace and the King's revenues would be increased by 'Transplanting' one million of Ireland's population into England.<sup>61</sup> This scheme would, without doubt, have proved disastrous, but to Petty it was a reasonable proposition developed from his analysis of the economic and political needs of England and Ireland under James's rule. Petty wanted Pepys's advice on whether the King would be 'pleas'd to have these Matters to be discussd & published' and, if so, whether his treatise would need to be 'made plainer' before being exposed to public view in order to be widely understood.<sup>62</sup> Unfortunately Pepys's response does not survive, but he was being asked to perform multiple functions: to note any problems in expression; to advise on the content's suitability for print publication;

<sup>58</sup> BL, MS Add. 72866, fols. 146–7, 'A Dialogue between C and D' (fol. 147rv). Petty's practice of scribal publication is discussed in Ted McCormick, *William Petty and the Ambitions of Political Arithmetic* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), ch. 7.

<sup>59</sup> Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.189, fol. 17, Petty to Pepys, 4 Sept. 1687, and fol. 19, Petty to Pepys, 8 Sept. 1687.

<sup>60</sup> Petty to Southwell, 14 Aug. 1686, 30 Sept. 1686, and 18 Jan. 1686/7, in *Petty–Southwell Correspondence*, pp. 231, 234, 252.

<sup>61</sup> The version of this treatise sent to Southwell is now BL, MS Add. 21128. It is printed in *The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty*, ed. Charles Henry Hull (Cambridge: CUP, 1899), vol. 2, pp. 545–621. For discussion of Petty's Irish plans, see McCormick, *William Petty*, pp. 253–7.

<sup>62</sup> Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.189, fols. 17, 19. A copy of the 'Treatise of Ireland', from the Petty Papers in the British Library (MS Add. 72886) has a list of 'Objections' in the hand of George Savile, Marquess of Halifax. Halifax was out of favour with the King, so evidently Petty was soliciting a range of views.

to counsel the writer on how best to succeed with the King; and (by the King at least) to ensure that only select, practicable proposals reached the royal ears. Scholarly contacts and procedures could be employed to influence government policy at the highest level; thus, for Pepys in the mid-1680s, acting as a court broker came to entail acting as a surrogate reader for the King.

## INTERNATIONAL NETWORKS

As the navy's principal administrator, Pepys exerted influence over appointments, over the award of vast contracts, and over the convoys that protected merchant shipping. It was obviously to the advantage of members of the navy to cultivate him, while his roles within the navy and at court also made him a target for merchants who acted as gatekeepers to even more extensive international networks. To win Pepys's favour, men and women sent him intelligence, printed books, prized manuscripts, and luxuries. In the seventeenth century luxury imports from Europe, Asia, Africa, and the New World were fuelling conspicuous display among London's elite.<sup>63</sup> Pepys received a steady flow of exotic gifts that were intended to display the senders' respect before becoming part of his own display of wealth and influence. From Bombay (Mumbai), Sir John Wyborne and his wife Katherine sent a precious medicine, a 'very Grave walkeing Cane', and 'fifteene fine Little Birdes in a small Cagge'—and that was just in January 1687.<sup>64</sup> New Year was a traditional time for gifts, but this couple were prolific in their giving because Sir John, as the new deputy governor for the East India Company, needed support at court in order to thwart attempts to undermine his authority. The flood of presents was intended to compel Pepys into action on Sir John's behalf and, being one of the few methods of influence available to the couple, it continued despite a lack of obvious reciprocation. January 1688 brought a 'a very pritte vellvett Carpett' from Katherine Wyborne, who joked that the shopping in Bombay was not up to London's standard, 'the Chang[e] shops nott being Arived as yett'.<sup>65</sup> She nonetheless found ways to cater to Pepys's bibliophilia, for the following June saw her send him 'a China lackered desk'. The desk was a small box, probably with a sloping lid, used to write upon or rest a book; this fine one was decorated with highly fashionable Chinese lacquer-work.<sup>66</sup> In Algiers, the consul Samuel Martin found providing suitable presents more taxing. Like Jeremiah Wells, Martin owed Pepys's patronage to his wife: he was married to Pepys's one-time mistress Betty Lane, who had pestered her lover into helping her husband. Martin knew he had to ensure his

<sup>63</sup> Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), pp. 26–8. Whyman, *Sociability and Power*, pp. 58, 93.

<sup>64</sup> MS Rawlinson, A.170, fol. 254r, John Wyborne to Pepys, 14 Jan. 1686/7, and fol. 256r, John Wyborne to Pepys, 20 Jan. 1686/7.

<sup>65</sup> MS Rawlinson, A.179, fol. 134r, John Wyborne to Pepys, 10 Jan. 1687/8, and fol. 134v, Katherine Wyborne to Pepys, 1 Jan. 1687/8. The 'Chang shops' were the luxury outlets at the Royal Exchange or the New Exchange.

<sup>66</sup> MS Rawlinson, A.170, fol. 86r, John Wyborne to Pepys, 8 June 1688.

patron's continued goodwill. He sent Pepys naval intelligence and (in despair) 'a Tame Lion, which is the Onely rarity that offers from this place'. This was a pretty risky present but Pepys was made of stern stuff. He kept the lion in his home at Derby House, assuring Martin the beast was 'as tame as you sent him, and as good company'.<sup>67</sup>

For those stationed in Europe the task of finding appropriate presents was rather easier, not least because European book marts made it possible to pander to Pepys's interest in books and manuscripts. Pepys seems to have been heeding Naudé's advice. Now of more than 'sufficient credit and authority to do his friends pleasure', he had made his 'affection . . . to Books' and his 'extraordinary desire' to create a library widely known.<sup>68</sup> His contacts abroad therefore knew they could cater to his collecting interests. Sir Thomas Clutterbuck, a navy contractor at Leghorn (Livorno) in Italy, was one of many who were willing to seek out novelties and arrange for their shipment. Having crossed Pepys with dubious business dealings in 1668, Clutterbuck was anxious about his ability to influence events at home and he sought to win Pepys as an ally. In 1671, he arranged for copies of 'Excellent ayres' and 'musicall Cards' from Florence, Rome, and Venice to be sent to Pepys, along with 'one of the best Chitarres [i.e. guitars], this Country affords'. In return he asked for Pepys's 'protection' in matters at the Navy Board and begged to know if anything was 'moved at Court' concerning him.<sup>69</sup> The exchange of manuscripts and books could go both ways, for Pepys's friends far from home pined for the latest publications. Pepys first met the merchant Thomas Hill in a London coffee-house in 1664 and their friendship continued after Hill left for Lisbon, where he acted as an agent for the Houblons.<sup>70</sup> Hill and Pepys shared a love of music: in April 1673 Hill wrote to ask Pepys for 'any thing new' on that front, as well as to thank him for 'the whole Library' of books that had just arrived at Lisbon. In return, Hill sent 'a few Gammons, and some of our Hunns water' (a perfume thought to have medicinal properties). However, Hill's most important service in this letter was not a gift but a recommendation. He encouraged Pepys to employ a young man he had met in Lisbon, Cesare Morelli, praising him as an excellent musician who was skilled in Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish. Pepys did so, anticipating that Morelli would prove useful in a scholarly capacity for 'his languages, in reading, writing, translating', as well as 'in music, in which my utmost luxury still lies'.<sup>71</sup> Morelli stayed with Pepys from 1675 until late 1678, only leaving because the Popish Plot furore made it impossible for him, as a Catholic, to remain in London.<sup>72</sup> In 1675 Pepys signified the importance of his relationship with Hill

<sup>67</sup> Bodl., MS Rawlinson, A.191, fol. 7r, Samuel Martin to Pepys, 31 Mar. 1674; Pepys to Martin, 28 Sept. 1674, in *Descriptive Catalogue of the Naval Manuscripts*, ed. Tanner, vol. 2, p. 362.

<sup>68</sup> Naudé, *Instructions concerning Erecting of a Library*, pp. 57–8.

<sup>69</sup> *Navy White Book*, pp. 143–5. Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.174, fol. 365r, Clutterbuck to Pepys, Livorno, [21 Apr.]/1 May 1671, and fol. 345r, Clutterbuck to Pepys, Florence, [19]/29 Sept. 1671.

<sup>70</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 12; vol. 7, pp. 64–5.

<sup>71</sup> Thomas Hill to Pepys, Lisbon [4]/14 Apr. 1673 and Pepys to Hill, 21 Nov. 1674, in Howarth, pp. 42–3, 49.

<sup>72</sup> Pepys to James Houblon, 4 Nov. 1678, in Howarth, p. 73.

by sending him his portrait. Hill enthused mightily about the picture ('so stately, and magnificent a Posture') and professed to 'remaine immoverable [*sic*] before it, houres together'.<sup>73</sup> If this praise seems excessive, it was Hill's best way of recompensing the gift. In the 1690s Pepys would use his friends' portraits in his collection to honour their services to him and his library; here, two decades earlier, Pepys's portrait travelled from London to Lisbon to commemorate the friendship between two bibliophiles and music lovers.

Through direct ties to correspondents in places such as Bombay, Leghorn, and Lisbon Pepys was able to furnish his library and his home with rarities. He was also able to assist his friends in their collecting. A revealing illustration of the workings of Pepys's influence at the height of his power comes from a scribbled note to Pepys from Thomas Gale in early 1688. On 28 January, Gale wrote:

Sir,

I desire you to recommend this my request to Mr Houblon.

That He would write to his Correspondent at Venice to buy for him 20/ or 30/ worth of Greek bookes in Manuscrip[t] of any sort ether Greeke Fathe[rs,] Historians, Poets, or others.

It may be hoped, that at this time, ye souldiers, or Greeks, may bring bookes to Venice.

Yours

T. Gale.<sup>74</sup>

Gale's speculative and non-specific request was made on the basis that the Venetians had recently taken Athens from the Ottomans and so (he hoped) there would be bargains to be had from the displaced inhabitants or pillaging soldiers. Since Gale and Houblon were two of Pepys's closest friends and known to each other, Gale could have made the request directly to Houblon. Instead he chose to use Pepys as a broker—coming from Pepys to his 'cousin' Houblon, the request may have seemed less exceptional, while the name of the Secretary for the Admiralty could be expected to carry weight with Houblon's agent. Most remarkable about this note is the international network that it takes for granted. There were to be at least four individuals involved in this purchase; yet the request was casually made, with no mention of how or when payment was to be completed. The usual payment method for merchants trading with foreign partners was for each to keep a running account of the amounts owed, offsetting bills in order to prevent the need to transport cash long distances.<sup>75</sup> Presumably the manuscripts would be charged to Houblon's account, and then Gale would pay either Pepys or Houblon. Houblon's agent would also have expected some form of recompense for the effort—hence, perhaps, the value of introducing Pepys's name into the transaction. Gale's standing with Pepys and, in turn, Pepys's standing with Houblon and his contacts were sufficient to ensure that recompense would be made in the form of

<sup>73</sup> Hill to Pepys, [21 June]/1 July 1675, in Howarth, p. 50.

<sup>74</sup> Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.171, fol. 7, Gale to Pepys, 28 Jan. 1687/8.

<sup>75</sup> Larry Neal and Stephen Quinn, 'Networks of Information, Markets, and Institutions in the Rise of London as a Financial Centre, 1660–1720', *Financial History Review*, 8 (2001), 7–26, doi: <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0968565001000130>> (p. 10).

either money, credit, gifts, or services to all involved in the transaction. Further discussion, apparently, was unnecessary.

## CONCLUSIONS

The exchange of news, professional assistance, and gifts among Pepys's connections demonstrates some of the ways that collectors of books and manuscripts could add to their libraries without direct recourse to members of the book trade. Pepys's precise configuration of contacts was unique to him and unusually extensive; yet he was not unusual in using merchant friends and naval connections abroad to import goods, and he was also willing to afford others the benefits of his international contacts. Although learned gentlemen were expected to be adept in judging the nuances of scholarly exchanges, the forms of hospitality and service associated with books and collections were recognized beyond the republic of letters, particularly by those who aspired to cultured gentility. Indeed to describe these activities as 'scholarly' exchange, while a useful shorthand, is in some ways misleading, for many of those involved were not scholars by profession and did not have strong interests in the research fields associated with scholarship in the universities. Such men, Deane and Houblon among them, nonetheless possessed considerable expertise in areas such as commerce and shipbuilding: at ease in learned circles, these men well understood the etiquette governing the exchange and authoring of manuscripts. Outside the predominantly male networks of scholarly and scientific exchange, Abigail Williams, for one, understood the implications of book and closet hospitality, correctly interpreting Pepys's failure to give her something for her closet as a snub. She also knew how to retaliate—rather than reciprocate—appropriately, and so spread word of Pepys's neglect in order to damage his reputation.

The arrangements for supplying scholarly services had developed since the early seventeenth century. From a situation where nobles employed gentlemen scholars, there were now far more gentlemen (or would-be gentlemen) involved in scholarly and scientific endeavours who needed each other's assistance. Establishing useful contacts was made easier by the opportunities for learned clubbing and sociability that London afforded. In many cases, an inequality of status and power made the exchange of scholarly services closer to a patron/client relation than an equal friendship, but the 'client' remained a free agent in such matters, rather than a servant. Maintaining a scholarly exchange as a symmetrical relationship of mutual endeavour could require considerable effort and considerable tact—especially when one party's requests breached scholarly etiquette, as with Vincent's request for money. To keep a relationship on an even footing, those involved had to be skilled in using appropriate forms of genteel rhetoric to solicit services and acknowledge obligations. Among the members of Pepys's network who were subjects of the English Crown, scholarly exchanges were often cast as serving a shared national interest rather than international scholarship: the desire to advance learning was closely bound up with both national and personal aggrandizement. These informal scholarly exchanges performed work that would now take place within government

organizations; indeed, one of the major advantages of using scholarly networks to devise and promote ideas was that this method could bypass the bureaucratic hierarchy. Scholars and natural philosophers could approach one of the many government officials who were members of the republic of letters on the grounds of shared membership of the learned community. Pepys's access to the royal brothers, his power in the navy, and his reputation as a knowledgeable collector combined to make him a reader of great influence. He was thought capable of expertly critiquing proposals, assisting the good reception of a work, or seeing a scheme turned into action.

The manuscripts that circulated among Pepys and his friends were rarely destined for print publication. Their functions for authors included honouring a reader with privileged information; affirming the shared values of the author and a select group of readers; advertising a scheme; and requesting a reader's services as a skilled critic or supporter. In Pepys's networks, manuscript circulation was often used to explore controversial political, religious, or economic ideas. Manuscript circulation allowed readers to be chosen for their discretion, but that was not its sole advantage. Among these communities of practice it was understood that a work in manuscript did not enter circulation as a definitive statement but was put forth into a proving ground for ideas—such a work was always potentially subject to authorial revisions and further development. The exchanges over manuscripts in fields such as history and natural philosophy show that these texts, even when not couched as proposals, were frequently treated by their authors and readers as only provisionally complete. Thus, to engage in manuscript publication was often a means of soliciting a reader's participation via oral debate, correspondence with the author, or submission of learned commentaries. Active readers could easily become writers and collaborators in a project. In many of these exchanges, then, there was a fine line not only between patronage and friendship but between authors and readers.

## ‘Notes from Discourses touching Religion’ Religious and Scientific Enquiry

In the Bodleian Library, Oxford, there is a volume of Pepys’s papers headed ‘Generall Mixt Papers, to be review’d’. Among the contents is a manuscript entitled ‘Notes from Discourses touching Religion’.<sup>1</sup> On closer inspection, this cryptic and messy paper proves to be information mustered from books, manuscripts, and conversation in order to address the pressing religious questions of the 1680s. Over ten pages the paper discusses a spectrum of religious themes, drawing on the latest scientific theories and political thought. The confusing contents mean that it has only received passing mention from historians of the seventeenth century. Only one of Pepys’s biographers, Richard Ollard, considers the paper. He presents it as evidence for Pepys’s forward-looking attitudes to religious toleration and scientific enquiry—yet this is to give a very selective impression of its themes.<sup>2</sup> It is a key document for understanding the development of Pepys’s religious thinking and the reading that shaped his views and actions. The ‘Notes’ is a set of private reflections, but as a product of Pepys’s scholarly networks it is also reflective of wider contemporary debates. During the later 1680s, James II’s attempts to enforce his controversial religious policies prompted renewed consideration of the relationship between church and state. Pepys’s paper illuminates aspects of these deliberations that the people involved often preferred to keep hidden or to put forth only anonymously and with caution.

The fact that the ‘Notes’ deals with sensitive and even dangerous areas of religion, science, and politics means that issues of privacy and publicity are to the fore in this chapter. Throughout his life, Pepys repeatedly faced decisions about whether or not to disclose his knowledge of religious works and to whom. Under normal circumstances it was commendable for gentlemen to be well acquainted with major theological disputes and with current religious debate. The libraries of seventeenth-century gentlemen often included broad doctrinal coverage and works of controversial theology.<sup>3</sup> Possession of heterodox texts was not therefore in itself

<sup>1</sup> Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.171, fols. 217–21. Future references are to the original pagination.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Ollard, *Pepys: A Biography* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1974; repr. 1991), pp. 311–12, 365–8. The ‘Notes’ has also been briefly commented on by writers working on late 17th-century natural philosophy: Ted McCormick, *William Petty and the Ambitions of Political Arithmetic* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), pp. 274–5; Rhodri Lewis, *William Petty on the Order of Nature: An Unpublished Manuscript Treatise* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012), pp. 41, 57.

<sup>3</sup> David Pearson, ‘Patterns of Book Ownership in Late Seventeenth-Century England’, *The Library*, 7th ser., 11 (2010), 139–67, doi: 10.1093/library/11.2.139 (p. 159).



an indication of the owner's heterodox opinions, nor was possession of such works liable to attract automatic condemnation. Yet ownership of orthodox religious texts did not guarantee orthodox opinions either, for, as historians such as Carlo Ginzburg have demonstrated, some readers were quite capable of drawing surprising or heterodox conclusions from officially sanctioned works.<sup>4</sup> As will become apparent, in trying to ride out the political and religious storms of the later seventeenth century, Pepys had good reasons to be circumspect about his ownership of certain religious books and manuscripts, and even better reasons to be cautious in revealing the conclusions he drew from them. I begin here with the evidence for Pepys's reading and his engagement with religious topics up until the late 1670s, a period when he grew careful about how he presented his religious reading to others. The political and religious circumstances for the composition of the 'Notes' are the subject of the second section, circumstances that include Pepys's part in James II's manuscript and print campaign to promote toleration for Catholics. Turning to the contents of 'Notes from Discourses touching Religion', I show how Pepys combined his long-held views with his recent reading in order to determine his stance on James's contentious policies. The chapter concludes with a brief examination of Pepys's religious reading as represented in his library catalogue compiled towards the end of his life.

#### PEPYS'S READING AND RELIGION, 1660–80

Pepys's diary of the 1660s testifies to his changing perspective on religious matters and to the dissonant views that existed within the Restoration Church of England. As a 15-year-old he had judged the execution of Charles I to be righteous in God's eyes. This led to a particularly awkward moment in November 1660, when an old school friend recalled that Pepys had been 'a great roundhead' as a boy. 'I was much afeared', explained Pepys, 'that he would have remembered the words that I said the day that the King was beheaded (that were I to preach upon him, my text should be: "The memory of the wicked shall rot").'<sup>5</sup> Pepys's views in 1660 were not what they had been as a schoolboy. Before the Restoration he had begun attending illegal Anglican services, much to the annoyance of his mother, who was of more Puritan tendencies. His presence at one such service in March 1660 led to 'very high' words between them, with Pepys arguing 'in defence of the Religion I was born in'.<sup>6</sup> Throughout the 1660s he remained a frequent presence at Sunday services but, despite his earlier zeal for the Church of England, his commitment did not extend to taking Communion during the nine years of the diary.<sup>7</sup> This meant neglecting both an important public sign of religious adherence and the devout self-scrutiny

<sup>4</sup> Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980). Also Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 226–35, 317.

<sup>5</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 280.

<sup>6</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 76.

<sup>7</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 54 n. 1.

that was supposed to occur prior to Communion. While a good sermon earned Pepys's praise, he had few qualms about finding other things to do—including sleeping—when a preacher failed to meet his standards.<sup>8</sup> Dull sermons were also spent ogling women (once through a spyglass) or, slightly more edifyingly, reading the exciting bits of the Apocrypha ('a stranger preached a poor sermon, and so I read over the whole book of the story of Tobit').<sup>9</sup>

Pepys saw no contradiction between avowing membership of the Church of England and defining oneself as 'scepticall' in religious matters. In May 1660, two months after he had defended the Anglican service to his mother, a private conversation with his patron Lord Sandwich led to the comment: 'he is I perceive wholly Scepticall, as well as I, saying that indeed the Protestants as to the Church of Rome are wholly fanaticques. He likes uniformity and form of prayer.' In other words, Sandwich appears to have felt that Protestants might, with some justice, be called 'fanaticques' by Roman Catholics, on the same grounds that the Church of England dubbed Independents and Presbyterians 'fanaticques' for separating from their own church. Pepys, in describing himself, like Sandwich, as 'scepticall', was acknowledging this as a sound view. Sandwich approved of religious uniformity presumably for reasons of state, since Pepys later determined him to be 'a Scepticke in all things of religion and to make no great matter of anything therein, but to be a perfect Stoicke'.<sup>10</sup> The comment implies that Sandwich was inclined to emphasize morality rather than religious doctrine, and that he chose to view most ceremonies and beliefs as 'things indifferent'. Although fleeting, such discussions appear to have left their mark on Pepys, for similar sentiments were to resurface in the 'Notes'.

One of the factors that dampened Pepys's enthusiasm for Church of England worship was his growing cynicism about the Church's ministers. He found more than one occasion in his diary to reflect on the self-interest, 'cunning', and widespread 'debauchery' of the clergy.<sup>11</sup> The origins of these suspicions presumably lay in his Puritan upbringing, but they were also the product of a habitually cynical mindset. Pepys continually assessed the behaviour of those about him for signs of ambition and self-interest (characteristics that governed much of his own behaviour), and clergymen were no exception.<sup>12</sup> A number of scathing comments were directed at Daniel Milles, the vicar of his parish, for craftily attending on those parishioners who served 'good victualls' and for adopting the surplice in order to move with the times. 'I used him civilly, though I love him as I do the rest of his coat' was a typical remark from 1662.<sup>13</sup> In the behaviour of clergymen, and particularly the bishops, Pepys found ample evidence to support his convictions and noted that gossip about clerical misdeeds circulated easily. 'I am convinced', he

<sup>8</sup> The index to the *Diary* lists twelve occasions when Pepys slept during sermons (vol. 11, p. 259). Sample: 'A young simple fellow did preach—I slept soundly all the sermon' (vol. 5, p. 125).

<sup>9</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 236; vol. 1, p. 42.

<sup>10</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 141, 201.

<sup>11</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 213; vol. 4, p. 372.

<sup>12</sup> For example, Pepys regularly commented on the perceived cunning and corruption of his colleagues; see *Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 205, 436; vol. 7, p. 121.

<sup>13</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, pp. 134–5.

wrote in 1663, ‘that the present clergy will never heartily go down with the generality of the commons of England; they have been so used to liberty and freedom, and they are so acquainted with the pride and debauchery of the present clergy.’<sup>14</sup> As Tim Harris notes, Pepys was alert to the rise in anti-episcopal sentiment that occurred in the late 1660s and, indeed, he expressed sympathy with it.<sup>15</sup> If the bishops were to fall, then in Pepys’s view they would ‘well deserve it’.<sup>16</sup> Some of Pepys’s reading explicitly supported this anticlericalism: Francis Osborne, whose *Advice to a Son* Pepys so much admired, cast the clergy as self-serving and hypocritical.<sup>17</sup> Yet Pepys also found material to support his suspicions of the clergy in works where the author intended no such overall message. As we discussed in Chapter 4, Pepys saw Peter Heylyn’s laudatory *Cyprianus Anglicus* (1668) as demonstrating that the Church of England in Archbishop Laud’s time had been ‘managed with the same self-interest and design that every other thing is’.<sup>18</sup> The conduct of the present clergy (rumoured and actual) was therefore of a piece with the histories of their predecessors and to be read with a cynical, secular eye.

In the 1660s Pepys’s religious reading was diverse and inquisitive, but apparently not—as manuals of piety urged—a daily occurrence.<sup>19</sup> Although some under-recording of religious reading is apparent, the lack of regular attention to the Bible or to reading sermons (one of the best-selling genres of the period) is striking.<sup>20</sup> The reading of printed sermons is mentioned only five times in the diary, and those that merited comment were usually polemical in character.<sup>21</sup> One book Pepys acquired was a collection of sermons that was intended to demonstrate the superior rhetorical styles of Church of England clergymen when compared with Presbyterian and Independent ministers. Having carefully compared the examples in Abraham Wright’s *Five Sermons in Five Several Styles* (1656), Pepys decided that ‘contrary to the design of the book’, he preferred ‘the Presbyterian style and the

<sup>14</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 372.

<sup>15</sup> Tim Harris, ‘The Bawdy House Riots of 1668’, *Historical Journal*, 29 (1986), 537–56, doi: <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S00182446X00018902>> (pp. 543, 545).

<sup>16</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 485.

<sup>17</sup> [Osborne], *Advice to a Son* (Oxford, 1656; Wing 0509), pp. 101, 105.

<sup>18</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 379.

<sup>19</sup> On advice on Bible-reading, see Justin Champion, ‘“Directions for the Profitable Reading of the Holy Scriptures”: Biblical Criticism, Clerical Learning and Lay Readers, c.1650–1720’, in *Scripture and Scholarship in Early Modern England*, ed. Ariel Hessayon and Nicholas Keene (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 208–30 (pp. 209–11). Also Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O.10A.33, James Duport’s ‘Rules to be observed by young Pupils & Schollers in the University’, pp. 2, 13.

<sup>20</sup> See Ch. 1, ‘Pepys’s Preferred Reading’, pp. 42–3.

<sup>21</sup> In nine years he mentions reading five works containing sermons. Henry King’s 1665 sermon, commemorating King Charles I’s death and reviling his enemies, proved ‘mean’ (*Diary*, vol. 6, p. 54). A collection of Jeremy Taylor’s sermons was ‘excellent’—this was either *XXVIII Sermons Preached at Golden Grove* (1651), *XXV Sermons Preached at Golden Grove* (1653), or the combined 1653 version *Eniautos* (*Diary*, vol. 6, p. 312). William Lloyd’s anti-Catholic sermon of 1 Dec. 1667 was ‘well writ, and as good against the Church of Rome, as ever I read’ (vol. 8, p. 587). Pepys also read Abraham Wright’s *Five Sermons in Five Several Styles* (1656) and *Evangelium Armatum* (1663), a collection of extracts from Presbyterian sermons and other books for the purposes of exposing their dangerous principles (*Diary*, vol. 9, p. 300; vol. 4, pp. 111–12).

Independent'.<sup>22</sup> On Sundays, he would sometimes attend more than one sermon—or parts of sermons—in a day to sample different preachers, and this was the textual equivalent. When Pepys sought religious edification from books, he was more likely to turn to ecclesiastical histories or other histories with substantial religious content, works that often formed part of his Sunday reading.<sup>23</sup> For example, at the height of the plague in August 1665, Pepys spent a Sunday ensuring that his papers were organized in case he died, before reading 'a good while in the Kings works, which is a noble book'. Among other items, *Basilika, The Workes of King Charles the Martyr* contained descriptions of how the King had prepared for death, and prayers for times of 'Affliction' or 'imminent danger'. It therefore held the potential to offer solace and counsel in the frightening, isolated situation in which Pepys found himself.<sup>24</sup>

Pepys's abiding curiosity about the history of his own church extended to curiosity about other faiths. This was partly satiated by taking the opportunities London offered to see different forms of worship: during the 1660s Pepys went several times to Roman Catholic Mass at the chapels of the Spanish ambassador and Queen Catherine, and also saw the Jewish festival of Simchat Torah at the Cree Church Lane synagogue.<sup>25</sup> He was unimpressed by the devoutness of most participants at these services but subsequently much struck by the reverence of the Muslim way of prayer, which he asked to see in Tangier in 1683.<sup>26</sup> He also learned about other faiths through books, building up a collection of 'Liturgies, Ceremonials, Offices, and Rites of Religious Worship, Jewish, Christian, Mahometan, & Pagan'. Ancient faiths had featured in Pepys's formal studies: among his library's 'Pagan' books was Elias Schedius' *De diis Germanis* (1648), which Pepys had owned since university.<sup>27</sup> Other holdings included works on the customs of the Jews and Muslims, along with a text of the Hebrew Pentateuch and a 1649 translation of the Koran.<sup>28</sup> In the 1660s, however, when Pepys read about rivals to the Church of England, it was Catholic and Nonconformist works that drew his attention. One of the first mentions of reading in his diary came on 15 January 1660, when he and his brother John together read a service from the pontifical of Clement VIII. Later that year Pepys purchased a Mass book from Joshua Kirton's bookshop and 'sat up

<sup>22</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 300.

<sup>23</sup> Ch. 4, 'History and Conversation', p. 127.

<sup>24</sup> *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 204; compare vol. 6, p. 189 for Pepys sorting his papers as a measure against his death. *Basilika. The Workes of King Charles the Martyr* (London, 1662), pt. 1, pp. 196, 198. Pepys owned a 1662 edition.

<sup>25</sup> For example, *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 102; vol. 8, pp. 588–9. When Pepys visited the synagogue (*Diary*, vol. 4, p. 335), he did not understand that he was attending the Rejoicing of the Torah, which encouraged jubilation, and so found the service disturbing. R. D. Barnett, 'Mr Pepys' Contact with the Spanish and Portuguese Jews of London', *Jewish Historical Studies*, 29 (1982–6), 27–33.

<sup>26</sup> 'A Journal towards Tangier', in *Pepys's Later Diaries*, ed. C. S. Knighton (Stroud: Sutton, 2004; repr. 2006), p. 152.

<sup>27</sup> 'Appendix Classica', pp. 145, 150. On Schedius, see Ch. 2, 'University Reading', pp. 52–3.

<sup>28</sup> 'Appendix Classica', pp. 145–50. The text of the Koran was *The Alcoran of Mahomet* (London, 1649), translated from a French text into English 'for the satisfaction of all that desire to look into the Turkish vanities', PL 1096. The Hebrew text of the Pentateuch was part of Brian Walton's *Biblia sacra polyglotta*, 6 vols. (London, 1655–7), vol. 1 (1657), PL 2948.

late and read in it—with great pleasure to my wife to hear that that she long ago was so well acquainted with'. Before her marriage, Elizabeth had spent time in France, including a very brief period in a nunnery.<sup>29</sup> As we saw in Chapter 6, Pepys had little difficulty in laying hands on Nonconformist and Catholic publications even when these were banned. For example in the late 1660s, he sought out works by William Penn, the future Quaker leader and the son of his disliked colleague Sir William. As far as Pepys was concerned, Will Penn's conversion to Quakerism was both welcome and amusing, because his solemn behaviour was likely to annoy that 'hypocritical rogue' and 'atheist', his father. Penn junior's first work, *Truth Exalted* (1668), Pepys found 'so full of nothing but nonsense that I was ashamed to read in it'; in contrast *The Sandy Foundation Shaken* (1668), a methodical attack on the Trinity, was 'so well writ, as I think it too good for him ever to have writ it—and it is a serious sort of book, and not fit for everybody to read'.<sup>30</sup> Pepys felt he and Elizabeth (who read the work aloud to him) would not be harmed by exposure to Penn's blasphemous anti-Trinitarian arguments. Yet Pepys had some sympathy for the government's ban on the work, since he suspected other unnamed readers would indeed have their adherence to the Church of England shaken by the pamphlet.

Owning works that contravened Church of England orthodoxy was not without its risks, as Pepys would find out. The need carefully to guard his reputation as an orthodox Protestant was repeatedly impressed upon him in the 1670s and 1680s. In these decades he faced allegations of Catholicism from opponents who wanted to prevent his election to the House of Commons and bar him from public office. The principal motivation for these charges was Pepys's closeness to James, Duke of York, whose own Catholicism became public knowledge by 1673. In February 1674 reports that the Earl of Shaftesbury (an enemy of James) had seen 'an altar and crucifix in Mr Pepys's closet' prompted a lively debate in the Commons.<sup>31</sup> Rumours flew that 'Mr Pepys had an *Ave-Maria* book, and a velvet cushion upon an altar.' Pepys was accused of being literarily a closet Catholic. During his alarmed denials he described his career as a staunch member of the Church of England, and in the process uttered more than one lie or evasion. He claimed to have received Communion 'not less than six times in a year, in twenty years' (by his own word in the diary, not true), and dared 'any man to prove, in his whole life, a Priest in his house, once at Mass, or a Popish book in his house'. Pepys had indeed been to Mass, and had more than one 'Popish book' in his house, but self-protection meant denying any curiosity about Catholicism whatsoever. Instead, he laboured to explain Shaftesbury's error. Pepys said that he had 'a small table in his closet, with a Bible and Common-Prayer-book upon it, and *the whole Duty of Man*, a bason and an ewer, and his wife's picture over it, done by *Lombard*—This is the whole

<sup>29</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, pp. 18, 281–2. Balthasar St Michel to Pepys, 8 Feb. 1673/4, in *The Letters of Samuel Pepys and his Family Circle*, ed. Helen Truesdell Heath (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955; repr. 1956), p. 28.

<sup>30</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 595; vol. 9, pp. 327, 446.

<sup>31</sup> Anchitell Grey, *Debates of the House of Commons, from the Year 1667 to the Year 1694*, 10 vols. (London, 1763), vol. 2, p. 411 (10 Feb. 1674).

thing talked of for an “altar”.<sup>32</sup> Pepys represented his closet as a place for private Anglican devotion that did honour to the memory of his deceased wife: instead of a Catholic prayer book, it held the Church of England’s Book of Common Prayer and *The Whole Duty of Man*, Richard Allestree’s best-selling Anglican manual of devotion. The choice of texts here was clearly tactical, but Pepys’s 1700 subject catalogue provides some support for his claim, since later editions of both the Book of Common Prayer and Allestree’s work appeared in the section headed ‘For Private Devotion’.<sup>33</sup> Fortunately, in 1674 and again in 1679, Pepys could call on allies in Parliament and the Church who were prepared to affirm his devotion to the established faith. This was not sufficient, however, to clear him completely of popery in the minds of suspicious contemporaries. The same charges surfaced again in 1689, for his allegiance to James II continued to render his beliefs subject to question.<sup>34</sup> For Pepys, the attack of 1674 was a harsh reminder to exercise discretion in expressing his views and to take great care in deciding whom he admitted to his collections.

#### RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL CONTEXTS FOR THE ‘NOTES’

The public records of Pepys’s religious beliefs are a narrative of avowed fidelity to the Church of England, troubled by politically motivated accusations of Catholicism. The private records tell a rather different story. Pepys’s diary provides evidence of his reservations about the Church of England and directly undermines his defence to Parliament. Like the diary, ‘Notes from Discourses touching Religion’ belongs firmly among Pepys’s private comments on religion, for the paper’s rough state indicates it was not even intended for small-scale manuscript circulation. The ‘Notes’ (reproduced in the Appendix) is manifestly a working document or draft of ideas: there are words and sentences crossed out, multiple corrections, and some mistakes left uncorrected. It is not in Pepys’s hand and is undated. Dating the paper, however, is straightforward. The first line refers to Herbert Croft’s *Some Animadversions upon a Book Intituled The Theory of the Earth*; this book was registered with the Stationers’ Company in early July 1685 and advertised in the same month. A reminder later in the ‘Notes’ to ‘Consult Sir William Petty’ about population figures shows that the paper was written before Petty’s death on 16 December 1687.<sup>35</sup> Firmly tying the document to Pepys himself is also not

<sup>32</sup> Grey, *Debates*, vol. 2, pp. 432, 426–8 (16 Feb. 1674).

<sup>33</sup> ‘Appendix Classica’, p. 53. ‘Whole Duty of Man’ has been crossed through and no item number was ever entered, but the edition of 1702 was passed on with the library.

<sup>34</sup> ‘House of Commons Journal, Volume 9: 16 February 1674’, in *Journal of the House of Commons*, vol. 9: 1667–1687 (1802), p. 310, *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=27421>> [accessed: 20 May 2014]; Arthur Bryant, *Samuel Pepys: The Years of Peril* (London: Collins, 1935; new edn. 1948), pp. 251–77; Bryant, *Samuel Pepys: The Saviour of the Navy* (London: Collins, 1938; new edn. 1949), pp. 372–3.

<sup>35</sup> ‘Notes from Discourses touching Religion’, pp. 1, 3. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640–1708*, ed. G. E. Briscoe Eyre, 3 vols. (London: privately printed,

difficult: he put together other documents headed 'Notes touching . . .'; the individuals mentioned as sources were his friends; he owned all the works consulted; and other manuscripts confirm his interest in the questions raised by the 'Notes' around the time of its composition.<sup>36</sup> The fact that the text is not in Pepys's hand is not unusual. His bad eyesight meant that in later life he took to using amanuenses to write out documents. There are no clear signs that the document records a continuing conversation; rather it seems to be the thoughts of one person who returns to consider particular problems.

This paper therefore appears to record Samuel Pepys's thoughts sometime between mid-1685 and late 1687, years when he was James's Secretary for the Affairs of the Admiralty and, for part of the time, President of the Royal Society. This was a period when the newly crowned James II instigated major changes to the kingdom's religious settlement, compelling office holders to consider their positions on the nature of allegiance and the extent of the sovereign power. On succeeding to the throne in February 1685 James acted quickly to quiet public concerns about his Roman Catholicism, declaring that he would '*Preserve this Government both in Church and State as it is now by Law established*'.<sup>37</sup> He was, however, determined to better the condition of his co-religionists and it became apparent that he was prepared to go to great lengths to promote the Catholic cause. By 19 December 1685 rumours were circulating that the King would declare, without parliamentary consent, all penal laws against Catholics and Protestant Nonconformists suspended.<sup>38</sup> Commentators noted the number of Catholic works in circulation and the hot controversies between Catholic and Protestant pamphleteers.<sup>39</sup> In February 1687, having prorogued both the English and the Scottish parliaments, James issued a Declaration of Indulgence for Scotland that allowed limited toleration for Protestant Nonconformists and for Catholics. This was followed in April 1687 by a Declaration of Indulgence permitting all his subjects 'free Exercise of their Religion'. By winter that year James's strategy to ensure the toleration of Catholics included canvassing England's political elite on an individual basis in order to urge support for his policies and weed out opponents. MPs underwent personal interviews with the King about their views in a process known as 'closeting'. Pepys's loyalty to James during these controversies could almost go unspoken: in late 1687 magistrates across the country were required to answer questions on their attitude to the King's religious policies, but all that needed

1913–14), vol. 3, p. 288; *Term Catalogues*, vol. 2, p. 137. Toby Barnard, 'Petty, Sir William (1623–1687)', in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22069>> [accessed 17 July 2014].

<sup>36</sup> Pepys's other 'Notes' include 'Notes touching the Encroachments made into the River of Thames . . . Aprill 1686' (Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.171, fol. 98), and 'Notes Taken during my abode in Spain 1683/4, touching the King's Shipp's Carrying of Plate' (MS Rawlinson A.171, fol. 154).

<sup>37</sup> *London Gazette*, no. 2006, 5–9 Feb. 1684/5.

<sup>38</sup> *The Enttring Book of Roger Morrice 1677–1691*, ed. Mark Goldie, 7 vols. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press with The Parliamentary Yearbook Trust, 2007–9), vol. 3, ed. Tim Harris, p. 74; Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1857), vol. 1, p. 367.

<sup>39</sup> John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. De Beer, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), vol. 4, p. 489; William Petty to Robert Southwell, 1 Apr. 1686, in *Petty–Southwell Correspondence*, p. 186.

to be recorded of Pepys's response was 'He has given ye King satisfaction.'<sup>40</sup> Pepys remained loyal to James throughout the Revolution of 1688 and after, for he refused to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary.

During these developments Pepys had been compelled to consider his principles earlier than most. One particular episode in James's campaign to promote Catholicism appears to have been a factor in initiating the deliberations recorded in Pepys's 'Notes'. Since the 1660s, James had shown his respect for Pepys's abilities by lending him manuscripts to assist his historical research.<sup>41</sup> In the autumn of 1685, this aspect of their relationship took a surprising turn. Late at night on 1 October Pepys wrote a cryptic letter to John Evelyn inviting him to dinner the next day 'first because wee will be alone, and next I have something to shew you, that I may not have another time'.<sup>42</sup> Evelyn's diary picks up the story. After dinner, Pepys led him and James Houblon 'into a private roome'. Here Pepys told his friends how he had 'humbly' asked King James if Charles II had indeed died a Catholic as rumours suggested. In response, James had taken Pepys 'into his Closett, where opening a Cabinet, he shew'd him two papers, containing about a quarter of a sheete on both sides, written in the late Kings owne hand, severall Arguments opposite to the Doctrine of the *Church of Eng.*'.<sup>43</sup> The first paper argued 'it is as visible as that the Scripture is in Print, That none can be [Christ's] Church, but that which is call'd the *Roman-Catholick Church*'. The second rued the growth of heresies in the kingdom, arguing that the Church of England (or rather 'that part of the Nation which looks most like a Church') was unable to use 'true Arguments against the other Sects, for fear they should be turn'd against themselves'. If, as Protestants foolishly believed, the power of interpreting scripture lay 'in every Man's giddy Brain', the clergy were disempowered. Authority in the Church of England therefore lay wholly with the 'Civil Magistrate', who could recast the Church as he pleased.<sup>44</sup> In a sign of great trust, James had allowed Pepys to copy the papers and then attested to their authenticity in his own hand at the bottom.

By letting Pepys take a copy of Charles's papers, James was strategically leaking these documents, for he must have known that Pepys would show these to others and trusted him to do so discreetly. This first and highly restricted stage of manuscript circulation was intended to test reactions to confirmation of Charles's conversion. Pepys elected to show the paper to men who were both trusted confidants and who could help him evaluate the responses of important segments of the Establishment. Evelyn, who was strongly anti-Catholic, had set aside his

<sup>40</sup> *His Majesties Gracious Declaration to All His Loving Subjects for Liberty of Conscience* (London, 1685), p. 1; John Miller, *James II: A Study in Kingship* (rev. edn., London: Methuen, 1989), p. 164; *Penal Laws and Test Act*, ed. George Duckett, 2 vols. (London: privately printed, 1882–3), vol. 1, p. 73.

<sup>41</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 50; vol. 9, p. 501; Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.195a, fol. 124.

<sup>42</sup> Pepys to Evelyn, 'Thursd. night 2. Oct:1685' (meaning the night of Thursday 1 and Friday 2 Oct.), in *Particular Friends*, p. 159.

<sup>43</sup> *Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. De Beer, vol. 4, pp. 475–6.

<sup>44</sup> *Copies of Two Papers Written by the Late King Charles II, Together with a Copy of a Paper Written by the Late Duchess of York* (London, 1686; Wing C2944), pp. 1, 4, 6, 7. Subsequent quotations are from this edition.



concerns about James's religion to act as one of the commissioners for the Privy Seal.<sup>45</sup> As a merchant and a moderate Whig, James Houblon could comment on the responses of the powerful City interest and of the King's opponents. According to Gilbert Burnet, Thomas Tenison was also given sight of Charles's discourses by Pepys.<sup>46</sup> Tenison was the vicar of Pepys's home parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields and a trusted friend of Evelyn; he was also a noted anti-Catholic polemicist. Pepys was evidently soliciting a range of views on his own and James's behalf. The responses to the manuscript gathered by its initial leaking were apparently not sufficiently antagonistic to outweigh the perceived benefits to James of having Charles's religion, and thus his implicit support for James's policies, known. The two papers were in print in the middle of December, more than two months after Pepys first saw them.<sup>47</sup> Even in print, however, they were initially intended for a restricted audience: on 7 January 1686 one correspondent reported that 'a *hundred* only were *printed* and given to the hand which ordered it'—presumably to be distributed to select individuals.<sup>48</sup> The limited print publication coincided with rumours in December that a declaration of indulgence was to be granted to Catholics and Protestant Nonconformists: James timed the publication to imply his late brother's support for his actions.<sup>49</sup> Soon editions printed 'by his Majesties Command' were widely available, along with unofficial editions. Like Pepys's manuscript copy, the printed copies carried James's statements of authentication at the end.<sup>50</sup> The wider printing of the papers triggered a series of responses, also in print. Attempts to suppress hostile answers were made in March and April 1686.<sup>51</sup>

James's aim in showing the papers to Pepys was to begin the first stage of manuscript publication with an eye to eventual wider circulation. However, it also foreshadowed his later tactics for testing and ensuring support among MPs and office holders. Evelyn, for one, believed James was exerting pressure on Pepys and testing his principles. The day after visiting Pepys to see Charles's papers, Evelyn sent him a letter in which the postscript betrayed his concerns: 'Sir, Let me obtaine of you (on my recommendation) to have by you that booke of Monsieur Jouriens, *Préjugez Legitimes contre Le papisme* etc for an *Armamentarium* and *Magazin* upon (almost) all possible Occasions and Encounters'. In contrast to Charles's 'litttle, poore' arguments, Evelyn continued, Pierre Jurieu's *Préjugez légitimes contre le papisme* (1685) would provide 'solid Replies of such as oppose

<sup>45</sup> *Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. De Beer, vol. 4, p. 464.

<sup>46</sup> Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of his Own Time*, 2 vols. (London: 1724–34), vol. 1, pp. 614–15. Burnet's account of the episode makes it appear as if Tenison was shown Charles's holograph, rather than just a copy Pepys had taken.

<sup>47</sup> Luttrell noted rumours of the print publication of the *Two Papers* under his entries for 18 Dec. 1685. *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 1, p. 368.

<sup>48</sup> Dr O[wen] W[ynne] to Sir William Trumball, 7 Jan. 1685/6, in *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (London: HMSO, 1924), p. 95.

<sup>49</sup> Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 1, pp. 367–8.

<sup>50</sup> *Copies of Two Papers*, title page, pp. 3, 8.

<sup>51</sup> *Entring Book of Roger Morrice*, vol. 3, p. 110; Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 170.

that Greate Fable of the Church of Rome', proving 'that all people are not fooles and phænaticks who are not of her Communion'.<sup>52</sup> Evelyn's language shows that he anticipated a battle: Pepys was in need of arms against Catholic assaults and Jurieu, as a leader of the exiled French Protestants in the Netherlands, could supply them. Although the interview with the King was evidently friendly, James's use of 'closeting' as a campaigning tactic from late 1686 suggests that Evelyn was correct in assuming that Pepys was being urged to evaluate his own beliefs as a result of this particular closet discussion. A number of comments in the 'Notes' indicate that the document dates specifically to the latter part of 1685: Herbert Croft's book from July 1685 was Pepys's first thought and, as we will see, Pepys's thinking drew on ideas that Petty was actively pursuing in late 1685 and 1686. It is reasonable to conclude that the pressure placed on Pepys to consider his allegiances at this time was one trigger for the 'Notes' and it is possible that Pepys's own evaluation of his religion was a response, albeit an indirect one, to the statement of principles attributed to Charles. Like the *Two Papers*, Pepys's paper sought to address questions concerning the authority of the Protestant and Catholic churches and the relationship between church and state. Several of the issues it discusses were also picked up in the printed responses to Charles's papers: like Pepys, pamphleteers remarked on schisms and dissent in early church history and debated the difficulties of interpreting scripture (with Protestant writers maintaining that all that was necessary for salvation was clear).<sup>53</sup> Pepys's exploration of these questions, however, would prove far more probing and wide-ranging than the late King's or his respondents in print.

## CHURCH HISTORY AND BIBLICAL CRITICISM

'Notes from Discourses touching Religion' began as pragmatic evaluation of the Roman Catholic and Protestant religions before spiralling out into wider consideration of the authority of the clergy and scripture, the insights of natural philosophers, and the nature of civil and ecclesiastical power. Pepys weighed the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches not only in the light of their history and claims to authority, but in terms of their ability to meet the needs of the individual and the nation. In this evaluation neither did well, but Protestantism fared the worse. Pepys's anticlericalism surfaced early on: 'It is urged by some that ye present quarrell about Religion, has sprung only from ye Priests, those on the Protestant side, only beating downe ye Markett, and pretending to serve ye people, in a cheaper, not better, forme of Worship than those of Rome.' This new 'gang of Clergy-Men' were as abetted by 'ye temporall Courtiers', who took the opportunity

<sup>52</sup> Evelyn to Pepys, 3 Oct. 1685, in *Particular Friends*, p. 162.

<sup>53</sup> On the early church and creeds, see [Gilbert Burnet] *A Letter containing Some Remarks on the Two Papers* [n.p., 1686], pp. 5–6; [Edward Stillingfleet], *An Answer to Some Papers Lately Printed, concerning the Authority of the Catholick Church* (London, 1686), pp. 4–7, 10; *A Reply to an Answer Made upon the Three Royal Papers* (London, 1686), pp. 9–15; compare 'Notes', pp. 1, 4, 5, 6. On scripture, see [Burnet], *A Letter*, pp. 2–3; [Stillingfleet], *An Answer*, pp. 20–1; compare 'Notes', pp. 1, 2, 7.

to seize the Church's assets. Meanwhile the Roman Catholic clergy remained 'obstinate in keeping up their price' (pp. 1–2). In this cynical assessment, the Reformation was reduced to economic motives and religious disputes to competition over customers. Pepys stopped short of explicitly endorsing this view, but it chimed with his opinion (given a little later) that 'Preaching up of Piety seems to be become the by worke only of Our Clergy while all the World is troubled with little more from them then their Contentions for Supremacy, Wealth' (p. 2). Charles II's *Two Papers* argued against the Church of England on the grounds of its inability to prevent heresies, and Pepys made a similar observation: 'How comes the Church of England if soe true, soe learned & soe Pious as they would be thought to bee to have suffered us to fall into soe many Vices and Schismes.'<sup>54</sup> Catholic arguments may have provided some of the impetus for Pepys's thoughts, but Pepys had a low opinion of the clergy of both churches. He did, however, recognize that the existence of an infallible institutional authority in Roman Catholicism carried certain benefits that were denied to Protestants. Protestantism, in Pepys's view, caused particular stress for adherents, since the burden of determining truth fell upon the individual: 'Our Religion also seems to make ye whole [i.e. Holy?] Spirit the guide of our Faith and Religion to the rendring mankind very unhappy under the Impossibility that attends them of discerning the true Spirit from ye False' (p. 7). Pepys's reference to the doubts and unhappiness that afflicted Protestants may be more personal here than he explicitly allows, since, intriguingly, the only quotation from the Bible in the 'Notes' is 'Quaere the Construction of these Words I beleive Lord help my Unbeleif' (p. 4). From Mark 9:24, these are the words of a desperate father who is asked to have faith in a time of severe trial. If political circumstances were prompting Pepys to evaluate his allegiances, it seems his own disquiet was also at work.

Within the forum of the 'Notes', Pepys conceded that Catholicism appeared to offer greater comfort to individuals, along with more effective social controls. The 'generall manners & morality' of Roman Catholics were, he noted, regarded as better than those of Protestants.<sup>55</sup> He had consulted his friend Dr Thomas Gale (referred to as 'DG' in the 'Notes') on the practical benefits of Catholic doctrine in terms of promoting morality and individual peace of mind. Gale told him that Catholicism seemed better at making its members reform their lives because the practice of confession offered 'Inducements to Piety'. Its advantages included removing members' doubts about whether their church was the true church—the kind of doubts routinely suffered by 'every modest Protestant' (pp. 9–10). Given that these remarks conclude the 'Notes', the temptation is to regard them as conclusive but that would be to misunderstand the nature of the document: views are repeatedly offered up, only to be probed and contested. In this milieu, statements are provisional and subject to further exploration.

<sup>54</sup> *Copies of Two Papers*, p. 4; 'Notes', p. 6.

<sup>55</sup> 'Notes', p. 1. There are similar comments on the corruption of post-Reformation society at pp. 3, 5.

The authority of the Catholic and Protestant churches was bound up with early church history. Pepys had the resources to read up on this topic himself, but discussion with Gale, an expert on the subject, was the easier option, so Pepys resolved to consult him on a number of points.<sup>56</sup> They had already talked about the fourth-century writer Epiphanius of Salamis, who had catalogued the heresies of his time: ‘D.G as I remember told me that Epiphanius has reckoned up noe less then two hundred Herises, to have sprung up in his early dayes. Soe uncertaine & hard to be understood are the Measures of Religion’ (p. 6). Epiphanius’ *Panarion* in fact listed eighty heretical sects, not two hundred, but Pepys’s glossing comment on the ‘uncertaine & hard’ measures of faith suggests this would not have been a consolation for him.<sup>57</sup> To Pepys the early schisms within the Church were a sign that Christian unanimity was impossible. Given this, he wondered, ‘How come wee soe to Value ourselves as to expect that God allmighty should busy himselfe more in the protecting and ye Perpetuating our Church, then he has done in that of his owne people ye Jewes or the Orientall Christians or Affrican Christian Churches’ (p. 6). At times, it sounds as if Pepys was not so much seeking Gale’s opinion as seeking confirmation of his own scepticism: Gale, he recorded, ‘allows of ye Observation that there is noe one point of Our Faith or Religion from Top to bottome that has not been controverted in ye Church and still remaines soe’ (p. 7).

If the history of the Christian Church gave cause to doubt the claims to authority made by Protestants and by Catholics, Pepys found the evidence of scripture to be even more problematic. One of the most novel, and the most radical, aspects of Pepys’s religious thought came about through his use of recent works on biblical criticism to explore the basis of faith and the arguments concerning liberty of conscience. Following the Restoration, writers on both sides of the pamphlet debate on toleration acknowledged that scripture might be variously interpreted. Roger L’Estrange, writing against toleration, acknowledged that ‘we do not all read the Bible with the same Spectacles’, and shared Pepys’s view that ‘There is scarce One Point that has not been subjected to a Controversie.’<sup>58</sup> Pepys took these concerns further: the problem was not just with diverse readings and errant readers, but diverse and errant texts. This strand of enquiry is present from the very start of the document, where Pepys remarked that even a Church of England bishop was prepared in print to question ‘the Authority of the Second Epistle of St. Peter’ (p. 1). The second letter of Peter was a part of the New Testament that had been regarded as of suspect authorship since the time of the early church fathers. The theme of unreliable texts was picked up later on with some tart remarks on biblical commentators and the publishers of bibles:

Let it be Asked whither there be any man or Number of Men, that will pretend to an ability to interpret all Scripture and will owne it when charged therewith; Their Vanity therein bein [*sic*] easily to be shewne.

The like to be asked of any Copy, *that* can be shewne of the bible whither Printed or written, that shall be pretended for Perfect. (p. 2)

<sup>56</sup> For example, ‘Filioque consult DG’, ‘Rome before Constantinople Quaere why? DG’, p. 5.

<sup>57</sup> *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis, Book 1*, trans. Frank Williams (Leiden: Brill, 1987).

<sup>58</sup> Roger L’Estrange, *Toleration Discuss’d* (London, 1681), pp. 13, 14.

Despite this, people (apparently to Pepys's irritation) insisted on maintaining that the Bible was clear in its injunctions: 'If the Scripture be soe plaine, why soe many different Versions thereof; Soe many various readings such no. of Expositors & reconcilours' (p. 2). Pepys was well read on this issue: his library catalogue of 1700 contains separate sections for 'Criticks' (who examined different versions of the Bible), for 'Expositors', and for 'Reconcilers' (who addressed seeming contradictions).<sup>59</sup>

Pepys had early exposure to such scepticism through Francis Osborne, who opined that scripture seemed 'unable by reason of her divers Readings' and 'variety of Expositions . . . to decide all differences', leaving men who distrusted the '*Tradition*' of the Church with 'no better guide to follow then *Reason*' in deciding matters of faith.<sup>60</sup> Yet Pepys was now commenting as an informed critic himself, for he had been keeping up with the vigorous international debates over which surviving versions of scripture should be given priority and how far these could or should be subject to correction. A principal English contribution to this scholarship was the *Biblia sacra polyglotta* (1655–7) edited by Brian Walton. Walton's six-volume polyglot Bible offered parallel texts of scripture in nine languages, including the 'original' texts in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek; ancient versions in Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic (Ge'ez), Arabic, and Persian; and much additional material.<sup>61</sup> The variant texts presented in this edition in turn contributed to the highly controversial work of the French Oratorian, Richard Simon. In his publications during the late 1670s and 1680s Simon anatomized the problematic nature of the surviving biblical texts and emphasized their unreliability. 'Notes from Discourses touching Religion' suggests Pepys had been reading Walton's and Simon's work with peculiar, if selective, attention. A popular solution to the question of the Bible's obscurities was to maintain that it was plain 'in all matters necessary to Salvation' and halfway through his ruminations Pepys urged himself to 'Examine' the point (p. 5). A couple of pages later he returned to this defence and found it wanting:

It seems worthy Consideration what it is of Schisme or Paradox that might not be proved by the Scripture under that Multiplicity & Lattitude of Rules & Allowances of Figures and Distinctions that are both demanded & granted as well by the Reformed as Romish Church to be indispensibly necessary for ye right unfolding, & reconciling of Scriptures for supporting <sup>some</sup> of the most Essentiall points of Our Religions. Vide the Chapter upon that subject before the Polyglotte Bible.

And would it be enough to justify the Truth and cleareness of any other writing to say that it is true & Cleare in all things necessary to some one end whereto ye same is applicable or designed, however [*sic*] obscure ye sence thereof may be or its truth doubtfull in reference to any other parts thereof. (p. 7)

<sup>59</sup> 'Appendix Classica', pp. 234–9, 242.

<sup>60</sup> *Advice to a Son*, pp. 118, 119.

<sup>61</sup> *Biblia sacra polyglotta*, vol. 1 (1657), title page. The work is PL 2948–53. On the London Polyglot, see Peter N. Miller, 'The "Antiquarianization" of Biblical Scholarship and the London Polyglot Bible (1653–1657)', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 62 (2001), 463–82, doi: 10.1353/jhi.2001.0024; Scott Mandelbrote, 'The Authority of the Word: Manuscript, Print and the Text of the Bible in Seventeenth-Century England', in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700*, ed. Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham, (Cambridge: CUP 2004), pp. 135–53 (pp. 146–50).

In Pepys's view, then, both the Catholic and the Protestant churches allowed themselves such latitude in interpreting the Bible that it was hard to imagine any schismatic or paradoxical ideas that their methods could not be used to support. Yet this licence in interpretation was held by Protestants and Catholics to be necessary in order to maintain the essentials of their own faiths. Pepys named in his support one of the introductory chapters in his copy of *Biblia sacra polyglotta*. He seems to have had in mind the contents of Prolegomenon 5 or 6, in which Walton considered whether or not the existence of various 'versions' or translations of the Bible undermined its authority. The very first texts of scripture, Walton noted, had not survived, and copies were inevitably subject to the errors of scribes and printers. Indeed, he cited Protestant and Catholic authorities who accepted that variant readings or errors in the text existed. Yet, rather than sharing Pepys's pessimism about the clarity of the Bible, Walton in fact argued the opposing view. The providence of God and the diligence of the Church had, he maintained, ensured that those things essential to faith and morals remained intact—and both Catholic and Protestant commentators agreed upon this. By examining different versions of scripture, a judicious interpreter could elucidate obscure passages, detect frauds, identify scribal errors, and improve the text.<sup>62</sup> Pepys, in contrast, was not persuaded that the essentials of scripture were preserved. In querying whether it would vindicate any other type of writing to maintain that it was 'true & Clear in all things necessary to some one end', he was taking issue not just with Walton but with major commentators, such as Louis Cappel and Samuel Bochart, whom Walton cited.<sup>63</sup> Crucially Walton did not, contrary to Pepys's implication, support the idea that the strategies used by editors and interpreters meant almost anything of 'Schisme or Paradox' could be 'proved by the Scripture'. This was Pepys's own extrapolation and, as he must have known, a highly controversial view. It was, however, a conclusion that Walton's critics had predicted. In 1659, the Independent clergyman John Owen attacked the dangerous tendencies of the polyglot project: 'The voluminous *Bulke of various Lections*, as nakedly exhibited, seemes sufficient to beget scruples and doubts in the minds of men, about the Truth of what hath been hitherto by many pretended concerning the Preservation of the Scripture through the care and providence of God.' Walton, Owen believed, failed to deter readers from concluding that the Hebrew Bible was '*dubious and uncertaine*, easy to be turned unto various senses'.<sup>64</sup> Owen's fears were confirmed in Pepys's response to the Polyglot Bible.

There is no sign that Pepys had read Owen's attack. Instead, his reaction to the Polyglot Bible and his general sentiments on the instability of scripture were almost

<sup>62</sup> *Biblia sacra polyglotta*, vol. 1, Prolegomena, pp. 34, 36–7.

<sup>63</sup> *Biblia sacra polyglotta*, vol. 1, Prolegomena, p. 36. In the mid-1680s Pepys probably had first-hand knowledge of some of the works Walton named—certainly by the time of his death he owned several of them. For example, Cappel's *Critica sacra* (Paris, 1650) is PL 2592, while Bochart's *Geographiae sacrae* (1st pub. 1646) was retained by Pepys in *Opera omnia*, vol. 3 (Leiden, 1692), PL 2703.

<sup>64</sup> John Owen, *Of the Divine Originall, Authority, Self-Evidencing Light, and Power of the Scriptures* (Oxford, 1659), pp. 159, 206 (fol. O7v).

certainly influenced by the more recent biblical criticism of Richard Simon. Pepys's library catalogue shows that he owned no fewer than seven items by Simon. Simon's *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*, first published in 1678, highlighted problems with scriptural authority and transmission. Simon included a review of Walton's Prolegomena, in which he disagreed with a number of Walton's claims regarding the reliability of particular versions of scripture and the preservation of the text. So, for example, it was not sufficient to state that divine providence protected scripture: transcribers—even diligent ones—were not divinely inspired and so were prone to introduce error. Nor could Walton prove that the copies of scripture had preserved uncorrupted all that related to faith, unless he had some ancient rule for judging true faith that was independent of scripture.<sup>65</sup> Pepys owned Simon's critique in the best available edition of 1685 and in the Latin redaction of 1684; the latter was produced by the radical Whig John Hampden, who subsequently confessed that he had always regarded the *Histoire critique* as undermining Christian belief in scripture.<sup>66</sup> For Simon, errors in scripture were of less import, because as a Catholic he believed God's truths had been preserved in the traditions of the Catholic Church; yet to many Protestants who rejected the Catholic Church as itself corrupt, Simon's seeming attack on biblical authority appeared to be extremely dangerous. Evelyn was among those who were alarmed by Simon's work on the Old Testament and who urged scholars to refute it. Simon's pernicious effects, Evelyn warned the Bishop of Oxford in 1682, were already apparent in 'divers whom I converse with, especially the young men, and some not so young neither'. Evelyn may not have had Pepys in mind here but Simon's work was evidently attracting attention in their circles. In Evelyn's view Simon maintained that 'as for the Holy Scriptures, one may make what one will of them'—a position in which Pepys saw reason.<sup>67</sup> Pepys's views in certain respects went beyond Simon's, for he not only regarded scripture as unstable and often obscure, but also doubted the authority of the Church—whether Protestant or Catholic—to adjudicate on truth. In the 1660s Pepys's anticlericalism had led him to interpret a celebratory history of Archbishop Laud as an indictment of clerical venality. By the mid-1680s his reading of biblical scholarship had led to thoroughgoing scepticism about the authority of scripture and the ability of any individual or institution to interpret it.

<sup>65</sup> Richard Simon, *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (Rotterdam, 1685), pp. 489, 492–3, 494.

<sup>66</sup> *Pepys Catalogue*, vol. 1 (1978), pp. 163–4. Since Pepys was in the habit of jettisoning older editions for newer ones, he may well have read Simon's work before 1684. On Hampden's version, see BL, Add. MS 6399 A, fols. 42–4, 'Mr John Hampdens Remonstrance against the Errors of Father Simon' and Justin A. I. Champion, 'Père Richard Simon and English Biblical Criticism, 1680–1700', in *Everything Connects: In Conference with Richard H. Popkin*, ed. James E. Force and David S. Katz (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 39–61.

<sup>67</sup> Evelyn to John Fell, 19 Mar. 1681/2, in *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, ed. William Bray, vol. 3 (London, 1863), pp. 264–5. Evelyn's concerns were prompted by the 1682 English translation of the *Histoire critique*.

## RELIGION AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHY

Pepys's examination of religious allegiance and authority was not confined to biblical criticism and church history. He also drew upon recent works that sought to use natural philosophy to address religious doubt. This is another area in which Pepys's examination of toleration and competing faiths stands out, not least because his Royal Society contacts afforded him access to the very latest research in manuscript. As William Poole, Ted McCormick, and Rhodri Lewis have shown, a number of Royal Society members, including Sir Robert Southwell and Sir William Petty, were 'interested in applying physical or mathematical considerations to scriptural or theological questions'. This could lead them into heterodox speculation and potentially dangerous arguments that they usually confined to conversation or to carefully monitored manuscript circulation.<sup>68</sup> Pepys consulted Petty directly on such issues, but also accessed Petty's manuscripts via Southwell. There were, in addition, links between Petty and the other major contributor to the 'Notes', Thomas Gale. Both men were members of Sir Joseph Williamson's weekly club in the mid-1680s, while a list of Petty's papers on 'Publiq matters' for 1686 includes one entitled 'Quaeries to Doctor Gale'.<sup>69</sup> Presumably Gale was assisting Petty with his deliberations on church and state controversies at the same time as he was assisting Pepys.

Pepys's 'Notes' opened abruptly with a reference that linked the question of scriptural authority to current scientific debate. 'The Bishop of Carlile in his answer to Mr. Burnetts booke of ye Earth does himselfe question the Authority of the Second Epistle of St. Peter,' he remarked (p. 1). Pepys was an admirer of Thomas Burnet's *The Theory of the Earth* (1684), which attempted to analyse the natural processes that created Noah's flood, thereby elucidating mysterious passages in the Bible. Where scripture was obscure, Burnet argued, it was intended to 'excite our curiosity and inquisitiveness'.<sup>70</sup> As well as the account of the flood in Genesis, traditionally said to have been written by Moses, Burnet drew on other passages such as 2 Peter 3:5–6: 'by the word of God the heavens were of old, and the earth standing out of the water and in the water, Whereby the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished'. Burnet's own mathematical calculations led him to argue that the volume of water needed to fulfil the biblical account of the flood could not have come about simply through rain and a rising sea, which was the 'vulgar' understanding of Moses' words. From this he deduced—citing support from biblical passages and ancient writers—that when the world was first created it was smooth and egg-shaped; the flood had been produced when waters arose from

<sup>68</sup> William Poole, 'Sir Robert Southwell's Dialogue on Thomas Burnet's Theory of the Earth: "C & S Discourse of Mr Burnetts Theory of the Earth" (1684): Contexts and an Edition', *Seventeenth Century*, 23 (2008), pp. 72–104, doi: 10.1080/0268117X.2008.10555606 (p. 79); McCormick, *William Petty*, ch. 7; *William Petty on the Order of Nature*, ed. Lewis, introduction.

<sup>69</sup> *Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. De Beer, vol. 4, pp. 299–300; *The Petty Papers: Some Unpublished Writings of Sir William Petty*, ed. the Marquis of Lansdowne, 2 vols. (London: Constable, 1927), vol. 2, p. 266.

<sup>70</sup> [Thomas Burnet], *The Theory of the Earth* (London, 1684), p. 70. Pepys's copy is PL 2641.



an abyss below the earth's shell.<sup>71</sup> Pepys was an early enthusiast for Burnet's work: he had read Burnet's 1681 account of his theory in Latin, before acquiring the English translation in 1684. He then lent it to Evelyn and persuaded him to read 'over againe' the theory in this new version.<sup>72</sup> Other of Pepys's friends also took an interest. Southwell's engagement with Burnet's book extended to writing a manuscript dialogue on the topic in 1684.<sup>73</sup> In the 'Notes' Pepys was less concerned with Burnet's theory than with the fact that Burnet's supposedly orthodox critic, the Bishop of Hereford (not Carlisle), had challenged the canonicity of 2 Peter in the course of challenging Burnet. Pepys astutely noted that, while accusing Burnet of rendering scripture 'uncertain', the bishop himself did no less in questioning the biblical canon.<sup>74</sup>

Pepys drew upon a number of Petty's natural philosophical projects when compiling the 'Notes'. He was, for example, struck by Petty's argument that much dispute in 'divinity, Law, &c' arose from a failure to define terms accurately—a topic Petty returned to in letters and treatises from 1685 and 1686 as he attempted to make sense of the heightened religious tensions.<sup>75</sup> However Pepys was especially taken by Petty's research into population and the nature of mankind. 'Consult *Sir William Petty about ye No. of Men in ye World &c.*' he reminded himself; and then later '*Quaere* how farr mankind may be said to be made up of Different species, and where ye Brute ends & Man begins. with the consequences thereof' (pp. 3, 7). These questions were not as out of place in a set of religious notes as they at first appear, for Petty's investigations into population made use of data taken from the Bible. Among Pepys's papers is a letter of August 1681 endorsed 'A Copy of *Sir William Pettys* Letter to *Sir Robert Southwell; About ye Number of Mortals*'. In it Petty wrote that he was providing assistance to an anti-atheist writer by answering 'Cavills against ye Resurrection'. These cavils included the claim 'That ye whole Globe of ye Earth will not afford sufficient Matter to ye Bodies that must rise'. Petty therefore used his estimates of the populations of England and its neighbours to calculate that there were 'between 300 & 400 Millions of Souls' alive. From this, he ascertained 'ye Number that ever have

<sup>71</sup> [Burnet], *Theory of the Earth*, pp. 10–17, 46, 62–5. On the reception of Burnet's theory, see Scott Mandelbrote, 'Isaac Newton and Thomas Burnet: Biblical Criticism and the Crisis of Late Seventeenth-Century England', in *The Books of Nature and Scripture*, ed. James E. Force and Richard H. Popkin (Dordrecht and Boston: Kluwer Academic, 1994), pp. 149–78.

<sup>72</sup> Evelyn to Pepys, 8 June 1684, in *Particular Friends*, pp. 145–6. Burnet's theory first appeared in *Telluris theoria sacra* (London, 1681), PL 1523.

<sup>73</sup> Poole, 'Sir Robert Southwell's Dialogue'; William Poole, 'The Genesis Narrative in the Circle of Robert Hooke and Francis Lodwick', in *Scripture and Scholarship*, ed. Hessayon and Keene, pp. 41–57 (pp. 50–3).

<sup>74</sup> Herbert Croft, *Some Animadversions upon a Book Intituled The Theory of the Earth* (London, 1685), fol. b1r, p. 4. The book is PL 1113.

<sup>75</sup> 'Notes', p. 9. Petty to Southwell, 1 Apr. 1686, in *Petty–Southwell Correspondence*, pp. 186–7; 'A Dictionary of Sensible Words (1685)' and 'The Explication of 12 Theological Words' in *Petty Papers*, vol. 1, pp. 150–1, 162–6. The 'Explication' was under way before 1687, as it appears in a list dated 1686 (*Petty Papers*, vol. 2, p. 265). In these writings Petty draws on Hobbes's ideas about language, for example in *Humane Nature* (2nd edn., London, 1651), pp. 50–1 and *Leviathan*, ed. Richard Tuck (Cambridge: CUP, 1991; repr. 1994), pp. 24–31.

died since ye Creation' and concluded that one range of Irish peaks alone could supply enough matter for the resurrection. He also found evidence in his calculations to disprove 'Scripture-Scoffers & Præ-Adamites' who questioned the truth of Genesis (this was the theory of 'men before Adam' that interested Pepys in the late 1670s).<sup>76</sup> Petty's work on population in reference to the Bible dated from the early 1680s, but around the time the 'Notes' was composed Pepys learned that Petty had renewed his studies on population. In August 1685 Petty sent Southwell a 'Paper for the Multiplication of Mankind' on the relationship between population, trade, and national prosperity. This was shortly followed by a warning that Southwell had better not show the paper 'to any fortunate fop'.<sup>77</sup> Southwell replied that he had, in fact, shown it to Pepys, which led Petty to respond, 'I like your having shewn the paper to Mr Pepys, for he is no fop though fortunate.' Southwell evidently allowed Pepys to take a copy, since the Pepys Library holds a manuscript that matches the details given in Petty and Southwell's correspondence.<sup>78</sup>

Pepys's note to investigate 'where ye Brute ends & Man begins' also alluded to work of Petty's that he had seen in manuscript. Here Petty's enquiries again took him into areas widely viewed as impious or dangerous. In 1676 Petty began work on a piece concerning 'the Scale of Creatures', in which he posited 'two Scales of animate beings': 'the One whose Topp is man, and whose bottome is the Smallest and Simplest animall that man can discern. And of the other Scale the maker of the aforementioned world is the Top & man the bottom.'<sup>79</sup> Petty's exploration addressed Pepys's question of the relationship between man and beast, for he considered the gradations of the lower scale, making 'many Sorts or Species of Comparisons' between men and animals. As with Petty's population calculations, Pepys learned of the 'Scale of Creatures' through Southwell, who was passing manuscripts to Petty's friends in England.<sup>80</sup> The sensitive nature of this material—and in particular its potential to scandalize, should it fall into the wrong hands—meant that once more these ideas remained unprinted. Members of the Royal Society knew that the use of natural philosophy to investigate scripture (however well intended) could endanger reputations, and Pepys must have

<sup>76</sup> Bodl., MS Rawlinson A.178, fols. 71–2. The letter from Petty to Southwell, 20 Aug. 1681, is printed in *Petty–Southwell Correspondence*, pp. 91–3. On Pepys's interest in pre-Adamites, see Ch. 7, 'Scholarly Service', pp. 206–7.

<sup>77</sup> Petty to Southwell, 29 Aug. 1685, in *Petty–Southwell Correspondence*, p. 143. Examples of Petty's work on the multiplication of mankind are in *Petty Papers*, vol. 2, pp. 47–58.

<sup>78</sup> Petty to Southwell, 8 Sept. 1685, in *Petty–Southwell Correspondence*, p. 148. PL 2874, pp. 31–4, 'By Sir William Petty. An Essay in Political Arithmetick, concerning the Multiplication of Mankind'. This essay differs from the version trailed in Petty's *An Essay concerning the Multiplication of Mankind, Together with Another Essay in Political Arithmetick* (London, 1686).

<sup>79</sup> Montreal, McGill University, Osler Library, Bib. Osl. 7614, 'Sir William Petty's Scheme of his Intended Discourse Touching the Scale of Creatures', fols. 5–7 (fol. 5v). I am grateful to Rhodri Lewis for providing me with a copy of this letter. It is Pepys's copy of Petty to Southwell [c.Dec. 1677–Mar. 1678], printed in *Petty–Southwell Correspondence*, pp. 44–8. The genesis and transmission of 'The Scale' are discussed in Lewis, *William Petty on the Order of Nature*.

<sup>80</sup> Osler, Bib. Osl. 7614, fol. 6r. Southwell to Petty, 30 Mar. 1678, in *Petty–Southwell Correspondence*, pp. 54, 55.

recognized that his own combination of audacious scientific queries with the latest textual criticism of the Bible was a particularly explosive mix.

### REASON, CHURCH, AND STATE

While deriding clerical authority and questioning the reliability of scripture, Pepys also examined two more grounds for determining faith. The first, dear to Osborne and many others, was reason. At times in the 'Notes', Pepys showed confidence that reason could be equated with right reason, the God-given ability to discern what is true. 'He that makes Reason his Guide goes by a Law of God's making subject to noe falsifications nor Misconstructions,' he announced at one point (p. 8). 'When all is done, reason must govern all since our very Faith must be a reasonable Faith,' he urged at another (p. 4). It was a standard argument of Protestants, and especially of the latitudinarians among Pepys's friends, that the Protestant faith was indeed a reasonable faith—or at least far more reasonable than Roman Catholicism. Yet Pepys, despite giving great emphasis to reason, was apparently not persuaded of the Church of England's superiority on this score. Members of the Church of England, he noted, were utterly perplexed on matters of church discipline and agreed only on 'plaine Morall Doctrine': this, he suspected, was because morality was all that could be supported by reason, and reason was the only guide God had left men 'for many Ages'. Indeed 'Romanists', 'Fanaticks', Jews, and pagan philosophers likewise agreed on this 'Morall Doctrine', so reason was evidently of limited assistance in settling internal religious disputes or choosing one's religion (p. 4). Moreover, Pepys was repeatedly troubled by the idea that many people lacked the capacity or will to make a reasoned choice: the 'ignorant laity' were 'unable to judge of themselves of *what* is truth' (p. 1). As a result,

He that cannot chuse his Religion with knowledg and understanding had better make noe choice at all, but observe that he was brought up in without Departing there from, But in obedience to the Law & his Prince, who must be thought better able to judge thereof then any private Men (pp. 2–3)

This was the resurfacing of Pepys's belief, expressed in connection with Penn's pamphlet, that sections of the public could not be trusted to judge key matters of religious doctrine responsibly. Here it was coupled with his old conviction that 'the Religion I was born in' was, for want of other persuasive evidence, the safest course.<sup>81</sup> Pepys, it seems, was not at all persuaded of the benefits of allowing a toleration. While he could see advantages in religious pluralism ('It is said that we should live more carefully had we Catholicks amongst us then we doe now' p. 3), he also saw problems for the individual in permitting free choice of religion:

Nor seems there any delight to be taken in a publick allowance of liberty of Conscience, least a man chusing amiss, make himselfe accountable to God for it; Whereas

<sup>81</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 446; vol. 1, p. 76.

the State Prince or law must be acknowledged better qualified to judge in ye points of Religion then any private man. (p. 5)

Some individuals could not be trusted to judge responsibly, and even those who could might prefer not to have the burden of choice. Both of Pepys's comments here on religious choice end with near identical statements that the reason of the individual must ultimately cede to the superior reason represented by the law and sovereign.

The clergy, scripture, and individual reason were all unreliable, so the last recourse was to the civil power. In so far as 'Notes from Discourses touching Religion' was a response to James's policies, 'the Power of ye Secular Prince in matters doctrinall' was the crux of the matter (p. 5). Pepys's position as it emerges from this document is strongly Erastian: the church should be subordinate to the civil authority. The *Two Papers* attributed to Charles II identified the problem for committed Erastians. What kind of security did the Protestant Church have, Charles asked, when the civil magistrate 'may call such of the Clergy as he thinks fit for his turn at that time; and turn the Church either to *Presbytery, Independency*, or indeed what he pleases?'<sup>82</sup> What James pleased, many suspected, was a Roman Catholic state; moreover, it was feared that instead of acting as a civil magistrate in concert with the law James was prepared to act as an absolute monarch to force compliance. The 'Notes' show how Pepys went about reconciling Erastianism with the threat to the Established Church posed by James's policies.

Erastian views among James's adherents took different forms. Pepys came across one version in the writings of Samuel Parker, one of James's most high-profile supporters in the Church of England. Parker's *A Discourse of Ecclesiastical Politie* (1670) made the case against toleration and advanced an Erastian position in practice if not in principle. The civil magistrate had control over the outward manifestations of religion, because this was necessary for peace. True religion was purely an internal matter, so 'the Law of God' was deliberately silent about ceremonial worship and left it for governors to define.<sup>83</sup> The willing submission of the Church to the sovereign power was a position Parker elaborated in a series of works, including his church history, *Religion and Loyalty* (1684–5). It was also a position that fortuitously allowed him to endorse James's policies, even when these ran contrary to his own earlier stance against toleration. Pepys owned *A Discourse of Ecclesiastical Politie, Religion and Loyalty*, and six more of Parker's publications;

<sup>82</sup> *Copies of Two Papers*, pp. 7–8.

<sup>83</sup> [Parker], *A Discourse of Ecclesiastical Politie* (London, 1670), pp. 11–12, 87–110. Parker regarded himself as opposing 'all the followers of *Erastus*' (including Hobbes), since he held that ecclesiastical power was established by divine right; it was simply obliged to make a 'resign'd submission to Civil Government' in accordance with Christ's teachings: *Religion and Loyalty*, vol. 1 (London, 1684), pp. 41–2, 67–70. On Parker's Erastianism, see Gordon J. Schochet, 'Between Lambeth and Leviathan: Samuel Parker on the Church of England and Political Order', in *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Nicholas Phillipson and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), pp. 189–208 (pp. 203–4), and Jon Parkin, *Taming the Leviathan: The Reception of the Political and Religious Ideas of Thomas Hobbes in England, 1640–1700* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007), pp. 255–7.

notably, however, he did not own the work attacking anti-Catholic legislation that Parker published after earning a bishopric from James.<sup>84</sup>

Although Pepys encountered Erastian themes in Parker's work, the most obvious influence on his thought was that of Thomas Hobbes. Parker's works had led to charges of Hobbism—charges he fiercely denied, since he regarded himself as opposing Hobbes's 'manifest Treason and Blasphemy' against God.<sup>85</sup> However in Pepys's case the debt to Hobbes is much clearer. Pepys first noted enjoying Hobbes's work in 1661 when he read *Of Libertie and Necessitie*. He purchased *Leviathan* in 1668 and later bought Hobbes's collected *Tracts* (1682).<sup>86</sup> He was also exposed to Hobbes's ideas indirectly via friends who admired Hobbes's work. Examining the politics of the 1680s, Mark Goldie has identified a stance he christens 'sceptical Toryism': individuals who were fiercely loyal to the Crown but who, rather than sharing the strong commitment to the Anglican establishment common among Tories, were anticlerical in outlook and inclined to minimize the differences between Protestants and Catholics. It was on these grounds that they supported James's plans for toleration of Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics. Among this small group were Petty and another of Pepys's friends, Sir Peter Pett (1630–99). Both these men, Goldie argues, were influenced by the work of Hobbes, especially in their views on church governance and in their suspicion of the clergy.<sup>87</sup> On the evidence of the 'Notes', Pepys should be numbered among these Hobbesian thinkers. He shared Hobbes's anticlerical tendencies and was in sympathy with Hobbes's sceptical enquiries into the scriptural canon and the authority of its human interpreters.<sup>88</sup> Twenty years before, Pepys had heard Lord Sandwich make 'no great matter of anything' in religion, and himself now seems to have judged that Protestant and Catholic disputes were largely or entirely about 'things indifferent'.<sup>89</sup> He was working his way, if reluctantly, towards the view that a minimal creed was all that could be reliably affirmed by reason or scripture, a position akin to that of Hobbes, who argued that a belief that Jesus was the Christ was all that was essential for salvation.<sup>90</sup> Pepys's views certainly intersected with those of Hobbes on the matter of oaths. In *Leviathan* Hobbes argued that while sovereigns could compel actions—such as the taking of false oaths—they could not compel belief. If a sovereign required a subject to act according to beliefs he did

<sup>84</sup> *Pepys Catalogue*, vol. 1, p. 135.

<sup>85</sup> *Religion and Loyalty*, vol. 1, p. 55; Parkin, *Taming the Leviathan*, pp. 255–8, 299–301.

<sup>86</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 217; vol. 9, p. 298. *Leviathan* (London, 1651) is PL 2037. *Tracts of Mr Thomas Hobbs of Malmsbury* (London, 1682) is PL 1161.

<sup>87</sup> Mark Goldie, 'Sir Peter Pett, Sceptical Toryism and the Science of Toleration in the 1680s', in *Persecution and Toleration*, ed. W. J. Sheils (Oxford: Blackwell, for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 1984), pp. 247–73. On Petty's debt to Hobbes, see Jeffrey R. Collins, *The Allegiance of Thomas Hobbes* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), pp. 192–4.

<sup>88</sup> For example, Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Tuck, pp. 260–9, 359–63; *Behemoth* in *Tracts of Mr Thomas Hobbs*, pp. 84–93, 104–5. See also Noel Malcolm, *Aspects of Hobbes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), pp. 422–8.

<sup>89</sup> For example, Pepys's reflection on Protestant–Catholic relations is followed by the observation that the 'Greatest Difficultyes' in religion arise from 'Learned Men through their Heats of Contention'. 'Notes', p. 3.

<sup>90</sup> Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Tuck, pp. 407–12.

not hold, this was the sovereign's responsibility, not the subject's.<sup>91</sup> The subject had done his duty by showing external obedience. Pepys now found his own evidence for the division between 'private Religion' and 'Outward proffession':

It is observable from all our late oaths & Covenants settled by Act of Parliament & others that a man is at the same time obliged to declare his taking them Voluntar[y] thò at ye same time it is knowne to be done indispensib[ly] under great Penalties: Which goes very farr towards the confirmeing the difference that has been suggested to be, betweene a mans private Religion, wherein a man's owne faith & Reason governes and the Publick which the Law requires, and seemes to Reach & extend only to an Outward proffession of *what* it nevertheless would seem to understand & require to be done from an internall Perswasion. (p. 8)

Those who had 'suggested' a difference between an individual's religious beliefs and his public religion in similar terms to these included not just Hobbes but, more recently, Parker.<sup>92</sup> Pepys had evidently carefully read the oaths put to office holders, for he was correct about their tendency to intimate voluntary profession. Indeed the oath of allegiance (which denied the Pope's authority to depose the King) specifically required the takers to swear they took it 'heartily, willingly and truly'.<sup>93</sup> The implication, according to Pepys, was that the oaths required by law instituted and tacitly acknowledged a separation between 'private Religion' and 'Publick' avowal. Therefore subscription to beliefs you did not hold was not a culpable form of falsehood, for it was done under compulsion and was recognized by intelligent men as applying only to outward allegiance. Had Pepys voiced his argument about oaths in public or in print, he would rapidly have been attacked, like Parker, as a follower of Hobbes, and with some justice.<sup>94</sup> At this point it is worth recalling that in the 1670s, when defending himself from charges of Catholicism, Pepys had been ready to lie in the House of Commons about the extent of his participation in Church of England worship; by the 1680s, if not before, he had theorized principles that would justify greater forms of duplicity. Given the political context of the 'Notes', Pepys's comment on the distinction between 'private' and 'public' religion could be taken as an argument that would allow an individual to preserve his sense of moral integrity even when acting against his beliefs. An ability to divide what a prince or the state required of you from your own inner convictions was a means to avoid confrontation under a monarch such as James II, while a sense that the essentials of faith were minimal meant that even major changes to the Established Church were no real threat to the tenets necessary for salvation. Pepys's ability to reason in this way explains how he and others who shared this perspective were able to accommodate themselves to James's regime.

<sup>91</sup> *Leviathan*, pp. 343–4, 389.      <sup>92</sup> Parker, *Ecclesiastical Politie*, pp. 317–18.

<sup>93</sup> *The Oaths of Allegiance & Supremacy* (London [1685]).

<sup>94</sup> Accusations of being an admirer of Hobbes (carrying various abusive inflections) were common in the period. See Parkin, *Taming the Leviathan*, for example, pp. 289–91, 334–6.

## CATALOGUING BELIEF

Pepys's division of private and public religion can be usefully brought to bear in analysing the way he presented the religious collections in his library. His was a private library but it was also—as will be explored in Chapter 9—one assembled with an eye to the impressions given to visitors. The cataloguing of works on religious themes was complex, requiring multiple sections in Pepys's subject catalogue. Within this system Pepys was careful to establish a distinction between the works he represented as of importance for his own faith, and those that were of interest to him for other reasons. In the 'Appendix Classica', drawn up under Pepys's direction, the majority of religious works were found in five sections: 'Liturgies', 'Liturgick Controversies', 'Scripture', 'Sermons, & Preachers', and 'For Private Devotion'.<sup>95</sup> This arrangement of religious material implied that works catalogued as 'For Private Devotion' were directly relevant to the owner's beliefs and practice, while others were less so. Top of the list of works 'For Private Devotion' was the 1696 authorized edition of the Bible, followed by the Book of Common Prayer. Then came religious lives and devotional manuals, such as Lewis Bayly's *The Practice of Piety* (in the 1685 edition) and Jeremy Taylor's *The Worthy Communicant* (1683 edition).<sup>96</sup> There was a subsection on 'Divine Poesy', including George Herbert's *The Temple* (1679 edition) and George Sandys's *A Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems* (1638 edition). The rest of 'Devotion' consisted of works labelled 'Ethnicks', concerning non-Christian moral philosophy. Pepys's old favourite, Epictetus' *Enchiridion*, was listed here, as were Cicero's and Seneca's works.<sup>97</sup> In his later years, books of philosophy provided Pepys with consolation and surrogate companionship. Pepys and Evelyn's correspondence saw Evelyn counselling Pepys (and himself) by quoting Epictetus on preparing for 'another and a better state'.<sup>98</sup> In March 1699 Pepys wrote to Thomas Gale (now at York) of his pain at being separated from friends; his loneliness was relieved by 'your Iamblichus, Stobaeus, Eugubinus, and two or three more domestics of your recommending'.<sup>99</sup> All of the authors Pepys named here appeared in 'Devotion' as 'Ethnicks'. Iamblichus, a fourth-century Neoplatonist, conducted an investigation of the divine by exploring the mysteries of Egyptian religion: Gale had translated his work from Greek into Latin as *De mysteriis liber* in 1678. Joannes Stobaeus' *Sententiae ex thesauris Graecorum delectae* (1609) was an anthology of Greek authors

<sup>95</sup> 'Appendix Classica', pp. 53, 145, 151, 231, 269. The contents of the volumes in the section 'Consutilia' also contain many works on religion and politics. A page headed 'Chapter of Church' provided a separate subject index for locating religious works in other sections.

<sup>96</sup> 'Appendix Classica', p. 53. In 'Private Devotion' there was an impressive diversity of lives and manuals; other examples include a French Huguenot manual, part of a Catholic work on preparing for confession, a Spanish translation of Augustine's *Confessions*, and a 1704 edition of William Hamilton's *The Exemplary Life and Character of James Bonnell*, apparently added by John Jackson.

<sup>97</sup> 'Appendix Classica', pp. 54–5.

<sup>98</sup> Evelyn to Pepys, 9 Aug. 1700, in *Particular Friends*, pp. 276–7; compare Evelyn's allusion to Pepys's favourite passage from the *Enchiridion* on 10 Dec. 1700, p. 285.

<sup>99</sup> Pepys to Gale, 9 Mar. 1699, in *The Letters of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Guy de la Bédoyère (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), p. 228.

compiled in the fifth century. ‘Eugubinus’ was the Catholic author Agostino Steuco. His *De perenni philosophia* (1540) treated themes that intrigued Pepys, such as the attainment of knowledge of God through reason and the continuity of ancient philosophy with Christianity.<sup>100</sup> Pepys’s catalogue and letters suggest that his devotional reading remained eclectic but well within the bounds of acceptable texts for gentry readers—Protestant stalwarts such as Bayly kept company with Catholics such as Steuco, while poets and ancient philosophers were named alongside works of practical piety.

Within the other religious sections there were further moves to impress the difference between books used for private (personal) faith and those concerned with the study of religion, ecclesiastical history, and church controversies. As we noted earlier, the section on ‘Liturgies, Ceremonials, Offices, and Rites of Religious Worship, Jewish, Christian, Mahometan, & Pagan’ reflected Pepys’s interest in comparing religions. One advantage of putting the rites of all faiths under one section was that it gave no particular importance to Pepys’s collection of Roman Catholic texts, which now included a 1679 edition of Pope Gregory XIII’s *Martyrology*, a missal of 1683, and a breviary of 1685.<sup>101</sup> The charges of closet Roman Catholicism that cited Pepys’s ownership of a Catholic prayer book did not deter him from collecting these books in the long term, but it was prudent not to emphasize them in cataloguing the collection. Of the other sections concerned with divinity, ‘Liturgick Controversies’ was volumes of pamphlets on seventeenth-century English religious debate, chiefly from the 1640s and early 1660s. ‘Scripture’ was an impressively long section with multiple subdivisions. Here Pepys listed his many texts of the Bible (including translations into French, Spanish, and even Malay), followed by subsections that dealt with the major debates and themes in biblical scholarship. These included ‘Its Authority Controverted’, ‘Its Authority Asserted’, ‘Criticks’, ‘Expositors’, and ‘Reconcilers’.<sup>102</sup> We can tell from the ‘Notes’ that Pepys had taken certain of those writers who controverted scriptural authority particularly to heart, but this would not have been apparent from the catalogue. Here orthodox and controversial works appeared alongside each other, which created the impression of wide-ranging and balanced learning. Finally, the section

<sup>100</sup> ‘Appendix Classica’, pp. 54–5: Iamblichus of Chalcis, *Περὶ μυστηρίων λόγος . . . De mysteriis liber*, trans. Thomas Gale (Oxford, 1678), PL 2639; Joannes Stobaeus, *Κέρας Ἀμαθείας. Ἐκλογαὶ ἀποφθεγμάτων καὶ ὑποθηκῶν. Sententiae ex thesauris Græcorum delectæ* (Geneva, 1609), PL 2540. Under ‘Private Devotion’ the library catalogue specifically names Steuco’s *De perenni philosophia*, which Pepys owned as part of *Operum tomus tertius* (Paris, 1577), PL 2462. The ‘domestics’ were presumably works in English recommended by Gale. On Steuco, see Charles B. Schmitt, ‘Perennial Philosophy: From Agostino Steuco to Leibniz’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 27 (1966), 505–32, stable URL: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2708338>>.

<sup>101</sup> Augustin Lubin, *Martyrologium Romanum Gregorii XIII Pont. Max.* (Paris, 1679), PL 1843; *Missale Romanum ex decreto sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum* (Antwerp, 1683), PL 2047; *Breviarum Romanum . . . Urbani PP. VIII* (Antwerp, 1685), PL 1667–70. A missal contains the services for the celebration of Mass; a breviary gives the Divine Office for each day.

<sup>102</sup> ‘Appendix Classica’, pp. 233, 234, 237, 242.



'Sermons, & Preachers' featured an elaborate alphabetical index of authors that listed the dates of their sermons. It was followed by this statement:

**Memorandum**

That a principal Aim in ye foregoing List having been the Transmitting to Posterity a true Notion of the **Preaching** so much in Vogue with the **Populace** of **England** during the late **Rebellion**; The much greater part of it is made up of Single Sermons of the most celebrated **Preachers** of the **Presbytery** & **Independency**, & upon the most Solemn **Occasions** arising between the Years 1640 & 1660.<sup>103</sup>

The note informed users of Pepys's catalogue that these sermons should not be taken to represent his own religious preferences—instead they were intended as a historical record of popular taste. Yet, since Pepys's verdict on Wright's *Five Sermons in Five Several Styles* had been in favour of the Presbyterian and Independent examples, there is reason to think that he found more in the sermons than the note implies. In the 'Appendix Classica' he employed a number of tactics to distinguish 'private' devotion from 'public' matters of religion in his library, making it difficult for readers of his subject catalogue to draw unflattering or damaging inferences about the nature of his beliefs. These distinctions were, however, illusory: those items that were truly 'private' and perhaps most revealing about how Pepys used his books usually did not make it into the library at all. For example, Petty's more controversial papers on religion and politics did not find a place in Pepys's permanent collections and neither, of course, did the 'Notes'.<sup>104</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

'Notes from Discourses touching Religion' drew extensively on Pepys's reading of printed texts, but for him and his associates the most valued information about religion, as about politics, often came via manuscript and conversation. James recognized this when, in late 1685, he set out strategically to test his subjects' opinions, for his method exploited the sense of obligation that came with the gift of an exclusive text. The publication of Charles II's *Two Papers* was in three stages: discreet scribal publication, followed by a limited print run, and finally mass production of the document by the King's Printer and others. The individuals given sight or ownership of the manuscript or first printing were implicitly under an obligation for being so singled out (even if they construed this as a form of intimidation). It might therefore be hoped that, conscious of a sense of obligation, they would respond favourably or at least moderately to this sign of James's determination regarding his religious policies. At this time, Pepys was facing questions that had a direct bearing on his personal conduct, questions that he

<sup>103</sup> 'Appendix Classica', p. 276.

<sup>104</sup> Pepys's copies of Petty's papers on controversial religious issues are not in the Pepys Library, Cambridge, but elsewhere, such as in the Rawlinson Collection in the Bodleian or the Osler Library, Montreal. Pepys's diary of the 1660s is an exception: this was kept in the Pepys Library but the contents were obscured by the use of shorthand.

chose to frame not primarily in terms of his own loyalty or faith but as more abstract enquiries into religious authority, political theory, and natural philosophy. Along with decades of reading, he brought the resources of his intellectual network to bear in analysing the principles for determining personal religious conviction, public profession, and the correct relationship between church and state. Taken together, tenets in these three fields provided him with a rationale for determining his actions under James's rule.

In Pepys's writings we can see how deep scepticism could take root and grow during the Restoration. His early suspicions about clerical self-interest—as evident in his diary—were increased by continuing church controversies, his reading of church history, and the international debates over the editing of scripture. He had severe doubts about his countrymen's capacity to evaluate works that challenged church doctrine and to choose their religion 'with knowledg and understanding'. Yet, unsurprisingly, he held himself to be a responsible, capable reader of religious controversies—or as capable as anyone faced with perhaps unknowable matters of faith. Pepys's responses show he must be numbered among those individuals who made a habit of drawing heterodox conclusions from orthodox works.<sup>105</sup> His opinions were derived from sources that were frequently dissonant to the point of incompatibility, but that he nonetheless saw as supplying evidence for his anticlerical, often Hobbesian, arguments. His move towards the view that the essentials of faith were very few made his position on church government unusual but, to judge by the evidence of his contemporaries' writings, not unique. Like his 'sceptical Tory' acquaintances, Pepys suspected the vast majority of theological controversy was simply the clergy's 'Heats of Contention'.<sup>106</sup> It is clear that the conversation and writings of Pepys's immediate acquaintances had provided material that fostered his scepticism: 'scepticall' views were being endorsed by some (such as Sandwich and Petty), while in the 1680s social gatherings and manuscript exchange provided a sympathetic environment for new, unorthodox ideas to be proposed and tested. As a result, toleration of what would subsequently be called 'freethinking' impulses among networks of office holders was shaping how individuals responded to James's regime.

There is, it should be stressed, no reason to judge that Pepys's commitment to the Church of England was a duplicitous pretence. He remained within the Church for decades, making what his friends describe as a good Anglican death in 1703.<sup>107</sup> If he found ecclesiastical authority to be dubious on many accounts, the Church of England was nonetheless 'the Religion I was born in' and shared a 'Morall Doctrine' endorsed by reason. His personal loyalty to James was similarly rationalized, supported as it was by Erastian principles. This sceptical Erastianism allowed for adaptability to the monarch's will but not, in Pepys's case, for adapting to a revolution: faced with pledging allegiance to William and Mary, he was not prepared to make an 'Outward proffession' of loyalty to the new monarchs that

<sup>105</sup> Pepys's responses to Heylyn, to reports of Epiphanius' work, and to Walton are cases in point.

<sup>106</sup> 'Notes', p. 3; compare Goldie, 'Sir Peter Pett', pp. 265–6.

<sup>107</sup> *Private Correspondence*, vol. 2, pp. 312–14.

was at odds with an ‘internall Perswasion’ that his patron of three decades should not be abandoned. This was a decisive step and in some ways a critical break from his previous practice. Throughout his adult life Pepys was cautious about making his own political and religious convictions public and he burnt private papers that he judged might prove embarrassing or potentially dangerous in the wrong hands.<sup>108</sup> The incendiary contents of ‘Notes from Discourses touching Religion’ made it a prime candidate for the flames, but it seems Pepys never got round to reviewing the contents of his ‘Generall Mixt Papers, to be review’d’. Instead the paper survives as evidence of Pepys’s searching consideration of his principles and of the wide-ranging, resourceful—but often unprintable—debates on religion, science, and politics under James.

<sup>108</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, pp. 31, 360; Pepys to Gale, 15 Sept. 1692, in *Private Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 60.

# 9

## Libraries and Closets

### The Uses of a Book Collection

Towards the end of his life, after decades of book collecting, Samuel Pepys composed a paper describing the rationale behind a 'Private Library' such as his. His library was not like the 'Extensive, Pompous' libraries of princes or universities, nor the focused collections of learned specialists. Instead it was designed 'for the SELF-ENTERTAINMENT onely of a solitary, unconfined ENQUIRER into BOOKS'.<sup>1</sup> This characterization of his library's function as a place for 'solitary', personal entertainment was more than a little misleading. Literary historians have noted that 'private' can prove a deceptive term when applied to an individual's or a family's book collection in the early modern period. Giles Mandelbrote, for example, notes that 'to describe these as "private" libraries obscures the extent to which books were being borrowed, lent and exchanged', while Kevin Sharpe remarks that 'private libraries' could prove to be 'semi-public collections', shared among networks of friends and their contents widely discussed.<sup>2</sup> It should by now come as no surprise that Pepys appreciated the benefits of allowing others access to his private collection. Elspeth Jajdelska has suggested that Pepys's books in the 1660s were 'in large measure a vehicle for his reputation' and a means 'to display his wealth and learning to visitors', while David McKitterick proposes that Pepys came to see his library as 'a public (or at least potentially public)' collection.<sup>3</sup> Pepys's library provides an excellent case through which to explore the many uses of a

<sup>1</sup> 'Mr Pepys on the Conditions of a PRIVATE LIBRARY', in *Private Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 247. Tanner tentatively dates this document from the Pepys Cockerell Papers to 1701 on the basis of the character of annotations in Pepys's hand. However, Pepys had been working on his library rationale for at least a decade before this, since the Pepys Cockerell document is evidently a condensed version of 'The Method of My present Register of my Books adjusted this\_of\_1691' and 'The Conditions of a Private Library' (undated, but on the same sheet). These together are BL, MS Add. 78680, Evelyn Papers DXIII, item 17. They are neat documents, with messy annotations in Pepys's hand that can be dated (on the grounds of his remarks and the surrounding papers) to 1700. This fits well with the estimated date for the Pepys Cockerell 'Conditions'. The two British Library pieces appear to have been corrected by Pepys as part of the library review under way in 1700, with the Pepys Cockerell version being a further attempt to summarize his library scheme.

<sup>2</sup> Giles Mandelbrote, 'Personal Owners of Books', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, vol. 2, ed. Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), pp. 173–89 (p. 178); Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 312.

<sup>3</sup> Elspeth Jajdelska, 'Pepys in the History of Reading', *Historical Journal*, 50 (2007), 549–69, doi: 10.1017/S0018246X07006255 (p. 557); David McKitterick, 'Introduction', in *Pepys Catalogue*, vol. 7, pt. 1, p. xv.

private library in the seventeenth century, not least because questions of exclusivity, access, and retirement were of moment to him. To Pepys, his 'library' first meant his book collection and then, especially in later years, the chamber that held his books and his other collections. The fine library he assembled in the 1690s and early 1700s was the ultimate representation of the value he attached to books; it was also the culmination of a number of scholarly projects and of strategies of self-presentation that he had honed across decades. In this chapter I will trace the development of Pepys's book collection and the changing uses of his library rooms. Pepys's approach to his books and his closet will also be compared with the ways his family and acquaintances (both male and female) used their collections. The extensive records of Pepys's library suggest avenues for interpreting those early modern libraries that survive today, especially in reference to reading practices and sociability.

### GROWING COLLECTIONS

Pepys's library moved with him and grew with him. In his first years at Seething Lane in the early 1660s he seems to have felt that the number of books in his collection and its sometimes chaotic state did not quite merit the august term 'library'; instead he wrote simply of 'my books'.<sup>4</sup> This had changed by 1668, when



Fig. 11. Pepys's library at 14 Buckingham Street, York Buildings, view facing towards the Thames, by Sutton Nicholls (c.1693).

By permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge

<sup>4</sup> For example, *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 267; vol. 7, p. 290.

he owned around five hundred books and was considering which to retain for personal use as ‘my proper Library’.<sup>5</sup> The collection was already an impressive one when, in January 1673, it narrowly escaped a fire that destroyed the Navy Office and surrounding buildings.<sup>6</sup> The undamaged parts of the library went with Pepys to Derby House, Westminster, which doubled as the Admiralty headquarters. In 1679, Pepys took up residence with Will Hewer in 12 Buckingham Street at York Buildings in Westminster, before moving to 14 Buckingham Street in 1688.<sup>7</sup> His enforced retirement in 1689 allowed him to throw himself into developing his collections. ‘Tumult of Businesse’, Pepys told his friend Dr Arthur Charlett, had previously limited his ability to seek ‘Curiositys’ and given him ‘very little Selfe-Leasure to read’.<sup>8</sup> Now he had both time and money to pursue his interests and much of his library as it survives today was acquired in the final fourteen years of his life. The two pictures of Pepys’s spacious, uncluttered library in 14 Buckingham Street date from the 1690s; they stand as symbols of his pride in the room and its contents (Figures 11 and 12). In summer 1701, Pepys and his library moved to



Fig. 12. Pepys’s library at 14 Buckingham Street, York buildings, view facing away from the Thames, by Sutton Nicholls (c.1693).

By permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge

<sup>5</sup> *Diary*, vol. 10, p. 35; vol. 9, p. 18 (‘proper’ can mean ‘own’).

<sup>6</sup> Pepys to Mr Brisbane, 12 Mar. 1674/5, in *Further Correspondence of Samuel Pepys 1662–1679*, ed. J. R. Tanner (London: Bell, 1929), p. 280.

<sup>7</sup> *Survey of London*, vol. 18: *St Martin-in-the-Fields, 2: The Strand*, ed. G. H. Gater and E. P. Wheeler, pp. 67–73, *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=68273>> [accessed 6 June 2014].

<sup>8</sup> Pepys to Charlett, 4 Aug. 1694, in Howarth, p. 244.

lodge at Will Hewer's fine house at Clapham. Feeling death approaching, in 1703 he added a detailed codicil to his will to ensure the 'unalterable preservation and perpetual Security' of his library. While John Jackson was to take charge of the library during his own lifetime, Pepys—who had seen many libraries broken up under the auctioneer's hammer—wanted to ward against 'the ordinary Fate of such Collections falling into the hands of an incompetent Heire and thereby of being sold dissipated or imbezelled'. He therefore urged Jackson to bequeath the library to Magdalene College, their alma mater. Once they had been passed on to a college, Pepys wanted his collections to be kept separately from other holdings in 'a faire Roome' and stipulated that the catalogue (completed according to his instructions) should remain with the library.<sup>9</sup>

When Pepys's collection was given to Magdalene in the early eighteenth century it numbered 2,971 volumes, containing some 4,063 titles.<sup>10</sup> At the start of the seventeenth century, collections of this size had been almost entirely confined to the nobility.<sup>11</sup> Developments in the book trade and a fashion for collecting meant that, although this remained an impressively large collection for a rich gentleman, it was not astonishingly so. A number of Pepys's acquaintances had collections running to thousands of books. Sir Edward Sherburne, whom Pepys dealt with at the Ordnance Office, owned about 2,000 titles in the early 1680s, while the 1703 auction catalogue for Robert Hooke's books listed 3,380 items. In 1687, John Evelyn owned nearly 4,000 books and over 800 pamphlets. Sir Joseph Williamson, another colleague, owned 6,000 books.<sup>12</sup> Library holdings naturally tended to be strong in the areas that reflected their owners' interests (such as law for Williamson or medicine for Hooke), but a learned gentleman was expected to hold works on a variety of subjects and in a range of languages. In the late seventeenth century it was still the case that half of a gentleman's collection might be in Latin, while among

<sup>9</sup> Will of Samuel Pepys, National Archives, PROB 1/9, 'The Schemae... relating to the Completion & Settlement of my Library', May 1703.

<sup>10</sup> The volume count is from F. Sidgwick's 'General Introduction' to *Bibliotheca Pepsiana: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Samuel Pepys*, pt. 2 (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1914), p. xviii. The figure for titles becomes 5,833 if the contents of Pepys's 5 volumes of ballads are individually counted. On counting methods and problems, see Introduction, 'Sources on Pepys', pp. 15–16.

<sup>11</sup> Pamela Selwyn and David Selwyn, "'The Profession of a Gentleman': Books for the Gentry and the Nobility (c.1560–1640)", in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, vol. 1, ed. Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), pp. 489–519 (pp. 502–3).

<sup>12</sup> T. A. Birrell, 'The Library of Sir Edward Sherburne (1616–1702)', in *The Book Trade and its Customers, 1450–1900*, ed. Arnold Hunt and others (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), pp. 189–204 (p. 189); Leona Rostenberg, *The Library of Robert Hooke: The Scientific Book Trade of Restoration England* (Santa Monica, CA: Modoc Press, 1989), p. 124; Giles Mandelbrote, 'John Evelyn and his Books', in *John Evelyn and his Milieu*, ed. Frances Harris and Michael Hunter (London: British Library, 2003), pp. 71–94 (pp. 72–3); T. A. Birrell, 'Reading as Pastime: The Place of Light Literature in Some Gentlemen's Libraries of the 17th Century', in *Property of a Gentleman: The Formation, Organisation and Dispersal of the Private Library, 1620–1920*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1991; repr. 1996), pp. 113–31 (p. 126). Exact comparisons between holdings are tricky as the sources are not always clear about what is being counted (volumes, shelf marks, or publications).

the modern languages French was the most popular after English.<sup>13</sup> For Pepys, a variety of holdings was in fact a principal aim. In the earliest version of his paper on 'The Conditions of a Private Library' (c.1691), he declared that a library should contain 'the greatest diversity of Subjects & Stiles (from the most solemn & polite down to the most Vulgar) & in such variety of Languages as the Owner's Reading will bear'.<sup>14</sup> In line with this approach, he collected printed works in languages including Spanish, French, Italian, Hebrew, Latin, and Greek. In terms of subject diversity, his final library had substantial holdings of works on divinity (15 per cent), history (11 per cent), newsbooks and political pamphlets (10 per cent), sea and travels (9 per cent), 'Vulgaria' (5 per cent), plays and poems (5 per cent), and law (4 per cent).<sup>15</sup>

The strengths of Pepys's book collection included ballads and chapbooks—when he wrote of assembling works 'down to the most Vulgar', these were the publications he had in mind. This interest was unusual but not without precedent among collectors: Pepys purchased and added to the ballad collection of John Selden and used his own scholarly connections to seek help from Anthony Wood, another collector of ballads and chapbooks.<sup>16</sup> However Pepys was particularly diligent in collecting 'Vulgaria'. The result was over 160 'Penny-Merriments' (stories, songs, riddles) and 'Penny-Godlinesses' (religious pieces) in octavo and duodecimo formats, along with 50 popular stories in quarto, and some 1,775 ballads. Like Wood and Selden, Pepys saw this material as a valuable index of the times. Comments in his diary also show he shared Wood's sense that ballads and chapbooks made for entertaining (if sometimes 'ridiculous') reading.<sup>17</sup> Another remarkable feature of Pepys's library was, of course, the holdings on the navy and seamanship. For Pepys to have missed 'any one written Sheete, that either Paines or Price could helpe mee to' on these subjects would, he told Dr Charlett, have been cause for self-reproach.<sup>18</sup> He sought material that had ready practical application to his office, but also works

<sup>13</sup> Birrell, 'Reading as Pastime', p. 126; Rostenberg, *Library of Robert Hooke*, pp. 124–6. David Pearson, 'Patterns of Book Ownership in Late Seventeenth-Century England', *The Library*, 7th ser., 11 (2010), 139–67, doi: 10.1093/library/11.2.139 (pp. 154–5).

<sup>14</sup> BL, MS Add. 78680, item 17, fol. 2r.

<sup>15</sup> Proportions are based on a title count of 4,063 and categories derive from Pepys's divisions in the 'Appendix Classica'. My category 'Divinity' includes Pepys's sections 'Devotion', 'Liturgies', 'Liturgick Controversies', 'Scripture', 'Sermons, & Preachers', 'Convocation pamphlets', 'Sermons polemical', and other smaller sermon collections. 'History' is the sections on 'History' and 'Lives'. 'News and pamphlets' covers runs of newsbooks, 'Narratives & Trials', parliamentary votes, and the 'Consultilia'. 'Sea and travels' is works from 'Travels, & Voyages' and 'Sea, & Navy', excluding those 'Sea Law' pieces that also appear in 'Law'. The 'Vulgaria' section consists of the volumes called 'Penny Merriments', 'Penny Godlinesses', 'Vulgaria', and 'Ballads' ('Ballads' counting as 5 volumes)—if almanacs are added, the figure is 6%. I have avoided double-counting where possible, and made use of the modern catalogues to help mitigate the fact that the 'Appendix Classica' does not include every item in the library.

<sup>16</sup> Richard Luckett, 'The Collection: Origins and History', in *Pepys Catalogue*, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. xiii–xiv, xvi.

<sup>17</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 99; vol. 9, p. 277. *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, ed. Andrew Clark, 5 vols. (Oxford: 1891–5), vol. 2 (1892), p. 367. On Selden's view of cheap literature, see Ch. 1, 'Pepys's Preferred Reading', p. 47. On Pepys's chapbook collection, see Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, 1981).

<sup>18</sup> Pepys to Charlett, 4 Aug. 1694, in Howarth, p. 245.



that would contribute to his intended history of the navy—a project he was still entertaining as late as 1699.<sup>19</sup> Among his naval holdings were many manuscripts, ranging from copies of medieval naval records to the journals kept by captains on recent sea voyages. There were also fourteen volumes of Admiralty letter books from Pepys's time as Secretary in the 1670s and 1680s that he treated as his private property rather than public record and refused to surrender to his successors.<sup>20</sup>

In his final draft on 'The Conditions of a Private Library' Pepys explained that a library's subject holdings should be in proportion to 'the particular Genius of their said Owner' ('Genius' here meant character or spirit, rather than any claim to brilliance).<sup>21</sup> Pepys's acquisitiveness when it came to certain topics such as the navy therefore stemmed from more than just a desire to gather the most comprehensive holdings possible. His rationale for collecting meant that to create a library was to create a projection of the owner's mind, a record of the self. The connection was one Pepys felt keenly and chose to emphasize within his library, for the motto on many of his bookplates read 'Mens cujusque is est Quisque' ('what a man's mind is, that is what he is'), a quotation from Cicero's *The Republic* (see Figure 9 for one such bookplate).<sup>22</sup> Justin Champion has astutely remarked of early modern libraries that 'gaining entrance to the inner sanctum of a man's library was a means of getting inside his head'; we should, however, qualify this: to gain entrance was to be offered the *impression* that you were getting inside the owner's head—an impression that could be altered as he or she chose.<sup>23</sup>

The notion that the books in a library are a projection of the owner's mind relies on an equation between reading and ownership, on the assumption that the contents of the books on the shelves have been or will be absorbed. Yet in the late seventeenth century certain common collecting behaviours made the links between the books a person chose to keep and those they read particularly tenuous. Conscientious collectors felt regularly compelled to dispose of books in order to ensure their holdings remained up to date and useful. Pepys disposed of works from his library on a regular basis, since one of his collecting principles entailed possessing diversity 'in fewest Books & least Room'.<sup>24</sup> This was a long-standing aim: in January 1668 he had resolved to limit his collection to two book presses (or cases), 'it being my design to have no more at any time for my proper Library then to fill them'. Although he failed spectacularly to keep to this resolution, keeping his collection manageable meant works were frequently 'ejected', to use his term.<sup>25</sup> The fact that booksellers would take old books towards payment of new ones

<sup>19</sup> Pepys to Jackson, 19 Oct. 1699, in *Private Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 201.

<sup>20</sup> C. S. Knighton, *Pepys and the Navy* (Stroud: Sutton, 2003), pp. 162–3.

<sup>21</sup> *Private Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 248.

<sup>22</sup> Cicero, *The Republic*, 6.26. For translation and discussion of the motto, see Richard Ollard, *Pepys: A Biography* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1991), pp. 364–5 and Claire Tomalin, *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self* (London: Viking, 2002), pp. 455–6 n. 31.

<sup>23</sup> Justin Champion, *Republican Learning: John Toland and the Crisis of Christian Culture, 1696–1722* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 45.

<sup>24</sup> BL, MS Add. 78680, item 17, fol. 2r.

<sup>25</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 18; *Pepys Catalogue*, vol. 7, pt. 1, 'Deleta', pp. 167–9 (first pagination sequence).

was an incentive to vary the contents of a collection. For example, Mary Skinner's foster family recruited Pepys to dispose of a long list of books from their home at Wood Hall that were to be sold or exchanged.<sup>26</sup> Such mass disposals by library owners were sometimes prompted by a sense of being overwhelmed by books, many of which were of little or no use. In 1694 Pepys grumbled to Evelyn that mankind was forced 'to turn-over soe many cumbersome, jejeune, and not seldom unintelligible volumes' for 'pittances' of knowledge. Evelyn agreed that these works were 'monstrous Lumber'. He later expressed a desire that his own library be 'thro'ly purged', with 'trifling Books . . . weeded out to give place to better'.<sup>27</sup> However, ejection was often not a comment on the general contents of the work, but on the edition. Sir Joseph Williamson gave away duplicates from his library and kept the editions he preferred, while the Derbyshire collector Sir William Boothby got rid of copies he felt were outdated.<sup>28</sup> Pepys's catalogue of 1700 contains a list of thirty-seven unwanted works. Here the criterion for ejection was sometimes aesthetic, with a copy 'To give way to a Fairer'. More often it was Pepys's desire for an updated edition that led to replacement: eight volumes were specifically noted as 'To give way to a later Edition' or 'New Edition'.<sup>29</sup> Booksellers advertising 'corrected' or 'enlarged' editions found their mark in Pepys, for he and his friends shared the common view of late seventeenth-century collectors that a later and more complete edition was generally preferable to a first edition, even when the first edition was known to be scarce.<sup>30</sup> In this context, owning an outdated work might not only mean possessing a less accurate or incomplete copy, but being seen by others as owning an imperfect book. Given the equation between library and inner self, there was also the risk that a library full of superseded editions might be taken to imply a flawed mind.

If seventeenth-century collectors' practices of purging works make it more likely that they owned and read more than they kept, it is also the case that the active pursuit and retention of a book does not guarantee that it was read. In Pepys's case he may well have read older editions of works rather than the newer ones he retained, while many of his newsbooks and much of his collection of ballads and

<sup>26</sup> Bodl., MS Rawlinson, A.190, fols. 78–81. In an earlier article, published as 'Books and Sociability: The Case of Samuel Pepys's Library', I suggested that the document was a list of Pepys's own books. It remains possible that some are his, but the balance of evidence points to his involvement in exchanging volumes kept at Wood Hall and thus owned by Skinner's family.

<sup>27</sup> Pepys to Evelyn, 14 Aug. 1694, and Evelyn to Pepys, 2 Sept. 1694, in *Particular Friends*, pp. 248, 250. Evelyn, *Memoires for my Grand-Son*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (Oxford: Nonesuch, 1926), p. 51.

<sup>28</sup> Oxford, The Queen's College Library, MS 44(2), 'Doubles given to Dr Hulston 1678', unbound insert at back of Williamson's catalogue; Peter Beal, "My Books Are the Great Joy of my Life": Sir William Boothby, Seventeenth-Century Bibliophile', *Book Collector*, 46 (1997), pp. 350–73 (p. 360).

<sup>29</sup> *Pepys Catalogue*, vol. 7, pt. 1, 'Deleta', pp. 167–9. In only two cases was an older edition noted in Pepys's catalogue as being preferable.

<sup>30</sup> Evidence that the rarity of the edition did not prevent disposal comes from the fact that Williamson and Pepys each owned one of the few copies of Dugdale's *Origines Juridicales* (London, 1666) to survive the Great Fire; both men chose to dispense with their copies in favour of, respectively, a second and a third edition, advertised as having 'Additions'. Pepys had been told by the bookseller that the first edition was scarce. Oxford, The Queen's College, MS 44 (2), Williamson's catalogue under 'D'; compare 'Doubles given to Dr Hulston 1678', insert at the back of the volume. *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 168 and PL 2552.

chapbooks were bulk bought, not individually purchased.<sup>31</sup> There are also indications that he acquired some works to maintain the completeness of his collection rather than with the express intent of reading them. For example, in the early 1680s—probably in 1684, the same year Pepys was elected President of the Royal Society—he wrote a memorandum seeking ‘a Perfect List of Mr Boyle’s Workes’ along with information on any other ‘Philosophical Peices’, as well as the issues of the Royal Society’s *Philosophical Transactions* that he lacked.<sup>32</sup> Although Pepys knew and greatly admired Robert Boyle, he did not always find finishing his works or understanding them to be easy.<sup>33</sup> This lends weight to the idea that the primary reason for his enquiries was his desire to own a ‘Perfect’ set of works, rather than a desire entirely to master the specific contents of the books. The attention given to Boyle in Pepys’s library therefore honoured a friend and advertised a prestigious connection, but it may also have given impressionable visitors an exaggerated notion of Pepys’s comprehension of Boyle’s contributions to natural philosophy. Ironically where collectors seem to espouse the idea of a close affinity between their character and their libraries, there is particular reason to be careful about taking collecting as evidence of interests and especially of reading behaviour. These are the individuals most likely to be adjusting library holdings in order to project particular versions of themselves.

## CLOSET DESIGN

Pepys’s honing of his book collection was an ongoing project; so too was his development of the room used to hold these books and the devices that assisted their use. During the first half of the 1660s Pepys’s books and papers were held in a room at the top of his house in Seething Lane that he variously called ‘my chamber’, ‘my study’, and ‘my closet’.<sup>34</sup> At this point the words used indicate a room with multiple purposes rather than one dominated by books. Closets—small rooms to which an individual could withdraw—served a range of functions in the late seventeenth century. Literary historians have emphasized that these rooms were valued for the privacy they afforded, as places for religious reflection, and for solitary work. Closet doors often had a lock, so money, precious objects, and important papers were kept there.<sup>35</sup> In Pepys’s closet he pursued solitary activities: he dealt

<sup>31</sup> *Samuel Pepys’s Naval Minutes*, ed. J. R. Tanner, Naval Records Society 60 (London: Naval Records Society, 1926), p. 336; *Pepys Catalogue*, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. xiii–xv.

<sup>32</sup> Bodl., MS Rawlinson, A.190, fol. 105. The memorandum’s contents show it dates from after 1677 and it is bound with material from c.1684.

<sup>33</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 247; vol. 9, p. 431. See also Jajdelska, ‘Pepys in the History of Reading’, p. 562.

<sup>34</sup> For example, *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 268; vol. 2, pp. 25, 37; vol. 7, p. 214. Coexistent with his closet on the top floor of his house there also was ‘my chamber below’ (on one occasion called ‘my closet below’), which contained a virginal (vol. 5, pp. 94, 194).

<sup>35</sup> On the English ‘closet’ (and the often synonymous ‘study’), see Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1978), pp. 296–301, 306–14; Alan Stewart, ‘The Early Modern Closet Discovered’, *Representations*, 50 (1995), 76–100, doi: 10.2307/2928726; James Knowles, ‘“Infinite Riches in a Little Room”: Marlowe and the Aesthetics of the Closet’, in *Renaissance Configurations: Voices/Bodies/Spaces 1580–1690*, ed. Gordon McMullan

with his finances, read books alone, played music, and wrote his journal.<sup>36</sup> It was not long, however, before alterations were being made to his closet with an eye to the social function of the room: in November 1662 hangings that had previously decorated the dining room were moved into Pepys's study, that it might 'upon occasion serve for a fine withdrawing room'—a place to remove to in order to entertain select guests.<sup>37</sup> The improvement of the closet into a 'withdrawing room' should be seen within the broader context of Pepys's patterns of sociability. Karl Westhauser observes that in the early 1660s Pepys came to believe that too much time spent socializing in alehouses and other public spaces was damaging his status among his colleagues. He instead endeavoured to socialize at home, attempting to consolidate his status through reciprocal hospitality.<sup>38</sup> Westhauser argues that Pepys was less than successful in his efforts to win respect in this way; yet Pepys undoubtedly saw long-term social benefits from investment in his closet. Dora Thornton has shown that the studies created during the Italian Renaissance allowed their owners to 'lay claim to the civility, polite manners and educated tastes' of the ruling elite.<sup>39</sup> Particularly in the 1660s, Pepys's closet served these functions, allowing him to signal his rising status and form important connections. An early use for the study was as a place where Pepys entertained close friends (and potential rivals) such as John Creed. On 28 June 1663, Pepys and Creed spent 'most of the afternoon reading in Cicero and other good books and good discourse'.<sup>40</sup> Favoured merchants were shown into Pepys's closet: to be entertained here, rather than in the Navy Office, was a sign of esteem and an extension of intimacy that went beyond routine professional relations.<sup>41</sup> Pepys was himself offered this form of intimacy by acquaintances and colleagues. For example, in 1664 he was called upon to admire Creed's chamber with its 'new contrivance of a desk and shelves for books' along with a new viol (a type of stringed instrument) 'which proves methinks much worse then mine'.<sup>42</sup>

As the sniping comment about Creed's viol suggests, to invite intimacy by entertaining individuals in one's closet was also to encourage emulation and competition. Pepys was conscious that a well-ordered and well-furnished closet

(London: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 3–29 (pp. 9–10); Sasha Roberts, 'Shakespeare "Creepes into the Womens Closets about Bedtime": Women Reading in a Room of their Own', in *Renaissance Configurations*, pp. 30–63.

<sup>36</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 22, 32, 35, 73.

<sup>37</sup> *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 262.

<sup>38</sup> Karl E. Westhauser, 'Friendship and Family in Early Modern England: The Sociability of Adam Eyre and Samuel Pepys', *Journal of Social History*, 27 (1994), 517–36, doi: 10.1353/jsh/27.3.517, (pp. 523–5, 527–9).

<sup>39</sup> Dora Thornton, *The Scholar in his Study: Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 1.

<sup>40</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 202.

<sup>41</sup> For example, *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 233. Uninvited intrusion into the intimate space of a closet was an outrage; hence Robert Hooke's indignation when 'An impudent cheesmonger [*sic*] rusht into my closet—he soon found a new cheesemonger. 'Diary of Robert Hooke 1688–1693', in *Early Science in Oxford*, ed. R. T. Gunther, vol. 10 (Oxford: for the author, 1935), p. 223.

<sup>42</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 64. Other instances include Pepys's admiration of William Batten junior's 'very fine study and good books' (vol. 4, p. 218) and Thomas Povey's closet pictures (vol. 4, p. 26; vol. 5, p. 212).

was necessary for an ambitious gentleman: it was a mirror of his mind and a reflection of his wealth. Such a closet was not just aesthetically pleasing but incorporated the latest in technologies to aid reading and study. Among Pepys's male friends, the emphasis was on the utility and ingenuity of closet design, although a touch of luxury did not go amiss. Pepys saw a chance to exercise his talent for design when, in July 1666, his collection outgrew his current closet. The books were so numerous that they were piled on chairs around the room, so he determined to move the closet to a new location and commissioned new book presses to display his works. Having (rather grudgingly) praised Creed's 'new contrivance' of shelves, Pepys himself now took 'great pains contriving presses' with a joiner.<sup>43</sup> He decided upon glazed book presses, since these combined splendour in displaying the books with a measure of protection. The two bookcases he commissioned in 1666 were to be the first of twelve that would eventually fill his library. Pepys's description of 'The Conditions of a Private Library' placed special emphasis on the design of the 'Repositoryes' for books: these should provide 'Security against Dust, Disordered [*sic*], Misusage, Moisture, Embezzlement, Fire'. The last danger in particular had caught Pepys's attention—book presses should be able 'To bee taken in Peeeces, in case of Fire' and for 'Easiness of Transportation'.<sup>44</sup> By the 1690s, this was the voice of experience. Pepys's bookcases could be separated into sections and their portability must have helped to ensure that the majority of his collection survived the Navy Office fire of 1673 and two subsequent conflagrations near his home in the 1680s. When he was pondering design issues in 1666, inspiration on how best to display books came from Sir William Coventry, Pepys's admired colleague. On 30 July Pepys was shown Coventry's 'new closet' at St James's Palace, which he found 'very fine and well supplied with handsome books'. Two weeks later Pepys decided to arrange for a bookbinder to gild all his books in order that they would be 'handsome' in his new presses.<sup>45</sup> Gilding on this scale was at this point uncommon, although hiring a bookbinder to come out to gild your collection would become a recognized service.<sup>46</sup> Although Pepys does not say so directly, closet emulation was at work here. The compiler of the 1687 auction catalogue for Coventry's library, like Pepys, praised the appearance of Coventry's books, adding the telling information that many were 'gilt Back'.<sup>47</sup> Pepys was copying his peers in attending to closet design, and his own bookcases in turn inspired emulation. His friend and colleague William Blathwayt paid visits to

<sup>43</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 214. The closet was moved to the erstwhile music room and its original location became 'my little dining room'. *Diary*, vol. 7, pp. 243, 293.

<sup>44</sup> BL, MS Add. 78680, item 17, fol. 2r. The comments on taking the cases to pieces and ease of transport are deleted in the draft.

<sup>45</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, pp. 227, 243.

<sup>46</sup> Pearson, 'Patterns of Book Ownership', p. 157; Beal, 'My Books Are the Great Joy of my Life', p. 362.

<sup>47</sup> [William Cooper], *A Catalogue of Books of the Several Libraries of the Honorable Sir William Coventry, and the Honorable Mr Henry Coventry* (London, 1687), 'Reader', fol. π2r.

Pepys at York Buildings and subsequently had glazed bookcases similar to Pepys's commissioned for his fine house at Dyrham.<sup>48</sup>

The choice of closet and library furniture expressed the owner's skill, values, and taste. If the design drew admiration, this was especially gratifying—but, conversely, slights and scorn were particularly painful. In 1668 Pepys was greatly impressed by Coventry's latest closet design 'with his round table for him to sit in the middle, very convenient'. Coventry's table, it seems, revolved to allow him to reach different papers easily.<sup>49</sup> To admirers, such as Pepys, the table symbolized Coventry's efficiency and industry; to his enemies on the Privy Council it was a subject for ridicule. Seeing an opportunity, the Duke of Buckingham introduced a scene into the comedy *The Country Gentleman* (1669) featuring one 'Sir Cautious Trouble-all' at his 'Table for buisnes'. Sir Cautious boastfully demonstrates his invention of a circular desk: he sits inside it on a specially made stool that revolves on 'a swivell'. There follows a ridiculous swivelling contest with an overly impressed colleague.<sup>50</sup> In the light of the social status and sense of self-worth that were attached to the furnishing of closets, this satire was a particularly low blow. Coventry's extreme response on hearing about the planned play—he challenged Buckingham to a duel—appears a little less extreme as a result.

Along with the latest furniture designs, catalogues were one of the library technologies in which dedicated collectors invested effort and sometimes money. These required regular updating to keep pace with a collection's changing contents, but there was also pride at stake as bibliophiles sought to find the best method of arranging and classifying books. For Pepys, putting 'my books in order' was a regular event in the 1660s, and by the end of the decade he appears to have intended cataloguing to be an annual occurrence.<sup>51</sup> In his case, some form of finding aid was especially necessary, because he ordered his books on the shelves by size, rather than by topic or author. Numerous of his contemporaries lavished

<sup>48</sup> Barbara C. Murison, 'Blathwayt, William (bap. 1650, d. 1717)', in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2626>> [accessed 10 June 2014]; *Pepys's Later Diaries*, ed. C. S. Knighton (Stroud: Sutton, 2004; repr. 2006), p. 108; Dyrham Bookcase, Victoria and Albert Museum <<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O78943/dyrham-bookcase-bookcase>> [accessed 10 June 2014].

<sup>49</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 255. Mapperton House, Journals of the First Earl of Sandwich, vol. 9, p. 124.

<sup>50</sup> Sir Robert Howard and George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, *The Country Gentleman*, ed. Arthur H. Scouten and Robert D. Hume (London: Dent, 1676), 3.1.46–173. Coventry's colleague satirized here was the privy councillor Sir John Duncombe. Thanks to the ensuing scandal, the play was not acted or printed. Sources are not clear on which bit of Coventry's furniture revolved. Pepys heard the players would 'bring in two tables like that which [Coventry] hath made, with a round hole in the middle, in his closet, to turn himself in' (*Diary*, vol. 9, p. 471)—this accurately describes the scene and implies that Coventry's chair (not the table) turned. However, a different report comes from the Earl of Sandwich's journal: 'a fellow very like Sir William Coventry should have been brought out upon ye stage & Placed in ye middle of such a table as Sir William useth to dispatch in which turnes to him (as he sits still) severall sorts of businesse' (Mapperton House, Sandwich Journal, vol. 9, p. 124). Here Sandwich appears to describe the actual table, which, like Pepys, he was in a position to have seen. So it appears Coventry's own table revolved, whereas Buckingham heightened the satire by having the chair and owner revolve instead.

<sup>51</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 268. Cataloguing activity began on the following dates: 17 Dec. 1666 (vol. 7, p. 412); 2 Feb. 1667 (vol. 8, p. 40); 16 Feb. 1668 (vol. 9, p. 72); 24 May 1669 (vol. 9, pp. 559–60).

attention on cataloguing their books, from the Nonconformist preacher Samuel Jeake of Rye to Sir Edward Sherburne of the Ordnance Office.<sup>52</sup> Robert Hooke's diaries contain many references to his having 'Rangd & catalogud Library', 'setled books & numbrd them', or 'catalogued Small books'.<sup>53</sup> Williamson produced successive versions of an alphabetical list of titles and a subject index, and Evelyn experimented with several methods of classifying and cataloguing.<sup>54</sup> By the early eighteenth century the demand for catalogues had grown to the point where it was possible to hire an expert to catalogue your collection for you: Jacob Hooke advertised this service in 1704.<sup>55</sup> Pepys instead preferred to rope in members of his household. In the late 1660s he had the help of his brother John, Elizabeth, Deb Willet, and family friend Betty Turner in numbering and cataloguing items.<sup>56</sup> Even those unable actually to read the books were not safe from Pepys's demands. In 1700 'my Footman *that* can but Number' was recruited to help with the latest round of book arranging.<sup>57</sup> As Pepys's library grew, however, he needed specialist assistance. From the late 1670s and for more than two decades, his clerk Paul Lorrain was his chief library assistant. In the 1700s, Pepys also credited his servant Daniel Milo with 'Extraordinary diligence and usefullnesse to me, in Severall matters relating to my books' and left him money on condition that he stay on for six months after Pepys's death to help Jackson settle the library.<sup>58</sup> From 1700 Pepys and Lorrain worked on a 'Catalogue' (a shelf list) and an 'Alphabet' (an alphabetical list of subjects and authors): together these bore the title 'Supellex Literaria', meaning 'literary furniture' or 'literary equipment'.<sup>59</sup> The books according to this description were just one part of the library room, and fine objects on a level with Pepys's furniture and other collections.

The name given to the catalogue becomes more fitting if we look at the other contents of Pepys's closet and his library. Optical and mathematical devices were often kept in such rooms. John Evelyn advised his grandson that he should keep near his books 'All your *Mathematicall* Instruments, Sphear, Globe, perspectives, micro-scope, Saxton [i.e. sextant], Compasses, quadrants, Rules, Tables,

<sup>52</sup> *A Radical's Books: The Library Catalogue of Samuel Jeake of Rye 1623–1690*, ed. Michael Hunter, Giles Mandelbrote, Richard Ovenden, and Nigel Smith (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1999), pp. xxiv–xxvi; Birrell, 'Library of Sir Edward Sherburne', pp. 189, 191.

<sup>53</sup> *Hooke's Diary 1672–1683*, 12 Dec. 1672, 1 Jan. 1677 [that is, 1676/7], 13 Mar. 1677 [1676/7]. The context of these references indicates the cataloguing was of Hooke's private library, although in the 1670s he was also involved in cataloguing the Royal Society's collections.

<sup>54</sup> Oxford, The Queen's College, MS 44, MS 44(1), MS 44(2), and MS 14, Williamson's catalogues. Geoffrey Keynes, *John Evelyn: A Study in Bibliophily* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 13–17.

<sup>55</sup> [Jacob Hooke], *Bibliothecae Millingtonianae, pars prima* [London, 1704], advert following 'Conditions of Sale'. The bookseller Moses Pitt may have offered a cataloguing service much earlier, since in 1677 Hooke recorded 'To Pitts about Catalogue maker'. *Hooke's Diary 1672–1683*, 24 Feb. 1677 [that is, 1676/7].

<sup>56</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 8; vol. 9, pp. 49, 72, 559–60.

<sup>57</sup> BL, MS Add 78680, item 17, 'The Method of My Present Register of my Books', fol. 1v—the reference to the footman is in Pepys's hand and later than the main body of the text; see n. 1 of this chapter.

<sup>58</sup> The National Archives, Will of Samuel Pepys, PROB 1/9, Codicil, 12 May 1703.

<sup>59</sup> *Pepys Catalogue*, vol. 7, pt. 1, p. 1.

Surveying Instruments, Optic glass, Dials, Needles, Levells, Glasses &c'. John Aubrey, an antiquary and Fellow of the Royal Society, provided an even longer list of instruments that wealthy gentlemen should own.<sup>60</sup> Pepys's closet held a number of devices, sometimes accompanied by the books needed to master them. In 1664 he used Henry Power's book on the microscope to work out how to focus his new and expensive model ('a most curious bauble'), before spending time in his 'chamber' with Elizabeth puzzling over the device.<sup>61</sup> He easily gave in to the blandishments of craftsmen selling optical instruments: Richard Reeves provided him with his fine microscope but also 'a little glass', a 'scotoscope' (which used a convex glass to focus lamp light), and 'a lantern, with pictures in glass to make strange things appear on a wall, very pretty'.<sup>62</sup> Amusement was as much a part of Pepys's interest in optical devices as scientific curiosity, but increasingly in the 1660s his interest in optics and lighting was urgently practical. His eyes began to react badly to candlelight and by 1667 this was a serious and recurring problem. In 1668 he purchased a 'reading-glass' from Reeves and then designed his own spectacles by adapting guidance he found in the *Philosophical Transactions*.<sup>63</sup> New lighting mechanisms also held out hope of a solution. In January 1669, Pepys's friend and colleague Henry Sheeres offered assistance. He had a silver candlestick commissioned for Pepys 'after a form he remembers to have seen in Spain, for keeping the light from one's eyes'. This appears to have been a candlestick with a built-in shade of a kind not at all common in England until the eighteenth century.<sup>64</sup> The help provided by these optical and lighting devices proved to be limited, but they had the advantage of being cutting-edge technologies and therefore fine additions to Pepys's closet. The owners of closets might flourish or, like Coventry, suffer as a result of their furnishing decisions, but Restoration craftsmen—joiners, bookbinders, cataloguers, and instrument makers—were certainly doing well by offering a range of innovative designs and services to meet their customers' desire for novelty and ingenuity.

<sup>60</sup> Evelyn, *Memoires for my Grand-son*, pp. 53–4. A 'sphear' was an armillary sphere; 'perspectives' in this context were probably telescopes; 'dials' measured time; and 'needles' were magnetized needles. A. J. Turner, 'Mathematical Instruments and the Education of Gentlemen', *Annals of Science*, 30 (1973), 51–88, doi: 10.1080/0003379730020003, (pp. 64–5).

<sup>61</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, pp. 240, 241; compare Pepys's use of John Brown's book and slide rule described in Ch. 2, 'Practical Mathematics', pp. 72–4.

<sup>62</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 35; vol. 5, p. 240; vol. 7, p. 254. On Pepys's interest in scientific instruments, see Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Pepys' Diary and the New Science* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1965), pp. 16–27, and R. H. Nuttall, 'That Curious Curiosity: The Scotoscope', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 42 (1988), 133–8, doi:10.1098/rsnr.1988.00111743-0178.

<sup>63</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 270, 284, 533, 547. Pepys's experiments were inspired by a series of letters from John Beale on 'Tubulous spectacles' published in *Philosophical Transactions*, 3 (1668), 727–31 (doi: 10.1098/rstl.1668.0027), 765–6 (doi: 10.1098/rstl.1668.0036), and 802 (doi: 10.1098/rstl.1668.0048).

<sup>64</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 429. Maureen Dillon, *Artificial Sunshine: A Social History of Domestic Lighting* (London: The National Trust 2002), p. 95.



## SOLACE AND SOCIABILITY

After relocation and refurbishing, at the end of 1666 Pepys's 'new closet' contained a desk, 'a fair chest of drawers', iron chests for holding money, a press for papers, scientific instruments, and, as the cynosure, two glazed book presses with all the books gilded. The walls were decorated with purple hangings, maps, and pictures of ships. The newly furnished study, he was convinced, would be 'as noble a closet as any man hath', and as it neared completion he was keen to share the benefits of his taste and industry.<sup>65</sup> On 2 September 1666, a select group of acquaintances was invited to dine with him, during which time the closet and its fine collection of books were to be shown to Joshua Moone, secretary to the governor of Tangier. As we noted in Chapter 7, this form of hospitality was common among the gentry and literati: the provision of food or drink was accompanied by looking over prints, manuscripts, books, and closet collections. However, this time all did not go to plan, as Pepys explained: 'Mr. Moones design and mine, which was to look over my closet and please him with the sight thereof, which he hath long desired, was wholly disappointed, for we were in great trouble and disturbance.'<sup>66</sup> The source of the trouble was the destruction of the City of London about them: the Great Fire was then burning fiercely less than half a mile away. It is an index of both the social and the emotional investment Pepys now had in his closet and books that, even in the context of the burning of the City, this disappointment merited recording. The entry was written up months after the event, after the distress of the fire and the upheaval of an evacuation.<sup>67</sup> Yet Pepys's regret at the ruined opportunity to show off his closet remained acutely felt. His reactions to the events surrounding the fire show how this closet had become a psychologically significant place for him. After major disruptions such as the plague and the Great Fire, it was specifically the return of his closet to an orderly state that signalled the return of normality to his home and his life in general. It was only with the setting of the books 'right' and the closet cleaned that he could declare 'everything in as good condition as ever before the fire'. Increasingly, Pepys's closet, and its books in particular, were valued as an environment he could completely control. The way in which Pepys came to identify the closet as a reflection of his self also meant that when all here was 'in perfect order', it offered reassurance of an ordered life and mind.<sup>68</sup>

Pepys's growing confidence in his closet as a pleasing projection of himself led to his making book hospitality a key part of his plans to entertain his superiors. In 1668 and early 1669 several dinner parties were held at which Pepys invited the nobility to peruse his collections. In March 1668, for example, he hosted a dinner attended by Lord and Lady Hinchingbrooke, the son and daughter-in-law of Lord Sandwich. With six other guests, they spent the afternoon 'eating and looking over my closet'. Lady Hinchingbrooke was evidently suitably admiring, for Pepys

<sup>65</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, pp. 25, 130; vol. 5, p. 241; vol. 7, pp. 257, 258, 290, 300, 336.

<sup>66</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 270.

<sup>67</sup> For the entry of events in this period, see *Diary*, vol. 1, p. ciii and vol. 7, p. 318.

<sup>68</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 292; compare p. 37.

commended her as a ‘well-disposed lady, a lover of books and pictures and of good understanding’.<sup>69</sup> At Pepys’s dinner parties, guests would have been shown his most valuable books, such as his copy of Paul Rycaut’s *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*. Pepys knew that he was one of only six owners of a coloured first edition of Rycaut’s work, with the others including the King, the Duke of York, and the Duke of Monmouth.<sup>70</sup> As a means of entertaining guests, this book could scarcely be bettered, for it provided numerous spurs to conversation: visitors could discuss the vivid illustrations of Turkish dress, political relations with the Ottomans, or the exotic experiences of travellers, and perhaps move on to talk about other modish literature inspired by the Ottoman Empire (such as Davenant’s *The Siege of Rhodes* or Scudéry’s *Ibrahim*). Pepys preferred to keep annotations on his books to a minimum, but in this case he noted the cost of the book before stocks were destroyed in the Great Fire and the fifty-five shillings he had paid for it afterwards (see Figure 9). Knowing the uses of Pepys’s closet at this time, the note did more than flourish his wealth to inquisitive guests: it marked the book as, in Pepys’s words ‘a monument of the Fire’, providing a talking point and (one suspects) an opportunity to introduce discussion of the scarcity of the edition and of its noble and royal owners.<sup>71</sup> Pepys’s guests would recognize that their host was honouring them by showing a work that would not have been out of place in a royal collection—and that they were obliged to him for the favour.

## WOMEN’S CLOSETS

When Pepys judged his refurbished closet ‘as noble a closet as any man hath’, he was thinking of the rooms and collections owned by male friends and colleagues—especially Coventry whose ‘very fine’ room and gilded books he had recently seen.<sup>72</sup> Yet, as Lady Hinchingsbrooke’s presence as a connoisseur suggests, women too were involved in the ‘arms race’ over closet furnishings, books, and collections. Indeed, they sometimes had as much, if not more, invested in their closets as their partners did. Recent scholarship has registered differences in the uses of men’s and women’s closets. If men’s closets tended to be places for business, study, and devotion, then women’s closets were particularly strongly associated with devotion, with inventories suggesting that such rooms were also sometimes used for activities such as preparing medicines and conserves. ‘Private chambers’, argues Sasha Roberts, ‘could offer women a degree of personal freedom, self-expression and arguably empowerment which was unavailable to them elsewhere’.<sup>73</sup> In Pepys’s records, however, the differences between the ways that men and women in his circle used their closets are less striking than the similarities. Elizabeth Pepys had her own

<sup>69</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 116–17; see also vol. 9, pp. 410–11, 423–4, 527.

<sup>70</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 156. On the work’s purchase, see Ch. 6, ‘Making a Choice/Making a Sale’, pp. 179–80.

<sup>71</sup> *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 121.

<sup>72</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, pp. 227, 258.

<sup>73</sup> Sasha Roberts, ‘Shakespeare “Creepes into the Womens Closets”’, esp. p. 56; Stewart, ‘Early Modern Closet Discovered’, p. 82; Knowles, ‘Infinite Riches’, p. 9.

room from her first arrival at Seething Lane: there are repeated if elusive references to 'her chamber' in 1660 and 1661. The first clear reference to 'my wife's closet', however, came in August 1662, when it was being decorated.<sup>74</sup> Elizabeth's closet room was sometimes used as a place of retreat. When she was devastated by her husband's affair with Deb, Elizabeth 'shut herself up in her closet' all afternoon and refused Samuel's pleas to come in. When she finally did let him in, he found her 'crying on the ground', having apparently collapsed there after unlocking the door.<sup>75</sup> This is an apt illustration of the limited sense of empowerment that Roberts argues women's closets afforded: Elizabeth was feeling far from powerful on this day in 1669, but her closet gave her the ability to find a refuge, bar her husband from entry, and thereby make him squirm. On happier days, she spent time in her closet reading and studying, including learning arithmetic from Samuel. As well as housing her book collection, this was a place for doing and displaying crafts—here she practised ornamental shell-work using the fine shells brought to her by Captain Hickes and her brother. Like Samuel, she also used her closet to entertain friends, playing cards there after dinner.<sup>76</sup>

Elizabeth resembled her husband in being fastidious about the appearance of her closet and in being prone to reworking it. One such burst of decorating in Elizabeth's 'new Study' in September 1663 entailed repainting, putting up decorated calico wall hangings, and installing a new picture over the chimney, along with the purchase of furniture, another picture, and instruments such as compasses and snuffers.<sup>77</sup> It is usually the closets owned by men that are associated with mathematical instruments but, besides the compasses, Elizabeth also owned a set of astronomical and terrestrial globes. Bought at her request, they were subsequently referred to as 'her Globes' and may well have been kept in her closet.<sup>78</sup> The extent to which books were prominent in ladies' closets would have varied according to the owner's taste and means. Pepys, while he was quick to notice men's books, did not make a point of noting women's closet book collections; yet Elizabeth's fashionable books (which included expensive folios and French romances) must have been a notable feature of her closet.<sup>79</sup> Other female collectors foregrounded their jewels, medals, prints, or pictures.<sup>80</sup> Elizabeth had very little money of her own to spend, and it was Samuel who did much of the purchasing for her closet and book collection—sometimes with her, but often on his own.<sup>81</sup> Elizabeth did,

<sup>74</sup> Elizabeth's 'chamber': *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 263; vol. 2, p. 98; vol. 3, pp. 34. Her 'closet': vol. 3, p. 165.

<sup>75</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 439.

<sup>76</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 14, 295, 344; vol. 5, p. 45.

<sup>77</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 299, 300, 320, 322, 434. On 9 Oct. 1663, Pepys said he wanted to get Elizabeth some more items for her closet and six days later purchased 'Compasses, and Snuffers for my wife' (vol. 4, pp. 328, 336). The editors have punctuated this sentence to indicate that only the snuffers were for Elizabeth, but the shorthand original makes no such distinction. Compasses were in keeping with Elizabeth's interest in geography and mathematics. A further bout of closet decorating followed in January 1666.

<sup>78</sup> *Diary*, vol. 4, p. 302; vol. 5, p. 16.

<sup>79</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 365. For discussion of Elizabeth's books, see Ch. 5, 'Novels and Romances', p. 142.

<sup>80</sup> In 1661, for example, Pepys's Aunt Wight 'showed us her Cabinet, where she had very pretty medalls and good Jewells' (*Diary*, vol. 2, p. 202). 'Cabinet' in this context could mean either her closet or a piece of ornamental furniture commonly kept in such a room.

<sup>81</sup> For example, *Diary*, vol. 4, pp. 299, 300.

however, negotiate over the budget allocated to her needs, and her perception of her closet emerges through this process. 'In lieu of a Coach this year', wrote Pepys in March 1668, 'I have got my wife to be contented with her closet being made up this summer and going into the country this summer for a month or two to my father's, and there Mercer and Deb and Jane shall go with them.'<sup>82</sup> What Elizabeth wanted above all else, then, was not a more modish closet but a coach. A household coach was, as Susan Whyman has shown, a status symbol and a means for women to gain freedom of movement.<sup>83</sup> Instead of this expense, Elizabeth was bought off with a combination of a newly decorated closet and the promise of entertainment with female companions in the country. To Elizabeth, a closet, like a coach, signalled independence and high status, and both facilitated socializing. In the wake of the Deb affair, the next year's round of bargaining won Elizabeth an improved allowance 'of 30*l* a year for all expenses, clothes and everything'—'everything' here included books and other items for her closet. At the same time she also received a valuable piece of closet furniture as a New Year's gift: a walnut cabinet chosen by Samuel with the help of Will Hewer ('cost me 11*l*', noted her husband).<sup>84</sup>

Rather than being an expression solely of personal taste, Elizabeth's closet was the product of a joint effort by her and her husband. This was normal. Women's closets had to impress both male and female visitors, and frequently it seems to have been the men who were determined to show off their wives' closets to admiring guests. In 1660, Sir William Batten showed his colleagues his wife's closet, 'where there was great store of rarities', including jewels and china. When Pepys stayed the night with the merchant Sir George Smith, the host took Pepys to 'his lady's closet, which was very fine'.<sup>85</sup> In 1664, a visit to the house of Pepys's friend, the naval surgeon James Pearse, included a trip to his wife's closet, 'which her husband with some vainglory took me to show me'—although on this occasion its messy condition showed Elizabeth Pearse to be 'the veriest slattern that ever I knew in my life'. Pepys was more impressed three years later when Mrs Pearse herself showed Samuel, Elizabeth, and Mary Mercer her 'pretty' closet, with her son's portrait in it.<sup>86</sup> We have already encountered Pepys's sparring with Lord Brouncker's mistress, Abigail Williams, over her closet: having been shown this room with 'a great many fine things', Pepys resolutely refused to reciprocate this hospitality by offering Williams the same kind of intimate entertainment or a gift for her collections.<sup>87</sup> Given this conflict, there is a fitting irony in the fact that it was a fire begun in Williams's closet that caused the destruction of the navy buildings in 1673, and with them part of Pepys's prized collections.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>82</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 98.

<sup>83</sup> Susan E. Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys 1660–1720* (Oxford: OUP, 1999; repr. 2007), pp. 102–3, 105.

<sup>84</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, pp. 405, 406.

<sup>85</sup> *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 280; vol. 6, p. 312; vol. 8, p. 159.

<sup>86</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 151; vol. 8, p. 439.

<sup>87</sup> *Diary*, vol. 7, p. 76. See Ch. 7, 'The Etiquette of Book Gifts and Book Hospitality', pp. 202–3.

<sup>88</sup> Arthur Bryant, *Samuel Pepys: The Years of Peril* (London: Collins, 1935; new edn. 1948), p. 91.

Pepys's responses to Abigail Williams and her closet are also ironic in the light of his thirty-three-year relationship with Mary Skinner. Williams tried and, with Pepys at least, failed to use her closet to impress her gentility on her acquaintances. Skinner's projection of herself through her closet was such that, despite being a mere mistress (or 'whore', as Pepys called Williams), she won plaudits for learning and taste even from the most respectable of connoisseurs. Unlike Elizabeth Pepys, Mary Skinner was independently wealthy and she chose to invest heavily in her closet. Both her riches and her collecting were aided by her foster-mother, who, when she died in 1684, left Mary one thousand pounds and 'all the books in my closet'.<sup>89</sup> Since Mary Skinner died unmarried, she left a will of her own in 1715, and much of what we can deduce about her reading and collecting comes from there. Mary owned 'Two Book Cases' full of books as well as three other illustrated books: 'the Heathen Gods[,] the description of the Castle and Water Works of Versailles and a little French Book of Heraldry called *Jeu d'armoiries* [*Jeu d'armoiries*] all coloured by my Self'. If Skinner's will reflected even part of what was in her closet, it was a room that was lavishly furnished, displaying her wealth and connections. Among the goods she left were 'the Gold Medall of the French King[,] the Clock in my Chamber[,] the great Skreen of Six-leaves Indian' (all gifts, she noted, from Pepys), as well as 'two Indian Silver Guilt perfuming Bottles', an Indian cabinet, and two pictures by Sir Godfrey Kneller. Signs of Mary's own skill, besides the books she had coloured, were 'my sett of Tapestry Chairs and Stooles all of my own Work'.<sup>90</sup> John Evelyn and his wife Mary followed Skinner's decorating of her closet with a fascination akin to that which Pepys paid to his friends' closet innovations. In 1695, Evelyn wrote to tell his wife to pass on news to her interested neighbour that 'Mrs Skinner (Mr Pepp's Inclination)' had purchased a cabinet for fifty pounds—this was presumably the prized 'Indian Cabinet' that Skinner bequeathed to John Jackson's wife in her will. According to Evelyn, Skinner had been 'all over the Towne & could no where find any like it, & would have given 60/ if it had been asked, for she payd the 50/ immediately without any chafering for abatement'.<sup>91</sup> Mary Skinner was both zealous and profligate when it came to finding her ideal furnishings, and someone—probably Pepys or else his 'Inclination' herself—had been quick to relay the specifics of this triumphant purchase to Evelyn. It seems to have had the desired effect for Evelyn professed to be in awe of her connoisseurship. In a letter of 1699 he wished her 'all

<sup>89</sup> Hertfordshire Record Office, Will of Elizabeth Boteler (proved 1684), quoted in Tomalin, *Samuel Pepys*, p. 307.

<sup>90</sup> The National Archives, PROB 11/548/345, Will of Mary Skynner, 20 Aug. 1714 and codicil 2 Oct. 1715 (proved 26 Oct. 1715). 'Jeu d'armoiries' was presumably *Jeu d'armoiries des souverains & états d'Europe* by Claude-Oronce Finé de Brienville, a duodecimo book concerning heraldry of which there were many late 17th-century editions. 'Heathen Gods' was either Robert Whitcombe's *Janua Divorum: or The Lives and Histories of the Heathen Gods* (1st pub. 1677), or a post-1697 edition of François Pomey's *The Pantheon, Representing the Fabulous Histories of the Heathen Gods*: both these books came with 'copper cuts' as illustrations.

<sup>91</sup> BL, MS Add. 78431, Evelyn Papers, CCLXIV, fol. 171v, John Evelyn to Mary Evelyn, 11 Nov. 1695.

the satisfaction of a Versailles, in the Cabinet she is adorning and worthy Mistress of': 'cabinet' here probably meant 'closet' rather than a piece of furniture, while the reference to Versailles suggests Evelyn knew of Skinner's particular interest in the palace with its fine rooms and collections. He believed her adorning of her closet would be 'aboundantly Sufficient to gratify the Curiosity of those who having had the hapynesse to see it, think it not worth the going into France, so long as it is in more perfection at York-Streete'. This was a neat compliment, as Skinner had herself travelled to France the previous year (where she may well have seen Versailles for herself and acquired her book about it).<sup>92</sup> A few months later Evelyn decided Skinner's learning deserved further compliments. He encouraged his grandson to praise her in Latin verse by comparing her 'to some of Platos femal disciples or rather a lady could read lectur to Plato himselfe'.<sup>93</sup> Whether or not Mary Skinner could have read the resulting Latin poem herself, she was clearly expected to grasp the allusion: this was more than token praise. For the women in Pepys's circles, closets and the collections they held were spaces for doing crafts and displaying feminine artistry (drawing, painting, shell-work, and embroidery). Such rooms were perhaps more important to these women than they were to their male partners as spaces over which they might exercise a relatively high degree of control. Descriptions of women's closets tend to emphasize artistry and luxury, rather than the ingenuity and conveniency for study that Pepys often registers in relation to men's closets. Yet women also used their closets in many of the same ways as their male counterparts, and sometimes in tandem with them: these rooms were reflections of the self, sites of learning, repositories of wealth, claims to status, and manifestations of social ties.

## THE LIBRARY ROOM AND RETIREMENT

One advantage of a closet with a book collection was that it could be adapted to suit new needs and purposes. After Pepys was forced out of the navy in 1689, his collections took on importance as a means to fend off the consequences of unwanted retirement, political dissidence, and loss of power. The main part of his book collection was by now held in a library room, which took over much of the closet's role as a locus for elite sociability.<sup>94</sup> During the 1690s Pepys hosted weekly gatherings of friends and virtuosi referred to as 'Saturday's table' and, as in the 1660s, hospitality continued to revolve around the twin poles of food and books.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Evelyn to Pepys, 14 Jan. 1699, in *Particular Friends*, p. 264. For Skinner's pass to travel to France, see *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series of the Reign of William III, 1 Jan.–31 December 1698*, ed. Edward Bateson (London: HMSO, 1933), p. 88.

<sup>93</sup> BL, MS Add. 78462, fol. 14v, Evelyn to his grandson John Evelyn, 12 June 1699.

<sup>94</sup> At 14 Buckingham Street Pepys continued to have 'study' or 'closet' rooms in addition to his main library room. See Pepys to Gale, 15 Sept. 1692, in *Private Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 61, and a reference on 1 May 1700 to books 'upon the 2<sup>nd</sup> Shelf in my Lower-Closet Press' in BL, MS Add. 78680, item 18, fol. 1v.

<sup>95</sup> John Jackson to Pepys, 22 Dec. 1699/1 Jan. 1700, in *Private Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 261. For the club, see Ch. 7, 'Clubs and Communities of Practice', pp. 203–4.

Pepys's guests were meeting surrounded by their own publications. Among the 'Saturday's Literati' in the 1690s were Thomas Gale, Thomas Smith, John Evelyn, Isaac Newton, Richard Bentley, and John Arbuthnot, each of whom had at least one work in the library.<sup>96</sup> A number of these friends had also contributed to the library less tangibly, through putting their knowledge and contacts at Pepys's disposal in advising him what to collect and where to find rare items. To honour those who had aided the cause of learning or helped him personally, Pepys sought out their portraits for his print collections and lined the walls of his library with paintings of friends and patrons—Gale, Evelyn, and Newton among them (Figures 11 and 12).<sup>97</sup> William Sherman has stressed that a private library was 'less asocial and apolitical than selectively social and political'.<sup>98</sup> Pepys's library was certainly now a politically charged space. As Richard Ollard comments, Pepys's intellectual contacts in the 1690s 'transcended the divisions of politics and churchmanship'.<sup>99</sup> Yet centrally placed in the library was the portrait of Pepys's exiled master James II. Of the regular members of the group, Thomas Smith was a Nonjuror and Charles Hatton, like Pepys, had been imprisoned for suspected Jacobite plotting in 1690.<sup>100</sup> The decoration of Pepys's library advertised the owner's Jacobitism to an audience who, while they did not all share his convictions, could be relied upon to respect them. John Newman has drawn a worthwhile distinction between Pepys's 'large, plain' book room of the 1690s and the much grander libraries 'of display' built in the eighteenth century.<sup>101</sup> However, there can be no doubt that Pepys's library room, and even his earlier much smaller closets, were designed to display his learning, his international connections, and his allegiances to impressive effect.

Through his collections, Pepys was able to retain his roles as an authority on the navy and a gatekeeper of important information, even though he was no longer a member of the Admiralty. In 1694, for example, the publishers of *An Account of Several Late Voyages & Discoveries* dedicated the book to Pepys. He had supplied the manuscript (held in his library) on which the work was partially based. The publishers therefore praised Pepys for 'advancing the Progress of Useful Knowledge, and encouraging Men of Letters, or Invention'. Such 'Noble Endowments of Mind' had made him worthy of 'High Stations' and gained him an esteem that 'no Revolution' (Glorious or otherwise) could shake.

<sup>96</sup> Jackson to Pepys, 19 Oct. 1699, in *Private Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 199. The Pepys Library has 7 of Gale's publications, 8 by Smith, 13 by Evelyn, 3 by Newton, 3 by Bentley, and 1 definitely attributable to Arbuthnot. Two of these were, however, published after 1701, when the group stopped meeting. Figures are compiled from the *Census*.

<sup>97</sup> *Pepys Catalogue*, vol. 7, pt. 1, pp. xxxiii–xxxv.

<sup>98</sup> William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), p. 50.

<sup>99</sup> Ollard, *Pepys*, p. 370.

<sup>100</sup> Theodor Harmsen, 'Smith, Thomas (1638–1710)', in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25912>> [accessed 11 June 2014]. Countess of Nottingham to Christopher Viscount Hatton, 26 June [1690], in *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson, 2 vols. ([London], 1878), vol. 2, pp. 151–2.

<sup>101</sup> John Newman, 'Library Buildings and Fittings', in *Cambridge History of Libraries*, vol. 2, pp. 190–211 (p. 208).

Pepys was given copies of the book by the grateful publishers and one duly found a place in the library.<sup>102</sup> After the plague and fire, the state of Pepys's book collection had served as an index of his sense of well-being and security; now the collection was serving a related function as a reliable source of status and self-esteem in otherwise volatile circumstances.

In redefining his identity after 1688, Pepys drew upon Ciceronian ideals of retirement in ways he expected others to recognize. John Marshall has described how Cicero became an important model for conduct in the republic of letters. Cicero was cast in multiple roles as

a mitigated sceptic; a scholar who produced work in a private library but always with an eye to its contribution to the public; an advocate of republican life and virtue—by participation in political life directly if possible, but through service to the community of letters and in communication of the desirability of a republic if that was not currently possible.<sup>103</sup>

All these facets of Cicero spoke to Pepys's situation save that, in his version, Cicero's republicanism was elided with principled political dissidence, and thereby equated with his own Jacobitism. As we have already mentioned, Pepys's bookplates bore the Ciceronian tag 'Mens cujusque is est quisque'. In his drafts on a private library, he described it as a resource for a 'VOTARY of CICERO'S OTIUM LITERATUM' and went on to cite in Latin Cicero's words on a retired life dedicated to literature: 'That literature I mean which gives us the knowledge of the infinite greatness of nature, and, in this actual world of ours, of the sky, the lands, the seas'.<sup>104</sup> It was 'the seas', of course, about which Pepys aspired to be particularly knowledgeable. This passage on literary leisure from *Tusculan Disputations* was one of Pepys's favourites. Lines from the same text, which immediately precede those just quoted, appeared on the cover of Pepys's *Memoires Relating to the State of the Royal Navy* (1690), in which he justified his work as Secretary for the Admiralty against the charges of his political enemies and successors. Translated, the title-page quotation reads, 'What vexations therefore they escape who have no dealings whatever with the people! For what is more delightful than leisure devoted to literature?' (see Figure 6). The message, clearly, was that Pepys was well rid of his troublesome and ill-rewarded service to the nation. For those who knew the passage, the implications were even more pointed. Immediately before noting the 'vexations' of dealing with the populace, Cicero had remarked that 'men hate all superiority of virtue' and given the example of the statesman Aristides who was driven out of Athens because he was

<sup>102</sup> John Narborough et al., *An Account of Several Late Voyages and Discoveries to the South and North* (London, 1694), fol. A2r–v. The library copy is PL 1365 and the manuscript is PL 2542. Pepys to Evelyn, 22 May 1694, in *Particular Friends*, p. 241.

<sup>103</sup> John Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), p. 513.

<sup>104</sup> *Private Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 247. Also the quotation of these and preceding lines from Cicero at BL, MS Add. 78680, item 17, fol. 1v. The quotation is Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, 5.36.105, with translation from J. E. King's edition (London: Heinemann, 1945), p. 531. For Cicero's views on leisure, see W. A. Laidlaw, 'Otium', *Greece and Rome*, 2nd ser., 15 (1968), 42–52, doi: <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0017383500016843>>.



just.<sup>105</sup> The title-page motto therefore invited parallels between the injustices suffered by two virtuous, expelled statesmen (Aristides and Cicero) and Pepys's own situation of enforced retirement—also tacitly implicated in this comparison was Pepys's expelled master James II.

Pepys's identification with the Ciceronian ideal of scholarly leisure offered a means of recasting what might otherwise have been deprivation and disgrace. It continued to influence his sense of his public role throughout his retirement. In 1698, in the midst of his print campaign against the mismanagement of Christ's Hospital, Pepys described himself (in the third person) as

One, too well acquainted with other *Subjects*, more worthy his *sacrificing* so much of the little *Residue* of his *Time* and *private Study* to, than this before us: Were it not, that he would be glad, to convert some part of the *Leasure* ~~God Almighty~~ has been pleased to bless the *Evening* of his *Life* with, to a ~~Good~~ so publickly meritorious, as he takes *This* to be.

Pepys insisted to the governors of the Hospital (and other readers of his printed paper) that it was only his sense of duty to the public that had led him to examine the institution's accounts, to make 'Searches' into its 'History', and to publicize his findings.<sup>106</sup> In this pamphlet campaign he did not explicitly evoke Cicero, but explained himself in terms that fitted the Ciceronian model of learned leisure and public service. Pepys had been laying the groundwork for this identification for some time. As we saw in Chapter 2, his use of Stoic writers to deal with personal adversity and shape a professional identity went back at least to the 1660s. In the 1690s, the evocation of Cicero on the cover of Pepys's *Memoires*, in his drafts on a 'Private Library', and on his bookplates represented his expulsion from office as a positive good, his retirement as a productive period, and his library as a source of enduring identity and purpose.

## THE LIBRARY AS A LEGACY

Pepys was growing ever more adept at communicating a complex identity through his library, layering it with meaning for his contemporaries to read. His retirement also encouraged him to think about a new audience: posterity. As with the use of Cicero, the seed for this approach had been planted in the 1660s. When Pepys first read Evelyn's translation of Gabriel Naudé's *Instructions concerning Erecting of a Library* in 1665, he found the recommendations to be beyond his resources and abilities. However, the one part he singled out for admiration was Evelyn's dedication of the work to the Earl of Clarendon, in which Evelyn praised Clarendon's role in 'the *Learned Republique*'. Evelyn wrote:

<sup>105</sup> [Pepys], *Memoires Relating to the State of the Royal Navy*, title page. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, 5.36.105, trans. King, p. 531.

<sup>106</sup> *Mr Pepys to the President and Governours of Christ-Hospital upon the Present State of the Said Hospital*, Paper III [London, 1698], fol. D1v and r. Pepys made unusual rhetorical use of italic and black-letter type to convey tone.

He that would lay a Foundation of true and permanent Honour, that would place it beyond the reach of Envy, must qualifie it with something more noble and intellectual, and which is not obnoxious [i.e. exposed] to the common vicissitudes; because, by whatever circumstances such a worthy Design may happen to be discompos'd, it will nevertheless be celebrated as long as Virtue shall have an Advocate here; and when the World shall become so deprav'd, that there is nothing sincere remaining in it, God himself will remunerate it hereafter.<sup>107</sup>

An encomium to learning, this passage could sit alongside Pepys's 'Conditions of a Private Library' as an explanation of his rationale in assembling his collections in his old age. A library endured despite the changing fortunes, and even the death, of its owner. Moreover, the honour it conferred did not have to be confined to the owner himself. In 1689, when Pepys embarked on decorating his library with 'pictures of Men Illustrious for their parts and Erudition', he explained this to Evelyn in terms of a desire to memorialize scholarly friends. Evelyn and Boyle were among 'those few whose Memorys, when Dead, I finde myself wishing I could doe ought to perpetuate'.<sup>108</sup> The library would prolong his reputation and the reputations of his most valued and learned acquaintances.

Pepys's final catalogue, begun in 1700 after he had recovered from a serious illness, should be understood as a work written for posterity: it was, as Pepys's will commanded, 'to remaine unalterable and forever accompany the said Library'.<sup>109</sup> The primary purpose of the new 'Supellex Literaria' was to render the collections navigable to future users, with Samuel Pepys remaining the pilot. In his final years Pepys grew obsessive about filling gaps in his collections, organizing the contents, and completing the different parts of his catalogue. Numerous 'Library Notes' survive in the British Library as testimony to the effort that went into this project.<sup>110</sup> A late addition to the library's shelf list and alphabetical list was the subject catalogue or 'Appendix Classica', which was under way before October 1700. Pepys and Lorrain consulted extensively on this, passing drafts and comments between them.<sup>111</sup> This part of the catalogue helped Pepys to focus attention on those aspects of his collections that he wanted visitors to notice: it was the lens

<sup>107</sup> Gabriel Naudé, *Instructions concerning Erecting of a Library*, trans. John Evelyn (London, 1661), fols. A2v, A3v. *Diary*, vol. 6, p. 252.

<sup>108</sup> Evelyn to Pepys, 26 Aug. 1689, and Pepys to Evelyn, 30 Aug. 1689, in *Particular Friends*, pp. 188, 205.

<sup>109</sup> The National Archives, PROB 1/9, 'Scheame'.

<sup>110</sup> BL, MS Add. 78680, items 18, 19, 20, 21, 23.

<sup>111</sup> BL, MS Add. 78680, item 18, Pepys's 'Memorandums' towards his 'Alphabet' and 'Appendix' (c.1 May 1700), fol. 2v. Pepys to Jackson, 19 Oct. 1699, in *Private Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 201. Pepys to Paul Lorrain, 11 Oct. 1700, and Lorrain to Pepys, 12 Oct. 1700, in *Private Correspondence*, vol. 2, pp. 88–9. Jackson was responsible for finishing the catalogues after Pepys's death, so his contribution is worth specifying. Pepys's will instructed Jackson to see the existing 'Alphabet' and 'Catalogue' were incorporated with 'Additaments' (more recent accessions) and then 'finally transcribed'. Most of the additaments were works acquired by Pepys that, for one reason or another, had not yet been added to the 'Catalogue'; however, Jackson was also told to make a few specific acquisitions and given limited licence to make extra purchases. He finished the 'Catalogue' in August 1705. The 'Appendix Classica' title page says it covers the catalogue contents as 'Adjusted to Michaelmas 1700', although in fact a few later items were added. The 'Appendix Classica' does not incorporate the lengthy 'Additamenta' list, so must be largely unchanged from that produced by Pepys

through which the library, and its owner, would be perceived. One purpose of the 'Appendix Classica' was that, like Pepys's use of portraits, it allowed him to honour and to memorialize the assistance of friends and patrons. For example, in 1682, Pepys had thanked Nathaniel Vincent for authoring the manuscript 'Conjectura nautica' and promised 'your name and it' would not lack 'their just place at the head of what I have been able to collect (from my learned friends) of most curious upon that subject'. He kept this promise: 'Conjectura nautica' was the first item listed under the heading 'Sea-History, and History of Navigation' in the 'Appendix Classica'.<sup>112</sup> Robert Boyle, whose loss Pepys mourned in 1691, received an even greater honour. He was one of only three authors to receive his own section in the subject catalogue (see Figure 3). The second author celebrated in this way was Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1631), an antiquary and owner of a famous library, whose section in the catalogue was in fact the itemized contents of a volume containing his works. Pepys had praised Cotton's political writing in 1667 and presumably now saw much to admire in Cotton's roles as an adviser to kings and promoter of scholarship. The final author accorded his own section was, for reasons already discussed, Cicero.<sup>113</sup>

A second function of the 'Appendix Classica' was to encourage visitors to recognize the potential good uses of works and to understand the library as a resource for research. Pepys's 'Sea, & Navy' collections—his own research materials—were highlighted through the 'Appendix', but users of this finding aid were also encouraged to look at the library's contents in novel ways. The section on 'Plays' treated these works in a level of detail, and so with a level of esteem, that the genre was not usually thought to merit. Plays were divided by language (English, French, and Spanish) and each play was listed individually, even when it was published as part of an author's collected works. In the case of English plays, a neat table allowed them to be marked as 'Comedy', 'Tragedy', 'Tragi-Comedy', or 'History'. The message was that English dramas were important contributions to a national literature.<sup>114</sup> Elsewhere, in the 'Appendix' section titled 'English', Pepys provided 'A Chronological Deduction of the Variations of Stile (to be collected from ye Alphabet of my Books) in ye Language of England; between Anno 700 & ye Attempt last made towards its Refinement by Sir Philip Sidney in his Arcadia, between 1580 and 1590'.<sup>115</sup> This was a list of print and manuscript publications, from Bede onwards, that would allow a reader to progress through the collections, picking out examples in order to track language change. In this way, works such as Chaucer's *Canterbury*

and Lorrain. The National Archives, PROB 1/9, 'Scheame'; *Pepys Catalogue*, vol. 7, pt. 1, p. 165 (first pagination sequence) and 'Additamenta', following p. 204 (second pagination sequence).

<sup>112</sup> Pepys to Vincent, 23 Dec. 1682 in Howarth, p. 149. 'Appendix Classica', p. 249; compare a similarly prominent listing of Vincent's manuscript on p. 167.

<sup>113</sup> 'Appendix Classica', pp. 13, 33, 51. Cotton's section is the contents of PL 956, which is *Cottoni Posthuma* (London, 1679) bound with another volume of Cotton's works. *Diary*, vol. 8, p. 547. On Cotton's career, see Stuart Handley, 'Cotton, Sir Robert Bruce, First Baronet (1571–1631)', in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6425>> [accessed 12 June 2014].

<sup>114</sup> 'Appendix Classica', pp. 207–23.

<sup>115</sup> 'Appendix Classica', contents page and p. 65.

*Tales*, a manuscript of Sir John Mandeville's *Travels*, Sidney's *Arcadia*, sermons, and plays were all presented as objects of philological interest.

Closely tied into this emphasis on the research potential of the library was a function of the 'Appendix Classica' already touched upon in previous chapters: it allowed Pepys to impress a distinction between those works he had preserved because they were of personal moment to him and those kept because they were of historical or cultural interest. In the light of Pepys's acute consciousness of the ways the library might be read as a reflection of his mind—and, indeed, his encouragements to visitors to view the library in this way—we can now see why these distinctions were so important. Pepys was trying to speak not just to those who knew him well, but to future users who required direct guidance. Thus the contents of the sections on 'Vulgaria' and on the 'Sermons' of the Civil Wars were said to have been preserved because they had been 'in Vogue with the **Populace of England**', which warded off any suspicions that they were overly admired by the library's owner.<sup>116</sup> Works in the sections 'For Diversion' and 'For Private Devotion', on the other hand, were to be understood as directly pertinent to reading Pepys's character—although, as we have seen, there is good evidence that Pepys's personal views on 'Devotion' were more heterodox than the 'Appendix' implied. Pepys's consciousness of the ways the library might be read by visitors as a reflection of his values meant he thought hard before admitting works of dubious repute. He acquired a copy of the Earl of Rochester's scurrilous *Poems on Several Occasions* (1680) soon after it was published, and liked it well enough to obtain some manuscript lampoons to add to the book's contents. Yet the collection was kept in the right-hand drawer of his writing desk rather than in a bookcase, because, as Pepys explained to Hewer, it was 'written before [Rochester's] penitence, in a style I thought unfit to mix with my other books. However pray let it remain there; for as he is past writing anymore so bad in one sense, so I despair of any man surviving him to write so good in another.' After time in limbo, the 'good' in Rochester and his poems was judged to outweigh the 'bad', and the volume made it both onto the library's shelves and into the 'Poems' section of the 'Appendix Classica'.<sup>117</sup>

Finally, lest this attentive cataloguing (and my attention to it) begin to seem too solemnly pedantic, there was what looks suspiciously like mischievous listings or in-jokes. In 'Naval Pamphlets', Henry Neville's satire *The Isle of Pines* (1668) was listed alongside sombre tracts recounting seventeenth-century voyages. The pamphlet described the discovery by Dutch sailors of an island populated by tribes of naked, incestuous English speakers. It was celebrated as a famous sham by the time Pepys, Lorrain, and Jackson (who should all have known better and almost

<sup>116</sup> 'Appendix Classica', pp. 276, 299.

<sup>117</sup> Pepys to Hewer, 2 Nov. 1680, in Howarth, p. 105; 'Appendix Classica', p. 228. Pepys bound the *Poems* with a copy of Gilbert Burnet's account of Rochester's *Life* (1680), PL 810. Rochester's poetry was saved from the drawer, but compare the irredeemable *L'École des filles*, burnt by Pepys so that it would not 'stand in the list of books, nor among them, to disgrace them if it should be found' (*Diary*, vol. 9, p. 58).

certainly did) came to organize the pamphlets and compose the catalogue.<sup>118</sup> Richard Baxter's grave and pious biography *A Breviate of the Life of Margaret . . . Wife of Richard Baxter* (1681) was likewise keeping strange company, for it appeared in the 'Diversion' section of the 'Appendix', amid satire and fiction. This was no error, since it was there described as 'Baxter's fond Account of ye Life of his Wife'—'fond' signified 'overly affectionate' but also 'foolish'. The couple's marriage had, as Baxter acknowledged in the text, been the source of 'much publick talk and wonder': Margaret was a young and wealthy heiress whose prolific charitable donations drove her much older husband into debt.<sup>119</sup> Apparently in Pepys's mind Baxter's uxoriousness transformed the book from a devotional work into a good laugh—a judgement very similar to his views on Margaret Cavendish's 'ridiculous' life of her husband, which revealed them both to be fools.<sup>120</sup> Baxter's *Life* was joined in 'Diversion' by Richard Smith's *Monita quaedam utilia, pro sacerdotibus, seminaristis, missionariis Angliae* (1647), a manual written to advise Catholic priests resident in England. There seems no reason to place the *Monita* under 'Diversion' as a self-defensive move, since Pepys owned many other Catholic works that did not receive this treatment. Quite where the diversion lay in this book has to be guessed at, but the chances are that Pepys found Smith's counsel to be amusingly poor, and he may well have enjoyed the idea that his countrymen could be divided into five camps: 'good Catholics', 'wicked Catholics', 'schismatics', 'obstinate Protestants' and 'non-obstinate Protestants'.<sup>121</sup>

To secure a reputation through a library, it was necessary to publicize the holdings. The circulation of manuscript catalogues would have been an effective way to bring Pepys's impressive collections to the attention of a wider range of scholars and virtuosi, and there are some indications that Pepys sent lists of his holdings to friends.<sup>122</sup> The 1690s also saw considerable efforts among English scholars to publish printed catalogues of collections. Pepys and his friends Dr Arthur Charlett and Charles Hatton were all involved in urging library owners to contribute details of their manuscript holdings for Oxford's *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae* (1697).<sup>123</sup> Pepys did, however, have reservations about this project arising from his strict views on what constituted equitable

<sup>118</sup> [Henry Neville], *The Isle of Pines* (London, 1668) is in 'Appendix Classica', p. 267, where it is described as 'Van Sloten's Discovery of the Isle of Pines, Temp. Eliz. R, & Extraordinary Story attending ye same'. On the reception of *The Isle of Pines*, see Loveman, *Reading Fictions, 1660–1740: Deception in English Literary and Political Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 69–77.

<sup>119</sup> 'Appendix Classica', p. 59; compare the entry at p. 125. [Richard Baxter], *A Breviate of the Life of Margaret . . . Wife of Richard Baxter* (London, 1681), pp. 46, 65.

<sup>120</sup> See Ch. 4, 'Lives', pp. 122–3.

<sup>121</sup> Richard Smith, *Monita quaedam utilia, pro sacerdotibus, seminaristis, missionariis Angliae* (Paris, 1647; PL 89), pp. 35–7, 47 ('*pertinaci Protestante*'), 82 ('*Protestante non pertinaci*'). 'Schismatics' in this context means occasional conformists ('Schismatici', p. 102).

<sup>122</sup> For example, Nathaniel Vincent, writing from Cambridge on 23 April 1683, either had a copy of Pepys's catalogue or an excellent memory of its contents, since he offered Pepys a book 'which you have not in your Catalogue'. Bodl., MS Rawlinson A. 178, fol. 227.

<sup>123</sup> Pepys to Charlett, 4 Aug. 1694, and Pepys to Evelyn, 10 Aug. 1694 in Howarth, pp. 245–6, 247. Charles Hatton to Christopher, Viscount Hatton, 2 Aug. [16]94, in *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, vol. 2, p. 203.

exchange when it came to books and manuscripts. Writing to Charlett in 1694, he remarked that he knew of gentlemen who were reluctant to have their manuscripts included in the planned catalogue, for fear of ‘unreasonable Importunities . . . from Persons, who by concealing their owne [Catalogues], shall stopp all expectations of amends for the trouble they give us for Ours, by any reciprocall Use of Theysr’. This was a concern Pepys shared, for while friends such as Evelyn, Charlett, and Gale could be trusted to engage in ‘reciprocall’ exchange of books and information, he did not want to lay himself or his collection open to exploitation. Having agreed to make public certain of his holdings in the Oxford catalogue, he advised Charlett that he would only make items available if the borrower reciprocated from his own collection or used his influence to get Pepys access to a volume from another library.<sup>124</sup>

This policy of selective publicizing and equitable exchange ensured that, while the library was known to scholars, a survey of the full contents could only be had by choice visitors to Pepys’s home. In June 1702 William Nicolson, who had recently become bishop of Carlisle, spent a day at Pepys and Hewer’s home in Clapham and was shown the library. Nicolson’s first contact with Pepys as a fellow bibliophile had come about through using the Oxford catalogue: on spotting several of Pepys’s manuscripts there that were relevant to his own historical research, he wrote to Pepys, via Evelyn, to arrange for copies to be made. His resulting book, published in early 1702, was given a place in Pepys’s collection.<sup>125</sup> In his diary, Nicolson now recorded his impressions of the library room:

Mr. Pepys’s Library in 9 Classes [i.e. bookcases], finely gilded and sash-glass’d; so deep as to carry two Rows (Folio’s & Quartoes, Quartoes & 8vo’s, 8vo’s and Duodecimoes) of Books on each footing. A pair of Globes hung up, by pullies. The Books so well order’d that his Footman (after looking [in] the Catalogue) could lay his finger on any of em blindfold.

Misscellanies of paintings, cutts, pamphlets, &c in large and lesser Volumes.<sup>126</sup>

Nicolson was struck by the qualities that we know Pepys was most proud of and most careful to cultivate: the variety of the holdings, the well-ordered arrangement, the utility of the catalogue, and the ingenuity of the furniture design as evinced in the hanging globes and bookcases.<sup>127</sup> By directing that his books, presses, and catalogue be preserved together in a fine room, Pepys wanted to ensure that this impression—not just the books themselves—survived him as his legacy (Figure 13).

<sup>124</sup> Pepys to Charlett, 4 Aug. 1694, in Howarth, pp. 245–6. Pepys’s holdings appeared in *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in unum collecti* (Oxford, 1697), vol. 2, pp. 207–10.

<sup>125</sup> Evelyn to Pepys, 10 and 18 May 1700, in *Particular Friends*, pp. 268–9, 270. Nicolson’s *The Scottish Historical Library* (PL 1446) refers to Pepys’s manuscripts at pp. 175–7, 270–3.

<sup>126</sup> ‘Bishop Nicolson’s Diaries: Part II’, ed. Henry Ware, Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness, *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 2 (1902), 155–230 (p. 164).

<sup>127</sup> John Bagford—not a neutral witness as he was involved in assembling the library—similarly praised the ‘admirable Method’ of the catalogue in ‘An Account of Several Libraries’, *Monthly Miscellany, or, Memoirs for the Curious* (June 1708), 167–82 (pp. 178–9).



**Fig. 13.** Interior of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge.

By permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

## CONCLUSIONS

Pepys's book collection was idiosyncratic by design, but it nonetheless suggests much that is relevant to understanding the uses of a seventeenth-century 'Private Library'. His papers manifest what he called the 'infinite Paines and time and Cost' that went into assembling and revising a fine library, along with the numerous ways in which ownership of such a collection might be made to repay the investments.<sup>128</sup> Pepys's books—like any library—could be a source of solitary entertainment in the form of studious or recreational reading. Yet almost from the first his book collection, housed in the intimate space of his closet, took on psychological significance. This was an environment that he could order and control, reworking the self-projection as he saw fit. Women of independent wealth, such as Mary Skinner, were also in a position to use their closets in this way. Others, Elizabeth Pepys among them, lacked the means to exercise the same degree of control over their closet collections and relied more on the assistance of their partners. The attention Elizabeth Pepys, Mary Skinner, Elizabeth Pearse, and Abigail Williams lavished on their closets shows that for women, as for men, these rooms and their contents were sites for shaping identity and staking claims to learning and gentility.

For collectors, granting access to a library's contents was a means to affirm friendships, impress superiors, and exercise patronage. Importantly, these collections provided a relatively stable source of authority and influence. The prestige a library attracted was self-sustaining: in return for allowing sight of the collection's contents, the owner of a fine library was in a position to borrow or commission additional works. Thus, when the loss of Pepys's Admiralty post threatened his self-esteem and his reputation, compensation and comfort were to be had in adopting the role of the learned, leisured gentleman promoted in Cicero's writings. In the last years of his life Pepys resolved that the integrity of the collections needed to be preserved, because, in lieu of a child or his uncompleted history of the navy, it was these that would preserve the image of their creator for posterity. They would also literarily carry his name forward: in his will he specified that the 'Roome and Books' were to be known as the 'Bibliotheca Pepysiana'.<sup>129</sup> It was, in more than one sense, a self-centred project and, despite Pepys's attempts to manipulate posterity's judgement, some visitors found this foolish. In 1728, Christian Gabriel Fischer, a German virtuoso, deduced that the Bibliotheca Pepysiana was intended to honour the family name, but thought that—for all its fine design—the fact that the library did not take accessions would soon render it obsolete. He therefore condemned it as a 'Monumentum vanitatis' (a monument of vanity).<sup>130</sup> Yet a number of Pepys's aims were far from vain or selfish. Over the decades, his intentions grew to include a role for the library as a service for scholars and future scholars. It was also designed

<sup>128</sup> The phrase on 'infinite Paines' is taken from Pepys's will, The National Archives, PROB 1/9, 'Scheame'.

<sup>129</sup> The National Archives, PROB 1/9, 'Scheame'.

<sup>130</sup> Christian Gabriel Fischer, 'Herrn Nathanael Jacob Gerlachs Erste . . . Reise . . . Anno [1727–1731]', quoted in Albert Predeek, 'Bibliotheksbesuche eines gelehrten Reisenden im Anfange des 18. Jahrhunderts', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 45 (1928), 221–65 (p. 246).



to celebrate and preserve the achievements of his friends and countrymen: in the 1690s he found new ways (using portraits, prints, and catalogues) to highlight valued contributions. If the library was a record of the 'particular Genius' of one man, it was also a record of how that genius had been fostered and supported by others.

Summarizing the changing role of libraries between the mid-seventeenth and the mid-eighteenth centuries, Giles Mandelbrote has suggested that 'at the beginning of this period, books were kept in studies and closets; many were in Latin; their contents were praised for their learning and their appearance for their "neatness"'. A century later, he argues, 'larger personal collections of books were housed in library rooms, which also acted as a social space', with most works being in English.<sup>131</sup> Pepys's approach to his collection closely resembles the earlier model, but his adaptive habits also took in certain of the features said to be characteristic of mid-eighteenth-century libraries, most notably his creation of a library room. Moreover, in Pepys's behaviour, and that of his associates, we can see the factors spurring change in the design and use of libraries, and appreciate the rapid pace of that change. Among fashionable gentlemen and ladies, to employ a closet or library solely as a space for solitary reflection and reading would have been to neglect its potential. In the case of Pepys's contacts, the use of closets and libraries for select sociability encouraged fierce emulation among their possessors. Library owners might honour antiquity and tradition in their collecting, but they also needed to be acquisitive of new works, up-to-date editions, original designs, and novel technologies. Pepys was evidently not mistaken in his recognition of the manifold social purposes a library could serve and we should be alert for traces of similarly energetic and artful behaviours in the surviving records of less well-documented collections.

<sup>131</sup> Mandelbrote, 'Personal Owners of Books', p. 189.

## Afterword

In examining the ways that Samuel Pepys used his books, this particular book has covered a variety of topics: the physical circumstances and social scenarios in which reading took place in the late seventeenth century; information exchange in London and beyond; the uses readers found for different genres; the tribulations and triumphs of the book trade; and the role of books and closets in gentry hospitality. By way of concluding, I want to draw out certain patterns in the ways Pepys's reading developed across the decades, along with the implications of this study for understanding the behaviour of other seventeenth-century readers and authors.

Pepys's methods of interpreting texts and his newsgathering strategies did not alter radically over time; change came about as he developed confidence in his methods and more sophistication in assimilating different sources of information. In assembling his library, he benefited from greater specialization in the services offered by booksellers and craftsmen. His collections were also assisted by his honing of his networks, as he drew on connections forged by patronage, friendship, and scholarship. Having grasped certain key principles of efficient information gathering early in his career, he strategized about how to improve his existing formal and informal networks and extend his international influence. Not without some irony for a study of reading, much of Pepys's information gathering serves to emphasize the inadequacies of written sources, and especially of print. When Pepys and his fellows wanted to make themselves 'known',<sup>1</sup> to contribute to scholarship, or to intervene in politics, they frequently preferred to author manuscript texts rather than use print. Manuscript circulation was a vital route for testing ideas and circulating controversial views—not just for Pepys and his friends but for members of the government, including King James II himself. Information gleaned from manuscripts, however, often lagged behind oral transmission in terms of speed and detail. As Pepys discovered, servants such as cooks and housekeepers could be better sources on court politics than newsletters or courtiers, while the international news passed among City merchants crowding on the Royal Exchange was often as up to date as that available at Whitehall. Therefore it is not enough for studies of reading to focus on print: where possible we need to investigate conversational and manuscript contexts in order to understand readers' methods and their priorities in analysing texts.

<sup>1</sup> *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 223.

The most dramatic change in Pepys's reading behaviour was not the result of his intellectual development but his physical deterioration: his eye problems materially altered the ways he accessed texts, encouraging him to make use of surrogate readers for much of his adult life. At a time when reading was strongly bound up with forms of sociability, this was just one of the ways in which Pepys's reading had a ripple effect on those around him, affecting how and what others in his household and his circle read. Pepys, however, continued to be able to read without assistance, and he continued throughout his life to be mindful of the 'good uses' of texts (always with a flexible sense of what a 'good' use might be). Sagacious maxims, legal and historical precedents, reusable rhetoric, politic advice, and stories that could be used to entertain others were some of the features he looked for in a text. These were largely uncontroversial, common reading priorities in his culture—although Pepys was prone to employing them to justify reading illicit or scandalous texts, or to draw conclusions from his reading that few people in his society would have been prepared openly to endorse. Based in London and with a wide range of contacts, Pepys had an access to oral and manuscript sources of information that led him to approach works that dealt in history, politics, and religion with a scepticism that sometimes became cynicism. His education had encouraged him to attend closely to an author's rhetoric, which made him appreciative of well-judged and eloquent praise; however, his access to unofficial sources of news made him quick to mock both the subject and the author of unfounded panegyric. Panegyric was one of the dominant modes of Restoration literature, but it remained a gamble: readers, it seems, were easily alienated by this mode, especially when the hostile accounts circulating orally proved more persuasive or more entertaining than the printed version.

Pepys's confidence in reading against the grain or 'contrary to the design of the book' seems to have grown in the decades after the diary.<sup>2</sup> In the 1660s he scoffed at celebratory ballads about George Monck and found anticlerical import in clerical biography; two decades later he was questioning major scriptural commentators and drawing his own heterodox conclusions from the works of political theorists and theologians. The foundations for his religious scepticism had been laid by his experiences in the Interregnum and his early reading. Texts that contributed to this scepticism included the writings of pagan philosophers and works that implicitly or explicitly compared Christianity with other beliefs, including the books Pepys had encountered at university. He was intrigued by anticlerical discourses and engaged with illicit religious polemics ranging from Catholic to Quaker tracts. Together such various sources suggested to Pepys that the claims of the Church of England to authority and truth were in many respects no stronger than those of other religions. He found further support for a pragmatic approach to religious difference in the works of political philosophers such as Hobbes and Petty. By the 1680s, he was assimilating a complex web of political, scientific, and religious texts to affirm his principles and help determine his actions. This was accompanied by a

<sup>2</sup> *Diary*, vol. 9, p. 300.

growing discretion over how he represented his reading, and ever more nuanced shaping of his private and public personae.

Pepys pursued diverse ways of reading for diverse ends. However, as I hope has become apparent during the course of this book, there was a level of consistency in the approaches he took that pertained almost regardless of the genre of the work he was reading. The reasons why Pepys persisted in these approaches merit consideration, for they are highly suggestive when it comes to identifying and explaining prevalent reading behaviours among his contemporaries. Even individuals who, like Pepys, were rich and well educated needed tactics for dealing with the common problems encountered when reading. These problems included restricted options when choosing what to read, uncertainty about the nature of a work, and the discovery that a text was in some way unsuitable for its intended purpose or for those readers who were present. Throughout the seventeenth century access to texts remained highly curtailed for many groups—you might be able to lay hands on a range of works through borrowing them or by spending your limited means, but these would not necessarily be your preferred texts. The amount of communal reading that went on facilitated access; yet it also meant that no one individual (even if wealthy and of high status) could rely on always getting his or her choice of book read. Communal reading increased the chances that the chosen work would prove beyond or well below a reader's interpretative abilities, or else that the contents would be remote from his or her interests. Difficulties in determining the nature of a text before reading were also common. Statements made on the title page and in other paratexts about the nature of a work could not be trusted; the boundaries between genres were vague; and the heterogeneous tendencies of many Restoration texts meant readers had to get used to revising their perception of a work's uses midway through it. In other words, fog on the horizon of expectations was a common occurrence. There were ways to try and avoid disappointment: as we have seen, Pepys made use of 'purchase on approval' arrangements with booksellers, he read extensively in shops, and he paid close heed to recommendations from friends. Yet, still, approaches were needed to deal with the unanticipated, and to turn unsatisfactory texts into worthwhile and enjoyable experiences.

There were reading behaviours that, among other advantages, alleviated these difficulties, and they were used in different combinations or with different levels of sophistication according to a reader's education or interests. First was the tendency, widely noted among early modern readers, to search texts for moral and prudential lessons.<sup>3</sup> In light of frequent difficulties in determining the genre and suitability of a text, this approach had the significant advantage of working with all manner of genres, from sermons to plays; moreover, it offered the possibility of turning apparently immoral works into morally or politically edifying experiences. A second means of rendering all manner of texts profitable was to discriminate between 'sense' and 'language'—the import and the rhetoric—for if the one was feeble, the other might be of more value. Readers who were not up to grasping the argument of

<sup>3</sup> 'Prudential' could range from meaning 'wise' to 'politically astute', depending on a reader's inclination.

a work were urged to focus on the language, while even the most capable reader might benefit from attending to striking examples of rhetoric, whether to register them as models to imitate or simply to relish the eloquence on display. People were regularly reading with an eye to extracting moral lessons or notable rhetoric, but they were also on the lookout for extractable anecdotes and stories, with the intention of memorizing them and recounting them to entertain others. Given the evidence from Pepys's papers, readers were trying to memorize a broader and more demanding range of texts than we might suspect, including works that appeared unsuited for this purpose. The rewards of this approach must therefore have been well worth the effort it entailed.

To move on to techniques that required a little more knowledge and experience from readers, much Restoration literature could be made to yield additional meanings through the application of oral history and gossip—in particular, printed newsbooks, histories, satire, and certain kinds of romance. Among other benefits, this was a means for readers (and for those authors who encouraged it) to contend with the effects of the political constraints on expression. Readers who read widely in these genres found that interpreting a work in the light of unofficial oral and manuscript sources could make sense of an otherwise puzzling text. Such practices could also help to determine the credibility of an account by identifying authorial omissions and errors (which could be a fulfilling experience for readers). Another habit that entailed familiarity with a range of sources was, naturally enough, source spotting. Status and enjoyment were to be gained from identifying a work's sources and discussing the changes that a writer had made—or sometimes the failure to make adequate changes. This also had the benefit of being an entertaining way to deal with early modern writers' tendency to recycle plots and sometimes whole passages of language; in fact, it may have encouraged that tendency. Source spotting, like the application of oral history when interpreting a text, could therefore be a means to make intellectually suspect works respectably rewarding. Finally, both source spotting and the use of gossip to interpret works could support the 'so bad it's good' approach to an unsatisfactory text: when all else failed, mockery rendered a text enjoyable and even edifying. Ill-judged encomia, biased histories, and 'Vulgaria' could all be enjoyed by being turned into ridicule—a form of pleasure in the text that need not damage a reader's sense of his or her own sophistication.

Recognizing interpretative habits that are well established among the reading public or specific sections of that public can help us better understand the rationale for authors' and publishers' decisions. Seventeenth-century readers' acquisitive habits (their interest in extracting rhetoric, examples, and whole stories from works for their own use) have a number of implications for how works were produced—some straightforward, others less so. At the most basic level, it was evidently worth an author's while to endeavour to be quotable, that is, to incorporate phrases and passages suitable for extraction because they were witty, prudential, or both. While this technique shows evidence of having attracted readers, many contemporary commentators were not persuaded that authors who gained an audience in this way merited applause. Writers who catered too obviously to

readers' interests in wit and fine rhetoric could find themselves accused of pandering to weak readers or to the weaknesses of learned readers. This criticism was at the heart of Petty's objections to Osborne's *Advice to a Son* as a work celebrated for 'pretty sayings' that were only superficially impressive; it also featured in the attacks on Thomas Fuller's *Church-History of Britain* for favouring the delights of a 'pretty Story' over truth and gravitas.<sup>4</sup> The evidence for acquisitive reading habits should prompt us to consider the reasons why authors of this period so often produced heterogeneous, miscellaneous works and to be wary of equating this with unskilfulness, laziness, or a lack of concern for narrative structure. A discontinuous, episodic narrative held considerable appeal for readers seeking passages or stories to extract. By incorporating heterogeneity and a variety of tone and subject matter, authors were appealing to sociable, acquisitive reading habits that were fashionable and, it seems, widely practised.

Besides influencing the ways works were structured, certain reading habits appear to have impacted on the development and success of genres. Over the longer term, writers' efforts to cater more directly to fashionable reading habits could prompt change and innovation, with existing literary types adapted to serve the uses that readers were already finding for them. Given many readers' familiarity with using gossip to decode texts and the willingness of some of them to turn sincere panegyrics to ridicule, satires that made use of panegyric conventions, such as the 'Advice to a Painter' series, met with success partly because they catered directly to the existing proclivities of their target audience. Early eighteenth-century commentators discerned a fall in the esteem accorded to panegyric poetry—a trend also noted by more recent critics such as James Garrison. By the 1690s, it is argued, a series of political and literary factors combined to make panegyric forms more problematic for both Whig and Tory authors.<sup>5</sup> One major problem for sincere panegyrists, we can deduce, was that factors such as the lapse of licensing controls in 1695 and the continual flourishing of debate in taverns and coffee-houses meant that there were growing numbers of readers who (like Pepys) were sufficiently informed and sufficiently motivated to ridicule encomia that seemed to them to lack credibility. In this context, there were major incentives for writers such as Alexander Pope and Jonathan Swift to experiment further with mock-panegyrics and mock-heroics. The English scandal chronicle, another successful genre of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, drew on the same reading approaches of applying gossip and satirizing praise: this genre actively encouraged the use of interpretative techniques that well-informed readers such as Samuel and Elizabeth were already predisposed to use on traditional types of biography. Another form of novel that benefited from sociable reading behaviours

<sup>4</sup> *Diary*, vol. 5, p. 27; William Nicolson, *The English Historical Library*, pt. 2 (London, 1697), p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> James D. Garrison, *Dryden and the Tradition of the Panegyric* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), esp. pp. 33–6; Arthur S. Williams, 'Panegyric Decorum in the Reigns of William III and Anne', *Journal of British Studies*, 21 (1981), 56–67, doi: <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/385782>>; Morris Brownell, 'Poetical Villas: English Verse Satire of the Country House 1700–1750', in *Satire in the 18th Century*, ed. J. D. Browning (New York: Garland, 1983), pp. 9–52 (pp. 14–15).

was the type of short, witty prose fiction written by the likes of Paul Scarron and subsequently by authors such as Aphra Behn and William Congreve. To judge by the behaviour of Pepys, Dr Timothy Clarke, and others, this form of novel expanded its readership by appealing to readers' interest in memorizing and retelling stories. Notably, readers' fascination with extracting and reusing phrases and stories was sufficiently widespread to encourage writers to instance this habit in debates about literary property and plagiarism: according to this view, readers were ill placed to carp at authors' recycling of material, since they not only seemed regularly to have enjoyed the results of this practice, but engaged in comparable practices themselves.

Pepys's papers demonstrate the varied ways readers and authors influenced each other; they also show that, among his peers, readers easily became authors. There are numerous instances among Pepys's contacts of individuals taking roles as editors and co-authors to refine proposals; or producing solo-authored manuscript treatises, plays, and histories; or authoring printed works ranging from law books to unlawful pamphlets. Pepys's own reading experiences manifestly shaped him as a writer and influenced the records he left. His study of Machiavellian advice literature provided him with incentives to maintain his detailed journal and to persist in extensive official and unofficial record-keeping. This record-keeping was also indirectly encouraged by his reading of histories, and especially by his respect for those histories that consisted principally of 'collections' of documents. It was this type of history that served as a model for his *Memoires Relating to the State of the Royal Navy* in 1690. The *Memoires* would remain his only published history, despite the considerable efforts he made in gathering material for a grand account of the navy. Once Pepys was released from the need to oblige a patron or from the immediate impulse for self-vindication, it seems the pressure to become an author diminished. The ambition to be a celebrated historian gave way to the ambition to be a great collector. Creating a library now appeared to him the more enjoyable project and one that did not involve abandoning the aims of his history writing. His library was planned as a more comprehensive representation of his times than a printed history of the navy could ever be, for the library could encompass not just his naval research, but his plays, his copies of Cicero, and numerous other books that were important to him and his society. The library also, of course, included his private diary. Today we know more than we could otherwise ever hope to about seventeenth-century literature and history because a retired Secretary for the Admiralty decided that he could better serve posterity by preserving many books than by publishing one.

## APPENDIX

### Notes from Discourses touching Religion

*Source:* Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS Rawlinson A.171, fols. 217–21

*General notes:* Contractions are expanded in italics and superscripts are lowered. Where the use of thorn (y) may obscure the sense it is rendered as *th*. The transcription of u/v follows modern usage. Square brackets indicate my insertions to clarify the sense. Where a deletion is minor I have not registered it. The title appears at the top of p. 1 and is written again vertically on p. 8. Both titles originally read 'Notes of Discourses touching Religion'. The 'Notes' was at one point folded to be pocket-size with p. 8 forming the outer 'cover'; hence the need for a title there. This is one sign that the document was written in more than one stage, with, for example, the text on pages 8, 9, and 10 supplementing the initial pages.

[p. 1]

The Bishop of Carlile in his answer to Mr Burnetts booke of ye Earth does himselfe question the Authority of the Second Epistle of St. Peter.<sup>1</sup>

It's urged that ye Church of Rome is not charged *with* any damnable Errours, But is acknowledged by all to be a true part of ye true Church, as professing ye true faith of Christ, though mixt *with* errours.

And soe Rome being old as part of Holy Church, it's asked of us, whither since ye Reformation, wee can say wee are become holier or not rather ye contrary.

*Quaere*<sup>2</sup> *What* are ye tenn new Articles of Faith, said to [be] instituted, by ye Councell of Trent.<sup>3</sup>

Observe how old the Protestants doe allow even these new Articles to have in their practise, been admitted though not decreed, till ye said Councell; And yet tho<sup>4</sup> *generall* manners & morality, of that Church, are alledged not to be worse, but rather better *than* Protestants at this day, to beleive as ye Church beleives is and must be the Indispensible practise, of all Churches as well as the Church of Rome, the ignorant laity being unable to judge of themselves of *what* is truth in any. ~~It is urged by some that ye present quarrell about Religion~~

It is urged by some that ye *present* quarrell *about* Religion, has sprung only from ye Priests, those on the Protestant side, only beating downe ye Markett, and *pretending* to serve ye people, in a cheaper, not better, forme of Worship than those of Rome; Whereas ye latter are as obstinate in keeping up their price, as ye others are concern'd to keep themselves in ye *present* Employment and power they have gott themselves into, tho<sup>5</sup> at a lower<sup>5</sup> [p. 2] rate.

<sup>1</sup> Herbert Croft (Bishop of Hereford, not Carlisle), *Some Animadversions upon a Book Intituled The Theory of the Earth* (London, 1685), p. 4. PL 1113.

<sup>2</sup> 'Quaere': query.

<sup>3</sup> *The Profession of the Tridentine Faith* (the Creed of Pope Pius IV) was issued in 1564. Protestant counts of the number of new Roman Catholic articles of faith varied. Pepys owned a 1683 edition of Isaac Barrow's *A Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy* that numbered 12 'novelties and heterodoxies' in the creed. *The Works of Isaac Barrow*, 2 vols. (London, 1683), vol. 1, p. 290 (second sequence). PL 2338.

<sup>4</sup> It is unclear whether this word is 'the' or 'tho'—it looks as if the last letter was changed from an 'e' to an 'o' as it was being written.

<sup>5</sup> 'lower' is present as a catchword only.



To *which* is<sup>6</sup> added that ye temporall Courtiers can *with* ye better countenance, seaze ye Religious houses and their Revenues, at ye time of ye Reformation by finding out a gang of Clergy-Men to serve the Church *with what* was left.

The Bible of King James misprinted, notwithstanding all ye care & time spent therein.<sup>7</sup>

Doe not wee retaine in our Doctrine at this day some of ye Inovations derived from Rome.

Let it be Asked whither there be any man or Number of Men, that will pretend to an ability to ~~ex~~ interpret all Scripture and will owne it when charged therewith; Their Vanity therein bein [*sic*] easily to be shewne.

The like to be asked of any Copy, *that* can be shewne of ye bible whither Printed or written, that shall be pretended for *Perfect*.

Have not wee as great Errors in some of Our Sexs<sup>Sects</sup>, whome yet wee owne for fellow Protestants that are as extravagant as ye new Articles of Faith wee reproach ye Church of Rome for.

If the Scripture be soe plaine, why soe many different Versions thereof; Soe many various readings such no. of Expositors & reconcilours.

Preaching up of Piety seems to be become the by worke only of Our Clergy while all the World is troubled *with* little more from them then their Contentions for Supremacy, Wealth.

He that cannot chuse his Religion *with* knowledg and understanding had better make noe choice at all, but observe that he was brought up in *without* [p. 3] Departing there from, But in obedience to the Law & his Prince, who must be thought better able to judge thereof then any private Men, ~~Yet DG~~

Get<sup>8</sup> DG<sup>9</sup> to recolect ye Name of ye Arch *Bishopp* that silenced all his Clergy, for some mutinous proceedings of ye common people under their Charge

Consider ye Import of ye Word Perfect, Our Lithargy & our Translation of ye Bible being (I think) declared publikly to be more *Perfect* then those *which* had been allowed by publick authority before, & *Perticularly* our Lithargy, declared by *Parliament* to have been devise [*sic*] by the aid of the wholly Spiritt.<sup>10</sup>

Had Our Church really more power heretofore for ye correcting of Vice then it has now since ye Reformation. Since it is manifest that our Age is more Vitious then, then.<sup>11</sup>

Consult *Sir William Petty* about ye No. of Men in ye World &c.—

It is said that we should live more carefully had we Catholicks amongst us then we doe now, As ye French Protestants were said to doe.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Word or words deleted.

<sup>7</sup> Biblical misprints had been a subject of particular concern since the late 1650s. Pepys was working in Westminster Palace in 1657 at the time a parliamentary subcommittee investigated 'false Printing the Bible'. The issue was publicized in William Kilburne, *Dangerous Errors in Several Late Printed Bibles* (Finsbury, 1659).

<sup>8</sup> 'Yet' corrected to 'Get'.

<sup>9</sup> Dr Thomas Gale.

<sup>10</sup> In 1549 the Act of Uniformity declared that the Book of Common Prayer had been compiled 'by the aid of the Holy Ghost', while in 1552 a second Act declared it was 'made fully perfect'. Pepys owned these acts in, inter alia, *The Statutes at Large . . . from Magna Charta until this Time*, ed. by Joseph Keble, 2 vols. (London, 1681), vol. 2, pp. 646, 676. PL 2766.

<sup>11</sup> i.e. 'than then'.

<sup>12</sup> The comparison with French Protestantism was double-edged after October 1685, when the revocation of the Edict of Nantes led many French Protestants to flee to England.

Most of Our Greatest Difficultyes in points of Religion are observed to have rissen more from Learned Men through their Heats of Contention, and not from any thing that the [p. 4] unlearned could add to them.

When all is done, reason must govern all since our very Faith must be a reasonable Faith.—

Wee are bid to be of one mind, and yet told *that* Heresys must be in ye World.

Tis sayd that as to ye business of Church-Discipline (what ever we are as to Doctrine) wee are plainly in a Wood. And even as to Doctrine to [*sic*] in all but *what* is plaine Morall Doctrine. And in that both ye Romanists & wee, and all ye World, whether Fanaticks,<sup>13</sup> Philosophers, Jews & Gentiles, have in all Ages agree'd, & doe at this day. God himselfe leaveing ye World for many Ages together *without* any other law then reason.—

How should it be expected, that ye Romanists & wee should ever agree, when neither of us apart are ever likely to agree among our selves.

Are ye Creeds in every Article of them, to be clearly proved out of Scripture.—

*Quaere* the Construction of these Words I beleive Lord help my Unbeleif.<sup>14</sup>

Where is the body of ye Romish doctrine to be found all together, whether in ye Council of Trent or else where.

[p. 5]

Who is soe certaine of ye truth of his owne opinion as to be able to justify his endeavouring to convert any body else thereto, *without* feare of perverting them.

Nor seems there any delight to be taken in a publick allowance of liberty of Conscience, least a man chuseing amiss, make himselfe accountable to God for it; Whereas<sup>15</sup> the State Prince or law must be acknowledged better quallified to judge in ye points of Religion then any private man.—

Our Church seems to allow & require ouricular confession.—

*Filioque*<sup>16</sup> consult DG.—

Examining partially<sup>17</sup> *which* Churches's Doctrine tends most to ye promotion of Virtue.—

Rome before Constantinople *Quaere* why?<sup>18</sup> DG.—

Why Canterbury & York and not London?<sup>19</sup>—

How is our present Translation of ye Bible.—

<sup>13</sup> 'Fanaticks': a derogatory term for Nonconformists.

<sup>14</sup> Mark 9:24: 'Lord, I beleeve, helpe thou mine unbeliefe' in the King James Bible (1611) or in the Geneva version 'Lord, I beleeve: helpe my unbeliefe' (1614 London edn.). The sudden (if temporary) improvement in the hand immediately after this point suggests the discourse may originally have stopped, or paused, after the quotation from Mark.

<sup>15</sup> Word deleted.

<sup>16</sup> 'Filioque': 'and the son', a phrase added to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed by the Western Church to affirm that the Spirit proceeded from the Son as well as the Father. The acceptance of this phrase in the creed used by Rome was a major issue in the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches in the 11th century. The phrase is in the 39 Articles of the Church of England.

<sup>17</sup> 'Examining partially': a slip for 'Examine impartially' (although the momentarily confused writer seems to have been trying for 'Examining partially'). Features such as this confusion of 'ing' with 'im', which seem to be the result of mishearing, suggest the notes were at one point taken down by an amanuensis from dictation.

<sup>18</sup> Pepys wants to know why the patriarch of Rome (the Pope) historically claims primacy over the patriarch of Constantinople. Constantinople was determined to be second only to Rome at the first Council of Constantinople in 381.

<sup>19</sup> Pepys is interested in why Canterbury and York are the Church of England's two ecclesiastical provinces (governed by archbishops) while no such status is accorded to London.

It is said that there has not been one quiet houre in our Church & State since the Reformation, and that upon ye Score of Religion.—

Examine the truth of *that* Salvo to ye difficulty of the Bibles interpretacion, that it is in all matters necessary to Salvation.—

*Quaere* the Power of ye Secular Prince in matters doctrinall.—

It is asked why wee should keep ye lands & Revenues of that Church from whence we violently ravished ye same under pretence of such deffects & Faults in them, and the people under their care as our Churchmen & Laity exceed them in at this day.<sup>20</sup>

[p. 6]

Remember Sir William Petty's Note of ye suddaine Extraordinary Growth of ye sect of Quakers even to a Mericle.<sup>21</sup>—

How comes the Church of England if soe true, soe learned & soe Pious as they would be thought to bee to have suffered us to fall into soe many Vices and Schismes.

Does it appeare from ye Universall disposicion of things, Difference of Mens Minds & Passions, and the Naturall Remedies found for diseases arising from Vice &c. that nature ever designed Mankind to be either universally virtuous or of one Mind in any thing.

D.G as I remember told me that Epiphanius has reckoned up noe less then two hundred Herises, to have sprung up in his early dayes. Soe uncertaine & hard to be understood are the Measures of Religion<sup>22</sup>

Eusebius observes that Mellito *Bishopp* of Sardeis writes to ye Emperour that his sect of Philosophy (meaning Christian Religion) was heretofore in Use among the Barbarians (*which* ye Comentator in Eusebius I know not how reasonably, expounds to be ye Jewes) and revived under Augustus.<sup>23</sup>

How come wee soe to Value ourselves as to expect that God allmighty should busy himselfe more in the protecting and ye *Perpetuating* our Church, then he has done in that of his owne people ye Jewes or the Orientall Christians or Affrican Christian Churches.

DG tells me that some eminent father or other took St. Hierome (under ye name of 'Arom) to be a factious dangerous fellow for his Translation [p. 7] of ye Bible into Lattine as imposing upon the World a false Scripture of his owne.<sup>24</sup>

He allows of ye Observation that there is noe one point of Our Faith or Religion from Top to bottome that has not been controverted in ye Church and still remaines soe. How then is it soe cleare for Us to beleive & Guide our selves thereby.

<sup>20</sup> There were concerns that the ownership of abbey lands would be on James's agenda. On 26 April 1686 Roger Morrice heard that "There was a Commission of Enquiry issued out many months since about Abbey lands (its said concealed) or after long Leases reverting to the Crown." *Entring Book of Roger Morrice*, vol. 3, p. 109.

<sup>21</sup> This paper has not been traced. Petty was a friend of the Quaker leader William Penn (1644–1718).

<sup>22</sup> *The Panarion* of Epiphanius of Salamis (d. 403) detailed 80 heretical sects, 20 of which were active before the time of Christ. It is not in the Pepys Library.

<sup>23</sup> The words of Melito, bishop of Sardis (d. c.190) and the commentary Pepys mentions are from Eusebius Pamphilus, *The History of the Church* (Cambridge, 1683), p. 66. PL 2660.

<sup>24</sup> St Jerome's translations in the late 4th and early 5th centuries included Latin versions of the Gospels and the Hebrew scriptures. His translations met criticism, including from St Augustine. I have not been able to identify the attack mentioned by Dr Gale. However *arum* is Hebrew for 'subtle' or 'crafty' and is used in Genesis 3:1, 'Now the serpent was more subtilt then any beast of the field.' This point is noted by Jerome in his *Hebrew Questions on Genesis*. I am grateful to Gordon Campbell for help with this note.

Our Religion also seems to make ye whole Spirit<sup>25</sup> the guide of our Faith and Religion to the rendring mankind very unhappy under the Impossibility that attends them of discerning the true Spirit from ye False.

It seems worthy Consideration what it is of Schisme or Paradox that might not be proved by the Scripture under that Multiplicity & Lattitude of Rules & Allowances of Figures and Distinctions that are both demanded & granted as well by the Reformed as Romish Church to be indispensibly necessary for ye right unfolding, & reconciling of Scriptures for supporting <sup>some</sup> of the most Essential points of Our Religions. Vide the Chapter upon that subject before the Polyglotte Bible.<sup>26</sup>

And would it be enough to justify the Truth and clearness of any other writing to say that it is true & Cleare in all things necessary to some one end whereto ye same is applicable or designed, however [*sic*] obscure ye sence thereof may be or its<sup>27</sup> truth doubtfull in reference to any other parts thereof.

*Quaere* how farr mankind may be said to be made up of Different species, and where ye Brute ends & Man begins. with the consequences thereof.

[p. 8]

He that makes Reason his Guide goes by a Law of God's making subject to noe falsifications nor Misconstructions. *Which* all other guides whether written or others are & must necessarily be.

It is brought as an Objection to Our Religion that it is made by a *Parliament* and not by any Ecclesiastick Authority, urging for it that in the time of ye late Rebellion the Parliament would never suffer King Charles ii to be at Rest, till they had gott him to submit to [*sic*] Our settled Religion and Church to their correction & Establishment.

DG. observes that places & business of proffitt are not disposed of & managed with grosser methods & Degrees of Corruption in the meanest & worst Societies of Mankind then in ye Universities.<sup>28</sup>

It is observable from all our late oaths & Covenants settled by Act of *Parliament* & others that a man is at the same time obliged to declare his taking them Voluntar[y] thò at ye same time it is knowne to be done indispensib[ly] under great Penalties: *Which* goes very farr towards the confirmeing the difference that has been suggested to be, betwene a mans private Religion, wherein a man's owne faith & Reason governes and the Publick *which* the Law requires, and seemes to Reach & extend only to an Outward proffession of *what* it nevertheless would seem to understand & require to be done from an internall *Perswasion*.

I have heard it asked when it was that wee lost that knowledge of good & Evill *which* wee payd so dearly for & remain'd with Adam at ye time of his being<sup>29</sup> [p. 9] turned out of Paradise. And if it be said that it abides with us still, how come wee to be said to come into ye World with soe great & naturall oblimous<sup>30</sup> & darkness of Understanding.

Sir *William Petty's* saying seems to employ<sup>31</sup> a great deale, that much ye greatest part of all humane understanding is lost by our discoursing and writeing of Matters ~~without~~

<sup>25</sup> 'whole Spirit': perhaps meaning 'holy Spirit' given the spelling 'wholy Spirit' used on p. 3.

<sup>26</sup> *Biblia sacra polyglotta*, ed. by Brian Walton, 6 vols. (London, 1655–7), PL 2948–53.

<sup>27</sup> 'ye' corrected to 'its'.

<sup>28</sup> Having been a tutor at Cambridge and, briefly in 1672, professor of Greek, Dr Gale was in position to know about academic corruption.

<sup>29</sup> 'being' is present as a catchword only.

<sup>30</sup> 'oblimous' is not in the *OED*. 'Oblime' means 'to cover with mud or slime' and 'oblimation' is the recorded (but obscure) noun. *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, Oxford University Press, March 2004 <www.oed.com> [accessed 30 May 2014].

<sup>31</sup> 'employ': imply.

Nonsensically that is in Words subject to more Sences then one to ye rendring disputations Infinite upon every Proposition that can be made in any Science whether divinity, Law, &c.<sup>32</sup> He that is in ye wrong haveing it in his Power to make himselfe in ye right by starting of a *Difference* or *Distinction* which would be avoided (and cannot otherwise) by men confineing themselves in writeing & speaking to words of a Single Sence.—

DY.<sup>33</sup> observes that he has seldome ever knowne a good and pious Protestant, But such as was bred up soe from his Youth, Whereas (sayes he) quite the contrary I have observed very many Catholicks *Perfectly* reformed after very wicked lifes.

He observes to two [*sic*] that the Inducements to Piety are more forcible among them then among Protestants.

- 1 – From ye necessity of Auricular Confession and ye Shame attend<sup>ing</sup> ye same
- 2 – From ye Awe thereby created in them [p. 10] towards their Priests.
- 3<sup>d</sup> – From ye Peace of Mind arising from Absolution.
- 4 – From ye Satisfaction arising ~~from their~~ b their being cleared of the doubts every modest Protestant is under touching his being a Member of the true Church.

<sup>32</sup> Compare Petty to Sir Robert Southwell, 1 Apr. 1686, in *Petty–Southwell Correspondence*, pp. 186–7; Petty’s ‘Dictionary of Sensible Words’ (1685), and ‘The Explication of 12 Theological Words’ (1686), in *Petty Papers*, vol. 1, pp. 150–1, 162–6.

<sup>33</sup> Rightly DG (Dr Gale). On p. 3 a similar problem ocured with capital Y/G. There ‘Yet’ was corrected to ‘Get’.

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