The Friendship of John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys

by

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OUTLINE

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Two of the best diaries in all literature were produced in England during the seventeenth century. They were written by men whose official connections with public affairs placed them in a position to comment intelligently on events and personalities that have historical significance for us today. More than that, they are portraits of their authors who unconsciously sketched in their own characters as they made their entries from day to day. No one can deny that they are vivid portraits, but they are no more accurate in all details than are most self-drawn portraits, and unfortunately they have served to create in the minds of the readers of the diaries the almost universal impression that the authors, John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys, were so entirely opposed in character and ideals that they lived in two different worlds. Yet we know that the opposite is true; that these men were not only known to each other, but were personal friends for many years. Before discussing the character of this friendship, it might be well to examine the diaries separately as to their scope, purpose, and effect, in an effort to see why they represent their authors as they do.

John Evelyn's diary covers a long period of time,

some sixty-six years from 1640 to 1706, the year of his death. It was written in longhand, and shows such frequent evidence of revision that it often reads more like a memoir than a diary. Obviously Evelyn intended it to be read, and possibly to be published, for he had attained some fame as an author during his life and had every reason to believe that the world might be interested in his journal. Yet it is by no means a complete record; there are months without a single entry, and sometimes a whole year is covered in less than half a dozen printed pages. Such a condensed account of over half a century of life cannot be expected to contain many details of the sort which make Pepys' diary such fascinating reading. In his writing Evelyn was very careful in expressing his personal opinions concerning events and people, more careful than he was in conversation, as we shall see later, and it is also not impossible that he corrected and edited his diary when he copied it into the quarto volume in which it has been preserved. Many great names are on his pages, yet we are only too rarely given anything concerning them except praise, unless it be severe censure for individual immorality at Court. For the most part Evelyn maintained a discreet reserve coupled with an excellent judgment. The reserve extended to himself and his family, and it is only when he wrote on the death of his children or his friends that we are given a glimpse of the tender side of his

character. On the whole we see the picture of the highest type of English gentleman, scholarly, intelligent, versatile, interested in his country and government, proving by his own life that there existed a type of Englishman who would redeem England from the excesses of both Puritanism and the Restoration.

Pepys' diary, though much longer than Evelyn's, covers less than nine and a half years. But it covers those years with a thoroughness that has never been equalled. It is intensely personal and excessively detailed, and because of its vivid style and wealth of incident, much easier reading than Evelyn's. Everyone knows it was written in shorthand, but whether or not Pepys intended it to be published is a contested matter. Certainly he turned a searchlight on himself--we might almost say an X-ray--and his readers feel as if they know him more intimately than they do their own relatives. But do they? Even ordinary light can be made to distort images, and the frankness and intimacy of Pepys' self-revelations were bright enough to blind most of his early readers to the fact that he was an important man, doing important work. The general impression which the average reader carries away from a reading of the diary is that of a pleasure loving rogue whose curiosity and interest in life somewhat compensated for his shocking lapses from the standards of conduct becoming to a gentleman.

It is easy to see, then, that to a certain extent both Pepys and Evelyn suffer from their diaries. Evelyn's reserve prevents us from seeing the charming gentleman who was in constant demand as a dinner companion, and we should never guess from any entry that he made, that he ever made puns on may and can. His over-seriousness in writing is a veil that hides from his readers what must have been a charming personality. On the other hand, Pepys' over-emphasis on certain phases of his life is equally misleading. Only recently have extensive studies been made which show that in reality Pepys' official accomplishments far outweighed his private misdemeanors, and that, as a matter of fact, few of his contemporaries even suspected that such a side existed.

We know that Pepys and Evelyn were friends, and we puzzle over the incongruity of such a relationship. Two more widely separated characters apparently never existed. Apparently, we say, because when we think of Evelyn, we think of his dignified gentlemanly diary, while when we think of Pepys we too often remember only the intimacy of his diary, forgetting the tantalizing omissions in the first, and the short period of time covered by the second. Pepys' diary ended shortly after he met Evelyn, long before the friendship had ripened, and when his public career was just well started. A short sketch of the later lives of these men should bring them closer together, and may be of value

as a background for the comparison of the evidence of the friendship found in the diaries and correspondence.

So far as we know, and there is no reason to think anything to the contrary, Evelyn led a long and blameless life, utterly devoid of any base actions. His early life was sheltered and uneventful, with nothing in it to regret except that his timidity made him plead so earnestly against going to Eton that he lost this opportunity, to his everlasting regret. He spent the tempestuous years of the civil war and Commonwealth largely in travel in Europe where he completed his education in the arts and sciences. He returned to England shortly before the Restoration, and from that time on took an active part in public life, while at the same time he continued his studying, writing, and translating. Evidently there was nothing of the recluse in him, for he thoroughly enjoyed his public life, his contacts at Court, and the public recognition that his writing gained for him.

Evelyn's public life throws an interesting light on the sort of positions accepted and held by gentlemen with independent means. About the time that he and Pepys met, Evelyn was serving as one of the Commissioners for regulating the Mint, and also as a Commissioner for the care of the sick and wounded--a position which brought him into direct contact with Pepys. He was one of the Commissioners for the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral before it was burnt;

by 1671, he was a Commissioner of Plantations; by 1685, a Commissioner of the Privy Seal--a most embarrassing position for a staunch Church of Englander to hold under a Catholic sovereign. As late as 1695, when Evelyn was seventy-five years old, he was one of the Commissioners of Greenwich Hospital, and the next year laid the first stone of the building. It was not until 1699 that he actually retired from public life; in that year he succeeded to his elder brother's estate and retired to Wotton, the family seat in Surrey, a little more than twenty-six miles from London. During all these years, and they were eventful ones, Evelyn was constantly in touch with all that was going on, particularly in the scientific world, and was also translating and writing. His literary work was more important to his contemporaries than to ourselves, and aside from his Sylva is scarcely known today. But in his own day the Sylva went into three editions, the Terra into two, and his range of subjects extended from Sculptural; or the History and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper and Mezzo-tinto, to Acetaria: a Discourse on Salads. Though his first claim to distinction was as an author, Evelyn was also an artist, an authority on gardening, and one of the outstanding bibliophiles of the times.

Leaving Evelyn among his studies and accomplishments, let us now find what Pepys was doing during these years.

From a very humble beginning as one of eleven children of a tailor, Pepys somehow managed to get through St. Paul's school, and to attend Cambridge for a time. Through his kinsman, Sir Edward Montague, Pepys entered official life in the modest capacity of Clerk of the Exchequer. His policy of making himself indispensable advanced him so rapidly that by the time he closed his diary he had already made a name for himself, had gathered a small fortune by means not much different from the accepted customs of the time, had his house and a coach, was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and was generally known as an industrious man. He kept his position as Clerk of the Acts, which he had held since 1660, until 1673, and had worked so hard in the interests of the Navy that when he was made Secretary of the Admiralty in that year, the honor was recognizedly deserved. He acted in this capacity for six years, during which time he distinguished himself by introducing efficient business methods, by his work in rebuilding the Navy, and by his ceaseless efforts to build up the Navy personnel. By this time he was well-known, and other honors were given him. He was appointed a Governor of Christ's Hospital in 1676, elected Master of Trinity House twice, elected Master of the Clothworkers' Company, and so on. The Admiralty Commission was dissolved on April 21, 1679, and Pepys resigned the Secretaryship in May. The next day he was committed to the Tower on a charge of treasonable cor-

respondence with France. He was not released, even on bail, until July, and the charges were not dropped until June of the next year. During this period, Pepys and his clerk Hewer were attacked from many sides. At this time Pepys went to live with Hewer in York Buildings, and made arrangements to retire from public life. But by 1683 he was back in again, this time as Secretary to Lord Dartmouth on the expedition to Tangiers. The next year he was made Secretary for the Affairs of the Admiralty of England, a position which he held almost five years. This same year, 1684, Pepys was elected President of the Royal Society. The next year he was elected M. P. for both Harwich and Sandwich, and walked in James II's coronation procession as a Baron of the Cinque Ports.

Pepys was generally believed to be very close to the King, and the downfall of James II meant the end of Pepys' political career. From 1689 on, he lived in retirement, devoting himself to such gentlemanly pursuits as collecting prints and portraits, arranging his famous library, and working on his history of the Navy, a large undertaking which he never completed.

Pepys' tastes and friends during the last fifteen years of his life are an indication of the man who had developed during the three decades since the close of the diary. We know that he lived in a charming house furnished with the fruits of his years of collecting, and that he

corresponded with such men as John Dryden, Sir Isaac Newton, John Wallis the mathematician, and John Evelyn. The last years of his life were, so far as we know, happy and busy ones. Pepys the commoner had made himself into Pepys the gentleman, living almost exactly the sort of life that Evelyn lived. And, as it is possible to trace Pepys' career through official papers, so the friendship between Evelyn and Pepys, a faithful friendship covering four decades, can be traced through their diaries and correspondence.

Undoubtedly Samuel Pepys was proud of making the acquaintance of John Evelyn. He certainly knew who he was, and may have admired him from afar at the meetings of the Royal Society, to which he had been elected a Fellow early in the year 1665, long before Evelyn was aware of any such a person as Samuel Pepys. The first entry in Pepys' diary concerning Evelyn is just a bare statement about Evelyn's house, for Pepys wrote that he had gone to Deptford and, "in to Mr. Evelyn's, which is a most beautiful place; but, it being dark, and late, I staid not."[1] Four days later Pepys wrote that he had walked in the gardens at Sayes Court, Evelyn being abroad, and seen "a hive of bees, so as, being hived in glass, you may see the bees

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[1] Pepys, Diary, May 1, 1665.

making their honey and combs mighty pleasantly."[1] It was not until September 9 that Pepys wrote more in detail of attending a "mighty merry" party at Lord Brouncker's where Evelyn was present. Later in the day, the stormy weather forced Pepys to get a bed at Captain Cocke's, where he found his dinner companions at supper. This evening the talk was all of the neglect of high officials and the gloomy outlook, so that Pepys went to bed, "full of these melancholy thoughts," and "slept very ill."[2]

The next day fortune changed. News was received of Lord Sandwich's victory over the Dutch, and Pepys hurried to Captain Cocke's, where his friends of the day before were already gathered. The occasion was such a happy one that Pepys wrote that he "never met with so merry a two hours as our company this night was." And among the merriest was Mr. Evelyn.

> Among other humors, Mr. Evelyn's repeating of some verses made up of nothing but the various acceptations of _may_ and _can_, and doing it so aptly upon occasion of something of that nature, and so fast, did make us all die almost with laughing, and did so stop the mouth of Sir J. Minnes in the middle of all his mirth, and in a thing agreeing with his own manner of genius, that I never saw any man so out-done in all my life; and Sir J. Minnes's mirth, too, to see himself outdone, was the crown of all our mirth.[3]

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[1] Pepys, _Diary_, May 5, 1665.

[2] _Ibid._, September 9, 1665.

[3] _Ibid._, September 10, 1665.

Pepys made no mention of taking any active part in the conversation on this merry occasion, but seventeen days later we find him riding in Evelyn's coach with him to the Duke of Albemarle, presumably on business, for Evelyn was one of the Commissioners for the care of the sick and wounded in the Dutch war, and he and Pepys were both concerned with the lack of funds available for relief work. Yet Pepys found this ride an opportunity to improve on the acquaintance, according to his account, for where many a younger man might well have been awed by the presence of Mr. Evelyn, and dared not touch on any matter except business, Pepys wrote blandly,

> Most excellent discourse with Mr. Evelyn touching all manner of learning, wherein I find him a very fine gentleman, and particularly of paynting, in which he tells me the beautifull Mrs. Middleton is rare, and his own wife do brave things.[1]

It does not take much imagination to reconstruct the scene and to see Pepys, the younger man, hanging with flattering attention on the words of the older, fully aware of the honor of riding with Mr. Evelyn in his coach, keenly alive to the superior learning of his companion, and really interested, as was Evelyn, in "all manner of learning." Evelyn made no entry on this date, but it is more than probable that he thought Mr. Pepys an uncommonly bright young man, with little nonsense about him. At any rate, he

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[1] Pepys, Diary, September 27, 1665.

thought enough of him to send him a book within the next week, which shows that Pepys had made a good impression. This book, one of Evelyn's translations, concerning the erecting of a library, Pepys confessed to be above his reach, a fact which he probably had the tact to conceal from the donor. After reading the book, Pepys went to Mr. Evelyn's, where they discussed "our confounded business of prisoners, and sick and wounded seamen, wherein he and we are so much put out of order."[1]

When the business of the day was finished, Evelyn showed Pepys his famous gardens, and like any true garden enthusiast, spent the rest of the afternoon in "fine discourse of trees and the nature of vegetables." The next sentence in the entry reflects the inspiration which the conversation with a man of Evelyn's temperament gave Pepys, for he wrote:

> Renewed my promises of observing my vowes as I used to do; for I find that, since I left them off, my mind is run a wool-gathering and my business neglected.[2]

The next entry in Pepys' diary indicates a more personal development of the acquaintance, and though Evelyn made no mention of Pepys at this time, the omission is not significant, for he made no entry at all for many days

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[1] Pepys, Diary, October 5, 1665.

[2] Ibid., October 5, 1665.

at this time. Pepys went to Deptford especially to see Evelyn, doubtless on Evelyn's invitation, and was entertained exactly as we might expect, knowing that their previous conversations had been concerned with painting and books. Evelyn showed Pepys his paintings, "in distemper, in Indian incke, water colours; graveing; and, above all, the whole secret of mezzo-tinto."[1] Then he read some of his work on gardening, part of a play or two, showed him a collection of pressed plants, and finally read some of his poems, which Pepys, who was probably suffering from mental indigestion by this time, found "not transcendant."[1] Pepys, who may have found the conversation just a bit too one sided, could not resist the temptation to write that Evelyn was conceited, a remark often quoted. The whole quotation gives a better idea of his judgment of Evelyn.

> In fine, a most excellent person he is, and must be allowed a little for a little conceitedness; but he may well be so, being a man so much above others.[2]

There was one more visit this month, and this time Evelyn, noting Pepys' interest in a ledger of a Treasurer of the Navy--one of Evelyn's great grandfathers--actually gave it to him. He also showed him several letters of Queen Elizabeth's time, some of which were written by

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[1] Pepys, Diary, November 5, 1665.

[2] Ibid., November 5, 1665.

Elizabeth and Mary, Queen of Scots. No wonder Pepys felt that he was getting on in the world, for previous to going to Evelyn's he had dined with Sir G. Smith, and his comment on this was, "Lord! to see how I am treated, that come from so mean a beginning, is a matter of wonder to me."[1]

However, the friendship was not entirely onesided. If Pepys regarded his friendship with Evelyn as advantageous, Evelyn also had reason to wish to be on good terms with the man who was Clerk of the Acts of the Navy and in a position to help get certain projects across. Early in the year 1665-6, Evelyn wrote to Pepys concerning an infirmary which he wanted erected. On January 28 the King had spoken to Pepys in public, and said, "I do give you thanks for your good service all this year, and I assure you I am very sensible of it."[2] So, on the 29th, when Pepys rode with Evelyn in Lord Brouncker's coach, "talking of the vanity and vices of the Court, which makes it a most contemptible thing,"[3] Evelyn brought up the matter of the infirmary, and Pepys was glad to be able to tell him that he would do what he could to promote the idea.

The entries in the two diaries for the date of January 29, 1665-6 are interesting in showing the relative

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[1] Pepys, Diary, November 24, 1665.

[2] Ibid., January 28, 1665-6.

[3] Ibid., January 29, 1665-6.

positions of the two men socially. The facts that Pepys mentioned, the ride to Clapham with Evelyn, and the discourse concerning the Court and the projected infirmary, found no place in Evelyn's diary. Instead, he wrote of his contact with people of importance, and in a style not too different from Pepys'.

> I went to wait on his Majesty, now returned from Oxford to Hampton-Court, where the Duke of Albemarle presented me to him; he ran towards me, and in a most gracious manner gave me his hand to kiss, with many thanks for my care and faithfulness in his service in a time of such great danger, when every body fled their employments; he told me he was much obliged to me, and said he was several times concerned for me, and the peril I underwent, and did receive my service most acceptably (though in truth I did but do my duty, and O that I had performed it as I ought!) After this, his Majesty was pleased to talk with me alone, near an hour, of several particulars of my employment, and ordered me to attend him again on Thursday following at Whitehall. Then the Duke came towards me, and embraced me with much kindness, telling me if he had thought my danger would have been so great, he would not have suffered his Majesty to employ me in that station. Then came to salute me my Lord of St. Albans, Lord Arlington, Sir William Coventry, and several great persons; after which I got home, not being well in health.[1]

On February 20th, Evelyn went to Pepys' office, where the matter of the infirmary was discussed and agreed on. Business concluded, Pepys took Evelyn home to dinner, "being desirous of keeping my acquaintance with him; and a most excellent humoured man I still find him, and mighty

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[1] Evelyn, Diary, January 29, 1665-6.

knowing."[1] Apparently this was the first time Evelyn entered Pepys' house, and the invitation may have been accepted in the interests of the infirmary project; nevertheless it marks a step in the progress of the friendship. Evelyn mentions the meeting as taking place on the 20th, and makes no mention of the dinner. The discrepancies in dates are probably due to Evelyn's carelessness, for he is notably inaccurate in many instances.

Business and calamities kept both men busy during the next months of this important year of 1666. The great fire of London occupied the attention of everyone, especially of those in official positions who were already worn out with the problems of the war. Evelyn and Pepys either had no occasion to see each other, or the meetings were too casual for even Pepys to record. It was not until the last of September, when the air was still full of the losses of the fire, that Pepys mentioned meeting Evelyn, who was particularly upset about the conduct of the Duke of York and Lady Denham. In his anxiety Evelyn complained to Pepys that

> None of the nobility come out of the country at all, to help the King, or comfort him, or prevent commotions at this fire, but do as if the King were nobody: nor ne'er a priest comes to give the King and Court good council, or to comfort the poor people that suffer: but all is dead,

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[1] Pepys, Diary, February 21, 1665-6.

> nothing of good in any of their minds: he bemoans it, and says he fears more ruin hangs over our heads.[1]

Either Pepys was an unusually satisfactory audience for Evelyn's occasional outbursts of righteous indignation, or Evelyn thought it best not to put his opinions in writing and thus deprived us of a knowledge of a more spirited side of his nature than we usually imagine. The next year one of the longest and most remarkable entries in Pepys' diary is an account of a two hours talk with Evelyn. Now according to Evelyn's diary, this is how he spent the day of April 26, 1667.

> My Lord Chancellor showed me all his newly finished and furnished palace and library; then we went to take the air in Hyde-Park.[2]

But according to Pepys, Evelyn must have talked rapidly and steadily for two hours while Pepys listened and made mental notes for his beloved diary. Pepys was very positive about this conversation, for he wrote,

> Then I took a turn with Mr. Evelyn, with whom I walked two hours, till almost one of the clock: talking of the badness of the Government, where nothing but wickedness, and wicked men and women command the King.[3]

From this starting point, Evelyn talked of the government in general, the sickliness of its ministers, the negligence

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[1] Pepys, Diary, September 26, 1666.

[2] Evelyn, Diary, April 26, 1667.

[3] Pepys, Diary, April 26, 1667.

of the clergy, the lack of funds at court, the King of France and his opinions of King Charles, the inside story of Mrs. Stuart's retirement from Court, and so on to less important matters--in short, just the sort of things two very intimate and trusting friends might discuss in very unsettled times. But Evelyn might have slept less easily that night had he known that all the opinions that he dared not put in his own diary were carefully recorded by Pepys. Particularly he might have regretted saying of the gentleman whose house he was on his way to inspect, that he "never did, nor never will do, anything, but for money."[1] One thing is certain, the conversation as Pepys reported it, could only have taken place between confidential friends--mere acquaintances would never have been so frank.

Again, on June 3, Pepys and Evelyn found occasion to discuss the state of public affairs, the two agreeing as to the deplorable conditions,

> which is, that the Dutch are known to be abroad with eighty sail of ships of war, and twenty fire-ships; and the French come into the Channell with twenty sail of men-of-war, and five fire-ships, while we have not a ship at sea to do them any hurt with; but are calling in all we can, while our Embassadors are treating at Bredah: and the Dutch look upon them as come to beg peace, and use them accordingly; and all this through the negligence of our Prince, who had power, if he would, to master all these with the money and men that he

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[1] Pepys, Diary, April 26, 1667.

> hath had the command of, and may now have, if he would mind his business. But, for aught we see, the kingdom is likely to be lost, as well as the reputation of it is, for ever; notwithstanding so much reputation got and preserved by a rebell that went before him.[1]

A few months later, when Evelyn and Pepys met at a bookstore, Evelyn confided to Pepys that

> wise men do prepare to remove abroad what they have, for 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.[2]

Perhaps Pepys had this conversation in mind when he wrote on November 30,

> I remember what Mr. Evelyn said, that he did believe we should soon see ourselves fall into a Commonwealth again.[3]

From this date on, we must depend on the correspondence between the two men and on Evelyn's diary for a record of their relations. Since Evelyn's diary is inclined to be laconic, as we have already seen, it cannot be depended on for any very complete record, yet it covers so many years that the entries concerning Pepys are worthy of a close examination. The correspondence between Evelyn and Pepys is also particularly important because of the length of time which the letters cover.

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[1] Pepys, Diary, June 3, 1667.

[2] Ibid., August 8, 1667.

[3] Ibid., November 30, 1667.

The first mention of Pepys in Evelyn's diary concerned a matter very close to Pepys' heart. We all know that every year Pepys held some sort of celebration on or about March 26, to commemorate his successful recovery from an operation for the stone. He must also have discussed the matter with his friends, for when Evelyn's brother, Richard, was considering a similar operation, Evelyn called on Pepys, and took him, and his stone, "big as a tennis-ball," to see Richard and to encourage him in his resolve to go through with the operation.[1]

When Pepys and his wife went to Holland and France on a tour, just after the end of Pepys' diary, and just before the death of Mrs. Pepys, Evelyn wrote to his friend. The letter, an entertaining and amusing one, contained three letters of introduction, directions for finding lodgings, and the advice of an expert as to what prints to collect. The advice must have been useful, for Pepys' reply, written shortly after his return, though just an apology for not seeing his friend immediately upon his return because of the illness of Elizabeth Pepys, refers to Evelyn as

> he to whom singly I owe the much greater part of the satisfaction I have met with in my late voyage.[2]

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[1] Evelyn to Pepys, November 2, 1669.

[2] Pepys to Evelyn, November 2, 1669.

The friends probably had more interests in common after Pepys' short trip abroad, and, it must be remembered, Pepys was always striving to better himself in the cultural things of life. He would have been gratified at his success had he known that one night when he had dined at Evelyn's, his friend had coupled his name with no less a person than Dr. Christopher Wren, and had characterized them as "two extraordinary, ingenious and knowing persons."[1]

The years passed swiftly, and though there is little doubt that the two friends saw each other frequently, the records do not reveal much. In 1674, Evelyn mentioned returning from Windsor Castle to London with Pepys.[2] In 1676, he noted that Pepys, then Secretary of the Admiralty, was elected Master of Trinity.[3] On August 26 of the same year, he dined at the Admiralty with Pepys.[4] Then there is a lapse in the diary and no further mention until June 4, 1679, when Evelyn proved that he was no fairweather friend by dining in the Tower with Pepys, who was confined there on a charge of treasonable correspondence with France. Of this affair Evelyn wrote quietly, "I believe he was unjustly charged."[5] On July 3, Evelyn sent Pepys a piece of venison

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[1] Evelyn, Diary, February 19, 1671.

[2] Ibid., August 21, 1674.

[3] Ibid., May 22, 1676.

[4] Ibid., August 26, 1676.

[5] Ibid., June 4, 1679.

and again dined with him in the Tower.[1] Pepys was released shortly after this, but it is unlikely that he underestimated Evelyn's loyalty at a time when newspapers and public opinion were against him. He certainly had every reason to feel that Evelyn was his true friend.

From this point on all the evidence points to the friendship being on the pleasantest of terms. In 1681, Pepys received a long letter from Evelyn describing the tedious labor he had encountered in writing his History of the Dutch War (which was never published) and advising Pepys that he would find similar difficulties in working on his History of the English Navy. Then he answered some specific questions which Pepys had asked, and sent him many valuable documents, which he listed with the mild remark that, "these pieces and particulars when you have done with, you may please to take your owne time in returning them."[2]

There is a sequel to this request, for the correspondence shows that Pepys took his own time to the extent of eleven years in returning the papers, and then failed to return them all! Fortunately the men were old enough and the friendship steady enough to stand that most exasperating of all tests of friendship--the unreturned book trial.

Early in the next year, January 28, 1682, Evelyn

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[1] Evelyn, Diary, July 3, 1679.

[2] Evelyn to Pepys, December 6, 1681.

expressed delight at being shown by Pepys a folio of the art of ship-building, a book so interesting that he called it "an extraordinary jewel."[1] Evidently Pepys was filling out his collection of books with some rare ones pertaining to naval affairs.

In May of this year, Pepys went with the Duke of York on a visit to Edinburgh. The Duke's ship, the Gloucester, was wrecked. Pepys, who as a matter of fact had chosen to stay on the yacht, Katerine, was reported among the dead. Evelyn took occasion to write to Pepys concerning his narrow escape, and to pay him a gallant compliment in saying,

> 'Tis sadly true there were a greate many poore creatures lost, and some gallant persons with them; but there are others worth hundreds saved, and Mr. Pepys was to me the second of those some.[2]

The next year, in August, Pepys was given an opportunity to return to public life. He was appointed to go as Lord Dartmouth's Secretary on the trip to Tangiers. The appointment was something of a surprise to Pepys, as he said in a letter to Evelyn which he wrote from Portsmouth.

> Your kinde sumons of the 2d instant has overtaken me here, where it cannot be more surprising to you to finde me, than it is to me to find myself; the King's command (without any account of the reason of it) requiring my repayre hither

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[1] Evelyn, Diary, January 28, 1682.

[2] Evelyn to Pepys, June 5, 1682.

> at lesse than eight and forty hours warning: not but that I now not only know, but am well pleased with the errand; it being to accompany my Lord of Dartmouth (and therewith to have some service assigned me for His Majesty) in his present expedition, with a very fayre squadron of ships, to Tangier.[1]

The whole letter is in an intimate vein. Pepys admitted that he was absolutely in the dark as to the nature of the expedition, but that he was glad to be drawn out from his retirement, and to travel.

> This only I am sure of, that over and above the satisfaction of being thought fitt for some use or other, (tis no matter what,) I shall go in a good ship, with a good fleet, under a very worthy leader, in a conversation as delightfull as companions of the first forme in divinity, law, physick, and the usefullest parts of mathematics can render it, namely, Dr. Ken, Dr. Trumbull, Dr. Lawrence, and Mr. Shere; with the additionall pleasure of concerts (much above the ordinary) of voices, flutes, and violins; and to fill up all (if any thing can do't where Mr. Evelyn is wanting), good humour, good cheere, some good books, the company of my nearest friend Mr. Hewer, and a reasonable prospect of being home againe in less than two months.[1]

The closing lines of the letter show the intimacy of the friendship.

> But, after all, Mr. Evelyn is not here, who alone would have beene all this, and without whom all this would be much lesse than it is were it not that, leaving him behind, I have something in reserve (and safe) to returne to, wherewith to make up whatever my best enquirys and gatherings from abroad, without his guidance, shall (as I am sure they must) prove defective in; with which,

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[1] Pepys to Evelyn, August 7, 1683.

committing myselfe to your good wishes, as I do you and your excellent family to God Allmighty's protection, I rest,

Dear Sir,
Your most faythfull and most obedient servant,

S. Pepys.[1]

Evelyn responded to this letter with unstinted enthusiasm, rejoicing over his friend's return to public service. Since this letter is indicative of the regard which Evelyn had for Pepys, and also shows how gracefully complimentary Evelyn could be, it may be quoted at length.

Sir,

I find myselfe surpriz'd and over-joy'd together; The One, by so unexpected an occasion of your absence from us; the other, for aboundance of reasons; and that you are come into the Publique againe, and do not wholy resigne your-selfe to Speculation, nor withdraw your industrious and steady hand from the helme of that greate Vessel in which we are all Imbarked with you: Methinke I respire againe, and (tir'd as I am) hope to see the good effects of God-Almighties late providences. 'Tis a faire Omen, Sir, and an illustrious marke of his Majesties discernement, that he recalls, and makes choice of such worthy instruments, and no small blessing, that he has faculty (at last) to govern and dispose as he dos, after all the hardships and contradictions of a wanton and giddy people, through which he struggles. For the rest, I dive not into seacrets, but infinitely congratulate your felicitie, and the great satisfaction you must needes derive from such a union as you describe: Mithinks when you recount to me all the Circumstances of your Voyage, your noble and choyce Companie; such usefull, as well as delightfull Conversation; You leave us so naked at home, that 'til your returne from Barbarie, we are in danger of becoming Barbarians: The Heros are all Em-

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[1] Pepys to Evelyn, August 7, 1683.

> bark'd with my Lord Dartmouth and Mr. Pepys; nay they seeme to carry along with them not a colonie onely, but a Colledge, nay an whole Universitie, all the Sciences, all the Arts, and all the Professors of 'em too: What shall (I) say! You seeme to be in the ship that Athenaeus speakes of, was so furnish'd with all that the land afforded, as it more resembled an imperial Citty, than the floating, and artificial fabric of a Carpenter:- May you be bless'd sir with as prosperous a Voyage and Expedition as the possessors of so much real Vertue, and an Assembly of so many excellent and worthy persons highly merite; and may I allwayes be number'd amongst the many who greately honour you, and who remaine,
>
> Sir
>
> Your most humble,
>
> and faithfull Servant,
>
> J. Evelyn.[1]

In a postscript which is almost as long as the letter, Evelyn asked Pepys to be on the look-out for curiosities in Tangiers.

> I am sure you cannot but be curious (among other things) to enquire of Medails and Inscriptions, especialy what may be found about old Tangier, &c. Mr. Sheeres will remember also the poore Gardener, if he happen on any kirnels or seedes of such Trees, and plants (especialy, ever-Greenes) as grow about those precints.[1]

We have no record that Pepys returned with "Medails and Inscriptions", but it is to be hoped that he did not disappoint Evelyn in this matter.

In 1685, about September 15, Pepys and Evelyn took a trip together to Portsmouth because King James was going there to inspect the fortifications. As a matter of pride,

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[1] Evelyn to Pepys, August 10, 1683.

Evelyn noted that though they left late after dinner (which meant sometime in the early afternoon) their coach and six got them to Bagshot, a distance of twenty-six miles, that night.[1] The next morning they started earlier and soon arrived at Winchester to wait on the King. The King was discussing miracles with two Bishops, telling

> what strange things the Saludadors would do in Spain, as by creeping into heated ovens without hurt, and that they had a black cross in the roof of their mouths, but yet were notorious and profane wretches; upon which his Majesty further said, that he was so extremely difficult of miracles, for fear of being imposed upon, that if he should chance to see one himself, without other witness, he should apprehend it a delusion of his senses.[2]

In a note added to this entry, Evelyn said that Pepys told him of his experience in Spain. He bribed one of these pretended miracle workers to explain the tricks to him.

> This Mr. Pepys affirmed to me; but, said he, I did not conceive it fit to interrupt his Majesty, who so solemnly told what they pretended to do.[2]

Evelyn took advantage of this trip to see both the palace that King Charles had begun and the ancient Cathedral, "a reverend pile." He did not mention whether or not Pepys went with him, but the chances are that he did not, as he had many official responsibilities.

Early the next morning the party went to Portsmouth,

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[1] Evelyn, Diary, September 15, 1685.

[2] Ibid., September 16, 1685.

where all official inspections went off amid great firing of guns; the day ended with a great dinner given by Sir R. Beach, the Commissioner, after which Pepys and Evelyn rested in preparation for the return journey to London which took them two whole days. Evelyn's comment on King James is interesting.

> By what I observed in this journey, is that infinite industry, sedulity, gravity, and great understanding and experience of affairs, in his Majesty, that I cannot but predict much happiness to the nation, as to its political government; and, if he so persist, there could be nothing more desired to accomplish our prosperity, but that he was of the national religion.[1]

Shortly after this journey Pepys wrote to Evelyn urging him to dine with him, and hinting at something of interest which he had to show him.[2] Evelyn wrote several pages in his diary concerning this occasion. Pepys had secured from James copies of papers written by Charles II listing arguments against the Church of England. These papers were accepted as proof that Charles was a Catholic. Evelyn commented on this at great length, and concluded,

> In the mean time, as to the discourse of his Majesty with Mr. Pepys, and those papers, as I do exceedingly prefer his Majesty's free and ingenuous profession of what his own religion is, beyond concealment upon any politic accounts, so I think him of a most sincere and honest nature, one on whose word one may rely, and that he makes a conscience of what he promises, to perform it.[3]

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[1] Evelyn, Diary, September 17, 1685.

[2] Pepys to Evelyn, October 2, 1685.

[3] Evelyn, Diary, October 2, 1685.

The next few years are rather bare of entries in Evelyn's diary, and of letters that are preserved. In 1687 Mrs. Evelyn wrote to Pepys in behalf of a Mrs. Fowler.[1] Evelyn also wrote, thanking Pepys for his reply to Mrs. Evelyn's letter and enclosing an original book of rates of the Navy for the year 1588.[2]

The lack of letters or references to Pepys during these years might be interpreted as indicating a gradual cooling of the warm relations between these men. However, one letter from Evelyn, written when he heard of James' withdrawal and on the realization of the significance of the act to Pepys, puts all doubts as to the character of the friendship at rest. Literary styles have changed since 1688, but then as now, friends, true friends, hastened to assure each other of their loyalty in times of trouble.

> Says-Court 12 December 88
> Sir I left you indispos'd and send on purpose to learne how it is with you, and to know if in any sort, I may serve you in this prodigious Revolution: You have many Friends, but no man living who is more sincerely your servant, or that has a greater value for you: We are here as yet (I thank God) unmolested; but this shaking menaces every Corner, and the most philosophic breast cannot but be sensible of the motion: I am assurd you neede no precepts, nor I Example as long as I have yours before me, and I would governe my selfe by your Commands to Sir
> Your most humble
> faithfull servant, J. Evelyn.[3]

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[1] Evelyn, Mary, to Pepys, September 7, 1687.

[2] Evelyn to Pepys, March 1, 1687-8.

[3] Evelyn to Pepys, December 12, 1688.

The next month Evelyn wrote in his diary that he had dined with Pepys at the Admiralty. This may have been one of the last dinners given there, for Pepys resigned the Secretaryship soon after. The two men spent the afternoon interviewing a child prodigy who answered their questions so readily that Evelyn confessed that they, rather than the child, were exhausted at the end of the day. Evelyn was reminded of his own son who died so young and was also something of a prodigy.[1]

If there are any doubts as to the character of the friendship of Evelyn and Pepys, one letter written in the year 1689 should be sufficient proof of the genuine similarity of interests which made these men congenial. Evelyn wrote a letter[2]--it might be called an essay--to Pepys, which for length and classical allusions has few rivals. It covers almost seventeen pages of close print (when published), and the number of names mentioned runs into the hundreds. It is full of advice concerning collections and books, and it is a real tribute to Pepys' intelligence, for Evelyn must have been sure that Pepys could appreciate such writing. Pepys did appreciate it, and he wrote to Evelyn that he would endeavor "to leave no one syllable unpractised of what you have had the goodness

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[1] Evelyn, Diary, January 27, 1689.

[2] Evelyn to Pepys, August 12, 1689.

to teach me in it, and lies within the reach of my pate and purse to execute."[1] It is in this letter, too, that Pepys repeats his request for a portrait of his friend to hang in his library. Evelyn had demurred at the request in his long letter, saying, "what, in God's name, should a planter of colewort do amongst such worthies?" Yet in his diary, on July 8, 1689, he had written:

> I sat for my picture to Mr. Kneller, for Mr. Pepys, late Secretary to the Admiralty, holding my Sylva in my right hand. It was on his long and earnest request, and it is placed in his library. Kneller never painted in a more masterly manner.[2]

In 1690 Evelyn had another opportunity to stand by his friend. In June Pepys came to him and read his Remonstrance against certain charges made against him concerning timber for ships. The next day Evelyn wrote a letter to Pepys in which he addressed him as his "Deare and Worthy Friend," and stated in positive terms his admiration for the Remonstrance. He said:

> So reasonable, so every way ingenuous; in so just, modest, and generous a style; in a word, so perfectly consumate is your excellent remonstrance, and so incontestably vouched! This, Sir, is my sense of it, and I value my selfe upon my judgement of it, that it will stand like a rock, and dash in pieces all the effects and efforts of spitefull and implacable men, who because they cannot bravely emulate, envie your worth and would thus seacretly undermine it.[3]

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[1] Pepys to Evelyn, August 30, 1689.

[2] Evelyn, Diary, July 8, 1689.

[3] Evelyn to Pepys, June 11, 1690.

Alas for Evelyn's enthusiasm. By June 25th Pepys was in Gatehouse on suspicion of being affected to King James. Evelyn dined with him the day before,[1] and again on July 30 after he was released.[2]

In September there was a little flurry of correspondence. Pepys asked Evelyn for some prints,[3] and Evelyn answered the next day, giving an elaborate account of some famous engravers and sending a picture of himself; "my face, such as it was of yore, but is now so no more."[4]

It is only natural that the last decade of the friendship between Evelyn and Pepys should have been distinguished by a certain mellowness, and by undertones of melancholy. Both men were ageing. Evelyn was in his seventies, and Pepys, though thirteen years younger, had led a more strenuous life and was breaking down. From 1692 on the correspondence dealt largely with their health, their hobbies, and their memories. Their letters are chiefly remarkable for their expansiveness. They are the letters of two gentlemen, one of whom still set the pace of high, and even pedantic style, which the other attempted wholeheartedly, but often vainly, to equal. As R. G. Howarth says:

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[1] Evelyn, Diary, June 24, 1690.

[2] Ibid., July 30, 1690.

[3] Pepys to Evelyn, September 25, 1690.

[4] Evelyn to Pepys, September 26, 1690.

> The letters of Evelyn emanate from a rich and cultivated mind, those of Pepys from a sober, earthly intelligence that sedulously emulated where it admired.[1]

In 1692, Pepys' conscience caused him to return the greater part of the manuscripts and papers which Evelyn had lent him so many years ago, with a charming letter of apology.[2] Evelyn held no grudge, even for the missing papers, and in August wrote from Wotton, where he had retired,

> I have ben philosophising and world-despising in the solitudes of this place, whither I am retired to passe, and mourne the absence of my best and worthyest friend. Here is wood and water, meadows and mountains, the Dryads and Hamadryads; but here's no Mr. Pepys, no Dr. Gale. Nothing of all the cheere in the parlour that I tast; all's insipid, and all will be so to me 'til I see and injoy you againe. . . . I am here with Boccalini, and Erasmus's Prayse of Follie, and looke down upon the world with wondrous contempt when I consider for what we keepe such a mighty bustle. O Fortunate Mr. Pepys! who knows, possesses, and injoyes all that's worth the seeking after. Let me live among your inclinations and I shall be happy.[3]

Pepys' reply disclosed the fact that he had been ill and confined to his room for a month, and had had little company. But he wrote,

> Hasten then to towne, where wee have a whole summer's cropp of intelligence to gather, and seed to putt in the ground for another; but

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[1] Howarth, R. G., Samuel Pepys, p. xv.

[2] Pepys to Evelyn, March 28, 1692.

[3] Evelyn to Pepys, August 29, 1692.

> want the aid of your weather-wisdome towards judging what will come on't. Hasten then to towne, and receive the longing wellcome of,
> your most affectionate servant and honourer,
> S. Pepys.[1]

Books and reading occupy a large place in the last letters. Both men had more leisure for reading, and in 1696 Evelyn described what might be considered an ideal life for a seventy-six year old gentleman.

> I take a walke in the gardens and a little grove I am planting. . . and when I am confind, reade and scribbl, or build castles in the aer. To be serious, I have of late ben chewing-over some old stories, and among others the Reigne of Lewes the XIth and Charles Duke of Burgundy, written you know by Philip de Comines 200 yeares since.[2]

The last letters showed, in almost every instance, a realization of the fact that their friendship must soon be ended by death. Evelyn was nearing eighty, Pepys was close to seventy; their minds were clear and their zest for life unabated, but frequent illnesses warned them that only a little time remained. Evelyn wrote,

> Time flies a pace, my Friend. 'Tis evening with us.[3]

A few years later he quoted Epictetus' warning to be ready when the ship sails.[4] Pepys also wrote in the same vein.

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[1] Pepys to Evelyn, September 16, 1692.

[2] Evelyn to Pepys, December 3, 1696.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Evelyn to Pepys, August 9, 1700.

> But Providence, that must not be repined at, has thought fit to part us; yet not without a reserve, I trust, of another place of meeting for us, and better, and more lasting, for which God fit us![1]

Yet their lives were full and interesting. They never lost contact with the world. In 1701, Pepys wrote enthusiastically to Evelyn,

> Dover-Streete at the topp and J. Evelyn at the bottom had alone been a sight equal in the pleasure of it to all I have had before me in my 2 or 3 months by-work of sorting and binding together my nephew's Roman marketings; and yet I dare predict that even you won't think 2 hours thrown away in overlooking them, whenever a kindlier season shall justify my inviting you to't.[2]

The last letter which we have from Evelyn to Pepys is characteristically mellow:

> Thus what I would wish for myselfe and all I love (as I do Mr. Pepys.) should be the old man's life described in the Distic, which you deservedly have attained:
>
> Vita sensis libri, domus, hortus, lectus, amicus,
> Vina, repos, ignis, mens hilaris, pietas.
>
> In the meane time, I feede on the past conversation I once had in York Buildings, and sterve since my friend have forsaken it.[3]

This ends the direct evidence of the relations of John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys, with the exception of the entry in Evelyn's diary under the date of Pepys' death. Although it is written under the date May 26, 1703, the style

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[1] Pepys to Evelyn, November 19, 1701.

[2] Pepys to Evelyn, December 24, 1701.

[3] Evelyn to Pepys, January 20, 1702-3.

and careful wording seem to show that Evelyn probably wrote it some time later, and inserted it in the revised diary. It is a eulogy, and as such has been mistrusted as a true interpretation of the character of Pepys, yet there is nothing in any of the references to Pepys in Evelyn's diary or in the letters he wrote to Pepys that disproves any statement Evelyn made in this entry. It is only necessary to remember the candor with which Evelyn wrote on the death of King Charles to be assured that he was not constrained by any compunctions regarding speaking ill of the dead. It is my opinion that Evelyn wrote of Pepys as he knew him, and as most of Pepys' contemporaries knew him, and that he drew a picture of a man as different from the Pepys of 1669 as some thirty years of development had contrived to make him. Knowing Evelyn's regard for the truth and considering his intimate relations with Pepys, it seems not unfair to regard his remarks as an accurate estimate of the real Samuel Pepys and an adequate explanation of the true basis of the friendship between the two men.

> This day died Mr. Samuel Pepys, a very worthy, industrious and curious person, none in England exceeding him in knowledge of the navy, in which he had passed through all the most considerable offices, Clerk of the Acts and Secretary of the Admiralty, all of which he performed with great integrity. When King James II went out of England, he laid down his office, and would serve no more; but withdrawing himself from all public affairs, he lived at Clapham with his partner, Mr. Hewer, formerly his clerk, in a very noble house and

> sweet place, where he enjoyed the fruit of his labours in great prosperity. He was universally beloved, hospitable, generous, learned in many things, skilled in music, a very great cherisher of learned men of whom he had the conversation. His library and collection of other curiosities were of the most considerable, the models of ships especially. Besides what he published of an account of the navy, as he found and left it, he had for divers years under his hand the History of the Navy or Navalia, as he called it; but how far advanced, and what will follow of his, is left, I suppose, to his sister's son, Mr. Jackson, a young gentleman, whom Mr. Pepys had educated in all sort of useful learning, sending him to travel abroad, from whence he returned with extraordinary accomplishments, and worthy to be heir. Mr. Pepys had been for near forty years so much my particular friend, that Mr. Jackson sent me complete mourning, desiring me to be one to hold up the pall at his magnificent obsequies; but my indisposition hindered me from doing him this last office.[1]

In tracing this friendship through diaries and letters over a period of forty years, it is evident that the two men had many tastes and characteristics in common. One important fact must be kept constantly in mind in a discussion of the similarities of Pepys and Evelyn, the fact that we are considering Pepys, not as we see him through the keyhole of his diary, but as he presented himself to his friends. Robert South, a contemporary of both Evelyn and Pepys, once said, "Everyone, God knows, has guilt enough from his own personal sins to consign him over to eternal misery." It is not fair to Pepys to consider his every

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[1] Evelyn, Diary, May 26, 1703.

action and his later life in the light of impulses which he strove with all his might to conceal from his friends and to struggle against. Pepys was not proud of the sordid side of his life--from one point of view the diary is a record of a long struggle against the flaws of character that no one knew so well as Pepys. Remember the fines he levied against himself, the prayers he made, the meekness with which he allowed his wife to forbid him to leave the house without a body guard after the deplorable affair with Deb. The diary itself, and more important, Pepys' later life, point to the conclusion that he outgrew most of this phase of his youth as he developed into a successful official and a cultured gentleman. One thing is certain: Pepys the sensualist, who stood in such a strange slavery to beauty that he valued nothing near it, as he said,[1] Pepys the quibbler, who accepted bribes but closed his eyes when he shook the money out of a letter so that he could truthfully say that he had seen no money in it,[2] Pepys the vulgar, who expressed his philosophy as a determination to enjoy life while he was young,[3] never existed for Evelyn. There is nothing more certain than that Evelyn would not have accepted Pepys as his friend if he had known him as

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[1] Pepys, Diary, September 6, 1664.

[2] Ibid., April 3, 1663.

[3] Ibid., March 10, 1666.

the readers of the diary do. But which is the real Pepys? It would be presuming to attempt to prove that the man Evelyn held as a friend for forty years was less real than the diarist. The gentleman who held a prominent place in official life, the collector, the cultured Mr. Pepys was real, too. We have touched on the things that drew Evelyn and Pepys together--their interest in public affairs, their insatiable curiosity, their love of books and indeed of all the arts. We will now take up each of these in more detail.

First, and most important in one sense, because except for this fact the two men might never have met, is their common interest in public affairs. Almost any man of Evelyn's tastes and wealth might have chosen to remain aloof from public life and devote his life to writing and studying. But Evelyn felt a serious responsibility toward his country, and he took an active part in public affairs after his return to England from his travels. Some time between February and April, 1660, before the Restoration, Evelyn

> writ and printed a letter, in defence of his Majesty, against a wicked forged Paper, pretended to be sent from Brussels to defame his Majesty's person and virtues, and render him odius, now when everybody was in hope and expectation of the General and Parliament recalling him, and establishing the Government on its ancient and right basis.[1]

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[1] Evelyn, Diary, February 17 to April 5, 1660.

When Charles returned, Evelyn was presented to him, and immediately plunged into official life. We know that he was personally close to Charles II, for there are frequent entries in the diary similar to this.

> The Sussex gentlemen presented their Address, to which was my hand. I went with it, and kissed his Majesty's hand, who was pleased to own me more particularly by calling me his old acquaintance, and speaking very graciously to me.[1]

Evelyn not only was constantly at Court, but he also was able to keep in very close touch with all that went on there, for in spite of his strict morality which must have been in direct opposition to the laxity of the Court, Evelyn was entertained in diplomatic and official circles.

At the same time Pepys was just beginning his official career in a very humble way. He had been on the ship that brought Charles back to England; as Clerk of the Acts he saw, and sometimes met, important people. The more he saw, the more he wanted to be nearer the top, and he used a native intelligence and a capacity for hard work as the tools by which he made himself indispensable in his office. The success which this course brought him is well shown by his later life.

By 1665, when Evelyn and Pepys first met, there were numerous things happening in which they were both interested. Evelyn was one of the Commissioners for the care

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[1] Evelyn, Diary, June 30, 1660.

of the sick and wounded. He was in constant touch with the Commissioners of the Navy, and as money was hard to get made constant references in his diary to his efforts to secure the money necessary for immediate expenses, which by May amounted to at least a thousand pounds weekly.[1]

Then to add to the burdens of a troubled England, and, as many thought, in punishment for the wickedness of the King and the Court, the great plague struck London. No one would expect that Evelyn would do otherwise than stick to his post during the plague, though the other Commissioners fled, but it is a little more surprising to find that Pepys, whom we think of as less courageous, standing by with equal bravery. The conditions under which they worked can best be shown by a couple of entries. Pepys wrote,

> Up, and in my night-gown, cap, and neckcloth, undressed, all day long--lost not a minute, but in my chamber, setting my Tangier accounts to rights. . . . It was a sad noise to hear our bell to toll and ring so often to-day, either for deaths or burials; I think, five or six times.[2]

In September Evelyn wrote,

> Came home, there perishing near 10,000 poor creatures weekly; however, I went all along the city and suburbs from Kent Street to St. James's, a dismal passage, and dangerous to see so many coffins exposed in the streets, now so thin of people; the shops shut up, and all in mourn-

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[1] Evelyn, Diary, May 16, 1665.

[2] Pepys, Diary, July 30, 1665.

> ful silence, not knowing whose turn might be next.[1]

Although nothing in either diary confirms the idea, it is not unlikely that Evelyn and Pepys each knew that the other was present in London at this time when so many of their friends had fled.

The next year both men saw the great fire at first hand, and realized that further burdens had been added to their duties. Evelyn presented to Charles a plan for rebuilding the city, but there is no indication that it was used. The losses of the fire made money even more difficult to get, and the Dutch were at war with England. Conditions were so bad that it is not surprising to find the entries in the two diaries reflecting the general disgust which most of the English people felt toward the Court and those in high places.

> The Court empty, the King being gone to Tunbridge, and the Duke of York a-hunting. I had some discourse with Povy, who is mighty discontented, I find, about his disappointments at Court; and says, of all places, if there be hell, it is here: no faith, no truth, no love, nor any agreement between man and wife, nor friends.[2]

> This day was ordered a general Fast through the Nation, to humble us on the late dreadful conflagration, added to the plague and war, the most dismal judgments that could be inflicted; but which indeed we highly deserved for our prodigious ingratitude, burning lusts, dissolute court, profane

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[1] Evelyn, Diary, September 7, 1665.

[2] Pepys, Diary, July 31, 1666.

> and abominable lives under such dispensations of God's continued favour in restoring Church, Prince, and People from our late intestine calamities, of which we were altogether unmindful, even to astonishment.[1]

It is not possible to trace here all of the changes that occurred in English history during the lives of Pepys and Evelyn. Both men lived during the reigns of Charles I, Cromwell, Charles II, James II, William and Mary, and even saw Queen Anne come to the throne. They saw many strange reversals take place, many men rise and fall with the rulers. We are inclined to consider the Restoration period from the standpoint of the brilliant Court, but what did men like Evelyn and Pepys think of their own times? They were living under the domination of one of the most unkingly kings who ever sat on the throne of England, and to hardworking commissioners and naval officials, the Merry Monarch and his frivolous court were a constant source of anxiety. We think of Pepys as a commoner anxious to imitate his betters, but after the novelty of appearing at Whitehall and seeing the glamorous creatures who surrounded the king had worn off, Pepys was not blinded by the trappings of royalty, and he honestly resented the spectacle of the king openly exhibiting his weaknesses, his susceptibility to flattery, and his general incompetence. It led him to make such entries as this:

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[1] Evelyn, Diary, October 10, 1666.

> It is strange how every body do now-a-days reflect upon Oliver, and commend him, what brave things he did, and made all the neighbor princes fear him; while here a prince, come in with all the love and prayers and good liking of his people, who have given greater signs of loyalty and willingness to serve him with their estates than ever was done by any people, hath lost all so soon, that it is a miracle what way a man could devise to lose so much in so little time.[1]

Almost eighteen years later, Evelyn, in summing up the life of the king, after giving him some praise for his accomplishments, wrote:

> Never had King more glorious opportunities to have made himself, his people, and all Europe happy, and prevented innumerable mischiefs, had not his too easy nature resigned him to be managed by crafty men, and some abandoned and profane wretches who corrupted his otherwise sufficient parts, disciplined as he had been by many afflictions during his banishment, which gave him much experience and knowledge of men and things; but those wicked creatures took him from off all application becoming so great a King.[2]

In another paragraph Evelyn gives us an unforgettable picture of the Court of Charles.

> I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming and all dissoluteness, and as it were total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening), which this day se'nnight I was witness of, the King sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarine, &c., a French boy singing love-songs, in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at Basset round a large table, a bank of at least 2000 in gold before them; upon which two gentlemen who were with me made reflections with astonishment. Six days after, was all in the dust.[2]

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[1] Pepys, Diary, July 12, 1667.

[2] Evelyn, Diary, February 6, 1685.

Pepys and Evelyn left us different pictures of English life, yet from the official side they led somewhat similar lives, knew many of the same people, saw the same great public events, watched kings come and go, did their part to improve the government, and certainly are alike in that they did more than most of their contemporaries. No one can doubt that Evelyn did his share because he felt that a responsibility rested on him; in the case of Pepys something more than personal ambition was back of his reorganization of the English Navy. Both of these men were public spirited, and each recognized the quality in the other.

But official relations would never account for a friendship that lasted almost forty years. Close as their relations were, and important as Pepys became in the official world, there was, after all, a rather wide gulf between an industrious Clerk of the Acts, or even an efficient Secretary of the Admiralty, and the great Mr. Evelyn whom foreign visitors sought out on visits to England. Fortunately the two men had one trait in common that was sufficient to seal the friendship--a lively and active curiosity about everything in the world. This curiosity is noticeable in both the diaries, and while we naturally expect Pepys to include all sorts of curiosities in his full account of the days, it is almost amusing to note how frequently Evelyn, who was writing with an eye on possible readers, thought that a "feather from a

phenix wing"[1] or rattlesnakes from Virginia[2] were important items to be included. Evelyn's diary is almost a museum of curiosities, rare animals, and inventions, and this happened because in the seventeenth century all these rarities came under the head of science.

The interest in science during the seventeenth century may well be described as miscellaneous and indiscriminating, for science was fashionable, and to the students of it, from the royal "dabblers" like Charles to the learned members of the Royal Society, all was grist that came to their mills. Both Evelyn and Pepys showed a child-like gullibility in regard to anything that might come under the head of science. Bearded women, a giantess (whom Pepys found to be six feet five inches tall,[3] and Evelyn recorded as five inches taller!),[4] mummies,[5] and a servant girl whose arm was powdered with red crosses.[6] Indeed, this general curiosity, which they thought of as scientific interest, seems never to have lost its charm for Evelyn, for in 1701, at the age of eighty, he reported

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[1] Evelyn, Diary, October 17, 1657.

[2] Ibid., October 19, 1657.

[3] Pepys, Diary, February 8, 1668-9.

[4] Evelyn, Diary, January 29, 1668-9.

[5] Pepys, Diary, May 12, 1668.

[6] Evelyn, Diary, August 5, 1670.

enthusiastically that he saw a Dutch boy who had on the iris of one eye the words Deus meus, and on the other iris, Elohim in Hebrew character.[1]

New inventions may well have furnished the topic for many delightful conversations between Evelyn and Pepys, for they were always noting something new. Pepys wrote of an instrument to sink ships,[2] and, "a gun to discharge seven times; the best of all devices that ever I saw, and very serviceable, and not a bawble; for it is much approved of, and many thereof made."[3] Evelyn, for his part saw a "wonderful engine for weaving silk stockings, said to have been the invention of an Oxford scholar forty years since",[4] a "way-wiser", which measured the miles and was "very pretty and useful."[5] A new diving bell, wherein a man stayed half an hour under water[6] was an invention of importance; an experiment on the sensitive plant, "which contracted with the least touch of the sun through a burning-glass,"[7] equally fascinating. Pepys could, and did

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[1] Evelyn, Diary, April, 1701.

[2] Pepys, Diary, November 11, 1663.

[3] Ibid., July 3, 1662.

[4] Evelyn, Diary, May 3, 1661.

[5] Ibid., August 6, 1657.

[6] Ibid., July 19, 1665.

[7] Ibid., August 9, 1665.

spend a happy evening watching Lord Brouncker take his watch apart and put it together again.[1] Evelyn was delighted with

> a new invented instrument of music, being a harpsichord with gut-strings, sounding like a concert of viol with an organ, made vocal by a wheel, and a zone of parchment that rubbed horizontally against the strings.[2]

Pepys described this last invention, too, and added,

> It is intended to resemble several vialls played on with one bow, but so basely and harshly, that it will never do.[3]

All this curiosity drew both men to one of the most famous institutions of the century, the Royal Society. Evelyn, of course, was one of the founders of the society, and was often instrumental in securing valuable gifts for the organization. Pepys was elected a Fellow in February, 1664-5, and was admitted "by signing a book and being taken by the hand of the President, my Lord Brouncker, and some words of admittance said to me."[4] At this meeting the experiments were concerned with fire,

> how it goes out in a place where the ayre is not free, and sooner out where the ayre is exhausted, which they showed by an engine on purpose.[4]

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[1] Pepys, Diary, December 22, 1665.

[2] Evelyn, Diary, October 5, 1664.

[3] Pepys, Diary, October 5, 1664.

[4] Ibid., February 15, 1664-5.

After the experiment most of the scientists retired to the Crown Tavern, for a club supper and "excellent discourse" until ten at night.

At the next meeting, March 15, 1665, the society "tried the great poyson of Maccassa upon a dogg."[1] Alas for science! "It had no effect all the time we sat there."[1] Although neither Evelyn nor Pepys kept an accurate record of their attendance at the meetings of the Royal Society, the entries in their diaries often show that they attended the same meetings. For instance, on January 9, 1667, a meeting was held for the first time at Arundel House, the home of Mr. Howard, the gentleman who had "so little inclination for books," as Evelyn put it, that persuading him to give his grandfather's books to the Royal Society was the "preservation of them from embezzlement."[2] Pepys called this occasion a "great meeting of worthy noble persons,"[3] but found Lord Brouncker's speech of thanks to Mr. Howard done "in the worst manner in the world."[3]

Again, on May 30, 1667, both men were present at the meeting attended by the Duchess of Newcastle. Pepys wrote that she was not admitted without debate, pro and con, and we strongly suspect that Evelyn was opposed to her admit-

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[1] Pepys, Diary, March 15, 1665.

[2] Evelyn, Diary, January 9, 1667.

[3] Pepys, Diary, January 9, 1667.

tance, for his account of the meeting is neatly scornful.

> To London, to wait on the Duchess of Newcastle (who was a mighty pretender to learning, poetry, and philosophy, and had in both published divers books) to the Royal Society, whither she came with great pomp, and being received by our Lord President at the door of our meeting room, the mace, &c., carried before him, had several experiments showed to her. I conducted her Grace to her coach, and returned home.[1]

Pepys was also suspicious of the Duchess' scientific abilities, and besides he found

> her dress so antick, and her deportment so ordinary, that I do not like her at all, nor do I hear her say any thing that was worth hearing, but that she was full of admiration, all admiration.[2]

Belonging to the Royal Society involved responsibilities, as thrifty Pepys found when he attended a meeting on April 2, 1668, and was forced to subscribe forty pounds toward building a college. However, the sting was removed by the exhibition of the "otacoustion", an instrument which he described as only

> a great glass bottle broke at the bottom, putting the neck to my eare, and there I did plainly hear the dancing of the oares of the boats in the Thames to Arundel gallery window, which, without it, I could not in the least do, and may, I believe, be improved to a great height, which I am mighty glad of.[3]

Evelyn wasn't interested enough in the ear-phone to note

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[1] Evelyn, Diary, May 30, 1667.

[2] Pepys, Diary, May 30, 1667.

[3] Ibid., April 2, 1668.

it in his diary, but he noted other things just as interesting, as when Signor Malpighi sent the Society his "incomparable History of the Silkworm."[1]

Thus Pepys and Evelyn found an outlet for their scientific curiosity in the Royal Society. As the years passed, Pepys even became President of the Society in 1684, which shows that his interest was sustained through the years. Evelyn, too, kept all his enthusiasm, and as late as 1692, wrote a letter to the Bishop of Lincoln describing in detail, and at great length, an experiment on earthquakes, made at the Royal Society on October 15, 1692.[2]

Besides being scientists of the accepted seventeenth century variety, Evelyn and Pepys had similar tastes in other fields. Both appreciated the arts in general, and music, painting, and literature in particular. Those valuable years of travel in Europe had given Evelyn an exquisite taste in matters of art, and Pepys must have rejoiced at the opportunity which his friendship with Evelyn gave him to learn to know and like the best. From childhood Evelyn had been interested in drawing, and he had been accustomed to sketching as he travelled. In 1660, Prince Rupert had showed him how to "grave in mezzo

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[1] Evelyn, Diary, February 18, 1669.

[2] Evelyn to Dr. Tenison, October 15, 1692.

tinto,"[1] a process that he referred to many times later, and wrote of in his History of Chalcography. Pepys also enjoyed art, and though his taste was not so discriminating as Evelyn's, he at least had enthusiasm and was willing to learn. His taste ran to portraits, but he also collected prints. When he went to Holland and France in 1669, Evelyn wrote to him:

> Pray forget not to visit the Taille-Douce shops, and make a Collection of what they have excellent, especially the Draughts of their Palaces, Churches, and Gardens, and the particulars you will have seen; . . . Israel, Sylvestre, Morin, Chaveau, are great Masters, both for things of the kind extant, and Inventions extreamly pleasant. You will easily be acquainted with the best Painters, especially Le Brun, who is the chief of them; and it would not be amiss to be present at their Academie, in which Monsieur du Bosse (a principal Member) will conduct you.[2]

Pepys' interest in collecting prints never waned, and twenty years later he was still welcoming advice from Evelyn concerning his collection--to get prints of "those who have made such a noise and bustle in the world, either by their madness and folly, or a more conspicuous figure by their wit and learning."[3] Lest this field be too limited, Evelyn added:

> Nor would I yet confine you to stop here, but to be continually gathering as you happen to meet

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[1] Evelyn, Diary, February 21, 1660.

[2] Evelyn to Pepys, August 21, 1669.

[3] Evelyn to Pepys, August 12, 1689.

> with other instructive types. For under this class may come in, battles, sieges, triumphs, jousts, and tournaments, coronations, cavalcades, and entries of ambassadors, processions, funeral and other pomps, tombs, trials, and executions; stately edifices, machines, antique vases, spoils, basso-relievos, intaglios, and cameos taken from achates, onyxes, cornelians, and other precious stones; ruins, landscapes, if from real subjects, not fancies which are innumerable and not necessary, but such as relate to history, and for reasons specified more at large in my Treatise on Chalcography.[1]

Evidently collecting prints was a serious matter to these two friends; any collection that included examples of all the classes named above would certainly be out of the hobby class. Yet this was only one of the many interests of these amazing men. Evelyn was an authority on coins and on gardening. Pepys devoted hours to music, the one field in which Evelyn always deferred to him. Gardening, the principal passion of Evelyn's life, cannot have been a particularly close bond between the men, for Pepys never showed other than a conventional admiration for gardens of any kind, while Evelyn's best books were written about gardens. Perhaps they compromised on the fruits of the garden, for surely Pepys must have loved Evelyn's Discourse on Salads (Acetaria), in which he said:

> A wise man is the proper Composer of an excellent Salad, the ingredients of which should fall into their places like the Notes of Music, in which there should be nothing harsh or grating: and though admitting some Discords (to distinguish

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[1] Evelyn to Pepys, August 12, 1689.

> and illustrate the rest) striking in the more sprightly and sometimes gentler Notes, reconcile all Dissonances, and melt them into an agreeable Composition.[1]

Pepys is one of the greatest authorities on the drama of the ten years of the diary. We have no way of knowing whether or not his interest in the drama slackened as the years passed, but during the years 1660-1669, there can have been few plays of importance that Pepys missed, in spite of his system of fines which he imposed on himself in an effort to curb his delight in the theater. As a critic he was not very deep, not very discriminating, but he probably reflected the average taste of the Restoration days when he described a play such as John Ford's Tis Pity She's a Whore as "a simple play,"[2] and Midsummer's Night's Dream as "the most insipid, ridiculous play that ever I saw in my life."[3]

But Evelyn, who avoided the theater as much as possible, and was disgusted at the court performances which he was often obliged to attend, wrote in reference to Hamlet that "the old plays began to disgust this refined age, since his Majesty's being so long abroad."[4]

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[1] Evelyn, John, Acetaria, a Discourse of Sallets. Quoted in "The Garden Books of John Evelyn," L. B. Wilder, House and Garden, December 1929, p. 156.

[2] Pepys, Diary, September 9, 1661.

[3] Ibid., September 29, 1662.

[4] Evelyn, Diary, November 26, 1662.

Pepys was always a little dubious as to the propriety of his attachment to the theater, and in view of Evelyn's attitude toward this branch of the arts, it may not have been a safe topic of conversation. It would be easy, but futile, to speculate as to whether or not Pepys ever lost his enjoyment of the drama when other interests of so many kinds claimed his attention.

But books! There was an unending source of pleasure for Pepys and Evelyn, and there is not the slightest doubt that it was one of the strongest bonds between them. It is a significant fact that Evelyn presented Pepys with a book shortly after they met. Both men loved books passionately and cared for them in a tender way, had them bound beautifully, arranged and rearranged them in bookcases, gloated over them. Evelyn, while travelling in Europe, had always gained access to the famous libraries wherever he went, and while still a young man had begun his own collection; many books in his library bear dates as early as 1664. It goes without saying that he possessed the best of the literature of the time and that he constantly added to his collection. His pride in his books is shown by the beautiful bindings, usually elaborately decorated with some form of his monogram or some significant emblem. He wrote his signature elaborately, too, often combining the initials into a monogram, and somewhere in each book he wrote his motto in Latin or Greek--Omnia

Explorate, Meliora Retinate. The pages of Evelyn's books are enriched by his marginal notes which testify to his careful reading. With a natural taste for books and a library like Evelyn's to inspire him, it is no wonder that Pepys collected a library of three thousand volumes of which he was justly proud. In his early days Pepys had to choose his books carefully because of his lack of money; he even fined himself for his over-indulgence at times, and at other times, with a true book-lover's ethics he found means to avoid the fine and also get the new books by the simple expedient of making the King "pay for as to the office."[1]

Evelyn's interest in libraries, like so many of his interests, verged on the technical. He translated Gabriel Naude's Instructions concerning the erecting of a Library. This was the book which he sent to Pepys soon after they became acquainted.[2] He often had a great deal to say to Pepys about his library. In the famous long letter of August 12, 1689, he particularly warned Pepys of the necessity of providing a permanent place for his books, reminding that public auctions often scattered the best collections. Pepys, whatever may have been his plans before, followed Evelyn's advice and left his library to

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[1] Pepys, Diary, November 23, 1663.

[2] Ibid., October 5, 1665.

Magdalene College, where their handsome bindings, careful arrangement as to size, even the cases themselves, still testify to the taste of Samuel Pepys. Ironically enough, Evelyn's library was not so carefully preserved; many of the books found their way into private collections, and numbers of them were spoiled by water which flooded a basement where they were once stored.

It is natural that two men who loved books so much should wish to be generous with them. Pepys left his books to a University where they are still available to students. Evelyn was notably generous about lending his books, many of which were never returned to him. He also had a plan, which he obviously considered fanciful, but which he confided to Pepys.

> I. . . wish we had some more [libraries] communicative and better furnished with good books, in one of the greatest cities of the universe (London); and for that end that a stately portico were so contrived at the west end of St. Paul's, as might support a palatine, capable of such a design; and that every company and corporation of the City, every apprentice at his freedom, (assisted at first by a general collection throughout the nation, a copy of every book printed within the City and Universities,) did cast their symbols for a present stock and a future ample fund. But this we are to expect when kings are philosophers, or philosophers kings, which I think may happen not in this but in Plato's revolution.[1]

It is neither the easiest nor the most pleasant thing in the world to attempt to analyze a friendship,

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[1] Evelyn to Pepys, August 12, 1689.

particularly one between men who lived in another country over two centuries ago. There is always a suspicion that a misinterpretation may do an injury to both men, and critics who examine their writings, even such intimate writings as diaries and personal letters, may fail to consider the most important factors which were a matter of mutual understanding though never put into words. In drawing conclusions, it is wisest to hold to the most obvious facts which are backed by actual evidence. In the case of Evelyn and Pepys certain things are beyond question.

There is a great deal to be said for any friendship that lasts over a long period of time. To prove the truth of this statement, it is only necessary to glance back over, say, ten years to realize how many delightful and charming people have come and gone in one's life without ever attaining permanent places as friends. Many pleasant relationships that almost qualify for friendships are subject to a diminution of interest as the years pass and tastes change. With Pepys and Evelyn, this never happened; instead, what must have been a casual acquaintance, begun when one was forty-five and the other thirty-two, ripened into an increasingly closer relationship through almost four decades. One of the two entries for September 1700, in his diary, is Evelyn's account of a visit to Pepys' house at Clapham. This was just a month before Evelyn was eighty.

> I went to visit Mr. Pepys at Clapham, where he has a very noble and wonderfully well-furnished house, especially with Indian and Chinese curiosities. The offices and gardens well accommodated for pleasure and retirement.[1]

We are certainly entitled to believe that the very length of the friendship is an indication of its sincerity.

Another obvious and significant characteristic of the friendship is Pepys' open effort to imitate Evelyn in many ways. We have noted before that Pepys' letters were ponderous attempts to imitate the scholastic style of Evelyn; to his credit, he often succeeded fairly well. One might view this and other imitations as signs of inferiority in Pepys, but a more reasonable explanation is that he was openly appreciative of Evelyn's acknowledged authority on almost any subject. The difference in ages may also account for a certain deference in his attitude toward Evelyn, but there is certainly nothing cringing or servile about it. And we may be sure that anything that savored of fawning would have ended the relations abruptly; while Evelyn's judgments of his friends were often too generous, he would never have tolerated the company of a dullard for forty years simply because the man flattered him. One of the best testimonials for Pepys' character is the fact that Evelyn was his friend. It indicates that he actually achieved many of the things for which he strove, and that

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[1] Evelyn, Diary, September 23, 1700.

his youthful enthusiasms were not mere fads, but actual traits of character which were capable of extensive development.

The absence of any late reference to Evelyn, except through the correspondence, makes it impossible for us ever to be quite sure just what opinion Pepys held of Evelyn. The early reference to Evelyn's conceitedness is often quoted without any consideration of the fact that this was an early judgment which might easily have been superseded later by a more mature reflection after the men had known each other even a few months. Letters, of course, reveal much, though they are too often entirely conventional. Yet in the case of Evelyn and Pepys, there is a noticeably growing inclination toward tenderness between the two in the letters of the last years, which indicates plainly the depth of the relation. Both recognized the inevitability of the coming separation, and in 1701, Pepys wrote feelingly,

> As much as I am (I bless God!) in perfect ease here, as to my health, 'tis little less, however, than a very burial to me, as to what of all worldly goods I put most price upon, I mean, the few old and learned friends I had flattered myself with the hopes of closing the little residue of my life in the continued enjoyment of, and at the head of them all, the most estimable Mr. Evelyn. But Providence, that must not be repined at, has thought fit to part us; yet not without a reserve, I trust, of another place of meeting for us, and better, and more lasting, for which God fit us![1]

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[1] Pepys to Evelyn, November 19, 1701.

And how did Evelyn regard Pepys? In justice to both men, it must be said that Evelyn never gave any indication that he looked on the friendship with Pepys as any condescension on his part. The very generosity with which he poured out suggestions to Pepys in regard to books, collections of prints, and so forth, points to a mutual appreciation of the fine things of life, to an interchange of ideas on an equal basis, though of course we know that Pepys received more than he was ever capable of returning. Evelyn's loyalty to Pepys when he was in trouble and out of favor certainly indicates the warmth of the relation. It is customary to believe that Evelyn was over generous to Pepys when he made the final entry concerning him in his diary, but the correspondence of the last years again indicates that Evelyn was writing exactly what he believed to be true and fair to Pepys. In view of all we now know of Pepys, no one doubts that he deserved the adjectives "worthy, industrious, and curious." That he was "universally beloved" might not have held through all his life, but probably was true among his own circle of friends at the time of his death. His own collections are evidence enough that he was "learned in many things," and his long friendship with Evelyn is proof of the statement that he was a "very great cherisher of learned men."

It is a fact that Pepys' life closed in many respects

like Evelyn's. One writer points this out.

> In the biographical dictionaries of the last century both are alike described as very ingenious and worthy gentlemen, masters of some branches of knowledge and curious in all, patrons of learned and charitable institutions, men of high moral worth and unimpeachable connection, hospitable and sociable, benevolent and pious.[1]

We know that Evelyn was inherently finer than Pepys, and that the things that were instinctive with Evelyn were achieved by Pepys only through years of struggle. A glance at any two portraits of the two men shows this plainly enough. The sensitive, scholarly face of John Evelyn is radically different from the intelligent but materialistic countenance of Samuel Pepys; this again points to the truth of the statement often made, that the friendship was a credit to both of them.

For us the greatest significance of the friendship lies in the fact that its existence makes it possible for us to see two important men of the seventeenth century in a new light. The great Mr. Evelyn, and he earned this title in his own time, is shown in the guise of a sympathetic encourager of young collectors. The time and aid that he gave to Pepys, his tactful suggestions, his loyalty to a friendship that might easily have proved embarrassing, all show Evelyn as much more sympathetic and human than he is generally considered. Pepys, on the other hand, appears

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[1] "The Diarists of the Restoration," Quarterly Review, 183: 1-28, January, 1896, p. 13.

as what he undoubtedly wanted to be, a scholar of no mean rank, a collector of importance, and an earnest seeker after the fine things of life. If this was only one side of his character; if the traits which he so earnestly despised in himself still lurked under the surface, perhaps we can admire him a bit more for assuming virtues which he did not possess, until they dominated his life in so far as his friends were concerned.

John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys were parted by death in 1703, but they were reunited by the diaries which neither knew the other kept. The publication of Evelyn's diary in 1818 attracted some attention, and the mention of Pepys' name in it led to the deciphering of the volumes labeled "Journal" in the collection which Pepys had left to Magdalene College. How astounded Evelyn would have been at the Pepys who emerged after three years of deciphering! How amazed he would have been to find that in interest and literary style the diary of his friend far surpassed his own. In literature, the one who was first is second, and the one who was second, first, yet, friends to the end, they take their places among the most delightful diarists of all time.

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