The Literary Relations of John Evelyn

English

A. M.

1914
THE LITERARY RELATIONS OF JOHN EVELYN

BY

LOIS ADELINE BROWNE
A.B. James Millikin University, 1912

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

IN ENGLISH

IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

1914
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

Lois A. Browne

ENTITLED The Literary Relations of John Evelyn

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF Master of Arts

W. R. Paul
In Charge of Major Work

R. M. Allen
Head of Department

Recommendation concurred in:

Committee on Final Examination

284540
**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>The Life and Times of John Evelyn</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>The Friendships of John Evelyn</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Evelyn's Critical Ideas</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix A</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Letter from Mrs. Evelyn to Mr. Bohun, concerning the Duchess of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Newcastle.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix B</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Letter from John Evelyn to Sir Peter Wyche, on the Improvement of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the English Tongue.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter I
The Life and Times of John Evelyn

John Evelyn, patriot, philosopher and virtuoso, was born at Wotton, Surrey, October 31, 1620, of a prosperous family whose fortune had been made by his grandfather through the introduction of the use of gun-powder into England. The father of John Evelyn, who had inherited the valuable estate at Wotton, and with it, an income of 4000 pounds a year, was a man of much importance in the county. When High Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, he distinguished himself by his princely hospitality, and his unusual retinue, consisting not only of one hundred and sixteen servants in liveries, every one liveried in green satin doublets, but also a following of gentlemen and persons of quality, all dressed in the same garb.

His son, the subject of this study, began his education at the age of four in a little school on the church porch at Wotton. A year later, he was sent to live with his grand-mother at Lewes, where he attended the free school. When she remarried after his grandfather's death, Evelyn refused to desert her, even to comply with his father's desire that he should go to Eton, but accompanied her to Southover, and entered the free school there. In the beginning of the year 1637, Evelyn was admitted into the Middle Temple, "though absent and as yet at school"; and a few months later he became a gentleman-commoner of Baliol College, Oxford, where he remained about three years, giving some of his hours to logic and philosophy, but many more to dancing and music, and the making of friends. He left

1. Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, F.R.S. Ed. by William Bray, London. I. 9. This is the edition of the Diary used throughout this discussion.
college without taking his degree, but on his return in 1669 he was made a Doctor of the Civil Law by the faculty, "as a mark of the gratitude of that learned body, and of the just sense they had of the credit derived to them from his being educated at Balliol College". His college career was ended with his taking chambers in Middle Temple in the year 1640, and the death of his father in that year left Evelyn his own master.

The following July, the young John showed his initial interest in politics by spending about six days in the Dutch Service, and then travelling through Holland for three months to acquaint himself with the country and the life of the people. Probably this first interest was chiefly a desire for adventure, but it developed into one of the ruling motives of his later life. A short time after his return to England from Holland, at the opening of the Civil War, Evelyn joined the King's army. But the zeal of this hearty Royalist seems to have been tempered with much caution, for after a trifling three days service, feeling that he was exposing himself and family to ruin without any advantage to the King, he slipped quietly back to Wotton and devoted himself most judiciously to the improvement of gardens. He spent much time on the road between Wotton and London, so as not to be in either place, to avoid signing the covenant. Finally, he obtained from Charles I a license to travel, leaving England in July, 1643, for a tour of the continent, which was destined to extend over more than seven years of his life.

Evelyn crossed to Calais November 11th, spent some time in Paris and in the French provinces, went to Italy in October, 1644, and reached Rome on the 4th of November. At the end of the following

1. Evelyn's Diary. II. 46
January, he visited Naples, and afterwards stayed at Rome until May 18th, when he travelled to Venice and thence to Padua. In April, 1646, he set out for Verona and Milan, crossed the Simplon, visited Geneva, and then travelled on to Paris, reaching there January 28, 1647. Although Evelyn had such splendid opportunity to view some of the most wonderful works of nature in these travels, the most beautiful of all, the famous Alps were to the artificial taste of our seventeenth century virtuoso simply an unavoidable obstruction in the already sufficiently difficult road from Italy to France. To him they appear "as if Nature had here swept up the rubbish of the earth in the Alps, to form and clear the plains of Lombardy".

During these travels, as in later life, his curiosity was insatiable. Mr. Boyle speaks of the "inquisitive travels" of his ingenious friend, John Evelyn, and regrets that "a work so entertaining and instructing as a history of his travels would have been, appeared even to so indefatigable a person as he was, a task for him too laborious to undertake; for we should have there seen clearly and in a true light, many things in reference to Italy which are now very indistinctly and partially represented; and we should also have met with much new matter never touched before, and of which we shall now probably never hear at all". This "chief connisseur of his time thoroughly appreciated and carefully noted in his famous Diary many of the wonders, oddities, and unusual things he saw in his journeys.

He was intensely interested in mechanical devices and inventions.

1. Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, F.R.S. London, 1862. I; 239.
2. Boyle's Works, Vol. II, p. 306, quoted in Biographia Britannica, London. 1750, Vol. III, p. 1850. Note D. Robert Boyle (1626-1691) was born at Lismore in Ireland. He inherited the Dorestshire property from his father, Richard Boyle, known as the great Earl of Cork. His life was devoted to the study of natural philosophy, wherein he made many important discoveries, and had the reputation, both at home and abroad, of being one of the greatest philosophers of his age.
even mere toys, as "chairs from which the unwary occupant found himself unable to rise; massive silver furniture encrusted with precious stones; chimes of porcelain dishes rung by clock-work; artificial music set going by hydraulic engines; noises of beasts and chirping of birds caused by the same machinery; bronze satyrs which spoke with frightfully human voices; carefully prepared butterflies spread out in drawers to represent a beautiful piece of tapestry", as well as all works of art, painting, sculpture, architecture, and medals; old books and ancient manuscripts; and all academies and universities for the advancement of learning.

In 1645, Evelyn first showed his interest in natural philosophy by spending a few weeks studying in the school of physics and anatomy at Padua, where he matriculated July 30, 1645. On August 10th of the same year, he was notified of his election to be Syndicus Arista- ium, a special representative of this University, which office he declined much to the displeasure of his country-men there, since this was the greatest honour this college could confer on a stranger. Here it was that Evelyn purchased those rare Tables of Veins and Nerves which he afterwards presented to the Royal Society.

During these travels, our Englishman also developed his remarkable ability of forming friendships. Everywhere he hastened to meet and converse with all men of note, and to visit their libraries and collections, the forerunner of our museums. At Rome, he went to see Dr. Gibbs, "a famous poet and country-man of ours"; at Haerlem, the University, where he found the "famous Dan Hensin's and his no less

2. Evelyn's Diary, I. 220
3. Ibid., I. 258, 234
4. Ibid., I. 150
5. Ibid., I. 29
famous printing house and shop"; at Geneva he heard Monsieur Monce
1 preach, whom he calls a most learned young person and an excellent poet; and there too, he heard Signor John Diodati2, the famous Italian minister and translator of the Bible, preach both in Italian and French; and visited him several times in his home, discussing at some length the religion and politics of England. His constant companions during his travels were men like the studious Mr. Thickness3, his college chum, the highly cultivated Mr. Henshaw4, who inspired him with a taste for medals, Lord Ossory5, Mr. Abdy, "a modest and learned man"6, and his life-long friend Edmund Waller, the poet. With Waller, he travelled from Venice to Geneva, and thence to Paris, where together they visited all places of interest, and studied music, dancing, and the modern languages, French, Italian, Spanish, and High Dutch. Evelyn describes this period as, "the only time in my whole life I spent most idly, tempted from my more profitable recesses", a statement not difficult to understand when we recall how fascinating a companion was the poet, Waller.

It was at Paris that Evelyn met and on June 27, 1647, married Mary, the only daughter of Sir Richard Browne, the King's Ambassador to France. His bride was but fourteen, thirteen years younger than her husband, and became his most grateful and docile pupil. Her will, dated Feb. 1709, reads: "His care of my education was such as might become a father, lover, a friend, and husband, for instruction, tend-

1. Ibid., I. 249
2. Giovanni Diodati was the author of Annotations in Biblia, which was translated into English, and published in London, in 1648. The son of his brother Theodore was Milton's famous friend, Charles Diodati.
3. James Thickness, a fellow of Balliol College, Oxford.
erness, affection, and fidelity to the last moment of his life; which obligation I mention with a gratitude to his memory, ever dear to me; and I must not omit to own the sense I have of my parent's care and goodness, in placing me in such worthy hands. Madam Evelyn was an accomplished woman, skilled in the art of etching so that she designed the frontispiece to her husband's translation of Lucretius. She presented a copy in miniature of the Madonna of Raphael to Charles II, who was so delighted with it, that he had it placed among his best paintings. Her clever characterizations of many distinguished persons whom the Evelyns met in their court life, and her discerning criticism of many authors and books gave her quite a little literary reputation among relatives and intimate acquaintances, the only ones who learned of her work. We are sorry that our knowledge of her literary aspirations is confined to a half dozen letters to Mr. Bohun, her friend and the tutor of her sons.

During the time he was in Paris, Evelyn was working in the interest of the Royalists. While all his undertakings were marked with extreme caution, he was no sluggard in his efforts for the King. In 1649, he published a translation of Le Lutin le Vayer, on Liberty and Servitude, with a short but decidedly Royalist preface, for which he was "threatened." From Paris he made several short visits to England, partly on private business, and partly in the interests of

5. Thomas Butler, Earl of Ossory (died 1680), an efficient commander both by sea and land, an able statesman, and an accomplished man of letters.
6. Evelyn's Diary, I. 236.
7. Evelyn's Diary, IV, 7 note.
2. In his Character of Mrs. Evelyn, dated Sept. 20, 1695 (Evelyn's Diary, IV, 3) Mr. Bohun says: "It's to be further observed that though she recites and speaks French exactly, and understands Italian, yet she confines herself with such strictness to the purity of the English tongue, that she never introduces foreign or adopted words"
the Royalist cause. But, finally, losing all hope of the Restoration, he left Paris never to return, and settled at Sayes Court, Deptford. Under the Commonwealth, Evelyn quietly amused himself in his country home with study, gardening, and cultivating the acquaintance of men of congenial tastes. This life was varied with a little cautious intriguing in the Royal cause, in the shape of cipher correspondence with his father-in-law and with the king himself, with whom he had become personally acquainted in Paris, conferring with His Majesty concerning public affairs, but taking no very active part in politics, except, as he wrote a number of pamphlets in vindication of the King and the Royalists. On March 10, 1659, there appeared a coarse attack upon the character of the King entitled, "News from Brussels in a letter from a near attendant on his Majesty's person to a person of honour here". Evelyn, detecting this as a forgery, the work of Marchmont Needham, published anonymously what proved to be a complete antidote to the enmity it aroused under the title of, The News from Brussels Unmasked and his Majesty vindicated from the Base Calumny and Scandal therein fixed on him. In the same year he published his bold "Apology for the Royal Party and for the King," "in this time of danger when it was capital to speak or write in favour of it". The success of this apology was remarkable, and its popularity was such that it was three times printed within the year. The day after his coronation, Evelyn presented Charles with a Panegyric, which he had written in honour of the occasion. In order to free the English from any connection with the bloody encounter between the

3. Evelyn's Diary, I, 256.
1. Miscellaneous Writings of John Evelyn. London, 1825
2. Evelyn's Diary, Nov. 7, 1659; I, 331.
Spanish and French Ambassadors at their landing in England, Evelyn at the request of Charles drew up a narrative, in vindication of his Majesty, entitled *The Manner of the Encounter between the French and Spanish Ambassadors at the landing of the Swedish Ambassador.*

Also, at the request of the King in 1670, Evelyn undertook the compiling of a *History of the Dutch War*, the materials for which were furnished by the Lord Treasurer. It is not clear just why the king did not allow this work to be completed, though it has been surmised that our high-principled philosopher was inclined to tell more of the truth concerning the transaction than his Majesty wished known.

Throughout his life, Evelyn remained consistent in his adherence to the monarchy, but his religious convictions and high moralistic principles prevented him from entering heartily into court life; and often in his diary, he notes his disgust at the profligacy of the Court. During the absence of Clarendon as Lord-lieutenant of Ireland in 1687, James II made Evelyn one of the commissioners of the privy seal, the highest office held by him. It is doubtful if he enjoyed this position; for he was unable to agree to James II's arbitrary proceedings, and refused to put his seal to certain documents for purposes forbidden by acts of parliament. This devout Christian gentleman absented himself occasionally to avoid active participation in illegal concessions to Roman Catholics, and refused on two occasions to license the illegal sale of Roman Catholic literature.

During this time and later, Evelyn held many positions of trust, which gave him an opportunity to show his concern for public welfare.

In 1662, he was one of the commissioners appointed for improving the buildings and streets of London, and for investigating the disposal of the revenues of Grisham College. In 1664, his Majesty made this public-spirited citizen one of four commissioners to provide for the sick and wounded seamen and prisoners from the Dutch War. These public servants were almost overwhelmed with the difficulty of procuring funds for the accommodation and food for the large numbers sent to them, especially during the famous London plague. Evelyn incurred expenses in this cause for which he was still petitioning payment in 1702, when, finally, part of his claim was allowed.

In February, 1671, he was appointed a member of the council of foreign plantations, a council chiefly composed of the prime-nobility. He was also one of the committee to effect the rebuilding of St. Paul's after the great London fire, and on this occasion published his translation of Roland Freart's Parallel of the Ancient Architecture with the Modern. It is likewise noteworthy in connection with Evelyn's public life that at the time Charles II made up the first Board of Trade in English history, he appointed Evelyn on this committee of nobles and men of genius. That virtuoso, never failing to respond to any responsibility conferred upon him, acknowledged this new

1. Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. IX. 257
new honour by planning *A General History of All Trades*, which, however, was never completed.

It is true that Evelyn was a rather prolific writer, undertaking many things and planning more, but everything, with the exception of his *Diary*, to meet the demands of the England of his day, in order to make her prosperous and beautiful. His whole life was devoted to diligent inquiries and studies, not primarily for his own improvement and glory, but rather that the king and the Royal Society might have the honour and the British nation the benefit.

Consequently, his works are of a somewhat technical nature, chiefly written in response to some suggestion of the King or of the Royal Society. For example, there is an entry in the *Diary* for January 9, 1794: "Sent for by his Majesty to write something against the Hollanders about the duty of the Flag and Fishery. Returned with some papers." In the dedication to the King's Most Sacred Majesty in his *Fumigium*, Evelyn tells how this work was suggested to him:

1. His friend, Dr. Burnet, in his *History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (part II, lib. 3, p.417) speaks of him thus: "The most ingenious and virtuous gentleman, Mr. Evelyn, who is not satisfied to have advanced the knowledge of this age by his most useful and successful labours about planting, and divers other ways, but is ready to contribute everything in his power to perfect other men's endeavours."
2. Evelyn's *Diary*, II, 96.
"It was one day as I was walking at White-hall (where I have sometimes the honour to refresh myself with the sight of your illustrious presence which is the joy of your people's hearts) that a presumptuous smoake issuing from one or two tunnels near Northumberland-house and not far from Scotland-yard, did so invade the court, that all the rooms, galleries, and places about it were fill'd and infested with it, and that to such a degree, as men could hardly discern one another for the cloud, and none could support without inconveniency."

The plans for remedying this unhealthful condition as set forth in the Fumigium were so ingenious that the king commanded Evelyn to prepare a bill against the next session of Parliament to carry part of them into effect. We have no record, however, that this project was carried out as suggested.

Evelyn showed his great concern for the religious as well as the political welfare of the British nation by his History of the Three Famous Imposters, exposing the reason for the extirpation of the Jews from Persia, in the time of Shah Abbas the Second; and by translating from the French the Mysterie of Jesuitism, exposing many of the pernicious practices of its followers. From a letter to Lord Cornbury, we learn that Evelyn considered this translation the "greatest of drudgeries", but willingly undertook it for the service of his King and native land. In the same spirit he wrote treatises on Medals, Painting, Sculpture and Architecture; although his greatest works for public benefit are in the realm of horticulture and forestry. Upcott asserted that his Kalendarium Hortense was the founda-

1. Evelyn's Diary, Oct. 1, 1665; I, 375
3. Another Part of the Mystery of Jesuitism; London, 1664.
4. To my Lord Viscount Combury, Feb. 9, 1664-5: "But why call I this a drugery? Who would not be proud of the service? By the
tion of the best books on gardening as late as 1825; and Sir Dudley Cullem in a letter preserved in the Philosophical Transactions, thanked Evelyn for his invention of a new stove for a green-house, which he had found to be very useful. Our public-spirited gentleman seems to have realized his ambition in at least some of his attempts at public benefit.

But Evelyn's most successful work, and next to his Diary the Propagation of Timber in his Majesty's best known, was his Sylva, or a discourse of forest trees and Dominions, written at the request of the Royal Society in reply to some queries made by the king to that body. This was the first book printed by the Royal Society and was most flatteringly received, running into four editions before its author's death. During the Civil War the Parliamentary Party had succeeded in working off part of its enmity against the nobility by a general devastation of England's ancient forests. By this destruction and the devastation occasioned by the increase of glass factories and iron furnaces after the Restoration, the country was being rapidly depleted of wood. Meanwhile, no attempt was being made to replace the ancient oaks by planting. Thus, Charles II lacked the timber to build a royal navy; and upon his turning to the Royal Society for aid in this difficulty, Evelyn was delegated by this body to solve the problem. The result was his Sylva. This, Evelyn was able to assert in his preface to the King, in the third edition, had really induced land owners to plant

slight taste I find God and the King concerned and I will in due time endeavour to present your Lordship and the world with the fruits of my obedience, cheerfully, and with all due regards." Diary, III, 149.

5. Kalendarium Hortense, or The Gardener's Almanack; London,1664
3. Misc. Writings, Intro. XIV.
many millions of timber-trees throughout England. It seems quite remarkable that, "it was a retired philosopher who aroused the genius of the nation, and who, casting a prophetic eye toward the age in which we live, contributed to secure our sovereignty of the seas. The present navy of Great Britain has been constructed with the oaks which the genius of Evelyn planted".

Evelyn had been elected a fellow of the Royal Society, or Philosophical Society as it was then called, at its first meeting after the Restoration, January 6, 1661. This society was an organization of the most eminent philosophers of the time, arising from an agreement of a few of them in 1645 to meet weekly at a private house to converse on subjects connected with natural and especially experimental philosophy. They had met at Sir William Petty's lodgings at Oxford until his removal to Ireland in 1652, and then at those of Mr. Wilkins in Wadham College until 1659, when most of the philosophers came to London. This drifting to the metropolis was simply in compliance with one of the tendencies of the age, that of centering life in the big cities. The philosophers then held their meetings at Gresham College and on the 28th of November, 1660, organized themselves into a formal society. Charles II, who was somewhat of a virtuoso, was much interested in these gatherings for the promotion of natural and experimental philosophy; and on July 15, 1662, granted a charter incorporating this organization under the title of the Royal Society, and appointing Lord Brouncker the first president, assisted by a council of twenty, the most conspicuous names among

4. Evelyn's Diary, Aug. 13, 1662; I, 388
which are: Robert Boyle, Sir. Kenelm Digby, Dr. Wilkins, Mr. Oldenburg, and John Evelyn. Previously, Evelyn had been associated with many of these philosophers; for, although he had been industriously engaged in his public activities in London, he was the kind of man who always takes time to form friendships with those who are worth knowing—men of congenial taste. Three years before his election into the Society, Evelyn had addressed a letter to Robert Boyle proposing a scheme for building an experimental college near London.

Immediately on his admission into this new organization, John Evelyn became one of the most influential men in the Society. It was for its benefit that he wrote much of his best work—pamphlets on a variety of subjects: his Sylva; Terra; his Kalendarium Hortense; and divers brief papers such as: A Letter on a New Machine for Ploughing; another On the Damage done his Gardens during the Winter of 1683-4; and a discussion On the Manner of Making Bread in France. These, and many others may be found in the Philosophical Transactions, in which are printed the best reports given in the Royal Society meetings.

In appreciation of his services, Evelyn was at one time elected Secretary of the Society; and on two different occasions was imprompted to take the presidentialship, an honour which he refused on account of his ill-health. His diary contains many hints of his devotion to this organization, such as the entry for June 8, 1663: "Hence

1. A letter to Lord Brouncker on a New Machine for Ploughing (1669-1670, in the Phil. Trans. No. 60)
2. A letter to one of the Secretaries of the Royal Society concerning the Damage done to his Gardens by the preceding winter, dated Sayes Court, Deptford, 14 April, 1684.
3. Phil. Trans. no. 158, April 20, 1684.
5. Ibid., June 8, 1663; I, 417.
to the Royal Society to refresh among the philosophers;" and the records of the Society show how constant was his attendance at its meetings.

When visitors of national or international reputation were invited to see the experiments or hear the discussions of this company of philosophers, it was often Evelyn who conducted them thither. We have record of his thus escorting the Danish Ambassador, and also Margaret Cavendish, the Duchess of Newcastle, a writer of much note in her own time. He consulted the king about many matters pertaining to the Society, and kept him intensely interested in its proceedings. It was at Evelyn's suggestion that Lord Henry Howard, Earl of Arundel, bestowed the noble family library upon the Royal Society and allowed the meetings to be held at Arundel-house for a short time after the London fire. Previously, from this same noble, Evelyn had obtained for the University of Oxford the gift of the ancient marbles collected by the old Earl of Arundel; and added a personal contribution of books and money, for all of which he received the solemn thanks of the University sent by delegates thereof.

During the last ten years of his life, Evelyn lived in comparative retirement, taking occasional tours to his friends' houses in various parts of the country, but spending most of his time in perfecting the famous gardens at Sayes-Court, and, later, the old family estate at his native Wotton. He died February 27, 1706, at the age of eighty-six, in perfect possession of all his faculties, survived by his wife, his son John, and two daughters.

1. Evelyn's Diary; I, 364.
3. Ibid., III, 249
To his contemporaries, Evelyn was the English Peirce, a scholar and philosopher comprising all the good qualities an English gentleman should possess, a living example of public and private virtue. Edmund Gosse says of Evelyn: "This gentleman was one of the most entertaining and intelligent persons of that age; endowed with extraordinary activity both of mind and body, a philosopher, as men of science were then called, who was doing as much as anyone in Europe to encourage research and prepare for the reception of new truth. He was scarcely less actively interested in the fine arts and in literature, and he wrote exceedingly well in English. Evelyn was one of those beings who dazzle their own generation, and puzzle ours to account for the fact that they are not absolutely first-rate. It seems as though nothing but a little more intensity in anyone particular direction was needed to win Evelyn from a paragon of all the talents into an undisputed genius."

Indeed, Evelyn was considered by the men of his own time an authority not only in almost all arts and crafts, but also in literature. We are forced to admit, however, that his writings are of occasional rather than permanent value, with the exception of his diary, one of the most finished and interesting specimens of autobiography in the whole realm of English literature. It tells us of his long and blameless life, which extended over the reigns of the last three Stuart kings. Within it are comprised many of the events of the great Civil War, the Commonwealth, Cromwell's Protectorate, and the Revolution of 1688; and "no other man who passed through these days of change and vicissitude knew familiarly so many grades and classes of his country-men, or could speak with authority on so

subjects possessing still an unabated interest for English readers". A reference in Sir Walter Scott's *Kenilworth*\(^1\) is noteworthy in regard to "the celebrated Mr. Evelyn, whose life, manners and principles as illustrated in his Memoirs, ought equally to be the manual of English gentlemen". His tombstone\(^2\) at Wotton at his direction, bears this inscription:

"That all is Vanity which is not honest,
And that there's no solid wisdom
but in real Piety."

---

Chapter II
The Friendships of John Evelyn

In a lengthy letter of advice to a young scholar, Mr. Maddox\(^1\), dated 10th January, 1657, Evelyn says: "Above all, procure acquaintances and settle a correspondence with learned men, by whom there are so many advantages to be made and experiments gotten." Evelyn seems to have followed his own advice, for the large correspondence which he left, shows him to have been in relations of close intimacy with some of the most worthy persons of his time. Much of his claim to our attention comes from his having rubbed up against greatness, his close associations with the leading families of rank, the virtuosi of the seventeenth century, and the men who then formed and ruled the affairs of the British nation. The greatest people sought his company, not merely by inviting him to their tables, but by their repeated visits to him at his own house. He was visited by many distinguished foreign literati, including Monsieur Zulichem, Secretary to the Prince of Orange, and one of the most brilliant figures in Dutch literary history; as well as many English notables, such as: Sir Robert Stapylton\(^2\), a dramatic poet and translator of the seventeenth century; Dr. Burnet; Monsieur de la Quintinye\(^3\); Robert Boyle; Mr. Berkley; Sir Kenelm Digby; Jeremy Taylor; and the poet and play-wright, Dryden.

In the Seventeenth Century all the wits, philosophers, writers and men of learning were grouped in the big cities and about the large

---

universities, chiefly in London, Oxford and Cambridge, where they gathered frequently at dinners, small club meetings, and at court. The spirit of the age was moving towards the famous "coffee-house" period, and all tendencies were toward this clubbing together, this close association of men of congenial taste. And in these little gatherings, John Evelyn was just in his element. Naturally a man of strong social instincts, of a merry and yet meditative disposition, thoroughly agreeable and considerate at all times, deeply interested in curiosities and oddities of all sorts, he was just the kind to make and keep friends.

He was not ashamed to visit these friends when they were in disgrace, in prison, or in poverty, for his friendship was not of the kind that costs nothing. He helped Jeremy Taylor out of many difficulties, supported him when poor; and he likewise patronized the young artist Grinling Gibbons, whom he found almost starving. In this way he often relieved his friend Hartlib, to whom Milton had dedicated the famous *Areopagitica*.

He assisted many of the chief writers of the day with advice, with information concerning books, and with the loan of manuscripts, and was consulted on all sorts of occasions by many of the most brilliant men of his age. Thus, Clarendon asked his advice about the magnificent collection of portraits which he gathered, and Tenison about projecting a library for the parish at St. Martin in the Field.

1. Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon (1609-1674), remarkable as the first Englishman who rose to office chiefly by his gifts as a writer and a speaker. He was the author of the History of the Rebellion. To Clarendon, Evelyn dedicated in 1661 his translation of 'Naudaens on Libraries', and addressed his proposals for the improvement of English printing.

2. Dr. Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, Vicar of St. Martin's, and at one time Bishop of Lincoln.
In his generous efforts to aid in literary work his matchless collection of manuscripts was broken up by the carelessness of these notable borrowers. Some letters of Maitland were lent to the Duke of Lauderdale, and as he neglected to return them, these manuscripts were sold with his library at his death and lost to Evelyn. Our virtuoso also furnished Dr. Burnet with some letters and papers of the Queen of Scots, originals and written with her own hand during the imprisonment, to use in compiling the History of the Reformation. These Burnet claimed to have lost at the press. The collection being thus mercilessly broken, Evelyn tells us he "bestowed the remainder on a worthy and curious friend" of his—which friend we surmise to have been Samuel Pepys, since there are manuscripts in the Pepysian library, at Magdalen, which Evelyn is known to have possessed.

Since Evelyn was particularly interested in religious matters, he counted many of the Seventeenth Century divines among his friends. He was present at the consecration dinner of the Bishop of Worcester, the author of the Blount Charactera, who "was universally beloved for his sweet and gentle disposition"; he corresponded with Edward Thurland, parising him very highly for his Diatriba, and for his great learning; he visited and discursd at some length with James


1a. Diary of Samuel Pepys. Nov. 24, 1665; V, 144.
2. Evelyn's Diary; Nov. 30, 1663; I, 393.

Sir Edward Thurland (1606-1683) was a prominent judge and member of Parliament both during the Commonwealth and after the Restoration. This Diatriba, mentioned by Evelyn, seems to have been his only composition, and was never published.
James Usher (1581-1656) was educated at Trinity College, but lived most of his life in Dublin. In 1606 he visited England in search of books and made the acquaintance of Sir Robert Bruce, and William Camden, to whom he furnished information on Irish antiquities. Selden calls him "learned to a miracle". His chronology is still the standard adopted in editions of the English Bible.

1. Ibid. Aug. 21, 1655: I, 324. "He told me how great the loss of time was to study much the Eastern languages: that, excepting Hebrew, there was little fruit to be gathered of exceeding labour; ....... that the Italians at present understood but little Greek, and Kircher was a mountebank; that Mr. Seldon's best book was his Titles of Honour;...... In conclusion, he recommended to me the study of philosophy above all human studies.

2. Evelyn's Diary: April 13, 1681; II, 164.


Gibson, who was then compiling his edition of Camden's *Britannica* with additions.

As important as his relations with these great churchmen, were his friendships with eminent professional men; such notables as Robert Berkley, a justice of the king's bench, who wrote to him many times, offering consolation after the death of Evelyn's son, thanking him for his works in gardening and enjoining him to write other things also useful to gentlemen of that day. There are extant many such letters, especially acknowledgments of the receipt of Evelyn's books, which he sent to his friends according to the custom of the age, however, only on request.

Our virtuoso was blessed with many intimate friends among the scientific writers of the Royal Society. They were men like Thomas Henshaw, to whom he dedicated the *French Gardener* for his "many eminent and shining parts", virtue, learning, and the then "ancient friendship". This friendship began when they were viewing the sight of Italy, rambling among the old ruins, admiring the superb buildings, visiting the cabinets and curiosities of the virtuosi, strolling down the "sweet" banks of the Tiber, and proudly attending the latest Italian operas and plays. It was at Rome that Evelyn met the Great Father Athanasius Kircher, Professor of Mathematics and the Oriental languages in the Jesuit College there. On his visit to this college, Kircher showed him his curiosities and confided in him the plan for his great treatise, *Obeliscus Pamphiliius*. When Evelyn was given a stone full of hieroglyphics taken from the mummy pits of Cairo,

2. The Epistle Dedicatory to the Translation of the *French Gardener*, 1658.
3. Evelyn's *Diary*: III, 376.
4. Evelyn's *Diary*: I, 220.
remembering Kircher's kindness, he immediately sent him a sketch and description of it through his friend, Henshaw. Ten years later, Evelyn found this description in the second volume of the *Obeliscus*¹, but with Henshaw credited for the discovery.

In England, most of the scientific men or philosophers, as they were then called, were in the Royal Society group of Evelyn's friends. They were Sir Kenelm Digby, Robert Boyle, the chemist, Abraham Hill, President Brouncker, an excellent mathematician, William Brereton, Henry Oldenberg, Editor of the Philocophical Transactions, Sir Samuel Tuke, the play-wright, Isaac Vossius, the son of the great German classical scholar and critic, and a number of others. Evelyn had met Sir Kenelm Digby² in 1651 at Paris, who was there studying chemistry under Monsieur Febure, and in conversation on chemical matters Evelyn quickly discovered that "Sir Kenelm was an arrant mountebank". Later this same Sir Kenelm often visited Evelyn with other Royal Society friends, but our shrewd philosopher seems to have found no reason for changing his opinion, for ten years afterwards, when recording a story of Digby's he says: "but Sir Kenelm was a teller of strange things", as though no credit should be given any story of his.

A truer friend was the Architect, Sir. Christopher Wren, with whom Evelyn worked in designing a library in St. Martin's Parish for Dr. Tenison, and later on a committee of three to survey for the repairs of St. Paul's and to consider a model for a new building. Furthermore, Wren did not disdain Evelyn's advice in some particulars in regard to the new theatre he was constructing for the Archbishop of Canterbury; nor did Evelyn disdain his, when he wanted an architect to estimate the cost of repairs³ on Sayes Court. His beloved

home had suffered decidedly rough treatment during the spring of 1693 at the hands of the Czar, Peter the Great, who amused himself while living there by being trundled over Evelyn's precious flower-beds in a wheel-barrow, and in tearing up things generally. Both Evelyn and Wren independently hastened to present his Majesty with plans for the rebuilding of the city after the great London fire, Wren presenting his two days before Evelyn. Their suggestions, however, were so much alike that they pleased the king exceedingly. The first mention we have of Sir. Christopher in the diary is in 1634 as, "that miracle of youth; that prodigious young scholar, nephew to the Bishop of Ely". Evelyn says, "a wonderful genius had this incomparable person". Later, there is mention in the diary many times of their dining together; a request from Evelyn for Wren to find him a tutor for his son; that Evelyn was godfather to a son of Sir Christopher Wren, "that most excellent and learned person"; and a statement that they went together to salute Sir John Chardin (an enterprising traveller from the East) in the name of the Royal Society. When Evelyn was seeking aid for his protégé, Grinling Gibbons, it was to his Majesty, his friend Pepys and Wren, that he first showed the work of this remarkable young wood-carver and statuary. As Evelyn had hoped, Sir Christopher immediately employed the young man to do much of the carving in the choir of St. Paul's Cathedral, which he was then constructing. To Wren, Evelyn dedicated his tract on Architects and Architecture, and always spoke of him with the greatest friendship.

1. Ibid., III, 180.
3. Ibid., III, 154.
4. Ibid., II, 137.
5. Ibid., Aug. 30, 1663.
and praise for his ability.

But it was not so with his predecessor in the position of his Majesty's Surveyor, Sir John Denham. Although Evelyn dedicated to him his translation from the French, a Parallel of Ancient and Modern Architecture\(^1\), he considered him infinitely inferior to Evelyn and always referred to him as "the poet" rather than the architect. On one occasion, they disagreed very radically on the placing of his Majesty's palace at Greenwich, and Evelyn says\(^2\): "I came away, knowing Sir John to be a better poet than architect, though he had Mr. Webb (Inigo Jones's man) to assist him."

Associated with Dr. Wilkins, in many of his experiments was Sir William Petty\(^3\), "a poor, rich, and wonderful man". Evelyn says of him: "There is not a better Latin poet living, when he gives himself to that diversion, nor is his excellence less in council and prudent matters of state............ If I were a Prince, I should make him my Second Counsellor, at least." But being no prince, Evelyn made him one of his closest friends.

Besides these scientific men, Evelyn had some dealings with literary men whom he never met. Meric Casaubon\(^4\), the son of the great Genevese critic and controversialist, furnished Evelyn on request with some of his father's notes on staves (De Baculis) in preparation for a Latin work Evelyn intended to write on that subject. There is also a letter of Evelyn's dated 29th May, 1691, to Anthony à Wood\(^5\), evi-

2. Evelyn's Diary: 1655, I, 327.
4. Sir William Petty (1623-1687), political economist, at one time Professor of Anatomy at Oxford, Professor of Music in Gresham College Physician to the Army of Ireland, Clerk of the Council. After the Restoration, he opened lead mines, established pilchard fisheries, invented a double-bottomed ship, and assisted in the councils of the Royal Society. He is best known for his Treatise of Taxes, in which he made a correct analysis of the origin of wealth. Diary, III, 393-4.
dently in reply to one inquiring about a certain Mr. Wells, described by Evelyn as an excellent mathematician. The post-script is exceedingly interesting as displaying one phase of Evelyn's character:

"If I may be so bold I should esteem it a great favour, if at least you have prepared anything concerning me, that you would transmit me a copy thereof before you print it."

Evidently Wood had only a few notes concerning Evelyn, for his life does not appear until the fourth volume of the Athenae Oxonienses compiled and published by Philip Bliss about fifty years after Wood's death. There is also a letter to Mr. Aubrey\(^1\), in which Evelyn expresses his appreciation of Aubrey's Natural History of Surrey, and regrets that he was unable to assist in so useful a piece of work.

Furthermore, Evelyn had a number of rather casual acquaintances, writers of more or less note, with whom he was associated for a short time only. "Old Alexander Ross"\(^2\), a rather prolific writer of the seventeenth century, wrote several letters to Evelyn declaring his verses quite peerless and praising the melody of Evelyn's muse in such extravagant terms that we cannot esteem this Scotchman's critical judgment very highly if he was really sincere in these remarks.

1. Misc. Writings, p. 687 (Extracted from Aubrey's History of Surrey, 1719, Vol. I.
2. Alexander Rosse (1591-1654), a miscellaneous writer; his favorite subjects were theology, history, and philosophy, but he also produced a considerable amount of verse. He is best remembered today by Butler's Couplet (Hudibras, pt.I, canto 2): "There was an ancient sage philosopher That had read Alexander Ross over".
Evelyn also mentions his long acquaintance\(^1\) with the famous philosopher of Malmesbury, against whose *Leviathan*\(^2\) Rosse had written an interesting book. It is doubtful if Evelyn approved of Hobbes' principles, for he refers to him somewhat disdainfully as the "Mushroom"\(^3\), and in a letter to William Wotton\(^4\) after recounting a number of Robert Boyle's lovable qualities, he writes: "Besides Mr. Hobbes, whose hand was against everybody and admired nothing but his own, Francis Linis excepted (who yet with much civility wrote against him) I do not remember he (Boyle) had the least antagonist." Evelyn certainly had great respect for the celebrated chemist and very little for the "Mushroom*. With Dr. Sprat he was associated in that worthy's *History of the Royal Society*, and worked with him in his *Observations on Monsieur Sorbiere's Voyage to England*. Evelyn had much admiration for Sprat's preaching ability and considered "his talent was, a great memory, never making use of notes, a readiness of expression in a most pure and plain style of words, full of matter and easily delivered". This is significant, as it appeared in the *Diary*, in which the author is very apt to speak frankly.

Another writer of the seventeenth century with whom Evelyn was related in a literary way was Sir Thomas Browne, the author of *Religio Medici* and *Vulgar Errors*. In the same way as Evelyn had assisted Sprat, so Browne was to cooperate with Evelyn. Sir Thomas intended to contribute several chapters to his magnum opus, the *Elysium Britannicum*, which was to have embraced everything in connection with a

2. Ibid., I, 297.
5. The plan of this *Elysium* has been printed among the Evelyn Papers and his miscellaneous collection for it exists now among the manuscripts at Wotton. Evelyn's *Diary*: II, Appendix.
garden, and Edmund Gosse says\(^1\) there is little doubt that the long posthumous tract called "Observations upon Several Plants mentioned in Scripture" had been written as part of Browne’s contribution. Although Evelyn played with the idea of writing this great treatise most of his life and mentioned it often to his friends, all of the Elysium which appeared was a graceful little book called the French Gardiner, and one Acetaria, which he had originally intended merely as chapters of this larger work.

The great Dryden planned no books petitioning Evelyn’s assistance. Indeed, such a proceeding would have been the height of absurdity, since their tastes were so fundamentally opposite, and Evelyn so insignificant in comparison with this greatest writer of his time. In 1674, however, the poet laureate\(^2\) was pleased to visit Evelyn at his lodgings in London, and several times dined\(^3\) in the same company with him. The entrance in the Diary for January 11, 1694\(^4\), concerns one of these meetings: "Supped at Mr. Edward Sheldon’s, where was Mr. Dryden, the poet, who now intended to write no more plays, being intent on his translation of Virgil. He read to us the prologue and epilogue to his valedictory play now shortly to be acted." Evelyn mentions seeing presented four different plays of Dryden’s; but he was not in sympathy with the stage of his day, so he did not condescend to any appreciative criticism. In 1663, he saw the Wild Gallant;\(^5\) in 1667 the Maiden Queen, which he calls the Virgin Queen;\(^6\) and his record of June 19, 1668, mentions a "new play, the Evening

2. Evelyn’s Diary: II, 96.
3. Evelyn’s Diary: June 17, 1683; II, 185.
4. Ibid., II, 339.
6. Ibid., March 14, 1667; II, 24.
Lover[^1], which it is thought must have been Dryden's An Evening's Love or the Mock Astrologer. This Evelyn criticizes[^1] rather justly, we think, as having a "very foolish plot" and being "very profane". The only thing he saw to admire in The Siege of Granada[^2] in 1671 was the "very glorious scenes and perspectives, the work of Mr. Streeter". It is possible that Evelyn was prejudiced against Dryden because of religious principles, for he relates[^3]: "Dryden and his two sons......... were said to go to Mass; such proselytes were no great loss to the church. The diarist's narrow convictions and high ideals could not overlook Dryden's small faults and appreciate his greatness.

An exceedingly small star to Dryden's sun is Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle and author of Philosophical Fancies[^4]. To her, upon the receipt of her works, Evelyn wrote a most flattering and profuse letter of acknowledgment[^5]. This extravagance is easily accounted for by the tendency of the age to pay the greatest homage to the noble literatae, and especially to this Duchess, who seemed to carry the literary world by storm. In this letter of acknowledgment Evelyn's usually rather reserved pen astounds us with such utterances as this:

"Nor, Madam, is it by this that I intend to pay all my homage for that glorious presence, which merits so many encomiums, or write a panegyricon of your virtues, which all the world admires; lest the indignity of my style should profane a thing so sacred; but to repeat my admiration of your genius, and sublime wit, so comprehensive of the most abstracted appearances and so admirable in your sex, or

1. Ibid., June 19, 1668; II, 37n.
2. Ibid., Feb. 9, 1671; II, 60. See also IV, 25, for Mrs. Evelyn's criticism of the play.
4. Margaret Cavendish is also the author of a number of dainty little poems. It has been suggested that Milton borrowed some of
rather in your Grace's person alone, which I never call to mind but to rank it amongst the heroines, and constellate with the Graces."

A number of times, Evelyn went with his wife to make court to this extraordinary woman, and on one occasion he was delegated by the Royal Society to escort her to one of their meetings, where with great pomp and ceremony she was received, and shown several of their experiments. In spite of this servile flattery, the Duchess seems to have been a greater favorite with Charles Lamb two hundred years after her Grace's death, than with John Evelyn in her life-time. Our critic speaks deprecatingly of Sorbierre's taste in books in that he carried back with him, after his voyage to England, the works of the thrice noble Marchioness as examples of English literature. Although he admired her fantastical dress and conversation, he referred to her in the diary as "a mighty pretender to learning, poetry, and philosophy".

Of a decidedly different type was Evelyn's intimate and life-long friend, Robert Boyle, the great chemist and natural philosopher, one of the most brilliant and influential men in the Royal Society, and at one time its president. Evelyn has written much of him in reply to inquiries made by his worthy friend William Wotton. Wotton was attempting to write a life of Boyle, and seemed to consider Evelyn one of those most intimately acquainted with the great philosopher and thus, one who should furnish the personal element for his Life.

his ideas for L'Allegro and Il Penseroso from her Dialogue between Mirth and Melancholy.

5. John Evelyn to the Duchess of Newcastle, 15th June, 1674. Evelyn's Diary: III, 244.

1. In a letter to Mr. Bohun, Mrs. Evelyn relates her impressions of this fantastical Duchess. Her clever characterization is interesting, for we may safely conjecture that it is not unlike her illustrious husband's opinion of the Duchess. See Appendix for this letter. See also Evelyn's Diary: II, 26.

Evelyn's first meeting with Wotton was in 1679, when this youth of thirteen had been brought up to London to display his remarkable learning before the scholars of the day. This boy was "looked on as a miracle" and "possessed vast judgment." In 1694, Evelyn heard "this extraordinary learned young man preach excellently." Wotton declared that his intention to write a Life of Boyle owed its birth wholly to Evelyn's encouragement, and its growth to his valuable suggestions and personal reminiscences.

Evelyn places Boyle on a pedestal far above any of the other great scientific writers of the time: "Bacon, Gilbert, Harvey, Digby, Galileo, Peireske, Descartes, Gassendi, Bernier, his disciple now in Persia, and the late incomparable Jacomo Maria Favi." In his somewhat extravagant dedication to the Sculptura, he triumphantly crowns Boyle the Phoenix of this latter age. It is at Boyle's suggestion that he published this treatise on chalcography, and to him he gives all the glory and credit for his interest in the cultivation of the sciences. To him also he sent his several works before publication to be corrected and criticised. The diary contains many accounts of his visiting Mr. Boyle to witness some of his more unusual experiments. He says that his first acquaintance with this honourable gentleman, who was to be his friend for forty years, began by a

3. Ibid., II, 26.
courteous visit to his home in Sayes-Court, which was duly returned and followed by other visits for the sake of discussion. We are told that their first correspondence was largely composed of conventional civilities, but that these compliments lasted no longer than till they became perfectly acquainted, and discovered a common ground in their mutual love of natural philosophy.

Thus, the letter to Boyle dated September 29, 1659, just a short time after their first meeting is a high-flown rhapsody in praise of his new friends, Seraphic Love, not at all in Evelyn's usual style. How different from the simple and unassuming language of the diary are such ravings: "if an oblation of whatever I possess can verify the expression of my greater esteem of your incomparable book, which is indited with a pen snatched from the wing of a seraphim, exalting your divine incentives to that height, that being sometimes ravished with your description of the transcendent state of angelical amours, I was almost reconciled to the passion of Cleombratus." Or this choice bit: to be in the embraces of this seraphic love, which you have described to that perfection as if in the company of some celestial harbinger you had taken flight, and had been ravished into the third heaven, where you have heard words unutterable, and from whence you bring us such affections, and divine inclinations as are only competent to angles and yourself!

In 1696, when writing to Mr. Wotton, Evelyn frankly admits that Boyle does not possess a perfect style: "I do not call it affected, but doubtless not answerable to the rest of his great and shining parts." Evelyn is pleased, however, to compare him with the great Descartes, and to point out their similarity of tastes and habits. Both were never married but wrote of love. Both possessed very small

libraries, considering the knowledge gained from men and real experiments in their laboratories of more value than that gleaned from books. Indeed, both were great men, and as such were revered by Evelyn.

A much shorter, but for the student of literature a more important, friendship was one with Jeremy Taylor, the great religious writer of the seventeenth century. In 1654, Evelyn first heard Taylor preach, and probably first saw him, in the little church of St. Gregory's near St. Paul's—the only pulpit in London which Cromwell permitted to be filled by a succession of Anglican clergy. A year later, going to London for the express purpose of again hearing this excellent preacher, Evelyn talked with him on spiritual matters, and made him his "ghostly father". From this time until Taylor's removal to Ireland in 1661, they were together frequently and consulted each other about many of the works they were composing. Evelyn read the preface to the *Golden Grove*, and was not surprised at Taylor's imprisonment on its account. Taylor wrote notes of appreciation for Evelyn's *Character of England*, his *Apology for the Royal Party*, *Ludovici*, *Golden Book of St. Chrysostom*, his *Panegyric at the Coronation of Charles II*, and his proposed *Elysium Britannicum*. The only criticism that this great divine had to offer upon Evelyn's writings was that they were not fundamentally religious. He says: "I am much pleased with your way of translation, and if you would proceed in the same method, and give us in English some devout pieces of the fathers, and your own annotations upon them, you would do profit and

1. Evelyn's *Diary*: I, 300.
4. J. Taylor to John Evelyn, June 4, 1659. *Evelyn's Diary*: III, 113
pleasure to the public." Likewise, in a letter dated April 16, 1656, he says: "I will impose such a penance upon you for your publication of _Lucretius_ as shall neither displease God nor you, .......... I know you will be entreated to employ the same pen in the glorifications of God, and the ministers of Eucharist and prayer." He also proposed changing the name of _Elysium_ to _Paradisus Britannicum_, since the word Elysium was used "by the Hellenish Jews to signify any place of spiritual and immaterial pleasure." In spite of his great respect for Taylor it is doubtful if Evelyn took these suggestions very much to heart. The only religious works his pen produced were his _Mysterie of Jesuitism_, written and published some time after the end of Taylor's influence over him, and a few manuscript pages from a proposed _History of Religion_.

Although he permitted it to terminate, Evelyn valued Taylor's friendship very highly. Considering him a friend worth aiding, without any hesitation he sent a letter to the Lieutenant of the Tower, supplicating him to allow Taylor a hearing when he was imprisoned for a caprice of the printer. After his release from prison, in May of 1657, Evelyn obtained for him the patronage of Mr. Thurland, a prominent judge and member of Parliament, and realized a plan he had long entertained of a subscription for Taylor's support. He succeeded in making his wealthy brothers "sensible of this opportunity to do God and their country an acceptable service", and prevailed upon them to guarantee Taylor an annual salary. A letter from this grateful divine helps bring out the relation between these two men:

honoured and dear sir:

a stranger came two nights since from you with a letter and a

token: full of humanity and sweetness, that was; and this, of char-

ity. i know it is more blessed to give than to receive: and yet as

i no ways repine at that providence that forces me to receive, so

neither can i envy that felicity of yours, not only that you can, but

that you do give; and as i rejoice in that mercy which daily makes
decrees in heaven for my support and comfort, so i do most thankfully

adore the goodness of god to you, whom he consigns to greater glories

by the ministry of these graces. but, sir, what am i, or what can i
do, or what have i done that you can think i have or can oblige you?
sir, you are too kind to me, and oblige me not only beyond my merit

but beyond my modesty: i can only love you, and honour you, and

pray for you, and in all this i cannot say but that i am behind hand

with you, for i have found so great effluxes of all your worthiness

and charities, that i am a debtor for your prayers, for the comfort

of your letters, for the charity of your hand, and the affections of

your heart. sir, though you are beyond the reach of my returns, and

my services are very short touching you; yet, if it were possible

for me to receive my commands, the obeying of which might signify my

great regards of you, i could with more confidence converse with a

person so obliging; but i am obliged and ashamed and unable to say

so much as i should do to represent myself to be,

honoured and dear sir,

your most affectionate and most obliged

friend and servant,

jer. taylor."

note—jeremy taylor had at this time been committed a prisoner at the
tower, in consequence of royston, his book-seller, having placed be-
fore his collection of offices the picture of christ praying, con-
trary to a new act concerning "scandalous pictures".
At this time Taylor was engaged in writing his beautiful Essay on Friendship, and seems to have found abundant material for this essay in the life of John Evelyn. There is a touching little tribute to the friendship of these two men, found in a letter of Taylor's written a few weeks after the one quoted above: "Sir, your kind letter hath so abundantly rewarded and crowned my innocent endeavoring in my descriptions of Friendship that I perceive there is a friendship beyond what I have fancied, and a real material worthiness beyond the heights of the most perfect ideas; and I know now where to make my book perfect and when anything shall be observed to be wanting in my character, I can tell them where to see the substance, much more beauteous than the picture, and by sending the readers of my book to be spectators of your life and worthiness, they shall see what I would fain have taught them by what you really are."

In 1661, this growing intimacy was interrupted by Taylor's removal to the diocese of Down and Conner in Ireland. For a year or more he made fruitless attempts to keep in touch with his old English friends. The distance between Ulster and London was too great, and the methods of communication too primitive and slow, to make this possible. In November of 1661, the affectionate bishop makes a pathetic appeal to his dearest friend Evelyn, in these words\(^1\): "Dear Sir, I pray let me hear from you as often as you can, for you will very much oblige me if you will continue to love me still." This is the last letter preserved of the long and affectionate correspondence of these two men.

Perhaps Evelyn's most interesting friendship was that with Samuel Pepys, his fellow-diariist. Although these men both wrote diaries covering some of the same series of events, were the best of

\(^1\) Diary and Correspondence, III, 135.
friends, and are closely united in popular esteem, they were decidedly unlike. Both were admirable civil servants, and had a mutual respect for each other's sterling qualities, but possessed very different ideals and personalities. This divergence of character is most adequately revealed in their respective diaries.

Evelyn had none of Pepys's love of gossip and is devoid of his diverting frankness of self-revelation. The former possessed higher ideals and lived consistent to these throughout his life. Though manifestly disgusted with the increasing immorality of the court, Evelyn remained loyal to the house of Stuart and did all in his power to maintain the honour of the British nation. He never changed his allegiance, while Pepys seldom estimated men and things twice in the same way. We are forced to admire Evelyn's steadfast principles and solidity, although he did not possess the humour, the naivety, or the shrewdness of his friend. Perhaps he did not feel the same freedom in writing that his great rival did, for he knew that his diary would probably be perused by unfriendly eyes, while Pepys frankly revelled in the safety of his cipher. Consequently the tone of these diaries, as well as the subject-matter, is different. The objects which interested Evelyn were the very ones which Pepys cared least about.

"In this way the works supplement each other and give us the most perfect view we have of the manner and customs in England during the latter part of the seventeenth century."  

These two eminent writers became acquainted at the admission of Pepys into the Royal Society, March 15, 1665, at which time Evelyn read to the Society his paper on the Making of Bread in France. The

next record we have of their being together was at a dinner-party given by Pepys on the 10th of September of that year, after they had just received word of the capture of a number of ships by Lord Sandwich in the war with the Dutch.

"But the receipt of this news did put us all into such an ecstasy of joy that it inspired into Minnes and Mr. Evelyn such a spirit of mirth, that in all my life I never met with so merry a two hours as our company this night was. Among other humours 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 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."

From this and similar references we infer Evelyn was not entirely devoid of humour and was possessed of many qualities which made him an amiable companion. He often dined and visited with Pepys, "where very merry"; and one of these occasions is described by Pepys as "one of the times of my life wherein I was the fullest of true sense of joy". In a remarkably short time he seems to have perceived the worth of Evelyn, and cultivated his friendship most assiduously. In September, 1665, he has discovered Evelyn to be a "very fine gentleman", and the next month records the receipt and perusal of Evelyn's translation of the Erection of a Library. "This", he says, "is above my reach, but his epistle to my Lord Chancellor is a very fine piece."

1. Ibid., V, 68.
2. Diary of Pepys: V, 69. See also: VIII, 246; VI, 329, and Evelyn's Diary, II, 61, 310, 319, 320, 375.
The frank criticism of Pepys is decidedly diverting and refreshing after the high-flown compliments of Evelyn's other contemporaries. His Sculptura, Pepys calls a very pretty book, and his work on Gardening a noble and pleasant piece. But, concerning his book against Solitude he says: "I do not find much excess of good matter, though it be pretty for a bye-discourse." A "bye-discourse" this was, as Evelyn explained to his friend Cowley. In the same frank tone, Pepys not only criticised Evelyn's works, but also his personal character:

"He read me part of a play or two of his making very good, but not as he conceits them, I think, to be. He showed me his Hortus Hymenalis; leaves laid up in a book of several plants, kept dry, which preserve colour, however, and look very finely better than Herball. 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. He read me, though with too much gusto, some little poems of his own, that were not transcendant, yet one or two very pretty epigrams; among others, of a lady looking in at a gate, and being pecked at by an eagle that was there."

No plays nor epigrams such as described by Pepys have ever been published, or even found among Evelyn's manuscripts. We have only two other references to plays of Evelyn. One of these is in a letter to Lord Carlyle: "You know, my Lord, that I (who have written a play, and am a scurvy poet too sometimes) am far from Puritanism."

The other reference is to Thyrsander, a Tropi-Comedy, in a manuscript-list found among Evelyn's literary remains, as one of the things he

1. Diary of Pepys: Nov. 3, 1665; V, 126.
2. Ibid., V, 128; Nov. 5, 1665.
3. Ibid., May 26, 1667: VI, 319.
5. Diary and Correspondence: II, 395.
"would write out fair and reform", if he had leisure. I think we may safely agree with Pepys that Evelyn was neither a dramatist nor a poet.

He was, however, a scholar; and as early as 1665, took great pride in showing Pepys his valuable collection of old manuscripts. Probably his scholarly sensibility would have received quite a jolt could he have seen the comment Pepys wrote in his diary on this occasion: "But, Lord! How poorly, methinks, they wrote in these days, and on what plain, uncut paper." It may have been through Evelyn's very evident veneration that Pepys first realized the value of these ancient letters and papers, and learned to appreciate them. That he did, we may be sure, both from the fact that later Evelyn bestowed many of these precious manuscripts upon him, and also from the wonderful collection now found in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene.

As their friendship lengthened and strengthened, these virtuosi spent much time together, Pepys enjoying the court gossip Evelyn could give him, and Evelyn, the opportunities to discuss the condition of British affairs with one so intelligent as Pepys. After formal dinners, they usually turned away from the company for a few minutes pleasant conversation, and often visited each other, talking "the vanity and vices of the court", entirely oblivious of the flight of time until it was almost morning.

When the terrible plague broke out in London these servants of state stayed in the city, ministering to the needs of their fellow-men as best they could. During the Dutch war, Pepys asked Evelyn's advice concerning the support of the fleet for which he was respons-

1. Diary of Pepys: V, 144.
2. Diary of Pepys: VI, 329; V, 89; VI, 269, 329, Jan. 29, 1666.
ible; and Evelyn, in turn, asked advice in his attempt to care for the sick and wounded seamen. It was to this friend, that Evelyn revealed his plans for the erection of an Infirmary for the care of these dependants. This scheme, Pepys heartily approved, and promised his support in the undertaking. In 1688, when Evelyn had suffered great loss in a brick-making adventure, it was to this friend he turned for consolation. When Pepys was imprisoned, Evelyn visited him, sent him venison and then dined with him. He was the first to express his joy at hearing of Pepys's safety after the ship-wreck "from which the Duke of York escaped so narrowly on his return from Scotland." When, through ill-health, Evelyn was confined at Wotton, his friend thoughtfully sent him books and journals to brighten this time of enforced idleness. At the death of Pepys, in 1703, his nephew Jackson sent Evelyn complete mourning with his uncle's request that he be one of the pall-bearers at this ceremonious funeral, as a memorial to their forty years friendship. How Evelyn must have regretted that his infirmities would not permit his doing even this service for one of his dearest and most worthy friends!

In spite of Pepys somewhat deprecating remarks in the extract quoted above, he entertained a very high opinion of Evelyn's worth and ability. In his diary, there are repeated comments such as this: "I took him home to dinner, being desirous of keeping my acquaintance with him, and a most excellent humoured man I still find him, and

2. Diary of Pepys: VIII, 104.
4. Ibid., III, 356.
5. Ibid., III, 340. Letter from John Evelyn to Bishop of Lincoln, 29th May, 1694.
mighty knowing." Again, "he and I walked together in the garden with mighty pleasure, he being a very ingenious man; and the more I know him, the more I love him." He calls him, "a worthy good man", "my good friend", and "a very ingenious man".

When Pepys was adorning his choice library with the pictures of men illustrious for their erudition, he requested Evelyn to have the great artist Kroeller paint his portrait to place in this collection. Evelyn's letter in reply is rather amusing and at the same time somewhat detrimental to Pepy's estimate of his vanity:

"I did not in the least suspect your intention of placing my shallow head amongst those heroes, who, knowing my unworthiness of that honour, will, in spite of your good opinion of Mr. Kneller or his skill of drawing to the life, either condemn his colouring, that he made me not blush, or me for impudence that I did not. 'Tis pity and a diminution, so elegant a place and precious collection should have anything in it of vulgar, but such as Paulus Jovius has celebrated, and such as you told me you were procuring; the Boyles, the Gales, and the Newtons of our nation: What, in God's name, should a planter of colewort do amongst such worthies?"

But Pepys was ready with an adequate reply to this outburst.

"One word only I would now say to you upon your first words, about the place I have been bold in dooming your picture to, namely, that besides forty other reasons I had (founded upon gratitude, affection, esteem) to covet that in effigy which I most truly value in the original, I had this one more, that I take it for the only head

1. Ibid., Apr. 29, 1666; V, 264.
2. Evelyn's Diary: July 8, 1669; II, 310.
3. Ibid., Aug. 12, 1669; III, 294.
living I can hope to invite most by after it, of those few whose mem-
ories (when dead) I find myself wishing I could do aught to perpet-
uate."

It seems fitting and proper that such a friendship should have
existed between Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn—men so congenial and
yet so different. Their lives bore about the same relation in their
own time, as their representatives, the famous diaries, have in the
esteem of succeeding generations. As they were rivals, and yet
friends, so their diaries vie for the appreciation of the critics,
and yet go hand in hand to give the most perfect picture we have of
Seventeenth Century life and ideals. In the minds of the average
student of to-day these men are associated, not for their personal in-
timacy, but purely on account of their diaries. As he wished, Pepys
helped to make the name of Evelyn known to future generations, but it
was through this diary which he had attempted to lock up in unreadable
cipher.

The poet Waller, like Pepys, contributed his share in perpetuat-
ing the name of Evelyn, and commemorating his friendship with this il-
lustrious man; but, unlike Pepys, with the direct purpose to do so.
In 1744, there appeared a poem of Waller's,"To his worthy Friend
Master Evelyn, upon his Translation of Lucretius":

"This speaks thy glory, noble friend!
And British language does commend:
For here, Lucretius whole we find
His words, his music, and his mind.
Thy art has to thy country brought
All that he writ, and all he thought."

Like Evelyn, Waller was a hearty Royalist, but of a very differ-
ent type. He had none of Evelyn's caution, but rushed headlong into the confusion of the Civil War, entangling himself in crooked politics, plots, and consequently bringing himself to the Tower and into imminent danger of the hangman. By the leniency of Cromwell and some rather obscure political transactions, in November, 1644, however, Waller was freed from prison and exiled from England. This was just the time our friend Evelyn was touring Italy. He also had left England during this season of disturbance, but as the result of his own cautious desire, rather than under such compulsion as had the impulsive Waller.

It is not surprising that men with such absorbing interests and sympathies in common, should meet, become friends, and soon be travelling together. We do not know just how long they journeyed in each other's company; but it is certain that after they parted, they met often, especially in Paris and Calais. Of this life abroad, we catch such glimpses from the Diary as this:\footnote{Evelyn's Diary: July 6, 1646. I, 252.}

"The next day we arrived at Orleans, taking our turns to row, of which I reckon my share came to little less than twenty leagues. Sometimes, we footed it through pleasant fields, and meadows; sometimes we shot at fowles and other birds; nothing came amiss; sometimes we played at cards, whilst others sung, or were composing verses; for we had the great poet, Mr. Waller, in our company."

A short while before Mr. Waller's release from banishment, Evelyn visited him many times to discuss religion and literature; and at the death of Waller's child, hastened to St. Germaines to commiserate with him for this loss. There is no record of a continuance of this intimacy after their return to England. The friends were evi-
dently separated by other interests and duties, but the poem concerning his translation of Lucretius shows that Waller did not forget.

Less renowned but more thoroughly literary in character was Evelyn's friendship with Sir George Mackenzie, at one time Lord Advocate of Scotland. Their entertaining correspondence, begun in 1665, reveals their friendly relations. Mackenzie sent the first fruits of his muse "to Evelyn, to whom it was due, being Apollo's high priest", requesting that Evelyn would assist him with criticism, and also that he would pass this specimen of his poetic attempts on to Sir William D'Avenant and Mr. Waller, that the author might know the censure of these notable men. "I had sought my security in no other approbation than your own, if your friendship for me had not rendered you suspect!"

In 1663, Mackenzie published a Moral Essay upon Solitude preferring it to Public Employment and all its Appendages, to which Evelyn replied with his Public Employment Prefer'd to Solitude. Never was a controversy conducted with more good temper and politeness. After highly complimenting his antagonist in the Preface to the Essay, Evelyn says: "The war is innocent, and I would be glad this way of velitation and short discourses upon all arguments, in which other languages greatly out-do us, might exercise our reasons and improve the English style, which yet wants the culture of our more Southern neighbours."

Just a few days after the publication of this Essay— a remarkably

3. Public Employment, and an Active Life with all its Appendages, such as Fame, Command, Riches, Conversation, etc., Prefer'd to Solitude; in reply to a Late Ingenious Essay of a Contrary Title. London, 1667.
short time—Sir George wrote a playful letter to Evelyn: "It is strange for one opposite to shew no passion, but that of kyndnesse, and yee compliment mee to such ane excesse beyond my merit, that I begin to be jealouse that yee can vanquish such as deserve praise, and that yee thus attire mee in these titles as the Romans did ther prisoners with riche robbes, that therby they might adorne so much the more these ther triumphs, to which they were destinat as trophes. But, Sir, without enquiring too superstiteslie into your designs, I shall resolve to returne you no other answer besyds this; and to evidence how much I am proselited by your booke, I resolve to continue in employment."

It is noteworthy that it was a person busily engaged in scenes of activity, the King's advocate for Scotland, who was contending for Solitude; while Evelyn, whose pursuits were principally those which ornament the retired life of a country gentleman, was the champion of public and active employment. Evelyn expressed his love for this solitary life in a letter to Abraham Cowley\(^1\), the life of repose, and explained his attitude in this controversy with Mackenzie: "But as those who praised dirt, a flea, and the gout, so have I Public Employments in that trifling Essay, and that in so weak a style compared to my antagonist, that as by that alone it will appear I neither was nor could be serious."

Cowley was the poet of the seventeenth century who particularly championed the cause of retirement. To him, Evelyn dedicated the second edition of the *Kalendarium Hortense* (1666), and attributed to his approval and reputation the unusual success and popularity of this work:

"This Hortulan Kalendar is yours, mindful of the honour once con-

---

1. Evelyn's Diary: Mar. 12, 1666-7; III, 194.
ferr'd on it, when you were pleas'd to suspend your noble raptures, and think it worthy your transcribing."

It appears that Cowley assisted Evelyn in this work. We know the two men had friendly intercourse, for Evelyn has recorded in 1663 and 1664 several trips to Barn Elms to visit his "excellent and ingenious friend, Abraham Cowley." In 1667, he "greatly deplored" the death of that incomparable poet and virtuous man, his very dear friend, and he sadly went to his funeral, where he was much impressed by the huge company of noblemen, persons of quality, the noted wits and bishops who followed the hearse in the procession.¹

That Evelyn esteemed very highly Cowley's ability as a poet, is shown by his turning to him in 1667, of all his literary friends, to eulogize his beloved Royal Society.² It is probable that the Society had suffered some criticism from a few persons of learning, who had not been urged to join this body of philosophers. Feeling that the Society should be vindicated, and its history and purpose related for the information of all, Evelyn turned to Cowley as the man who had the ability to perform this task well. "But you have numbers and charms that can bind over these spirits of darkness, and render their instruments obsequious; and we know you have a divine hymn for us; the lustre of the Royal Society calls for an ode from the best of poets upon the noblest argument." At this time, Sprat was composing his history of the Royal Society, and consequently, inserted in his book Cowley's graceful little poem, written at the request of John Evelyn.

3. The first lines of this poem "To the Royal Society" are:
   "With courage and success you
   the bold work begin;
   Your cradle has not idle bin:"
Cowley appreciated Evelyn's high regard for him. In recognition of the tribute paid him in the Dedication to the *Kalendarium Mortense*, Cowley sent to his friend a little poem called "The Garden". In the Preliminary Remarks to this poem, Cowley gives him the greatest praise, and in all sincerity says: "I know no body that possesses more private happiness than you do in your Garden; and yet no man who makes his happiness more publick, by a free communication of the Art and Knowledge of it to others."

"Happy art thou; whom God does bless,

With the full choice of thine own

Happiness;

And happier yet, because thou'rt blest

With Prudence, how to choose the best;

In Books and Gardens thou hast plac'd

(Things which thou well dost understand)

Thy noble, innocent delight."

None e'er but Hercules and you could be
At five years age worthy a history."

In the strict sense of the phrase, John Evelyn was not a literary man. His chief value comes not from his own productions, but from his typifying the average literary man of his time, that curious intelligent, fascinating being, the seventeenth century virtuoso. He came in contact with a number of the most brilliant men of his age as well as many of the lesser lights, and echoed in his own life and ideas, impressions from all of these. In every particular, except perhaps his high moral character, John Evelyn may be accounted the typical man of his day. In this beginning of the age of conformity, our virtuoso conformed; and in his critical ideas we may trace the early steps of English Pseudo-classicism. His was the type of character which grasps firmly the prevailing thought of his contemporaries, and yet keeps its own individuality and accepts some of the less popular tendencies. But it is his conformity which supplies our chief interest in John Evelyn's critical tenets.

The literary value of much of his own work is, according to many critics, almost a negligible quantity. But Evelyn made no pretensions of being a literary genius. He merely wrote occasional books, chiefly of a technical character, intended to meet some public need. This statement must, perhaps, be modified in consideration of his Essay on Public Employment prefer'd to Solitude, for this Essay, he declared, was simply a literary exercise—an experiment, on which he worked only in a desultory way and which possess no literary merit. In this remarkable age of scientific discovery and prolific writing on scientific subjects, only two books, at all in the realm of natur-
al philosophy, may be said to have enriched literature. These books are Evelyn's *Sylva* and Walton's *Complete Angler*. The *Sylva* shows Evelyn's individuality rather than his conformity, particularly in his praise of rural life and solitude, in this age when the artificial life of the big city was in fashion. His *Sylva* shows Evelyn as the progressive country gentleman, not the typical seventeenth century virtuoso, as we see him in most parts of his *Diary* and other works. As this same country gentleman, he wrote his *Essays on Gardening*; but it is not difficult to imagine the trees at regular intervals, and the symmetrical rows of plants and flowers of the famous gardens at Sayes-Court. The artificiality of these carefully-planned gardens indicates that the conforming tendency of the age even tinged Evelyn's few touches of individuality into some semblance of agreement with popular taste. This type of garden interested the natural philosopher of the age, as is shown by the encouragement Evelyn received from his friends in the Royal Society. To contemporary opinion Evelyn kept an open mind and heart, and through him, we may get many of the critical ideas of the seventeenth century.

True to the spirit of the Royal Society, Evelyn was interested in all things for the advancement of learning. While in Europe, he spent many hours visiting the collections of the virtuosi; and in England, he passed judgment on all libraries of any note. He had a passionate love for all manuscripts, and considered a large collection of these one of the chief requisites of a good library. He criticised the library of Sir Kenelm Digby as being "of more pomp than intrinsic value", because it consisted chiefly of "modern poets, romances, chemical and astrological books". At one time he wrote his friend Pepys agitating the question of the endowment of a public li-

library in London. Schools of all sorts received their share of Evelyn's attention, and, at one time, he made a tour of all the universities of England. For his Alma Mater, he obtained from Henry Howard the gift of the Arundelian Marbles, for which he received the formal thanks of that body; and two years later, the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law in recognition of his services and ability. We have noticed that Evelyn showed his concern for the advancement of learning in his patronage of worthy young authors and artists. Such generosity probably was not typical of the seventeenth century country gentleman, but confirms our statement of Evelyn's interest in all things pertaining to art and literature.

In his zeal to promote learning he conceived the idea of the foundation of a college for the advancement of experimental philosophy. So enthusiastic was he over this proposition, that he wrote to his friend Boyle, that were it not for his family, he would willingly devote his entire fortune to this cause. A few years after Evelyn disclosed these plans, Cowley published a proposition of much the same nature, but one that was not so practical. His plan was to make the college much like a school with teaching to be done, which Evelyn considered an interruption to the research of the philosophers. Evelyn's proposition was a cry for a pleasant, quiet place "where a few scholars could live profitably and sweetly together". It may have been Dr. Wilkinson's plan for a mathematico chymico-mechanical school which suggested to our virtuoso the idea of an Experimental College. He always responded to every intimation he received of an opportunity to be of public service. After the great London fire,

Evelyn suggested to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon\(^1\) that provision be made for the improvement of Latin and Greek texts at this time, since, after the destruction of so many, there would soon be a huge demand for new ones. He considered that the texts as revised and edited by recent scholars should be used, rather than the old copies. His plan was: "first, that inspection be had what text of the Greek and Latin authors should be followed in future impressions; secondly, that a censor be established to take care and caution of all presses in London, that they be provided with able correctors, principally for school-books, which are of large and iterated impressions; thirdly, that the charge thereof be advanced by the company."

Evelyn was so progressive and scholarly in all his undertakings, that it is little wonder that he was considered a critical authority by his contemporaries. Again and again there are instances of the literary men of his time referring to him matters of criticism and general erudition. Thus, the Lord Viscount Cornbury wrote to him requesting a list of the histories which every well-informed man should know, and received in reply a very complete register of Greek and Latin historians, to which Evelyn appended a list of the learned modern writers, whose pictures Evelyn recommended that his Lordship should procure for his library.

The works of Evelyn are filled with quotations from the Latin and Greek, and references to ancient authors, especially Pliny, Lucretius and Epictetus. In his advice to Lord Cornbury, he recommends the Enchiridion very highly: "I never go abroad without it in my pocket.\(^2\)"

That our scholar was well acquainted with the great critics of the

preceding century is shown by his frequent mention of Scaliger, Vos-
cius and DesCartes. When at Haerlem, Evelyn wrote in his diary:
"The churches are many and fair; in one of them lies buried the
learned and illustrious Joseph Scaliger, without any extraordinary
inscription, who, having left the world a monument of his worth more
lasting than marble, needed nothing more than his own name; which I
think is all engraved on his sepulchre."¹

Of the writers of his native land, our patriotic Englishman had
little knowledge or appreciation. It is only casually that he men-
tioned "Old Chaucer", Beaumont and Fletcher, Sir Francis Bacon, and
Milton, "who wrote against Salmasius's Defensio"². As he could not
grasp the greatness of Dryden, so he allowed the masterpieces of Eng-
land's splendid early writers to pass by unenjoyed and unnoticed. To
his friend Edward Thurland, he wrote criticising the authorities cited
in the Diatriba, because many of them were English and "recent". "It
is more proper.........to prove the lawfulness and benefit of assert-
ing your opinions by examples out of heathen poets, etc., than Sir
W. Raleigh's History of the World, who was but of yesterday."³ In
the Dedication to St. Chrysostom⁴, we are told that the model child,
the precious young Richard Evelyn, who had been taught according to
his father's ideals, knew his Latin and Greek thoroughly, wept when
told Plautus was too difficult for him, and for recreation read the
Apologies of Aesop and recited verses of Herbert.

The English gentleman of the seventeenth century considered the

2. Evelyn's Diary: Oct. 24, 1633; I, 398. It is significant that
   this is the only work of Milton's mentioned by Evelyn.
4. Miscellaneous Writings; p. 105.
classic authors the most important of all learning—the things that every man should know; the great Italian and French critics came next in the scale; and, at the bottom, they placed the writings of their own country-men of the preceding age. Donne, Waller, Cowley, and Herbert were rated somewhat higher than early English authors, but these were not to be mentioned in the same breath with the classics.

The taste in the drama of the day illustrates well this general depreciation of former English authors. The plays of Shakespeare would have been hissed at by seventeenth century theatre-goers, but these same plays, hashed over into some semblance of conformity with Aristotle's unities as interpreted by the Italian and French critics, were greeted with thunderous applause. While Evelyn was not in sympathy with the licentiousness of the stage of his day, in most other ways he agreed with popular taste. He spent, however, but little of his time in London, and thus had few opportunities of joining the gay throng at Lincoln Inn-Fields or Drury Lane Theatre. He records seeing only a very limited number of plays, four of Dryden's, four of William D'Avenant's, and a few by minor dramatists. His observation at the revival of Shakespeare's Hamlet, which is his most famous critical utterance, is significant of the general attitude of theatre-goers: "But now the old plays began to disgust this refined age, since his Majesty's being so long abroad." Indeed, it was this French influence which Charles helped to introduce that was degrading the English stage. The highly sensitive Evelyn, shocked and horrified, revolted at this prevailing licentiousness; and in 1666, he sadly wrote in his diary: "This night was acted my Lord Broghill's

3. Earl of Cerrery.
tragedy called Mustapha before their Majesties at Court, at which I was present; very seldom going to the public theatres for many reasons now as they were abused to an atheistical liberty; foul and indecent women now (and never till now) are permitted to appear and act. Again, after seeing Dryden's Mock Astrologer, which had "a foolish plot and was very profane", this gentleman very rightly remarked: "it afflicted me to see how the stage was degenerated and polluted by these licentious times."

Evelyn was very critical of the plots and language, as well as the morality of the plays he saw. Concerning his kinsman, Sir George Tuke's comedy, the Adventures of Five Hours, he frankly says that "the plot was incomparable, but the language stiff and formal". A few pages before, he candidly informed the reader, that the plot for this play was taken from the famous Spanish poet Calderon.

The introduction of new forms of staging particularly interested Evelyn, and to him, the very glorious scenes and perspectives were the redeeming feature of many otherwise mediocre plays. This widely travelled man seemed to feel that advancement in England must come from imitation of the most successful things in other countries. Consequently, the French staging and Italian recitative music, recently introduced into England, appealed to him. For this same reason he had been interested in D'Avenant's The Cruelty of the Spaniards at Peru, when presented during the last days of the Commonwealth, though his heart smote him for attending such a vanity in this time of public consternation.

He was also interested in the introduction into England of the

2. Evelyn's Diary: Dec. 23, 1663; I, 394.
most worthy thought of foreign people through the medium of translation. He himself assisted in this "greatest of drujeries" by making English translations of the first book of Lucretius and the Golden Book of St. John Chrysostom and a number of essays from the modern French writers, La Mothe le Vayer, G. Naudé, De la Quintinye, and Roland Freart Sieur de Cambray.

In these translations, Evelyn followed the thought of the author but modified the form to suit English taste. He attempted to render his work "intelligible to the vulgar and not unworthy the stile of a gentleman", not believing that only the scholarly should have access to these treatises. His ruling motive was to popularize and make of immediate use everything he undertook. Consequently, he was not satisfied with a too literal translation, but "adorned" his work for the edification of the uninitiated. To quote from the Biographia Britannica: "His translations were doubly valuable on account of that clearness and fidelity with which he expressed the author's sense, and the improvements that he added from his own observations, as he rendered no treatises into English without being perfectly versed in the subject upon which, as well as the language in which they were written." In a letter to the Lord Treasurer concerning the pro-

2. Of Liberty and Servitude.
3. Instructions concerning Erecting of a Library.
7. The editor of the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society has a note to this same effect in his advertisement to the Perfection of Painting: "All this is now presented in English with so much perspicuity and rendered so weighty by every period of the excellent interpreter's addition, that it justly deserves high recommendation." Phil. Trans., Vol. III, no. 39, p. 784; also Misc. Writings of Evelyn, p. 554.
8. John Evelyn to the Lord Treasurer (Clifford), Aug. 3, 1671; Diary: III, 236.
posed History of the Dutch War undertaken at the request of the king, Evelyn says: "If it shall be thought fit hereafter to cast into other languages especially Latin or French, it may be considerably contracted, so many particulars in the English......will be of little importance to foreigners." He saw no reason for following exactly the words and phrases of the author, but considered fidelity to the thought sufficient.

In addition to helping spread foreign influence by translation, Evelyn desired the English scholars to imitate the French and Italians by the establishment of an academy for the purpose of studying and improving their native tongue. He had noticed the La Crusca, Humoristi, and Insensati of Italy, and examined carefully the work of the Academy established in France under the auspices of Cardinal Richelieu. In a letter on this subject to his friend Pepys, he says:1 "how obliging a thing it were, and of infinite effect to the promoting a noble and useful conversation of learned gentlemen, if, as there is a Society for the Improvement of natural Knowledge......so there was an Academy for that of art and improvement of speaking and writing well......... We should not then have so many crude and fulsome rhapsodies imposed upon the English world for genuine wit; language, and the stage, as well as the auditors and spectators would be purged from things intolerable. It would inflame, inspire, and kindle another genius and tone of writing, with nervous, natural strength, and beauty genuine and of our own growth without always honouring and filching from our neighbours. And indeed such was de- signed since the restoration of Charles the Second (1665), and in order of it three or four meetings were begun at Gray's Inn by Mr. Cowley, Dr. Sprat, Mr. Waller, the Duke of Buckingham, Matt. Clifford, Mr.

Dryden and some other promoters of it. But by the death of that incomparable Mr. Cowley, distance and inconvenience of the place, the contagion, and other circumstances intervening, it crumbled away and came to nothing. What straw I had gathered towards the bricks for that intended pyramid (having the honour to be admitted an inferior labourer) you may command and dispose of, if you can suffer my impertinences, and that which I drew and was laying for that design; which was, I said, the polishing of the English tongue, and to be one of the first intentions and chiefest subjects of the academicians. Although in this letter he offers his so-called "straw" to Pepys, four years earlier Evelyn had sent his plan for the improvement of the English tongue to Sir Peter Wyche, the chairman of the committee appointed by the Royal Society for this purpose. In this plan he enumerated a number of things which he would recommend the Academy to undertake: The compiling an English Grammar, an authoritative dictionary, a list of foreign phrases to be adopted, and the introduction of a more certain orthography.

Evelyn felt the need of an improvement in the style of English authors. Our virtuoso came in the transition from the splendour of the great sixteenth century writers to the precision and correctness of the Age of Pope. While he retained much of the pedantic learning and tendency to far-fetched allusions that were so rife in the preceding age, he was ever groping toward classic purity. His style may be cumbrous and even tedious, but its stateliness, dignity and consummate calm have entitled him to be ranked among the refiners of the language. In him, we find the new spirit in English prose, and

1. See Appendix B: In Gentleman's Magazine, vol.67, p. 218, is an original letter from John Evelyn, Esq.………to a Fellow of the Royal Society. The wording of this is like the letter to Sir Peter Wycke, except that it has some additional explanations and illustrations.
the Age of Pope owes something to the luxuriance of the *Sylva*, and the simplicity of the *Diary*.

But John Evelyn was not a Shakespeare, a Dryden, or a Pope, and merits our consideration more for his literary relationships than his own contributions to English thought and style. It is as one of the best representatives of those fascinating dabblers in all things, the literary virtuoso of the seventeenth century, that modern scholars are interested in the life and activities of John Evelyn. These old philosophers were leaders in art and criticism, and regarded *belle-lettres* as within their province no less than the new and fashionable experimental science largely fostered by the Royal Society. Evelyn was a typical virtuoso. Furthermore, John Evelyn is note-worthy as a man of his times who came in contact with most of the greater writers that flourished in his day. He reveals many little side-lights as to their lives, characters, ideals, and their relations with each other which aid in modern research. Moreover, he is note-worthy because, influenced by many of the most brilliant men of his age, he is representative of certain more or less definite tendencies in the literary thought of his time. In his works the life and ideals of the seventeenth century are mirrored with the greatest clearness and fidelity.
APPENDIX A

From Mrs. Evelyn to Mr. Bohun, 1667 (?):

I am concerned you should be absent when you might confirm the suffrages of your fellow collegiats, and see the mistress both universities court; a person who has not her equal possibly in the world, so extraordinary a woman she is in all things. I acknowledge, though I remember her some years since and have not been a stranger to her fame, I was surprised to find so much extravagancy and vanity in any person not confined within four walls. Her habit particular, fantastical, not unbecoming a good shape, which she may truly boast of. Her face discovers the facility of the sex, in being yet persuaded it deserves the esteem years forbid, by the infinite care she takes to place her curls and patches. Her mien surpasses the imagination of poets, or the descriptions of a romance heroine's greatness; her gracious bows, seasonable nods, courteous stretching out of her hands, twinkling of her eyes, and various gestures of approbation, show what may be expected from her discourse, which is airy, empty, whimsical, and rambling as her books, aiming at science, difficulties, high notions, terminating at science, difficulties, oaths, and obscenity. I found Dr. Charleton with her, complimenting her wit and learning in a high manner, which she took to be so much her due, that she swore if the schools did not banish Aristotle and read Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, they did her wrong, and deserved to be utterly abolished. My part was not yet to speak, but admire; especially leaving her go on magnifying her own generous actions, stately buildings, noble fortune, her lord's prodigious losses in the war, his power, valour, wit, learning, and industry—
what did she not mention to his or her own advantage? Sometimes to
give her breath, came in a fresh admirer; then she took occasion to
justify her faith, to give an account of her religion, as new and un-
intelligible as her philosophy, to cite her own pieces line and page
in such a book, and to tell the adventures of some of her nymphs. At
last I grew weary, and concluded that the creature called a chimera
which I had heard speak of, was now to be seen, and that it was time
to retire for fear of infection; yet I hope, as she is an original,
she may never have a copy. Never did I see a woman so full of her-
self, so amazingly vain and ambitious. What contrary miracles does
this age produce? This lady and Mrs. Philips, the one transported
with the shadow of reason, the other possessed of the substance and
insensible of her treasur; and yet men who are esteemed wise and
learned, not only put them in equal balance, but suffer the greatness
of the one to weigh down the certain real worth of the other. This
is all I can requite your rare verses with; which as much surpass
the merit of the person you endeavour to represent, as I can assure
you this description falls short of the lady I would make you ac-
quainted with; but she is not of mortal race, and therefore cannot
be defined.

(Evelyn's Diary; IV, 8)
APPENDIX B

Sayes-Court, 20 June, 1665.

John Evelyn to Sir Peter Wyche.

(Chairman of a committee appointed by the now organized Royal Society to consider of the improvement of the English tongue)

This crude paper (which begs your pardon) I should not have presumed to transmit in this manner, but to obey your commands. . . . . . . . . . . I send you notwithstanding these indigested thoughts, that attempt upon Cicero, which you enjoined me.

I conceive the reason both of additions to, and the corruption of the English language, as of most other tongues, has proceeded from the same causes; namely, the victories, plantations, frontiers, staples of commerce, pedantry of schools, affectation of travellers, translations, fancy and style of Court, vernility and mincing of citizens, pulpits, political remonstrances, theatres, shops, etc.

The parts affected with it we find to be the accent, analogy, direct interpretation, tropes, phrases, and the like.

1. I would therefore humbly propose, that there might first be compiled a grammar for the precepts; which (as did the Romans, when Crates transferred the art to that city, followed by Dionedes, Priscianus, and others who undertook it) might only insist on the rules, the sole means to render it a learned and learnable tongue.

2. That with this a more certain orthography were introduced, as by leaving out superfluous letters, etc.; such as o in woomen, people; u in honour; a in reproach; ugh in though, etc.

3. That there might be invented some new periods and accents, besides such as our grammarians and critics use, to assist, inspirit, and modify the pronunciation of sentences, and to stand as marks be-
forehand how the voice and tone is to be governed; as in reciting of plays, reading of verses, etc., for the varying the tone of the voice, and affections, etc.

4. To this might follow a Lexicon or collection of all the pure English words by themselves; then those which are derivative from others, with their prime, certain, and natural signification; then, the symbolical, so as no innovation might be used or favoured, at least till there should arise some necessity of providing a new edition, and of amplifying the old upon mature advice.

5. That in order to this, some were appointed to collect all the technical words; especially those of the more generous employments, as the author of the "Essais des Merveilles de la Nature, et des plus nobles Artifices", has done for the French; and Francis Junius and others have endeavoured for the Latin: but this must be gleaned from shops, not books, as has been of late attempted by Mr. Moxon (Merchants Exercises).

6. That things difficult to be translated or expressed and such as are, as it were, incommensurable one to another: as determination of weights and measures; coins, honours, national habits, arms, dishes, drinks, municipal constitutions of courts; old and abrogated customs, etc., were better interpreted than as yet we find them in dictionaries, glossaries, and noted in the Lexicon.

7. That a full catalogue of exotic words, such as are daily minted by our logodaedali, were exhibited and that it were resolved on what should be sufficient to render them current, in civitate domentur; since without restraining that same indomitam morandi vel licentiam, it will in time quite disguise the language. There are some excellent words; introduced by physicians chiefly and philoso-
phers, worthy to be retained; others, it may be, fitter to be abrogated; since there ought to be a law, as well as liberty in this particular. And in this choice, there would be some regard had to the well-sounding and more harmonious words; and such as are numerous and apt to fall gracefully into their cadences and periods, and so recommend themselves at the very first sight as it were; others which (like false stones) will never shine, in whatever light they may be placed, but embase the rest. And here I note, that such as have lived long in universities do greatly affect words and expressions no where in use besides as may be observed in Cleaveland's Poems of Cambridge; and there are also some Oxford words used by others, as I might instance in several.

8. Previous to this it would be required what particular dialects, idioms, and proverbs were in use in every several county of England; for the words of the present age being probably the vernacular, or classic rather special regard is to be had of them, and this consideration admits of infinite improvements.

9. And happily it were not amiss, that we had a collection of the most quaint and courtly expressions by way of florilegium, or phrases distinct from the proverbs: for we are infinitely defective as to civil addresses, excuses, and forms upon sudden and unpremeditated (though ordinary) encounters; in which the French, Italians, and Spaniards have a kind of natural grace and talent, which furnishes the conversation, and renders it very agreeable: there may come in synonyms, homonyms, etc.

10. And since there is likewise a manifest rotation and circling of words, which go in and out like the mode and fashion, books should be consulted for the reduction of some of the old laid-aside words
and expressions had formerly in for our language is in some places sterile and barren, by reason of this depopulation, as I may call it; and therefore such places should be new cultivated, and enriched either with the former (if significant) or some other. For example, we have hardly any words that do so fully express the French chuquant, naïveté, ennui, bizarre, concert, façonier, chicane, consommé, emotion, defer, effort, chocq, entours, débouche: or the Italian vaghezze, garbate, svelto, etc. Let us therefore (as the Romans did the Greek) make as many of these do homage as are likely to prove good citizens.

11. Something might likewise be well-translated out of the best orators and poets, Greek and Latin, and even out of modern languages; that so some judgment might be made concerning the elegancy of style, a laudable and unaffected imitation of the best recommended to writers.

12. Finally, there must be a stock of reputation gained by some public writings and compositions of the members of this Assembly and so others may not think it dishonour to come under the test or accept them for judges and approbators: and if the design were arrived thus far, I conceive a very small matter would dispatch the art of rhetoric, which the French proposed as one of the first things they recommended to their late academicians.
The State of France as it stood in the IXth year of this present monarch, Lewis XIII. Written to a friend by J.E. London, 1652.

A Character of England as it was lately presented in a letter to a nobleman of France; with Reflections upon Gallus castratus. (B J.E.) London, 1651. 3rd ed. 1659.


The Late Newes or Message from Brussels Unmasked; and his Majesty vindicated from the Base Calumny and Scandal therein fixed on him. London, 1660.

A Panegyric upon his Majesty's Coronation. London, 1661.


Tyrannus; or the Mode. London, 1661.

Fumifugium; or, the inconvenience of the aer and smoak of London dissipated, Together with some remedies humbly proposed. London, 1661. (Edited by Samuel Pegge) London, 1772.

Sculptura; or, the history and art of chalcography and engraving in Copper. With an ample enumeration of the most renowned masters and their works. To which is annexed a new manner of Engraving or Mezzo Tinto, communicated by his Highness Prince Rupert. London, 1662.

Sylva, or a discourse of forest-trees and the propagation of timber in his Majesty's Dominions. To which is annexed Pomona; or, an Appendix concerning fruit-trees in relation to cider, the making and several ways of ordering it. London, 1664.
Kalendarium Hortense; or, The Gardner's Almanack; directing what he is to do monthly throughout the year; and what fruits and flowers are in prime. London: printed for John Martyn, printer to the Royal Society, 1664.

Public Employment and an Active Life with all its appanages, such as Fame, Command, Riches, Conversation, etc., preferred to Solitude; in reply to a late ingenious Essay of a contrary title. London, 1667.

The History of the Three Late Famous Imposters, viz., Padre Ottomans, Mahomed Bei, and Sabati Sevi. The one, pretended son and heir to the late Grand Signior; the other, a Prince of the Ottoman Family, but, in truth, a Valachian counterfeit; and the last, the supposed Messiah of the Jews, in the year of the true Messiah, 1666. With a brief account of the ground and occasion of the present war between the Turk and the Venetian. Together with the cause of the Final Extirpation, Destruction, and Exile of the Jews out of the Empire of Persia. London, 1669.

Navigation and Commerce, their original and progress. Containing a succinct account of traffic in general; its benefits, improvements of discoveries, wars and conflicts at sea, from the original of navigation to this day with special regard to the English nation, etc. London, 1674.

Terra, a philosophical discourse of Earth, relating to the culture and improvement of it for vegetation, and the propagation of plants, as it was presented to the Royal Society. London, 1676.

Mundus Muliebris; or, the Ladies' Dressing-Room unlock'd, and her Toilette spread. In burlesque. Together with the Fop Dictionary, compiled for the use of the Fair Sex. London, 1690.

Numismata, a discourse of medals ancient and modern. Together with some account of heads and effigies of illustrious and famous per-
sons, in sculps and taille-douce, of whom we have no medals extant; and of the use to be derived from them. To which is added a degres-


The History of Religion. A rational account of the true re-

The Whole Body of Ancient and Modern Architecture. London,168C.

The English Vineyard vindicated. (Edited by Philocepos, i.e.,

Memoirs, illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Evelyn comprising his Diary from the year 1641 to 1705-6; and a selection of his familiar letters. To which is subjoined the private corres-
pondence between Charles I and his Secretary of State, Sir. E. Nich-
olaz, also between Sir. E. Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and Sir R. Browne the whole now first published from the original MSS. Edited by W. Bray. London, 1818.

A letter to Lord Brouncker on a New Machine for Ploughing. (1669-70). Phil. Trans, No. 60.

A Letter to Aubrey printed in the first volume of his History of Surrey; London, 1719.

Verses in Creech's Lucretius. 1680.

A Letter to one of the Secretaries of the Royal Society, concern-
ing the Damage done to his Gardens by the preceding winter. 1684. Phil. Trans. No.158.

A Treatise of the Dignity of Man. MS.
Five Treatises, containing a full view of the several Arts of Painting in Oil, Painting in Miniature, Annealing in glass, Enameling and Making Marble Paper. MS.

A General History of all Trades. MS.

Elsium Britannicum. MS.

Translations

Of Liberty and Servitude, by La Mothe le Vayer. (Translated by J.E.) London, 1649.


Tract of the Making and Ordering of Wines in France. Printed with French Gardiner in 1672.


Another Part of the Mystery of Jesuitism, or the new Heresy of the Jesuits, publicly maintained at Paris in the College of Clermont, the 12th of December, 1661, declared to all the Bishops of France, according to the copy printed at Paris: Together with the imaginary Heresy, in three letters, with divers other particulars relating to

A Parallel of the Ancient Architecture with the Modern and a Treatise of Statues.......made English.......by J. E. London, 1664

An Idea of the Perfection of Painting, demonstrated from the Principles of Art, and by Examples conformable to the observations which Pliny and Quintilian have made upon the most celebrated Pieces of Ancient Painters, parallel'd with some works of the most famous modern painters, Leonardo Da Vinci, Raphael, Julio Romano, and H. Poussin, written in French by Roland Freart, Sieur de Cambray, and rendered English - By J. F., Esquire, F. R. S. London, 1668.

The Complete Gardener, or Directions for cultivating and right ordering of Fruit Gardens and Kitchen Gardens; with divers Reflections on Several Parts of Husbandry. By the famous Monsieur La Quintinye, Chief Director of all the Gardens of the French King. To which is added, his Treatise of Orange Trees, with the Raising of Melons, omitted in the French Editions. Made English by John Evelyn, Esq. London, 1693.
References Consulted in this Study


Correspondence of John Thoresby. London, 1832.

Hallam's Literature of Europe. London, 1843.


Sechel, W.: *Men Who Have Kept a Diary*. Blackwood's Magazine; CLXV, 73.

Steele, Mary Davies: *John Evelyn's Youth*. Atlantic Monthly; LXIV, 74.


Gentlemen's Magazine; LXVII, 318-19.

Notes and Queries; 2nd ser., IX, 257.