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Notes: Volume 1

Edited by Austin Dobson

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# The Diary of John Evelyn

*With an Introduction and Notes*

VOLUME 1

EDITED BY AUSTIN DOBSON



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(1620 TO 1646)

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*John Evelyn*  
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OF  
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WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

AUSTIN DOBSON

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TO

GEORGE SAINTSBURY

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## P R E F A C E

THE record known as Evelyn's *Diary* was first printed in 1818 by Colburn as part of two quarto volumes with the following title, *Memoirs, illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Evelyn, Esq., F.R.S., Author of the "Sylva," etc. etc. Comprising his Diary, from the Year 1641 to 1705-6, and a Selection of his familiar Letters. To which is added the private Correspondence between King Charles I. and his Secretary of State, Sir Edward Nicholas, etc.* It was edited by the antiquary, William Bray (co-author with Owen Manning of the *History of Surrey*), from the original MS. at Wotton, then in the possession of Lady Evelyn, widow of the Diarist's great-great-grandson, Sir Frederick Evelyn, Bart. Lady Evelyn died on the 12th November, 1817, when the last sheets were in the hands of the printer, and the dedication, which Bray had intended for her, was then transferred to her devisee, John Evelyn, a descendant of *Sylva* Evelyn's grandfather. According to William Upcott, Assistant-Librarian of the London Institution, who catalogued the Wotton books, Lady Evelyn, although she freely lent the *Diary* from

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time to time to her particular friends, did not regard it as of sufficient importance for publication ; and, except for an accident, it might have been cut up for dress patterns, or served to light fires.<sup>1</sup> This fortunate “accident” was its exhibition in 1814 to Upcott ; and Lady Evelyn subsequently, “after much solicitation from many persons,” consented to its being printed under the auspices of Bray, who, in his “Preface,” renders special thanks to Upcott “for the great and material assistance received from him” . . . “besides his attention to the superintendence of the Press.” Why Upcott, to whom the MS. was communicated without reserve by Lady Evelyn, and who edited Evelyn’s *Miscellaneous Writings* in 1825, did not also edit the *Diary*, does not appear ; but—as we shall see—it continued to engage his attention even after Bray’s death in 1832.

The first edition of Evelyn’s *Memoirs* was well received,—Southey, in particular, vouchsafing to it a long and sympathetic notice in the *Quarterly* for April, 1818. In 1819 appeared a second quarto edition. Eight years later, in 1827, this was followed by a five-volume octavo edition, which has often been reprinted, notably in 1879, by Messrs. Bickers and Bush, with a careful *Life of Evelyn* by Mr. Henry B. Wheatley, F.S.A.<sup>2</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> Preface to Frederick Strong’s Catalogue, quoted in Dews’ *Deptford*, 2nd edition, 1884, p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> A reissue of this is now (June, 1906) in course of publication.

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Messrs. Bickers and Bush's "Preface" it is expressly stated that, after several applications to the owner of the MS., Mr. W. J. Evelyn of Wotton, for permission to consult it, that gentleman eventually replied that "Colburn's third edition of the *Diary* was very correctly printed from the MS.," and might "be relied on as giving an accurate text."

Notwithstanding this statement, there was, in 1879, actually in the market an edition of the *Diary*, based upon Bray, which professed to be somewhat fuller than that issued in 1827. In 1850-52, John Forster, the biographer of Goldsmith, had put forth a fresh issue of Bray, including various supplementary passages, which, owing to the first sheets of the edition of 1827 having been struck off without Upcott's revision, had not been included in that text. Forster further explained that Upcott's interest in his task had continued unabated until his death in 1845, and that the latest literary labour upon which he had been occupied had been the revision and preparation of the version which Forster subsequently edited in 1850. He lived (said Forster) to complete, for this purpose, "a fresh and careful comparison of the edition printed in octavo in 1827 (which he had himself, with the exception of the earliest sheets of the first volume, superintended for the press) with the original manuscript; by which many material omissions in the earlier

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quartos were supplied, and other not unimportant corrections made.” Forster’s edition was reissued in 1854, and again in 1857. It was then added to “Bohn’s Libraries,” now published by Messrs. George Bell and Sons. In the “Preface” to the issue of 1857, Forster writes: “The volumes containing the Diary have since [*i.e.* since the edition of 1850] undergone still more careful revision, and the text, as now presented, is throughout in a more perfect state.”

It would be going too far to claim the additions of Upcott as of signal importance,—many of them, indeed, by Forster’s own admission, consist of “trifling personal details,”<sup>1</sup> and they are practically confined to the earlier portion of the first volume.<sup>2</sup> But Forster’s text has long enjoyed a deserved reputation; it was declared by the *Quarterly Review*, as late as 1896, to “leave little to be desired”; and being demonstrably the fullest, it has been adopted in the present case. “In compliance with a wish very generally expressed,” its spelling was modernized; and as it is impracticable, without access to Upcott’s original sources, to archaize his additions, and as, moreover, Evelyn’s very uncertain method—which can scarcely be termed orthography—has little

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 102 *n.*

<sup>2</sup> This is confirmed by the fact that vols. ii. and iii. of the present edition, though set up from Forster’s text, have been read against vols. ii. and iii. of Bray’s edition of 1827, without the discovery of any material differences except the spelling.



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philological value, Forster's text has been followed in this respect also. Forster, however, can scarcely be said to have carried out his modernizing as thoroughly as might have been expected. He made little or no attempt to rectify Evelyn's capricious use of foreign words; and he allowed such expressions as "Jardine Royale" and "Bonnes Hommes" to remain unaltered. Nor did he observe any consistent practice with respect to names of places. He turns "Braineford" into "Brentford," "Bruxelles" into "Brussels," "Midelbrogh" into "Middleburgh"—as he could scarcely fail to do; but he left many other names as Evelyn had left them, or as Bray or Upcott had mistranscribed them. Thus "Stola Tybertina" is allowed to stand for "Isola Tiberina," "Scargalasio" for "Scarica l'Asino," "St. Saforin" for "St. Symphorien-de-Lay," "Palestina" for "Pelestrina," "Mount Sampion" for "Mount Simplon"; while "St. Geminiano" continues to masquerade as "St. Giacomo" without any note of explanation. Nor is he always fortunate in the names of persons, although this, of course, admits of greater latitude both of taste and fancy. He leaves the martyr "Hewit" disguised as "Hewer"; and "Pearson" (of the *Creed*) as "Pierson." These are only some out of several similar cases; and it is not by any means contended that all have been discovered.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One or two of the unconscious modernizations are scarcely improvements. "Air-park" for "hare-park" would have pleased

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A few, it must be frankly confessed, have baffled inquiry. But—to echo Forster's words with a modification—it may, I trust, be fairly contended that the text is now in a more accurate state.

It is noted by Forster, and should be repeated, that Evelyn's *Diary* “does not, in all respects, strictly fulfil what the term implies.” It was not, like that of Pepys, composed from day to day; but must often have been “written up” long after the incidents recorded, and sometimes when the writer's memory betrayed him, or when he inserted fresh information under a wrong heading. He frequently refers to persons by titles they only bore at a period subsequent to the date of entry. Once, if Bray is correct, he seems to speak of his elder brother's second wife before the first was dead. Now and then, the difference between O.S. and N.S. throws some light upon the matter. But it does not explain why he professes to have witnessed Oliver Cromwell's funeral on the 22nd October when it took place on the 23rd November.<sup>1</sup> At other times he groups a number of events in one entry, an arrangement which brings the battle of Edgehill under the 3rd of October, when it really was fought on the 23rd.<sup>2</sup> Forster's solution

Polonius. “Rode” for “rowed,” especially at Venice—“the only city in Europe where,” as Thackeray said of G. P. R. James, “the famous ‘Two Cavaliers’ cannot by any possibility be seen riding together”—is unhappy. “Calais,” again, for “Cales” (Cadiz) is odd. But these are lapses of vigilance to which the best of us are liable,—and they are rare.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. pp. 136 and 158.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 61.

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of these things is probably correct. He supposes the *Diary* to have “been copied by the writer from memoranda made at the time of the occurrences noted in it,” and that it “received occasional alterations and additions in the course of transcription.” This must be held to account for “discrepancies otherwise not easily reconciled,” and also “for differing descriptions of the same objects and occurrences which have occasionally been found in the MS. thus compiled.” It should also be added that (as Mr. Forster does not seem to have been aware) Evelyn began, but did not complete, an amplified transcription of the whole,<sup>1</sup> from which some of Upcott’s additions were no doubt derived. The effect of all this is to deprive the record of its character as a “Kalendarium” or “Diary,” and to bring it rather into the category of “Memoirs,” the title which Bray gave to the general collection of documents he issued in 1818, and which Evelyn, in one place, uses himself.<sup>2</sup>

To each of their editions Messrs. Bray and Forster appended notes. Those of Bray, who was assisted by the well-known collector, James Bindley of the Stamp Office, are in many respects valuable, in some respects authoritative, especially on local matters. But they are now eighty years old, while not a few of them, doubtless from the writer’s want of access to sources of information now open to

<sup>1</sup> This is still at Wotton. It extends from the beginning of the *Diary* to October, 1644.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 365.

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every one, were never very pertinent. Forster, in 1850, rather remodelled Bray than revised him, adding at the end of the volumes a number of fresh annotations of his own, which, from his familiarity with the period (was he not the author of the *Lives of the Statesmen of the Commonwealth!*) are naturally not to be neglected. But half a century again has passed away since they were penned, and a vast amount of literature has grown up around what was once one of their writer's special subjects. In his issue of 1857, Forster incorporated his notes with Bray's without distinction. Of the body of comment thus created, I have freely availed myself, abridging, expanding, amending, or suppressing, as circumstances seemed to require. In addition, I have prepared a large number of supplementary notes, illustrative and explanatory, which are uniformly placed between square brackets thus [ ]. Although I have carefully examined, and in some cases recast, the existing notes, I have not felt justified in claiming, even in an altered form, what I have not originated; and I have only in a few instances bracketed such inserted passages as, from their very nature, are either obviously modern or readily detachable from the context.<sup>1</sup> As to the notes which appear for the first time in this edition, I leave them to their fate. To some people something will always be

<sup>1</sup> Occasionally, where the note expresses a personal opinion, or makes a statement which cannot be verified, I have given it upon the authority of its author.

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superfluous: to others something will always be lacking. But I hope fresh readers of Evelyn may, in the present instance, at least be willing to allow that a definite attempt has been made to throw light upon whatever in his pages an *invida ætas* has laboured to obscure.

The Illustrations to these volumes, like those to the *Diary and Letters* of Mme. D'Arblay, have been selected for their informing rather than their pictorial quality; and also because, besides referring to persons or places mentioned in the text, they are, as far as possible, contemporary, or nearly contemporary, with it. They are fully described in the Lists which precede each volume. As before, I have, in selecting them, enjoyed the advantage of the wide experience and ready sympathy of Mr. Emery Walker.

My thanks are due, and are hereby gratefully tendered, to Sir Archibald Geikie, F.R.S., Secretary to the Royal Society; Mr. Edmund Gosse; the Rev. William Hunt, President of the Royal Historical Society; Mr. Sidney T. Irwin of Clifton College; Mr. P. Chalmers Mitchell, F.R.S., Secretary to the Zoological Society; and Mr. Henry R. Tedder, the Secretary and Librarian of the Athenæum Club—for kind information on divers matters of detail.

As a last word, I may perhaps anticipate a not unnatural inquiry. What am I—whose labours have usually been confined to craft of a different

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build and date—doing in this particular galley of the seventeenth century? I do not propose to take refuge in the quibble that Evelyn, although he lived in the seventeenth century, died in the eighteenth. Nor will I suggest that, by his very cast and complexion of mind, he prefigures and foreshadows many eighteenth-century characteristics in a way which is extremely interesting to the eighteenth-century student. Rather would I submit that the qualities which make for research in one epoch are equally serviceable in another;—nay, that those qualities may even be quickened and intensified by a special enthusiasm for the subject in hand. My respect for, and attraction to, John Evelyn of Sayes Court and Wotton are of many years' standing; but it is only in the last two that circumstances have enabled me to do him yeoman's service by editing and annotating,—however imperfectly,—his unique and memorable chronicle.

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ON John Evelyn's tomb in Wotton Church it is recorded that he lived in "an age of extraordinary Events and Revolutions." To be the captain of one's soul in such conditions is not an easy matter; and it is greatly to Evelyn's credit that he was able to steer a steady course. Though a staunch Church-of-England man, he succeeded, as an equally staunch royalist, in deserving the goodwill of two monarchs, of whom one was a secret, the other an open Roman Catholic; and he retained the respect of both without any surrender of principle. He is an excellent example of the English Country Gentleman of the better sort, proud of his position, but recognising its responsibilities; liberally educated; conveniently learned; a virtuoso with a turn for useful knowledge, and a genuine enthusiast for anything tending to the improvement of his race or country. In an epoch of plotting and place-hunting, he neither place-hunted nor plotted. For advancement or reward he cared but little, being content to do his duty, often at his own charges, as a good citizen and a philanthropist.<sup>1</sup> Pious, tolerant, open-

<sup>1</sup> Like his father, he was "a studious decliner of honours and titles." Knighthood—he tells us as early as September, 1649—was a dignity he had often refused (vol. ii. p. 17), as he did the Bath afterwards (*ibid.* p. 161). Nor was he keen for office. Once, indeed, he seems to have made some faltering attempt to "serve his Majesty" as "Inspector of Forest Trees," a little post of barely £300, for which, as the author of *Sylva*, he was peculiarly

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minded, prudent, honourable—he belongs to the roll of those of whom our land, even in its darkest days, has always had reason to be proud. Of such an one it is a privilege to write.

Evelyn's *Memoirs*,<sup>1</sup> unlike the more expansive, though, in another sense, more restricted, *Diary* of his contemporary Pepys, extend over so many years that they practically cover his lifetime, and while chronicling current events, recount his own history. In the present "Introduction" it is therefore only necessary to dwell minutely upon those phases of his biography which, for one reason or another, he has neglected or passed by in his records. He was born, he tells us, on the 31st October, 1620, at the family seat of Wotton House, near Dorking in Surrey, being the fourth child and second son of Richard Evelyn and his wife Eleanor, only daughter of John Standsfield of Lewes in Sussex. His father was the fourth son of George Evelyn of Long Ditton, Godstone, and Wotton, all of which estates he—by what Marvell calls "good husbandry in petre"<sup>2</sup>—had acquired from time to time, and settled upon his sons. Thomas, the eldest, went to Long Ditton; the second, John, took up his residence at Godstone; while to the third, Richard, fell Wotton.<sup>3</sup> At Wotton, a spot having "rising grounds, qualified. But the appointment, as usual, was given by preference to one "who had seldom been out of the smoke of London" (Letter to the Countess of Sunderland, 4th August, 1690). He was also promised the reversion of the Latin Secretaryship—"a place of more honour and dignity than profit" (vol. ii. p. 306).

<sup>1</sup> See Preface, pp. xii., xiii.

<sup>2</sup> He was a manufacturer of gunpowder.

<sup>3</sup> It will save trouble to add here that each of these three families had, in the future, the title of baronet conferred upon them, viz. at Godstone in 1660; at Long Ditton, 1683; and at Wotton, 1713.



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meadows, woods, and water in abundance," John Evelyn passed his childhood, receiving, when four years of age, the rudiments of his education from one Frier, in a room which formerly existed over the now modernised porch of the little Early English Church of St. John the Evangelist. At five he was sent to his grandfather Standsfield at Lewes; and eventually attended the free school at Southover, a suburb of that town. At one time there seems to have been some intention of sending him to Eton; but his imagination had been excited by reports of the severe discipline commemorated of old by Tusser,<sup>1</sup> and he remained at Southover. It is characteristic of a visit which he paid about this time to the ancient seat of the Carews at Beddington, that he "was much delighted with the gardens and curiosities."<sup>2</sup> These were things in which—as we shall see—his interest never abated.

When he was fifteen, he lost his mother, with whom, owing to his long absences from home, his intercourse can have been but broken. Her death, on the 29th September, 1635, was hastened by that of his eldest sister, Elizabeth, who had married unhappily and died in childbirth. Evelyn describes his mother quaintly as "of proper personage; of a brown complexion; her eyes and hair of a lovely black; of constitution more inclined to a religious melancholy, or pious sadness; of a rare memory, and most exemplary life; for economy and prudence, esteemed one of the most conspicuous in her country: which rendered her loss much deplored, both by those who knew, and such as only heard of her."<sup>3</sup> In February, 1637, while still at Lewes, he was "especially admitted"

<sup>1</sup> From Paul's I went, to Eton sent,  
To learn straightways the Latin phrase,  
Where fifty-three stripes given to me  
At once I had.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i. p. 3.

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(with his younger brother Richard) into the Middle Temple. He quitted school in the following April; and in May entered Balliol College, Oxford, as a Fellow-Commoner, matriculating on the 29th. His tutor was George Bradshaw (*nomen invisum!*—writes the diarist with a shudder),<sup>1</sup> who afterwards became Master; but at this period seems to have been too much occupied in harassing the constituted authorities in the interests of the Parliamentary visitors, to pay sufficient attention to his pupil.<sup>2</sup> Beyond the facts that Evelyn made acquaintance with a Greek graduate, Nathaniel Conopios, notable as one of the earliest drinkers of coffee in England, and that he presented some books to the college library, we hear little of his academic doings. He appears, however, to have assiduously attended the popular riding Academy of William Stokes;<sup>3</sup> made some progress in the elements of music and “the mathematics,”<sup>4</sup> and secured a congenial “guide, philosopher, and friend” in James Thicknesse, or Thickens, afterwards his travelling companion in the Grand Tour. He was joined at Oxford in January, 1640, by his younger brother, Richard. Not very long after, they both went into residence at the Middle Temple, occupying “a very handsome apartment” (in place of an earlier lodging in Essex Court) “just over against the Hall-court.”<sup>5</sup> But for the “impolished study” of the law,—

That codeless myriad of precedent,  
That wilderness of single instances,<sup>6</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> He was the son of the Rector of Ockham; but may have been related to the regicide, John Bradshaw.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i. p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> He must also have been—like Fielding—“early master of the Latin classics.” To an exact knowledge of Greek he made no pretence (Letter to Wren, 4th April, 1665).

<sup>5</sup> Vol. i. p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Tennyson's *Aylmer's Field*.

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## INTRODUCTION

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Evelyn had no aptitude, and he engaged upon it mainly by his father's desire.

At the close of 1640, his father died. His brother George, who had recently married a Leicestershire heiress,<sup>1</sup> duly succeeded to the Wotton patrimony; and, for his juniors, the world was all before them. It was not a particularly inviting world. Especially was it uninviting to a youth bereft of his natural counsellors; and—as Evelyn modestly describes himself—“of a raw, vain, uncertain, and very unwary inclination.”<sup>2</sup> Signs of growing popular discontent were everywhere observable; and among Evelyn's earliest experiences were the trial of Strafford, and the consequent severance from its shoulders of “the wisest head in England.”<sup>3</sup> Even to this unlessoned spectator (he was but twenty), it was sufficiently plain that “the medal was reversing” and the national “calamities but yet in their infancy.”<sup>4</sup> He accordingly resolved that, for the present, his best course would be to withdraw himself for a season “from this ill face of things at home.”<sup>5</sup> His decision was discreet rather than heroic; but it was one which is more easy to discuss than condemn.<sup>6</sup>

In the ensuing July, having renewed his oath of allegiance at the Custom-House, he started for Holland, in company with a gentleman of Surrey called Caryll. They reached Flushing on the 22nd, and made their way towards Gennepe, a stronghold

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 19.<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 21.<sup>3</sup> Vol. i. pp. 22, 23.<sup>4</sup> Vol. i. p. 25.<sup>5</sup> Vol. i. p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> What drove Evelyn away, brought Milton back. Three years earlier, Milton, being abroad, “considered it dishonourable to be enjoying myself at my ease in foreign lands, while my countrymen were striking a blow for freedom” (Pattison's *Milton*, 1879, p. 39). But the points of view were different, and the men.

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then held by the Spaniards against the French and Dutch. As ill luck would have it, by the time they reached their destination, the place had already been reduced. But while it was being re-fortified by its captors, there was still opportunity for doing volunteer duty in a company of Goring's regiment; and for a few days the travellers religiously "trailed the puissant pike," and took their turn as sentries upon a horn-work. A brief experience of camp life, however, coupled with the exacting demands made upon him as "a young drinker," seems to have satisfied Evelyn's military aspirations; and bidding farewell to the "leaguer and *camarades*," he embarked on the Waal in August for Rotterdam. He visited Delft (where he duly surveyed the tomb of William the Silent), the Hague (where the widowed Queen of Bohemia was then keeping Court), Haarlem, Leyden, Antwerp, and so forth, delighting in the "Dutch drolleries" of *kermesse* and fair, inspecting churches, convents, museums, palaces, and gardens, and buying books, prints, and pictures. From Antwerp he passed to Brussels, whence he journeyed to Ghent to meet a great Surrey magnate and neighbour, Thomas Howard, Lord Arundel, who, as Earl Marshal of England, had recently escorted the ill-starred Marie de Medicis to the Continent on her way to Cologne.<sup>1</sup> In Arundel's train Evelyn eventually returned home, reaching his lodgings in the Temple on the 14th October, 1641.

By this time he was one-and-twenty, and the civil war had begun in earnest. For the next few months he alternated between Wotton and London, "studying a little, but dancing and fooling more."<sup>2</sup> Then he was all but engulfed in the national struggle. In November he set

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 60.

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out to join the royal forces. But the same fate overtook him which he had suffered at Gennep. He arrived when the battle of Brentford was over; and the King, in spite of his success, was about to retire upon Oxford. The not-wholly-explicit sequel must be given in his own words. "I came in with my horse and arms just at the retreat, but was not permitted<sup>1</sup> to stay longer than the 15th [the battle had taken place on the 12th] by reason of the army marching to Gloucester [Oxford?]; which would have left both me and my brothers exposed to ruin, without any advantage to his Majesty."<sup>2</sup> He accordingly rode back to Wotton, where, "resolving to possess himself in some quiet, if it might be,"<sup>3</sup> he devoted his energies, with his elder brother's permission, to building a study, digging a fish-pond, contriving an island, "and some other solitudes and retirements"—"which gave the first occasion of improving them to those water-works and gardens which afterwards succeeded them, and became at that time the most famous of England."<sup>4</sup>

These anticipatory references to the yet un-realised attractions of Wotton, afford another illustration of that "Memoir" character of Evelyn's *Kalendarium* to which, in the "Preface" to this volume, attention has already been drawn.<sup>5</sup> But the moment was unfavourable to "*Hortulan* pursuits"; and after sending his "black *manège* horse and furniture" as an offering to Charles at Oxford, and shifting for a time uneasily between London and Surrey to escape signing the Solemn

<sup>1</sup> By whom?—is a not unreasonable question. Bray, however, puts the matter intelligibly:—"After the battle there [at Brentford] he desisted, considering that his brother's, as well as his own estates, were so near London as to be fully in the power of the Parliament" (*Memoirs of John Evelyn*, 1827, i. xv.).

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i. p. 62.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. i. pp. 62-63.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. xii., xiii.

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League and Covenant, Evelyn reluctantly came once more to the conclusion that without “doing very unhandsome things,” it was impracticable for him to remain in his disturbed native land. For the law he felt he had no kind of aptitude; and therefore, not to delay until—in the mixed metaphor of one of his contemporaries—“the drums and trumpets blew his gown over his ears,”<sup>1</sup> he applied for, and obtained, in October, 1643, His Majesty’s licence to travel again.<sup>2</sup> This permission did not apparently, as in James Howell’s case, involve a prohibition to visit that contagious centre of Romanism, Rome, since Evelyn later spent several months there. His travelling companion, on this second occasion, was his Balliol friend Thickenesse, not as yet ejected from his fellowship for loyalty. He subsequently speaks of other and later “fellow-travellers in Italy”—Lord Bruce, Mr. J. Crafford, Mr. Thomas Henshaw, Mr. Francis Bramston, etc. But of his *compagnons de voyage* we hear little in his chronicle, and it is more convenient in general to speak of him as if he were alone.

Setting out from the Tower Wharf on the 9th November, he made perilous passage “in a pair of oars” and “a hideous storm” to Sittingbourne. Thence he went by post to Dover, and so to Calais. From Calais, after inspecting—like most of his countrymen—the “relics of our former dominion,” he proceeded to Boulogne, narrowly escaping drowning in crossing a swollen river. Pushing forward, not without apprehension of the predatory Spanish “volunteers,” he came by Montreuil and Abbeville to Beauvais, and that “cemetery of monarchs,” St. Denis. Here, in the Abbey Church, he surveyed, with respectful incredulity, the portrait of the Queen of Sheba,

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Bramston (*Autobiography*, 1845, p. 103).

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 63.