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# **Samuel Pepys' reception and perception of vocal music in seventeenth-century England**

An analysis of selected diary entries from 1660 until 1669

**Written by: Michelle Hester Lubbe**

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**Supervised by: Prof. Rebekka Sandmeier**

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## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction

#### 1.1 Research question

The focus of this study is to shed light on the following main question:

What is Samuel Pepys' reception and perception of vocal music in late seventeenth-century England as evidenced by his diary (1660 - 1669)?

The diary entries<sup>1</sup> that will be used can be divided into three main groups: 1) Pepys' view of vocal music in English culture as opposed to any other nationality, 2) Other factors influencing Pepys' experience of a musical event, and 3) Pepys' emotional experience when listening to vocal music.

This main research question may then be divided into three sub-questions:

1. What is Pepys' view as expressed in his diary, as an Englishman, on music from different cultures?
2. What other factors influence Pepys' experience of a musical event?
3. What was Pepys' emotional experience surrounding a musical event within the genre of vocal music?

#### 1.2 Rationale for the study

*'[...]that which did please me beyond anything in the whole world was the wind-musique when the Angell comes down, which is so sweet that it ravished me; and ended in a word, did wrap up my soul so that it made me really sick, just as I have formerly been when in love with my wife; that neither then, nor all the evening going home and at home, I was able to think of anything, but remained all night transported, so as I could not believe that ever any music hath that real command over the soul of a man as this did upon me<sup>2</sup>,*

<sup>1</sup> For the purposes of this study, the spelling originally used by Samuel Pepys in his diary, as transcribed by Latham and Matthews will be quoted as such.

<sup>2</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). viiii. p. 94.

Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) was a late seventeenth-century diarist with a deep love of music, which he often compared to his love of women, as expressed in the previous quotation. Even though this quotation specifically refers to wind music, it also directly expresses Pepys' love of music as a whole. His diary stretches over a period of approximately nine years, 1660 until 1669. Among the discussions on a number of topics, in his diary Pepys expresses his views on music in various forms and from a range of perspectives. In this study Pepys' views on music from the point of view of a listener or audience member will be illustrated. The nature of Pepys' views on music and his reception thereof can be said to be ahead of his time.

‘Theories of reception move historical enquiry away from questions of production and composition and towards issues related to response, audience, and what Carl Dahlhaus, following Walter Benjamin, called the 'after-life' of musical works.’<sup>3</sup>

The 'after-life' of a musical work is described by Mark Everist as a feeling that is evoked by the experience of it. This feeling that one gets during and after listening to a musical work could be seen as reception of the work. However, the term ‘reception’ is more readily referred to as critical responses to music in the form of public reviews that appear in written sources such as books, journals, newspapers, letters and diaries.<sup>4</sup>

Albert Roussel, a musician and French composer, believes that music is a language that composers and performers use to communicate with an audience.<sup>5</sup> Music brings an audience to a deeper understanding, one that cannot be expressed in words, only felt, as Felix Mendelssohn states: ‘[Music] fills the soul with a thousand things better than words. The thoughts that are expressed to me by music I love are not too indefinite to put into words, but on the contrary, too definite.’<sup>6</sup> It is necessary to address music reception from the audience's perspective because Samuel Pepys was a 17<sup>th</sup> century music lover and formed part of the audience at the time. He emphatically expressed his overwhelming love of music in his diary. The audiences are there to listen and experience, which is the inspiration behind this study.

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<sup>3</sup> Everist. Reception Theories, Canonic Discourses, and Musical Value. *Rethinking Music*. p. 389.

<sup>4</sup> Beard & Gloag. *Musicology: The Key Concepts*. p. 154.

<sup>5</sup> Ball. *The Music Instinct*. p. 355.

<sup>6</sup> Ball. *The Music Instinct*. p. 382.

### 1.3 Overall purpose and objective of the study

The overall purpose of this study is to investigate reception of vocal music in England from 1660 until 1669 from the point of view of one diarist, Samuel Pepys, in order to find out what key reactions he had to vocal music and the genres within this medium in performance. It is necessary to subdivide the main purpose into main objectives. The first objective is to study the vocal music of the time, the composers, the performance of it, the audience, as well as the performers. The second objective is to illustrate and categorize what is said about the performance of vocal music in Pepys' diary, describing Pepys' view of the music of the time as well as the performance thereof. Thirdly, it is necessary to describe Pepys' position within the musical life of the time, as an amateur musician, audience member and music lover.

### 1.4 Literature review

Maus says the critical judgments of music originate in experiences, whether it be a composition, a performance, or some wider observable fact such as a style.<sup>7</sup> Radbourne argues that 'audiences... will be fiercely loyal if they can experience fulfilment and realisation in the arts experience.'<sup>8</sup> The experience that a composer and performer strive to evoke in an audience and the reaction that they generally strive to achieve from an audience is what Hirschman and Holbrook term a 'hedonic response'.<sup>9</sup> A hedonic response can be defined as 'a combined response from the emotions, senses, imagination, and intellect' of the audience.<sup>10</sup> Although this terminology is used in modern studies of audience reception, the terms are appropriate for this study because of the nature of Samuel Pepys' perception and experiences, as expressed in his diary, when participating in, listening to and watching a music performance. There are certain limitations in the literature relating to this topic that provides the motivation for this study. When looking at various studies on audience reception, most of them reflect on the performance of early music by today's performers for today's audiences. However, in this study the purpose is to gain a better understanding of Samuel Pepys' perception and reception of vocal music during the time he wrote his diary

<sup>7</sup> Maus. Criticism. *Grove Music Online*.

<sup>8</sup> Radbourne & Arthurs. *Adapting Musicology for Commercial Outcomes*. p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Santoro & Troilo. The Drivers of hedonic Consumption Experience: A Semiotic Analysis of Rock Concerts. p. 109.

<sup>10</sup> Santoro & Troilo. The Drivers of hedonic Consumption Experience: A Semiotic Analysis of Rock Concerts. p. 109.

(1660-1669). Nevertheless, recent sources are relevant to this study because of the nature of Samuel Pepys' commentary in his diary. His perception of music performance and his experience of it is in accordance with music reception today. Early church choral music was a large part of Samuel Pepys' 'repertoire' as a listener and although this genre generally served a very specific function, which was solely to express the meaning of the liturgy more fully,<sup>11</sup> it is clear that for Pepys this music was a deeply emotional experience rather than a simple ritual.

When relying on a single source to investigate the reception of a musical performance, in this case the diary of a music lover, one has to consider several factors in order to put the written reviews in the diary into context. These include related areas such as culture, genre, interpretation and economic class that combine to form a hedonic response.<sup>12</sup> Beard and Gloag define culture as providing both context and a set of practices that define the context. T. S. Eliot explores the interrelationship of the four levels of culture. These levels are the individual, groups, classes and the whole of society. Each level depends on the next and determines an individual's identity, and his or her perception and interpretation of music.<sup>13</sup> Eliot's discussion of this is relevant because it is necessary to explore the society in which Pepys lived, the class he came from and the groups he identified with in order to study his perspective within his diary. This context may provide a more objective approach to the study of a single person's perspective. This is particularly important since the music reviews in the diary of Samuel Pepys have been seen by some critics as being one-sided and subjective, as is evident from the following commentary on the diary.

‘It was the presence of so many foreign musicians in London, and the conflict of styles this involved, that provoked Pepys to reflect so frequently and so extensively on the nature of the relationship between words and music. He sets down his thoughts on the subject with a copiousness that he does not otherwise manifest when touching matters of a theoretical or an abstract nature; indeed the reader may feel that this is almost the only subject about whom [sic] Pepys becomes tedious or repetitive.’<sup>14</sup>

It is also necessary to consider studies that have been done with regard to the reception of audiences of the composer's time. Pepys is not the only music observer who has penned his

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<sup>11</sup> Little. *The Catholic Ideal of Church Music*. pp. 437-450.

<sup>12</sup> Beard & Gloag. *Musicology: The Key Concepts*. p. 47; Radbourne, Johanson, Glow & White. *The Audience Experience: Measuring Quality in the Performing Arts*. p. 16.

<sup>13</sup> Beard & Gloag. *Musicology: The Key Concepts*. p. 47.

<sup>14</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). x. p. 267.

thoughts on audience reception in a diary. In a study conducted by Schroeder in which he investigated the relationship between Haydn, his symphonies and his English audience, he notes that Charlotte Papendiek, who was an avid Haydn supporter, wrote in her diary that Haydn would make every attempt to understand his audience as well as possible in order to elicit a suitable apt response. In her diary she states that '[Haydn] had had the opportunity of studying the taste of the English. He was determined that his first production should both amuse and please the musical public.'<sup>15</sup> The study by Schroeder investigates how the discussions in newspapers, magazines and pamphlets influenced the way in which Haydn catered to his audiences. His interaction with the audience of the time gave him first-hand knowledge of their tastes and influenced him to make changes and alterations to his works.<sup>16</sup> While referring to the performance of Haydn's symphonies, Holcroft discusses the desired influence of a composition and the performance thereof in which the 'heart is relieved, delighted, and imbued, by the purity and dignity of virtue, as well as by its comparative and everlasting tendency to happiness.'<sup>17</sup> Schroeder's study investigates the influence of audience reception on the works of Haydn, whereas this study of the Pepys diary will investigate the influence of vocal music on a single person, namely Samuel Pepys.

Samuel Pepys' diary is an account of music-making, response to music, as well as the material and social factors conditioning musical activity in England during the years from 1660 until 1669. A study of Pepys' diary reveals a man of great natural aptitude, one who was gifted with an excellent ear and an immense curiosity about anything musical. Moreover, despite his lack of musical training he was a gifted music lover, which makes the musical reviews in his diary about the music of the time of great interest to scholars today.<sup>18</sup>

### 1.5 Research methodology

This study takes the form of a literature review and also contains qualitative and quantitative research. The literature review will serve the purpose of placing this study in a historical and musicological context, and the qualitative data will be collected from Samuel Pepys' diary, dating from 1660 until 1669. The data utilized are the diary entries that illustrate Pepys'

<sup>15</sup> Schroeder. Audience Reception and Haydn's London Symphonies. pp. 57-72.

<sup>16</sup> Schroeder. Audience Reception and Haydn's London Symphonies. pp. 57-72.

<sup>17</sup> Holcroft. *The Theatrical Recorder*. p. 141.

<sup>18</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). x. p. 259.

reception of vocal music in England during the aforementioned period. An analysis of the content of this diary will be conducted with reference to different concepts, namely Pepys' reception of vocal performance, Pepys' perception of vocal music of the time, Pepys' view of the vocal music of various nationalities, and Pepys' emotional experience in response to vocal music.

### **1.6 Demarcation and limitation of the study**

The demarcations of this study are as follows: The historical period that will be the basis of this study lasted from 1660 until 1669. The reason for this is that the diary of Samuel Pepys covers this period of almost ten years. The geographical borders of this study are limited to England. Samuel Pepys was an Englishman whose diary entries are relevant to this geographical area. Finally, this study will be limited to vocal music, which includes secular song, church choral music and theatre music. The reason for this is that due to the breakdown of the English monarchy prior to the writing of Samuel Pepys' diary, music performance was very limited and was only just beginning to be re-instated in everyday society. Church music was one of the first genres that was fully supported by King Charles II of England and so it became very popular.

### **1.7 Chapter outline**

The second chapter contains a brief discussion of reception theories of today and how they may apply to Pepys' reception of music as documented in his diary. This chapter will also contain an overview of the functions of music and the emotional affect that music engenders in a recipient. The topics that will be dealt with are cultural influences on audience reception, perception of a performer as an influence on reception, and emotional experience while listening to a musical performance. Chapter Two will serve as a foundation for this study, putting the historical content into the context of a modern reception study. Chapter Three will consist of a discussion of the research methods used in this study. The research design of the study, and the methodology used for the quantitative and qualitative research will also be dealt with in this chapter and there will be an in-depth discussion of the data collection, data

analysis and the limitations of this study. The purpose of this chapter is to formulate a research mode according to which this study can be conducted.

Chapter Four illustrates the political, economic and cultural state of England in the late seventeenth century, the time period before and during the Restoration. The purpose of this chapter is to 'set the scene'. The musical sector of society during this time in the history of England was turbulent, which affected the music that was available to public audiences. In Chapter 2.2 it is made clear that it is important to understand the cultural environment and society surrounding the music of the time, as well as the functions of music in order to be able to understand the emotional affect engendered in its recipients. Chapter Five will provide a brief background on the diarist, Samuel Pepys. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a biography of Pepys and to better understand his character, to illustrate his relevance in the musical society of England and the importance and relevance of his diaries in the study of reception today. (In Chapter 2.3 it is stated that it is necessary have knowledge of the identity, personality and taste of Pepys in order to understand the way in which he received a musical event.) Chapter Six will consist of a discussion on the performance of vocal music in England from 1660 to 1669 according to Pepys as well as other sources. In this chapter the quantitative and qualitative data that has been collected from the diary will be used as a primary source. Pepys' reception of vocal music, based on his perception during this time, will be a focal point. (The overview in Chapter Two will form the basis for Chapter Six, with special reference to Merriam's principal functions of music and Huron and Hevner's models of emotion.) The seventh and final chapter will form the conclusion of this study. The purpose of this chapter is to answer the main research question of this study.



## CHAPTER TWO

### Experiencing music: A discussion on the reception of music

#### 2.1 Introduction

Chapter one has outlined the purpose of this study, which is to investigate Samuel Pepys' reception of vocal music in England at the time he wrote his diary. In order to gain a deeper understanding of Pepys' experiences of vocal music that are documented in his diary, it is necessary to conduct a brief discussion on music and emotion and the reception of a musical event. The term 'musical event' refers to any type of musical experience, namely listening, playing or singing or discourse on music. This is a historical study of a single man's diary that documents his experience of live musical happenings. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, a musical event also only refers to any live event and does not refer to any recordings. This chapter serves to facilitate the analysis of the diary entries pertaining to vocal music.

In Pinker's view<sup>1</sup> music is no more than 'auditory cheesecake', and he states that music serves no purpose other than to 'tickle the senses'. His view is supported by Sperder,<sup>2</sup> who describes music as being a 'parasite' that relies on other forms of communication, such as language, to evoke a response in a person.<sup>3</sup> This opinion about music is widely contested, as is seen when looking at Miller's<sup>4</sup> view that music has arisen as part of the development of humans through evolution and serves as a form of communication for the purpose of sexual selection.<sup>5</sup> Miller's view is strongly supported by Cross<sup>6</sup> when he says that music forms part of a human being's biological heritage as a consequence of peoples' evolutionary processes, and that this is demonstrated by the role that music plays in individual and social development.

To understand why people experience music in different ways, namely emotionally, physiologically and psychologically, it is necessary to explore the different influences that

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<sup>1</sup> Pinker. *The Language Instinct*. p. 534.

<sup>2</sup> Sperder and Wilson. *Relevance: communication and cognition*. p.

<sup>3</sup> Cross. Music and meaning, ambiguity and evolution . p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Miller. Evolution of human music through sexual selection. *The origins of music*. p. 345.

<sup>5</sup> Cross. Music and meaning, ambiguity and evolution. p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> Cross. Music and meaning, ambiguity and evolution. p. 36.

may affect a person's perception of any given situation. There are many factors, for instance the cultural environment and society within which people live, that determine the nature of that person and contribute to moulding his or her personality and identity, and this, in turn, will determine the way in which a listener reacts to events such as music. This chapter illuminates the various influences on a recipient's experience of a musical event, namely the social and cultural factors, the role of expectation, the influence of personality, identity and music preference, the physical appearance of a performer and the emotional affect of music. This selection of influences is not exhaustive since only those that are relevant to the discussion of the diary entries made by Pepys are covered in this chapter.

## 2.2 Social and cultural factors in music reception

Some anthropologists' view emotional responses to music as being culturally specific and socially constructed.<sup>7</sup> As part of the anthropological view, it is believed that cultural models or schemas, which are defined by a shared cognitive structure within a society, structure the way in which members of a group may respond to a situation or specific surroundings, which in turn moulds their behaviours and interactions.<sup>8</sup> Philosophical discourse on the power of music and its ability to affect human behaviour has taken place throughout the centuries and goes back as far as Plato. For the purpose of this study it is necessary to conduct a brief discussion of these views because of the way in which Pepys expressed the deep emotional affect that music engendered in him. It was Plato's belief that the soul had two defining parts, the rational and irrational. According to him, philosophy prevailed over the rational part and music over the irrational part of the soul. Philosophy has the ability to restrain the human passions, namely pleasure, pain, fear and desire, whereas music has the ability to prevail over these passions. Plato compared the influence of music to the influence that alcohol has on a person's behaviour, saying that it makes a person irrational and filled with emotion.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, music's ability to affect human emotions and the inner soul, more so than any of the other arts, has the power to undermine the state, and any new developments in music should be prohibited.<sup>10</sup> Confucius agreed with Plato's expression of the power of music since he believed that music has the ability to bring about unity and balance within a person and so

<sup>7</sup> Garofalo. Politics, mediation, social context, and public use. p. 726.

<sup>8</sup> Deschenes. Toward an Anthropology of Music Listening. p. 141.

<sup>9</sup> Empiricus. Against Musicians. p. 97.

<sup>10</sup> Portnoy. Similarities of Musical Concepts in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy. p. 240.

would be able to carry out the principles of society. However, at the same time music's destructive capacity was great and through secular music, which could come across as earthly and sensual, could cause a breakdown in a person's character, and thus cause a breakdown in societies' moral values and religious beliefs.<sup>11</sup> From the time of Plato through to modern times, music has been believed to have immense power to alter and redeem the human spirit, but also to arouse dangerous emotions and cause irrational behaviour.<sup>12</sup> Adorno believed that the above opinions on the power of music constituted an objectivist point of view, in other words that the power of music lies in the objective structures of the work itself and that listeners are powerless to resist these structures causing uniform emotions that result in conditioned reflexes. It is his view that to achieve 'critical consciousness' within a listener, the music structures must go against convention. He uses Arnold Schoenberg's music as an example of being able to achieve a state of 'critical consciousness' in a listener.<sup>13</sup> However, a more recent view within the field of sociology is that listeners play an active role in the way in which they respond to music.<sup>14</sup> DeNora introduces three key themes that embody music's social presence. Firstly, informal learning and implied reference to cultural resources, which refers to music as being a resource through which identity and peer-culture is produced and shaped. The second theme of music's social presence relates to emotion and culture as mutually referencing and emergent phenomena. This theme is illustrated by the process through which an actor may go in preparation for a role, how expressions between music and social phenomena need to have a link and how music is a representative factor of forms of social life.<sup>15</sup> Finally, the last theme explained by DeNora is the social distribution of emotion, which refers to music as being a cultural form that models categories of emotion. Music is seen to be active and dynamic, and does not only consist of 'values' but also of varying paths and styles of behaviour.<sup>16</sup>

Since its origin, music has served various and specific functions within society and different cultures. Music holds immense power and potential to alter perception and actions, and for this very reason it is not surprising that the power of music is used and has been used by various types of practitioners such as politicians, activists, the military, etc., to achieve

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<sup>11</sup> Garofalo. Politics, mediation, social context, and public use. p. 727.

<sup>12</sup> Garofalo. Politics, mediation, social context, and public use. p. 728.

<sup>13</sup> DeNora. Emotion as Social Emergence: Perspectives from Music Sociology. p. 164.

<sup>14</sup> Garofalo. Politics, mediation, social context, and public use. p. 728.

<sup>15</sup> DeNora. Emotion as Social Emergence: Perspectives from Music Sociology. pp. 164-167.

<sup>16</sup> DeNora. Emotion as Social Emergence: Perspectives from Music Sociology. pp. 164-167.

success within their various fields.<sup>17</sup> Merriam draws a distinction between the 'functions' of music and its 'uses'.<sup>18</sup> According to Merriam, the function of music refers to the 'understanding of what music does for human beings as evaluated by the outside observer',<sup>19</sup> in other words the reasons for its use and the purpose that it serves. The uses of music refer to 'the ways in which music is employed in human society, the habitual practice or customary exercise of music either as a thing in itself or in conjunction with other activities.'<sup>20</sup> There are ten key functions of music, as proposed by Merriam, which are discussed below.

The first of these principal functions of music is that of emotional expression. It is noted that text in vocal music is an ideal feature for emotional expression, because it provides a vehicle for the expression of ideas and emotions that cannot be revealed in the ordinary use of language in discourse.<sup>21</sup> Secondly, music could have the function of aesthetic enjoyment. In this context the term 'aesthetics' can be defined as being the attribution of beauty to music.<sup>22</sup> The third function of music is to entertain. Music as entertainment is very prevalent in Western society and can either be used as 'pure' entertainment, or as a by-product combined with other functions.<sup>23</sup>

Fourthly, music may serve the purpose of communication. According to Merriam, music is not considered a universal language and although music does communicate something, it is not clear what it is. Emotion is conveyed through music and this can be considered to be a part of its communication. Of all the functions of music, communication is most probably the least understood.<sup>24</sup> The role of communication could tie in with the fifth function, namely that of the symbolic representation of music. Music within specific cultures or societies often serves the purpose of representing things other than itself, such as ideas and behaviours.<sup>25</sup>

The sixth function of music is that it serves to induce a physical response in its recipient. Merriam views the production of physical response to music as being culturally shaped and

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<sup>17</sup> Garofalo. Politics, mediation, social context, and public use. p. 734.

<sup>18</sup> Merriam. *The anthropology of music*. p. 209.

<sup>19</sup> Merriam. *The anthropology of music*. p. 210.

<sup>20</sup> Merriam. *The anthropology of music*. p. 210.

<sup>21</sup> Merriam. *The anthropology of music*. p. 219.

<sup>22</sup> Merriam. *The anthropology of music*. p. 266.

<sup>23</sup> Merriam. *The anthropology of music*. p. 223.

<sup>24</sup> Merriam. *The anthropology of music*. p. 223.

<sup>25</sup> Merriam. *The anthropology of music*. p. 223.

not purely biological with affects such as dance and the excitement of a crowd at a concert and religious ceremonies all defined as physical responses to music.<sup>26</sup>

Music serving the function of a medium to enforce conformity to social norms could be understood as music being used in society to promote and indirectly establish acceptable behaviour on the part of its recipients. The eighth function of music is to validate social institutions and religious rituals. Music is seen to validate institutions within society and religion.<sup>27</sup> A ninth function of music could be to contribute to the continuity and stability of culture. Music can be seen as a vehicle of history, myth and legend, transmitting education and the assurance to members of society that there is a sense of balance in the world. Finally, music could serve the purpose of contributing to the integration of society. It provides a platform for such integration by allowing members of one society to experience the similarities between their own music and that of another society and so reach a place of understanding between the two.

According to Clayton,<sup>28</sup> while Merriam's list is a good starting point when investigating the function of music, it should be approached in conjunction with other opinions. Nettl raises an issue about the function of music, asking whether it has an overriding function or whether it has multiple overlapping functions.<sup>29</sup> Nettl suggests that the balance between varying functions within a single musical work differs between recipients according to their culture or nationality.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, it is Clayton's view that a musical action may not have one single function, but could have multiple functions that emerge on different levels for different participants and recipients, making each person's experience of that musical event unique.<sup>31</sup> Blacking explains the term 'structured listening' as the skill of listening that is developed through the interaction of auditory processing and the values and meanings selected by the social community.<sup>32</sup> Harwood<sup>33</sup> writes about the influence of culture on human behaviour from the point of view of a cognitive psychologist. Music is a product of culture and the

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<sup>26</sup> Merriam. *The anthropology of music*. p. 224.

<sup>27</sup> Merriam. *The anthropology of music*. p. 224.

<sup>28</sup> Clayton. The social and personal functions of music in cross-cultural perspective. p. 36.

<sup>29</sup> Clayton. The social and personal functions of music in cross-cultural perspective. p. 36.

<sup>30</sup> Clayton. The social and personal functions of music in cross-cultural perspective. p. 42.

<sup>31</sup> Clayton. The social and personal functions of music in cross-cultural perspective. p. 36.

<sup>32</sup> Blacking. *How musical is man?*. p. 243.

<sup>33</sup> Harwood. *Universals in Music: A Perspective from Cognitive Psychology*. p. 523.

influence that culture has on one's response to music is the knowledge of shared conventional behaviour within a society or community.

Musical preference, which will be discussed later in this chapter, generally plays a significant role in a listener's choice in music listening events. This, together with visual stimuli such as the physical appearance of the performer and a recipient's identity, may prompt certain expectations which then in turn may affect how they respond to the music.

### 2.3 The role of expectation in music reception

When looking at the experiences Pepys had when listening to music, it is clear that he had very specific expectations of the music and performers which either became a reality or were violated, namely to create an element of surprise and, more specifically, surprise within the music that initiated a sense of pleasure and affected Pepys' experience of a musical event. When a listener's expectations are realized this is referred to by Huron as the 'prediction effect', where listeners experience positive feelings whenever a future event is successfully predicted. Huron<sup>34</sup> refers to this 'pleasant surprise' as having a 'contrastive valence'. Valence is representative of the spectrum of pleasure/displeasure in emotion. He briefly describes the process that occurs when one is surprised by something unexpected. When a surprising event occurs, two processes are initiated within the recipient of such an event. Firstly, a rapid reaction response is triggered, which causes the recipient to assume the worst. The body responds quickly under the assumption that the outcome of such a situation will be bad, and so provision must quickly be made to deal with the unanticipated situation. This initial response to a violation of expectation causes arousal and increased attention in a recipient.<sup>35</sup> Secondly, a slower appraisal response follows a surprising event, taking place once conscious thought, which may draw on complex social and contextual factors, has been engaged. One's initial reaction response, which is negative due to the unanticipated surprise, is transformed into a positive experience.<sup>36</sup> Huron's theory is very much based on Meyer's view of emotion and meaning. Meyer postulates that the response caused by violated expectation is 'apprehension and anxiety', which cause uncertainty and can be understood as

<sup>34</sup> Huron. *Sweet Anticipation: music and the psychology of expectation*. p. 21.

<sup>35</sup> Huron. *Sweet Anticipation: music and the psychology of expectation*. p. 19-21.

<sup>36</sup> Huron. *Sweet Anticipation: music and the psychology of expectation*. p. 14-15;19.

the absence of expectation. Therefore, the expectations cause an affect due to both scenarios, where they are denied, and in the case that they fail to be clearly established.<sup>37</sup>

#### **2.4 The influence of the recipient's personality, identity and preference on music reception**

An individual's response to music will be determined by his or her knowledge, in other words learned behaviour and memory that may either be common to all members of the community or may present rules and beliefs about music that are personal and not shared.<sup>38</sup> These uniquely personal responses may be explained by the personality and identity of the individual, which could determine musical preference.

The studies conducted on music preference suggest a link between personality, physiological arousal<sup>39</sup> and social identity.<sup>40</sup> Firstly, musical preference is a window into understanding the characteristics of an individual and that person's personality.<sup>41</sup> On the one hand, preference for specific types of music may reveal information about the unconscious aspects of a recipient's personality. On the other hand, social class and identity may be determining factors when it comes to a person's musical preference and musical taste.<sup>42</sup> One view is that people's preference in styles of music is consistent with their personalities.<sup>43</sup> People enjoy listening to music that reinforces their basic psychological needs. Music could also represent specific personality or identity characteristics which then attract listeners who may desire the possession of such qualities and subsequently may appear to have them. As a result of a specific musical preference, an individual ultimately claims to possess the same values, beliefs and attitudes of others with the same or similar musical preference. Therefore music may provide a way for an individual to become part of a social group and so the music becomes a symbol of identity.<sup>44</sup> However, this is a very bold statement that should only be considered very critically since listeners to a particular musician may only enjoy the music

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<sup>37</sup> Meyer. *Emotion and meaning in music*. p. 26.

<sup>38</sup> Harwood. *Universals in Music: A Perspective from Cognitive Psychology*. p. 523.

<sup>39</sup> This aspect does not have relevance within this study and will not be discussed further

<sup>40</sup> Rentfrow and Gosling. *The Do Re Mi's of Everyday Life: The Structure and Personality Correlates of Music Preferences*. p. 1237.

<sup>41</sup> Rentfrow and McDondald. *Preference, personality, and emotion*. p. 670-671.

<sup>42</sup> Rentfrow Rentfrow and McDondald. *Preference, personality, and emotion*. p. 681.

<sup>43</sup> Rentfrow Rentfrow and McDondald. *Preference, personality, and emotion*. p. 681.

<sup>44</sup> Rentfrow Rentfrow and McDondald. *Preference, personality, and emotion*. p. 681.

itself and may not identify with the musician. The connection between personality and the preference for musical attributes has not been the subject of much research, but Rentfrow and Gosling made a discovery that has specific significance in this study: According to them extroversion is positively related to preferences for vocal music as opposed to instrumental music.<sup>45</sup>

A discussion on music in connection with culture must be preceded by a definition of culture. Tyler describes culture in the following words: ‘Culture... is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society’.<sup>46</sup> All of these characteristics of culture mentioned by Tyler are learned traits possessed by the individuals of a society that will influence the choices made by and reactions of those individuals within specific contexts. The culture and social identity of individuals, along with the culture-specific style of music at that point in history, their social status, country of residence, and the group or groups with which they associate themselves, are determining factors for musical preference. The personality of the recipient in association with musical preference may vary according to the above functions.<sup>47</sup>

## **2.5 Effects of the physical attractiveness of a performer on the reception of music**

A listener's experience of a musical performance depends on a variety of factors, with the quality of the music and musical skill of the performer being only two of these factors. The relationship between listener and performer starts even before the music has begun. Visual aspects surrounding a musical performance have a considerable influence on the listener's reception of a musical event.<sup>48</sup> Research shows that a performer's physical appearance plays a significant role in influencing a listener's opinion of the musical quality of a performance.<sup>49</sup> Pleasing visual stimulation has great influence on the judgement being made by a person in any given situation. Various studies have been done on the effect of the

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<sup>45</sup> Rentfrow and Gosling. Message in a ballad: The role of music preference in interpersonal perception. p. 240.

<sup>46</sup> Blacking. *Music, Culture, & Experience*. p. 226.

<sup>47</sup> Rentfrow and McDondald. Preference, personality, and emotion. p. 626.

<sup>48</sup> Lehmann, Sloboda and Robert. *Psychology for Musicians: Understanding and Acquiring the Skills*. p. 166.

<sup>49</sup> Lehmann, Sloboda and Robert. *Psychology for Musicians: Understanding and Acquiring the Skills*. p. 167.

physical attractiveness of a writer on the judgement of his or her writing. Landy and Sigall<sup>50</sup> conducted such a study and came to the conclusion that the judgement made by male subjects on a selection of essays by various writers demonstrated noticeable bias with regard to the attractiveness of the author. If the author was considered to be attractive, the male subjects judged the essays more favourably than when the author was considered to be unattractive. In the study conducted by Kaplan<sup>51</sup> the same conclusions were drawn.<sup>52</sup> Anderson and Nida<sup>53</sup> conducted another study of a similar nature that expands on the findings of Landy and Sigall. They found that individuals regarded as very attractive were evaluated differently by members of the opposite sex than they were by members of the same sex. Highly attractive individuals received highly favourable ratings from the opposite sex as opposed to less favourable judgements made by the same sex.<sup>54</sup>

Wapnick *et al.*<sup>55</sup> conducted a similar study with regard to the effects of physical attractiveness on the response to vocal performers. Two groups of subjects were asked to rate the musical quality of a performance, one group was asked to rate the performance when hearing only the audio, and the second group was asked to rate the performance while watching an audiovisual representation of a performance. Although their findings with regard to the attractiveness of and the response to female singers did not allow for any deductions to be made, their finding on the response to male singers did show the effectiveness of an attractive performer. According to this study ‘competent or even

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<sup>50</sup> Landy and Sigall did this study as a pioneer study in 1974. Sixty male undergraduate students at the University of Rochester were asked to evaluate two essays allegedly composed by two female college freshman. One essay was well written, grammatically correct, organized, and clear in its presentation of ideas. The other essay was poorly written, contained numerous clichés and errors in usage and was disorganized and simplistic in its presentation of ideas. The 60 male subjects were divided into three groups. Group one was shown a photograph of a physically attractive woman as the writer, the second group was shown a photograph of a physically unattractive woman as the writer and the last group was not shown any photographs (Bermingham 2000: p. 4).

<sup>51</sup> Kaplan examined how 70 female and 70 male undergraduate students rated one average essay. The subjects were shown a picture of either an attractive or an unattractive female author (Bermingham 2000: p. 5).

<sup>52</sup> Wapnick, Darrow, Kovacs and Dalrymple. Effects of Physical Attractiveness on Evaluation of Vocal Performance. p. 471).

<sup>53</sup> Anderson and Nida had 144 male and 144 female undergraduate students evaluate both the essay’s quality and the writer’s ability. By means of the photograph, the subjects knew the writer’s sex and attractiveness (Bermingham 2000: p. 5).

<sup>54</sup> Bermingham. Effects of Performers’ External Characteristics on Performance Evaluations. p. 4.

<sup>55</sup> Wapnick, Darrow, Kovacs and Dalrymple. Effects of Physical Attractiveness on Evaluation of Vocal Performance. p. 477.

excellent male singers who are not particularly attractive may be less successful than attractive male singers at the same ability level.’<sup>56</sup>

## 2.6 The emotional affect of music on its recipients

When discussing the emotional affect that music engenders in its listeners, it is necessary to define emotion in order to gain clarity about its meaning. According to Juslin and Västfjäll<sup>57</sup> emotions are ‘[r]elatively intense affective responses that usually involve a number of subcomponents - subjective feeling, physiological arousal, expression, action tendency, and regulation - which are more or less synchronised. Emotions focus on specific objects, and last minutes to a few hours.’

There are two main contrasting trains of thought with regard to music and emotion, namely the cognitivist position and the emotivist position. Cognitivists believe that listeners are able to perceive emotion expressed in music without, in fact, feeling those emotions. Collier conducted a series of investigations on emotional responses to music and concluded that listeners are able to identify emotions expressed by the composer through music reliably within the scale of valence and arousal.<sup>58</sup>

Emotivists contend that listeners actually feel real emotions that are induced by the music being heard, which are referred to as ‘musical emotions’.<sup>59</sup> Induced emotion can be experienced while listening to music as a result of six different psychological mechanisms. Firstly, brainstem reflexes constitute the rapid initial response system that occurs, which can be referred to as the fight-or-flight instinct, because the brainstem is signalled by a characteristic within the music to indicate an important or urgent event. Secondly, evaluative conditioning occurs when a music piece is repeatedly paired with a specific event that holds emotional content for the listener. Thirdly, emotional contagion occurs via perceived emotion. A listener will perceive emotional expression of a musical event and then mimic it, so that it becomes induced. Fourthly, visual imagery allows a listener to experience a

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<sup>56</sup> Wapnick, Darrow, Kovacs and Dalrymple. *Effects of Physical Attractiveness on Evaluation of Vocal Performance*. p. 477.

<sup>57</sup> Juslin & Västfjäll. *Emotional responses to music. The need to consider underlying mechanisms*. p. 561.

<sup>58</sup> Hodges & Sebald. *Music in the Human Experience*. p. 199.

<sup>59</sup> Hodges & Sebald. *Music in the Human Experience*. p. 199.

musical event through imagined images. The images then induce specific emotions within the listener. Fifth, episodic memory, which is the memory of past events that are relatively close together, plays a fundamental role in induced emotion because it connects a musical event to a past experience of the listener that may have strong emotional weight, and then these emotions are projected onto the listening experience of the musical event. Finally, music expectancy plays a role in induced emotion because a musical piece can violate, delay or confirm the expectations of a listener. This mechanism relies greatly on the brainstem reflex and the listener's previous experiences of the same musical style.<sup>60</sup> All six of these psychological mechanisms are dependent on social and cultural factors, previous experience, musical preference and identity, as discussed earlier in this chapter. In order to investigate emotion in music, different models and methods have been developed.

## 2.7 Measuring emotion: Models and methods

It is important to note that in the study of music and emotion, there are two types of emotional experience in relation to music: Perceived and felt emotion.<sup>61</sup> The basic emotion theory hypothesizes that the entire spectrum of emotion comes from a few set universal and innate emotions, generally fear, anger, disgust, sadness and happiness. However, these categories could be adjusted to suit the specific study. Participants would generally be asked to categorize their perceived experience or to rate a musical event in each category.<sup>62</sup> The emotion models that are used in the study of music and emotion have two main dimensions, namely valence and arousal. Valence is representative of the spectrum of pleasure/displeasure and arousal is representative of activation/deactivation. There are a number of variations of this type of model, namely Russell's circumplex model, Watson and Tellegen's model, including the dimensions 'positive affectiveness' and 'negative affectiveness', which are combinations of arousal and valence. Finally, Thayer's model, which uses the dimensions of energetic arousal and tense arousal instead, ties in with psychobiological studies that have been done on music and emotion.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Juslin & Västfjäll. Emotional responses to music. The need to consider underlying mechanisms. p. 563-569.

<sup>61</sup> Zentner & Eerola. Self-Report Measures and Models. p. 188.

<sup>62</sup> Zentner & Eerola. Self-Report Measures and Models. p. 197.

<sup>63</sup> Zentner & Eerola. Self-Report Measures and Models. p. 199.

Most studies done on music and emotion through self-reporting specifically refer to perceived emotion. There are several methods and models that are used to measure perceived emotion. The first, and most widely used, are standardized mood/emotion scales. These methods employ forced choice, where the participants or listeners in the study need to select the appropriate representation of an emotion or mood from a list of words or images to illustrate their experience of a musical event.<sup>64</sup> This type of test is done in a controlled environment such as a concert hall or lecture hall. The second method that is used to measure perceived emotion in music is to have the participants or listeners report on their music experiences within a naturalistic environment. Participants would generally be presented with a variety of words to choose from to illustrate whether or not they are experiencing music and if so, what the musical experience is that they are having at any given time during the day. This would be done over a period of time.<sup>65</sup> Although both of these methods of measuring emotion in music have extensive limitations, they have been utilized in a range of studies by many researchers and the results have been reported in accordance with one of two models of emotion, namely the discrete or basic emotion theory and the dimensional model of emotion.<sup>66</sup>

Felt emotion evoked by music has also been a major field of study in the realm of music and emotion. Henvner has developed one such model called an 'adjective clock'. This model is a circle that is divided up into clusters of adjectives, representing various emotions, around the circle positioned to represent their various arousal and valence scales.<sup>67</sup> This model is represented in Figure 2.1.

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<sup>64</sup> Zentner & Eerola. *Self-Report Measures and Models*. p. 191.

<sup>65</sup> Zentner & Eerola. *Self-Report Measures and Models*. p. 192.

<sup>66</sup> Zentner & Eerola. *Self-Report Measures and Models*. p. 187.

<sup>67</sup> Zentner & Eerola. *Self-Report Measures and Models*. p. 201-202.

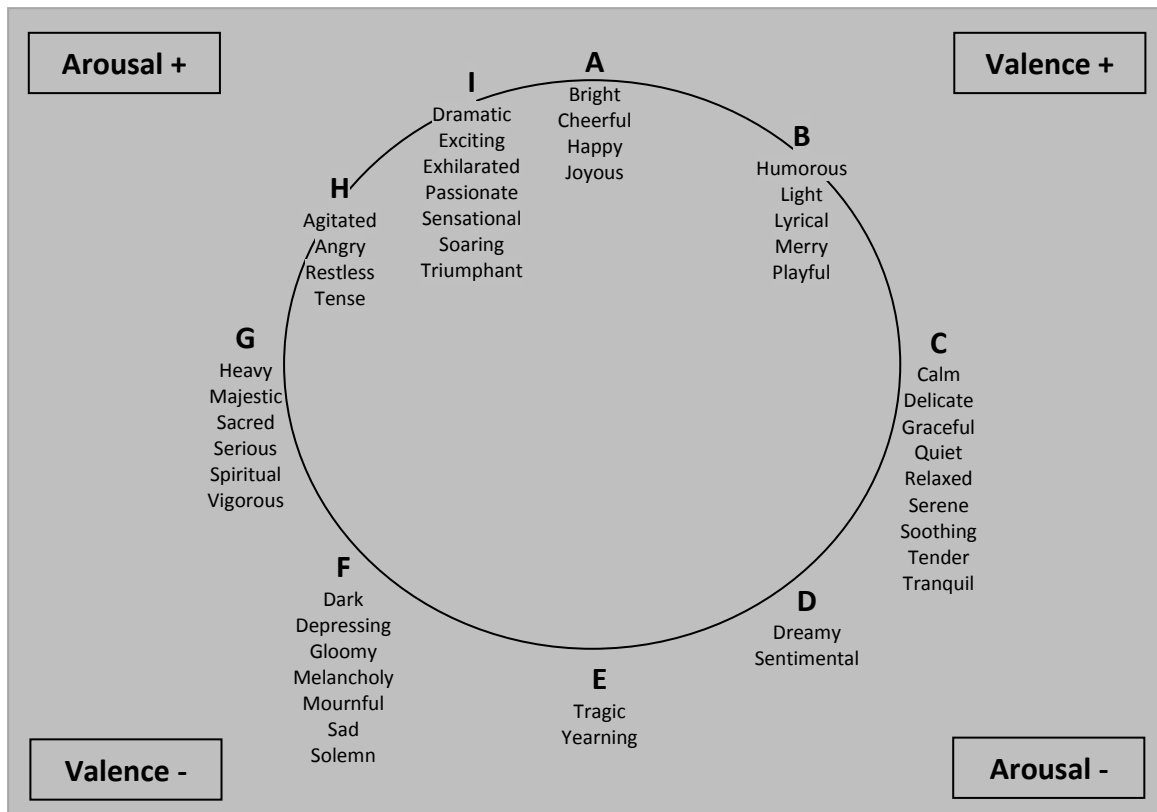


Figure 2.1: A representation of Hevner's adjective clock.<sup>68</sup>

All of these self-reporting studies make use of language, specifically adjectives used to describe musical experience, which is the reason for their inclusion in this study. Pepys uses language to describe his musical experiences. In order to make it possible for these models to be applied to the diary entries, one would need to employ interpretation to standardise the language used by Pepys.

## 2.8 Conclusion

The various factors that influence a listener's perception of a musical event, his or her experience of that event and the affect a musical event may induce in them, have been highlighted in this chapter. Social and cultural factors seem to be at the root of an individual's development and identity, which then determines the way in which any situation may be perceived by him or her. Although some emotions experienced by listeners can be considered universal, the emotion that is experienced by an individual relies on the above-

<sup>68</sup> Zentner & Eerola. Self-Report Measures and Models. p. 203.

mentioned factors and, taking into account the range of different cultures, social groups and personalities of people, one can say that the experience of a listener during a musical event is unique.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Research design and methodology

#### 3.1 Introduction

This is a historical study in combination with a reception study. It takes the form of a literature review and a qualitative research approach to analysing the data. The data comprise the diary entries that illustrate Pepys' reception of vocal music in England during the time of the diary, dating from 1660 to 1669. The edition used for the purposes of this study is *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* edited by Robert Latham and William Matthews, published in 1970. All the entries pertaining to vocal music in Samuel Pepys' diary are analysed in order to sort and filter the data for the qualitative analysis. The qualitative analysis of the content of this diary will be conducted according to various concepts. Another study involving the analysis of a diary was done by Schroeder,<sup>1</sup> as was discussed in Chapter One. Although Schroeder's study does not specifically concentrate on the diary of Papendiek and looks at Haydn's response to his audiences rather than the audience's response to Haydn, it does show the value of first-hand accounts of performance of the time to research being done today.

#### 3.2 Research Design

The topic of this study is Pepys' reception of vocal music during the years covered by his diary (1660-1669). The diary entries that have been selected for analysis in this study are those entries on vocal music. However, a select number of diary entries that are not specific to vocal music will also be examined in order to obtain a clearer picture of Pepys' experience of music. Vocal music of the time is divided into three main streams. These streams comprise church vocal music, theatre music and domestic music at the king's court, as well as in the private homes of the middle and upper classes. They will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

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<sup>1</sup> Schroeder. Audience Reception and Haydn's London Symphonies. p. 62.

The diary is an extensive historical document in which Pepys goes into immense detail on the events of each day over a period of almost ten years. The edition used for the purposes of this study contains a commentary volume as well as an index volume. The index volume serves as a filter for selection of entries from the diary, in order to analyse Pepys' reception. The entries are divided into many different categories that contain the diverse topics about which Pepys wrote. The main categories, namely music, vocal music, church music and theatre music, are covered in this study. The entries that are studied from the category of music are Pepys' love of music and his taste in music. The samples in church music refer to various church organs around England, various compositions, choir music, music made by voices accompanied by instruments, his opinion on music within the Catholic church and Protestant church, and the quality of voices. In the category of vocal music the following topics are analysed: Pepys' views on music from other languages and cultures, Pepys singing alone and with others and Pepys listening to others. Finally, in the category of theatre music, Pepys expresses his opinion about the various songs he hears in the dramatic works of the time.

In the current study two stages of analysing the diary entries take place. In the first stage all entries that merely inform the reader of musical events (and do not contain any type of personal opinion expressed by Pepys) are identified and filtered. These accounts of vocal music in the diary take up approximately half of the diary entries under discussion. A few examples of such statements made by Pepys in different categories are as follows. In the category of listening to performed vocal music, Pepys states in his diary on 21 December 1663, *'by coach to my Lord Sandwiches; where I find him within with Captain Cooke and his boys, my Lord's Anthemne which he hath made to sing in the King's Chappell.'*<sup>2</sup> On 6 July 1666, in the category of Pepys himself singing, he states *'and so back again home, and very busy all the evening; at night, a song in the garden and to bed.'* In the category of vocal music from another culture, Pepys states on 12 February 1667: *'there to hear some Italian Musique; and here we met Tom Killigrew, Sir Rob. Murray, and Italian Seignor Baptista - who hath composed a play in Italian for Opera which T. Killigrew doth intend to have up; and here he did sing one of the acts.'*<sup>3</sup> It can be deduced by the reader of the diary that these entries serve the sole purpose of informing us of a musical event and so have little value in a

<sup>2</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). iv. p. 428.

<sup>3</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). viii. p. 58.

reception study. Once all the entries that divulge no information on Pepys' reception of the music are identified, no further analysis is conducted on those particular references.

The data thus derived include diary entries expressing Pepys' reception of a specific musical event. An example of such an entry, which falls under the category of Pepys singing, dated 14 July 1666, is Pepys' statement: *'and so to supper and to bed - after a song in the garden - which, and after dinner, is now the greatest pleasure I take, and ended doth please me mightily.'*<sup>4</sup> This entry is analysed according to various themes, namely Pepys' views on vocal music with instrumental accompaniment, how his perception of a performer influences his experience of the performance, his stance on English music as opposed to Italian, Spanish and French music and his emotional experiences when making and listening to music.

### 3.3 Methodology

#### 3.3.1 Data

The data collected are entries from the diary of Samuel Pepys about vocal music of the time. In these entries, Pepys makes use of a variety of words to describe his experiences. These words, such as 'pleasing', 'good', 'excellent' and so on, need to be standardised and then interpreted in order to categorize and ultimately analyse them. The entries are divided into four main categories, namely Pepys' experience of a musical event, Pepys' record of other's reception, Pepys' view of the quality of the music and Pepys' view of the quality of performance. Within the first two main categories the data are then further divided into the following four classes, namely 'not pleasing', 'pleasing', 'very pleasing' and 'heavenly'. The latter data are divided into the following four grades: 'bad', 'good', 'very good' and 'excellent'. Once the data have been sorted into the various categories an interpretation of the appropriate entries is done in order to form conclusions about the way Pepys experienced and received vocal music of the time.

For the purposes of this study these entries are interpreted and analysed in order to answer the three main questions asked in Chapter One, the first question being: What is Pepys' view as

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<sup>4</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). vii. p. 206.

evidenced by his diary, as an Englishman, on music from different cultures? Pepys' expressed his opinions on music originating from different cultures and countries from an innately English perspective. It is one of the aims of this study to interpret his diary entries on this matter to show his attitude towards music of different cultures being performed in England. Pepys vividly illustrated his feelings on Italian music in his diary, as is clear in the following excerpt written on 7 April 1667, where he noted:

*'And then to walk in the park, and heard the Italian music at the Queen's chapel; whose composition is fine, nor am more pleased with it at all then with English voices, but instrument - which is wonderful pleasant; but I am convinced more and more, that as every nation hath a particular accent and tone in discourse, so as the tone of one not to agree with or please the other, no more can the fashion of singing to words; for that tone of the country whose language the song speaks; so that a song well composed by an Englishman must be better to an Englishman then it can be to a stranger, or then if set by a stranger in foreign words.'*<sup>5</sup>

The second aim of this study is to investigate the other factors that may influence the view and experience of a listener, which brings us to the second question: What surrounding factors influenced Pepys' experience of a musical event? It can be seen in Pepys' diary entries that he had an ear for good music and quality of sound and pitch. He often comments on the vocal quality of a singer or singers that influence his experience of a performance. However, this does not distract him from the quality of a composition. This can be seen in the following diary entry made on 8 September 1667: *'Thence, meeting Creed, I with him to the parke, there to walk a little, and to the Queen's Chapel and hear their music, which I liked in itself pretty well as to the composition, but their voices are very harsh and rough, that I thought it was some instruments they had that made them sound so.'*<sup>6</sup> Another factor which seems to play a rather large role in influencing Pepys' experience of a musical event is the physical appearance of a performer, a female performer in particular. He had an eye for a beautiful woman and valued beauty greatly, which could possibly have altered his view of a musical performance, as can be seen in the diary entry from 11 December 1664: *'in the afternoon I to the French church - where much pleased with the three sisters of the parson, very handsome; especially in their noses - and sing prettily.'*<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). viii. p. 154.

<sup>6</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). viii. pp. 427-428.

<sup>7</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). v. p. 342.

The third and final aim of this study is to gain a better understanding of Pepys' emotional responses to vocal music of the time, which leads to the final question: What was Pepys' emotional experience surrounding a musical event within the genre of vocal music? When looking at the diary entries concerning Pepys' feelings about music in general, it is clear that he had deep emotional experiences when listening to music, as can be seen in the following diary entry where he wrote that *'music is the thing of the world that I love most, and all the pleasure almost that I can now take.'*<sup>8</sup>

### 3.3.2 Analysis

The analysis of the data collected from the diary will be conducted under two branches of study. The first is a historical study, which serves the purpose of putting data from the diary into context, and the second is a reception study. The historical study is captured in a literature study on the social and political state of England, as well as the composers, works and performers of the time. The selection of the literature for the historical study is a combination of literature on music history and the general history of England during the late seventeenth century. The combination of these two branches of historical literature serves to sketch a picture of England during the time of the diary so that the diary can be interpreted in the appropriate context. The body of literature that is used to illustrate a background on the social and political status of England with regard to the musical developments of the time of Pepys' diary, includes sources such as Hill (2005), Wilson (1959), Rose (2005), Schulenberg (2001), Gladding (1929), and Raynor (1980). These sources discuss music in England at the time of the diary on a broad level. More specific sources, namely articles and books, were used to briefly sketch a background on the foreign and English composers, performers and musicians in England during that time. These sources include Cummings (1911), Spink (2009), Statham (1926), Jensen (1969), Westrup (1941), Mabbett (1986) and Barrett (1925). It is also necessary to discuss Samuel Pepys, the diarist. Getting to know Pepys as he was seen by his contemporaries and as he saw himself in the diary, gives the researcher the tools to interpret the words that he used to describe his experiences in his diary. Sources on Samuel Pepys are fairly rare and some of these sources are old, but not necessarily outdated. The sources used to illustrate Samuel Pepys the man, include Lubbock (1909), Wilson (1959), Ponsonby (1928), Tomalin (2003) and Hunt (1959). These sources discuss the

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<sup>8</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). vii. p. 228.

biography of Samuel Pepys, his accomplishments, his personality and, most importantly, his diary.

The reception branch of this study is conducted in accordance with modern reception theories, music psychology, philosophy and studies done on music and emotion. The different concepts into which interpretation of the data is divided are Pepys' view of vocal music from various nationalities, Pepys' perception of vocal music of the time, Pepys' reception of vocal music, and Pepys' emotional experience in response to vocal music. In order to do a reception study on the diary of Samuel Pepys it is necessary to conduct a discussion on various themes within the realms of music reception, music psychology and music and emotion. A literature survey of previous studies that have been done with regard to several key themes was conducted as follows: Firstly, studies on the way in which the physical appearance of a performer may affect the listener's judgement of said performance's musical quality were reviewed. Several studies on the evaluation of writing have been done which are also appropriate for this discussion. The sources that have been selected for this discussion are Lehmann *et al* (2007), Bermingham (2002) and Wapnick *et al* (1997). Secondly, studies on the social and cultural factors that may influence music reception, such as the functions of music within society and how it affects society as a whole as well as the individual were reviewed. The sources that will be used for this theme include Merriam (1964), Plato, Aristotle, Blacking (1995) and Harwood (1976). The third theme under discussion is the influence of personality, identity and preference on music reception. This theme ties in with the previous one because a person's identity is formed through society. Sources pertaining to this theme include Clayton (2009) and Cross (2005). The next theme discussed is on the role of expectation in a musical experience where Huron (2007) will be the primary source. Finally, a discussion on music and emotion is conducted in order to be able to interpret the diary and the possible emotions that Pepys experienced when listening to vocal music. The key sources for this theme are Juslin (2008) and Hodges (2011).

These literature reviews put this study into context and provide a theoretical framework for the analysis of the data.

### 3.4 Limitations

There are many difficulties and limitations when attempting to study the emotional response of a diarist who lived four hundred years ago, mainly because it is not possible to ask him what he meant by the words he used in his diary to describe his experiences. Therefore one has to make use of modern self-reporting measurement tools and models of emotion to interpret the text that Samuel Pepys left behind. When relying on a single source such as Pepys' diary to investigate the reception of a musical performance, there are various limitations that have to be considered when analysing the data.

Firstly, the language used within the diary is subjective and various considerations need to be taken into account by the researcher. Pepys uses a variety of words to describe his experience of a particular musical occurrence and the researcher must interpret these words in order to form an idea of what Samuel Pepys meant by his descriptions. This is a subjective process and certain biases on both the diarist's side as well as the researcher's side need to be taken into consideration. Pepys does not define the terminology that he used in his descriptions and so there is much speculation about the meaning of phrases and words when interpreting what he wrote. The ambiguity of his accounts in his diary is demonstrated in the following entry made on 7 July 1667 where he wrote, *'and in the cool of the evening back again, and sang with pleasure upon the water and were mightily pleased in hearing a boat full of Spaniards sing; and so home to supper and to bed.'*<sup>9</sup> There are two ambiguities in this account. The first is whether Pepys was pleased to sing because he enjoyed the act of singing or because he was moved by the music that he was singing. The second ambiguity is whether Pepys was pleased with the music the Spaniards were making or whether he was pleased with the fact that they were singing. It is up to the researcher to make a judgement in order to interpret what Pepys meant by these statements.

Secondly, the number of usable entries concerning Pepys' experience of a musical event, out of the total number of entries within each category, may be too small to draw significant conclusions. Thirdly, in the majority of the entries where Pepys writes about a specific musical experience or occurrence, one is unable to identify certain crucial details, such as the musical work being played, the composer of said work, or the performer of the musical piece.

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<sup>9</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). viii. p. 325.

Without these details it is difficult to draw an informed conclusion about what his experience of the musical event was referring to. An example of such a diary entry by Pepys on 30 December 1667 is as follows:

*'and then with her to Mrs. Manuel's, where Mrs. Pierce was and her boy and girl; and here I did hear Mrs. Manuel and one of the Italian's, her gallant, sing well; but yet I confess I am not delighted so much with it as to admire it; for not understanding the words, I lose the benefit of the vocalitys of the music, and it proves only instrumental. And therefore was more pleased to hear Knepp sing two or three little English things that I understood, though the composition of the other, and performance, was very fine.'*<sup>10</sup>

In this entry, Pepys compares Italian song to English song. However, one is unable to deduce what songs these were, or who the composers were, which makes it impossible to compare the compositions. It is also unknown what the compositional style was and whether or not it is appropriate to compare them.

Fourthly, one cannot presume to know the state of mind or mood of the diarist, which may have altered his experience when writing each diary entry about a musical occurrence.

Finally, the conclusions that the researcher will reach are entirely subjective owing to the use of only one source, namely the diary of Samuel Pepys.

### 3.5 Conclusion

In this study Pepys' diary entries relating to his expressions or opinions on vocal music are qualitatively analysed in terms of a number of themes and categories, both from a historical as well as a reception perspective. While the diary entries that are analysed are in themselves subjective, and the interpretation of the diary is also a subjective process, measures to overcome these limitations are taken in the analysis of the data. The interpretation of the diary entries is done in accordance with a historical background of England during the time of the diary, a background on the diarist himself and various reception studies that have been done, as well as established reception theories derived from literature.

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<sup>10</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). viii. p. 599.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Social and cultural factors: England during the late 17<sup>th</sup> century

#### 4.1 The breakdown of the monarchy, music and theatre (1642-1660)

This chapter deals with England during the beginning of the Restoration period from 1660 until 1669 under the rule of King Charles II. In order to put this study into a historical context, a brief description leading up to this time will be given, followed by each aspect affecting the musical life in England at the beginning of the Restoration period.

England during the period leading up to the Restoration of the British monarchy in 1660 was a country in political and economic turmoil. The Civil War broke out in the year 1642 under the rule of King Charles I. After six years of devastating bloodshed, the army rebelled in 1648 marching on London to purge the House of Commons and put the king on trial for treason.<sup>1</sup> Charles I was beheaded in front of his palace on 30 January 1649, which was followed by the defeat of the remaining royalist forces by 1651. These events prompted Charles II, son of the executed king, to flee to France, leaving the army under the control of Oliver Cromwell.<sup>2</sup> As lead prosecutor, Cromwell ruled the English Commonwealth until his death in 1658.<sup>3</sup> From 1650 until the decline of the Commonwealth, Cromwell instated an Act that ‘any woman, convicted of being carnally known by any man other than her Husband (except in Case of Ravishment) was doomed to suffer death without benefit of clergy, along with her partner in crime.’<sup>4</sup> This act demonstrates the restrictive nature of the Commonwealth. In 1660 Charles II returned and claimed his right to the throne, marking the beginning of the Restoration of the British monarchy.<sup>5</sup> In 1660 the aforementioned Act was nullified and it is said that the return of King Charles II marked England's rejection of ‘the bread and water of Zion for the flesh-pots of Egypt.’<sup>6</sup> The repression of the Commonwealth led to ‘Restoration excess’, where people were free to lead a decadent lifestyle.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hill. *Baroque Music*. p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> Hill. *Baroque Music*. p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> Hill. *Baroque Music*. p. 183.

<sup>4</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Hill. *Baroque Music*. p. 183.

<sup>6</sup> Hill. *Baroque Music*. p. 183.

<sup>7</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 27.

Musical life in England was under tremendous threat throughout the Commonwealth period in English history. Under the Puritan influence, drastic measures were taken against the cultural sector of society. In 1644, organs were listed as ‘superstitious monuments to be demolished’, following the closing of all theatres and the abolition of all cathedral chapels by Parliament in 1642.<sup>8</sup> The political turmoil in England from 1649 to 1660 caused by the Civil War temporarily left the country without a royal court and chapel, which in effect destroyed court and church music.<sup>9</sup> This caused approximately a hundred musicians of the royal household to lose their positions without payment and forced them either to flee abroad or make a living teaching amateur musicians,<sup>10</sup> encouraging them to seek other opportunities. The devastation of war as well as the abolition of sacred and theatrical music had in effect smothered the rich musical tradition that England had hitherto been able to boast about earlier on.<sup>11</sup> However, upon the return of Charles II from exile in France and the restoration of the monarchy, musical life in England was reawakened.

#### **4.2 The restoration of the monarchy, music and theatre (1660-1688)**

At the start of Charles II's reign the economy of England was shaken by the Civil War and, according to Raynor,<sup>12</sup> the king and his court were unable to afford a Royal Opera or establish theatres. However, according to Gladding, the king appeared to have no understanding or regard for the value of money and he squandered it lavishly, regardless of the financial difficulties that England had at the time.<sup>13</sup> Westrup<sup>14</sup> argues that the extravagance of Charles II's court showed that money was available for opera and theatre if the demand justified it. This is supported by Gladding,<sup>15</sup> who states that ordinary theatres were re-opened almost immediately after Charles II returned to London from exile. During this time opera and drama took on Merriam's seventh principal function of music, as discussed in Chapter Two, and became a medium to communicate messages of propaganda of

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<sup>8</sup> Hill. *Baroque Music*. p. 184.

<sup>9</sup> Rose. *Music in the market-place*. p. 60.

<sup>10</sup> Hill. *Baroque Music*. p. 183.; Schulenberg. *Music of the Baroque*. p. 126.; Rose. *Music in the market-place*. p. 60.

<sup>11</sup> Schulenberg. *Music of the Baroque*. p. 126.

<sup>12</sup> Raynor. *Music in England*. p. 95.

<sup>13</sup> Gladding. *Music as a Social Force during the English Commonwealth and Restoration (1649-1700)*. p. 510.

<sup>14</sup> Lewis & Fortune. *Opera and Church-Music*. p. 267.

<sup>15</sup> Gladding. *Music as a Social Force during the English Commonwealth and Restoration (1649-1700)*. pp. 506-521.

the monarchy, so that music became, 'in French thought, a decorative, social art, not an introspective type of expression.'<sup>16</sup> Pepys observed that King Charles II was musical in nature even though he could not play a musical instrument, and noted in his diary that '*the king kept good time with his hand all along the anthem.*'<sup>17</sup> Owing to his love of music, Charles II surrounded himself with every conceivable type of music available at the time, which then took on the function of entertainment - Merriam's third principal function of music. The king's exposure to music from different cultures, specially the French, drastically altered his taste in music.<sup>18</sup> Therefore the years that Charles II spent in exile in France had a direct impact on the musical scene during this time.<sup>19</sup> On his return to England in 1660 he immediately re-established the Chapel Royal and the King's Musick as an imitation of the musical institutions of the French court, which showed that Louis XIV's court had greatly influenced Charles II.<sup>20</sup> Music and musicians from both France and Italy were introduced to the English court and these styles were integrated with remnants of the native English tradition that had been preserved by certain composers such as Henry Lawes, William Child and Christopher Gibbons.<sup>21</sup> The restoration of the monarchy brought about the resumption of Anglican worship and its musical traditions. Charles II set up a large Chapel Royal complete with a band of 'violins' (i.e. strings) in emulation of the orchestra of Louis XIV's chapel. Music then took on Merriam's eighth function of music, to validate religious institutions, when cathedral music was re-established at Westminster Abbey and at St Paul's Cathedral, and court music was revived.<sup>22</sup> At the rise of the Restoration period when musicians returned to their old posts at the Chapel Royal, the traditional music centre, they found that their style belonged to an age that had passed and a new generation of composers and musicians were being introduced.<sup>23</sup>

At the beginning of the Restoration the King was in a very strong position politically, which prompted him to make known that he would have whatever he desired in the services of his chapel, 'let the Puritans think what they liked.'<sup>24</sup> This inspired a new generation of composers who were recruited and then nurtured within church choral music as choirboys of

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<sup>16</sup> Raynor. *Music in England*. p. 93.

<sup>17</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). iv. p. 394.

<sup>18</sup> Gladding. *Music as a Social Force during the English Commonwealth and Restoration (1649-1700)*. p. 510

<sup>19</sup> Raynor. *Music in England*. p. 92.

<sup>20</sup> Hill. *Baroque Music*. p. 357.

<sup>21</sup> Schulenberg. *Music of the Baroque*. p. 127.

<sup>22</sup> Caldwell. *England*. Oxford Music Online.

<sup>23</sup> Phillips. *The Singing Church*. p. 143.

<sup>24</sup> Temperly. *The Music of the English Parish Church*. p. 85.

the Chapel Royal. Church music as a genre in Restoration England was one of the two branches of music that were financed and supported by the king. This reinstated genre directly expressed Charles II's musical tastes as well as being a symbol of the beginning of his reign. The choirmaster at the Chapel Royal, Henry Cooke,<sup>25</sup> had the reputation of being an efficient and sympathetic teacher who recruited young boys with good voices as choristers. Cooke himself had a wide musical knowledge as well as a beautiful voice. His skill and devotion as a teacher was proven by his students being able to write credible anthems even before their voices had broken.<sup>26</sup> These boys were selected for their skill and training in music, not necessarily their promise to be outstanding singers.<sup>27</sup> Under the king's orders, the boys in this choir were provided with a good musical education as well as instruction in writing Latin. The king also encouraged a band of instrumentalists to be organised for the Chapel Royal.<sup>28</sup> The compositions of church music during this time can be divided into two main strands within this genre, the verse-anthem and the full-anthem, which originated from the Tudor motet. The strand that is relevant to this study is the verse-anthem, which could be described as a 'suite of movements for varying ensembles of solo voices with or without instrumental interludes, interspersed often with choruses for the full choir or entire sections for one solo voice.'<sup>29</sup> The Restoration verse-anthem was generally only considered to have value if it contained at least one 'Alleluiah' chorus. Pelham Humfrey was seen as being the best composer of this style. His characteristic traits were his command of expressive recitative and solo-voice counterpoint, which could also be found in his verse-anthems.<sup>30</sup>

On Charles II's return from exile his hunger for beautiful music encouraged a continental taste in music and art that was very new to the English.<sup>31</sup> At his coronation 'anthems and rare music, with lutes, viols, trumpets, organs, and voices, were heard.' The music of the Chapel Royal was the leader in musical style and the private noblemen and cathedral chapters did their best to imitate this style in every way as much as their resources allowed. Due to the destruction of church organs during the time of the Commonwealth, the organs in most cathedrals had to be rebuilt and finding adequate choirboys to perform in choral services was

<sup>25</sup> Raynor. *Music in England*. p. 95.

<sup>26</sup> Phillips. *The Singing Church*. p. 144.

<sup>27</sup> Barrett. *English Church Composers*. p. 89.

<sup>28</sup> Phillips. *The Singing Church*. p. 144.

<sup>29</sup> Phillips. *The Singing Church*. p. 141.

<sup>30</sup> Phillips. *The Singing Church*. p. 149.

<sup>31</sup> Temperly. *The Music of the English Parish Church*. p. 85.

difficult.<sup>32</sup> The parish churches, however, had no resources at all to include the music of the Chapel Royal.<sup>33</sup> However, for the purposes of this study, the music within the Parish churches is irrelevant, as Pepys mainly writes about his experience at the Chapel Royal at Whitehall.

The second branch of music that was prominent between 1660 and 1669 during the Restoration was domestic music at the court of the king as well as in private homes. The king's domestic music included ceremonial instruments such as trumpets and drums. Within Charles II's domestic music he established a string orchestra that was a direct imitation of Louis XIV's *Quatre-vingt Violins du Roi*. John Banister was the leader of the royal string orchestra and was sent to France to study at the French court, which further influenced the English musical style in the royal court.<sup>34</sup>

Although the king had a great regard for his musicians, he usually left them in financial difficulty because their salaries were in arrears.<sup>35</sup> This forced musicians who were in the employ of the King to seek employment in the urban market while they were not on duty at court in order to supplement their official income.<sup>36</sup> For this reason, among others, music thrived in private English homes. Domestic music in private homes was popular in England for a variety of reasons. It was already believed that music was restorative and sensual, and musical skills also aided social discourse. At times music was seen as a symbol of refinement, which encouraged a market for music tuition, musical instruments as well as sheet music.<sup>37</sup> However, amateur musicians who lacked the necessary contacts or status were often unable to obtain certain music manuscripts. One such individual was Samuel Pepys who resorted to winning favour with professional musicians by buying drinks for them.<sup>38</sup> Tuition was also seen as a symbol of wealth as lessons were very expensive.

Another genre of music that was not as prominent during the Restoration as the ones previously discussed but is still worth referring to for the purposes of this study, due to its frequent mention in Pepys' diary, is theatre music. English theatre did indeed have the

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<sup>32</sup> Temperly. *The Music of the English Parish Church*. p. 85.

<sup>33</sup> Temperly. *The Music of the English Parish Church*. p. 85.

<sup>34</sup> Raynor. *Music in England*. p. 92.

<sup>35</sup> Raynor. *Music in England*. p. 93.

<sup>36</sup> Raynor. *Music in England*. p. 93.; Rose. *Music in the market-place*. p. 59.

<sup>37</sup> Rose. *Music in the market-place*. p. 70.

<sup>38</sup> Rose. *Music in the market-place*. p. 59.

resources to stage full-fledged operas, but spoken plays that included musical interludes became more common. These interludes ranged from single songs to lavishly staged operatic scenes with dancing and choral singing.<sup>39</sup> According to Price,<sup>40</sup> Pepys viewed English theatre as a concert hall just as much as a playhouse. He often expressed the view that the music in a play was such a delight that it may have remedied a failed theatrical attempt.<sup>41</sup> At the beginning of the Restoration in 1660, music was of great importance in the newly restored drama of England at the time. The writers of the time saturated their text with music and spectacle. According to some scholars, this symbolized a degeneration of drama and was 'a misguided attempt to please the vulgar'.<sup>42</sup> According to Mark,<sup>43</sup> drama that was 'pure' and didn't use music to create sensation was, in the society of the time, unable to maintain itself. The most important composer of theatre music at the beginning of the Restoration was Matthew Locke (1630-1677).<sup>44</sup>

### 4.3 Old meets new: The rise of a new generation of composers

The composers discussed in this section are those who are mentioned in Pepys' diary and have relevance to this study. Matthew Locke was widely known for his operatic efforts, through which he displayed great skill and ability to convey feeling. He was the father of 'act music', or in other words orchestral incidental music, which consisted of a suite of eight or ten pieces that were played before the play as well as during the intervals. Matthew Locke composed various works during the years just before the Restoration, which would become popular during the first decade thereafter. An example of this is the stage-piece *The Siege of Rhodes*, the libretto for which was written by Sir William Davenant.<sup>45</sup> According to Prothero<sup>46</sup> this work is considered to be the first English opera. Locke composed the music for the fourth act. At the first performance of this work, which took place at Rutland House at the upper end of Aldersgate Street, London, Locke also showcased his talents as a performer by enacting the part of the Admiral. This work holds special significance because

<sup>39</sup> Schulenberg. *Music of the Baroque*. p. 127.

<sup>40</sup> Price. *Restoration Theatre Music Restored*. p. 344.

<sup>41</sup> Price. *Restoration Theatre Music Restored*. p. 344.

<sup>42</sup> Dugaw. "Critical Instants": Theatre Songs in the Age of Dryden and Purcell. p. 159.

<sup>43</sup> Mark. *Dryden and the Beginning of Opera in England*. p. 249.

<sup>44</sup> Price. *Restoration Theatre Music Restored*. p. 344.

<sup>45</sup> Phillips. *The Singing Church*. p. 136.

<sup>46</sup> Prothero. *Not so Much an Opera... A Restoration Problem Examined*. p. 666.

Mrs Edward Coleman, of whom Pepys was an acquaintance, played Ianthe and was the first woman ever allowed to appear on the public stage as an actress in England.<sup>47</sup> Along with his contributions as a theatre composer of the time, Locke was also a respected church composer during the Commonwealth period.

Along with Locke and Cooke, Henry Lawes was also one of the composers of *The Siege of Rhodes*. He composed of the vocal music for the first and last acts. During the Restoration Lawes was reinstated in both his previous positions in the King's Musick and the Chapel Royal and in addition was made 'Composer in ye Private Musick for Lutes and Voices.'<sup>48</sup> 'Zadok the priest', an Anthem by Lawes, was performed at Charles II's coronation on 23 April 1661.<sup>49</sup>

As we have noted, Henry Cooke, the choirmaster of the Chapel Royal, recruited a group of gifted young boys to be educated in music and sing in the king's choir. Among these talented boys were Pelham Humfrey (1647-1674), John Blow (1649-1708), Michael Wise (1648-1687) and William Turner (1651-1740).<sup>50</sup> These boys had a great influence on the music of the time. Among them were the successors to Henry Cooke as choirmaster and also some very influential composers.

During Humfrey's time as a chorister he began to compose music for the second edition of *Divine Services and Anthems*, which was published in 1664, around the same time that he left the choir. Five of the anthems in this book are by Humfrey. One of the anthems, *I will always give thanks*, was a joint project by Humfrey, John Blow and William Turner. It is believed that this anthem was written as a commemoration of friendship and fraternal respect. The first part of the anthem was written by Humfrey, the concluding part by Blow and the bass solo by Turner, and the character of each part could be seen by the disposition of each composer. Humfrey was wild and quick, Blow, good-natured and conciliatory, and Turner, modest and retiring.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Cummings. Matthew Locke, Composer for the Church and Theatre. p. 122.

<sup>48</sup> Spink. Lawes, Henry. In *Grove Music Online*.

<sup>49</sup> Spink. Lawes, Henry. In *Grove Music Online*.

<sup>50</sup> Raynor. *Music in England*. p. 96.

<sup>51</sup> Barrett. *English Church Composers*. p. 94.

In 1664, Humfrey was sent to the court of France by his master the King of England, to study music under Lully. The King had a very high regard for the young Humfrey and so he was sent away with ample funds.<sup>52</sup> On Humfrey's return to England, three years after his departure, his exposition of views on French music created a strongly negative emotional affect among certain music lovers. One such individual was Samuel Pepys, who expressed his annoyance and amusement with Humfrey's obsession with the French musical ideals.<sup>53</sup> In the same way Pepys had a split opinion of Humfrey's compositions, as evidenced by one account in his diary on 1 November 1667:

*'[...] and so I to the Chapel and there stayed (it being Allhallows days) and heard a fine Anthemne, made by Pellam (who came over) in France, of which there was great expectation; and ended in a very good piece of Musique, but still I cannot call the Anthem anything but instrumentall music with the Voice, for nothing is made of the words at all.'*<sup>54</sup>

On January 24 1667, Pelham Humfrey was appointed Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and later became Cooke's successor as Choirmaster of the Chapel Royal in 1672.

John Blow was a church musician for almost his entire life. Before his career in the church it is believed that he received music instruction at home, which paved the way for his future success as a church composer.<sup>55</sup> His career as a church musician began when he was recruited by Henry Cooke as a chorister at the Chapel Royal at the age of twelve.<sup>56</sup> Blow's first compositions of anthems during his first years as a choirboy were already considered to be worthy of performance, which indicated that Blow must have received music tuition before his appointment as a chorister in London.<sup>57</sup> Blow had a large output as a church composer, producing at least a hundred Anthems and fourteen Services. His manner of writing for voices was very unconventional for his time. He was known for breaking the rules of harmony on the principle that the words and the ideas represented by the words are of greater value than the rules of harmony, and he believed that a good tune is more important than good harmony or counterpoint.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Barrett. *English Church Composers*. p. 94.

<sup>53</sup> Raynor. *Music in England*. p. 95.

<sup>54</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). viii. p 515.

<sup>55</sup> Statham. *Dr. Blow's Church Music and Its Deformities*. p. 988.

<sup>56</sup> Barrett. *English Church Composers*. p. 98.

<sup>57</sup> Barrett. *English Church Composers*. p. 99.

<sup>58</sup> Statham. *Dr. Blow's Church Music and Its Deformities*. p. 989.

Michael Wise also had the advantage of studying under Cooke as a choirboy of the Chapel Royal and having Humfrey and Blow as his fellow students. Wise became an accomplished organist and claimed the privilege of being the king's organist. As a composer, Wise demonstrated great skill, especially in his anthems and services. He was a passionate man with a vivid imagination, and his music reflected his disposition through the 'passionate accent with which the sentiments are expressed.'<sup>59</sup>

#### 4.4 Foreign influences

The first two decades of the Restoration period in England presented a shift in attitude towards English music. Traditional English music fell victim to a preference for art and music coming from the Continent, specifically France and Italy. The aristocratic classes of society and the patrons of the arts desired art and music that stemmed from these countries instead of English music, which they rejected as a serious art form.<sup>60</sup> During these years English secular music was demoted to the taverns and sidewalks and served as entertainment for the lower classes. English musical tradition was deeply rooted in English culture,<sup>61</sup> but the King's tremendous influence on society's musical development of the time posed a great threat to the English tradition, making it vulnerable to Continental influences.

##### 4.4.1 Italian influence on English music of the time

Even though King Charles II had a great love for French music and musicians as a result of his sojourn in Paris, the contemporary taste of the Restoration period tilted much more towards the Italian style and musicians.<sup>62</sup> During this time traditional English music was seldom heard in formal settings such as the drawing rooms of the wealthy and on the stages of the theatres, but as we have noted, its popularity was relegated to entertainment for the lower classes in taverns and on the sidewalks.<sup>63</sup> Various attempts had been made at the beginning of the Restoration period to establish Italian opera in England, but these appear to have been unsuccessful. Even Thomas Killigrew, who was Charles II's ambassador in exile,

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<sup>59</sup> Barrett. *English Church Composers*. p. 91.

<sup>60</sup> Jensen. *English Restoration Attitudes towards music*. p. 206.

<sup>61</sup> Jensen. *English Restoration Attitudes towards music*. p. 206.

<sup>62</sup> Westrup. *Foreign Musicians in Stuart England*. p. 76.

<sup>63</sup> Jensen. *English Restoration Attitudes towards music*. p. 206.

tried to stage at least a few opera performances, but it seems that these attempts never came to fruition. Italian musicians were employed in other posts. Yet Italian music constituted a large part of chamber music at the king's court.<sup>64</sup> A realistic portrayal of the Restoration audience's preference for Italian music over English music is to be found in the plays of the comedy playwright, Thomas Shadwell.<sup>65</sup> Shadwell was a musician as well and so was aware of the latest musical opinions of the time. In his comedies he had his characters discuss the virtues of Italian songs and music and the faults of English ones. His characters portrayed those who like English songs as either ill bred or stupid, or both. However, even though English music was out of favour with the English aristocrats and Italian music was considered to be in good taste at the time, his use of English music in his plays was overwhelming. He realized, most probably from personal experience, that the upper classes enjoyed English songs even though they disapproved of them.<sup>66</sup>

#### 4.4.2 Italian musicians and composers in England

An Italian musician by the name of Angelo Notari had been a member of King Charles I's household, and he was re-appointed as lutenist by Charles II when the latter ascended to the throne. Notari died in 1664 after 50 years of service in the royal English household.<sup>67</sup>

In 1664 the Italian influence became even stronger owing to the arrival of more Italian musicians. By 1666 eight Italian musicians formed a company residing in England. Among them were the composers Vincenzo Albrici and his brother Bartolomeo, and several vocal performing artists.<sup>68</sup> According to John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys, as recorded in their diaries, the singing was of an immensely high standard and the group performance was superior to any of its kind in England. After only a few years in the English court Albrici left London, where his successor was Giovanni Sebenico from 1668.<sup>69</sup> Vincenzo Albrici's brother remained in London after the departure of his brother and became a familiar figure in

<sup>64</sup>Mabbett. *Italian Musicians in Restoration England (1660-90)*. p. 239.

<sup>65</sup>Jensen. *English Restoration Attitudes towards music*. p. 214.

<sup>66</sup>Jensen. *English Restoration Attitudes towards music*. p. 211.

<sup>67</sup>Mabbett. *Italian Musicians in Restoration England (1660-90)*. p. 237.; Westrup. *Foreign Musicians in Stuart England*. p. 73.

<sup>68</sup>Westrup. *Foreign Musicians in Stuart England*. p. 76.

<sup>69</sup>Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). viii. p. 65.; Evelyn. *The Diary of John Evelyn*. de Beer (eds).

the musical society of England. Another celebrated Italian musician who took up residence in England was the composer Giovan Battista Draghi.<sup>70</sup>

Although Giacomo Carissimi (1605-1674) was never a musician in England, he was widely admired in Europe and word of his mastery spread to England in 1664, where his reputation was established when Pepys referred to him as '*Seignior Charissimi the famous master in Rome*'. Carissimi was considered to be the most important composer in mid-17th-century Rome, establishing the characteristic features of the Latin oratorio and composing an enormous number of motets and cantatas. Through his pupils and the wide distribution of his music he influenced musical developments in North European countries and finally in England as well.<sup>71</sup>

#### 4.4.3 French influence on English music of the time

The French influence on English tradition was much more far-reaching than just in the realm of music. French influences came through strongly in language fashion, and ideas, such as French criticism, philosophy and history, and in literary style and modes of expression, as well as theatre and general rules of art.<sup>72</sup>

One of the most direct French influences on English music was probably the result of Pelham Humfrey's education when he was sent to France to study under Lully. Moreover, King Charles II's exile at the French court before the Restoration period inspired him to establish a string orchestra, consisting of twenty-four violins, which was a direct imitation of Louis XIV's *Quatre-vingt Violins du Roi*. Matthew Locke was assigned to direct this group of musicians who played dance music in the French style.<sup>73</sup>

#### 4.4.4 French musicians and composers in England

Since Charles II had spent more than twenty years in Paris, it was only natural for him to employ French musicians when he was restored to the throne. One of the most significant

<sup>70</sup> Gladding. *Music as a Social Force during the English Commonwealth and Restoration (1649-1700)*. p. 512.

<sup>71</sup> Jones. Carissimi, Giacomo. *Grove Music Online*.

<sup>72</sup> Jensen. *English Restoration Attitudes towards music*. p. 207.

<sup>73</sup> Hill. *Baroque Music*. p. 183.

appointments of a French composer was that of Louis Grabu who, after only a year of service to the King, succeeded Nicholas Lanier as Master of the King's Music.<sup>74</sup> Grabu later displaced John Banister as director of the select violin band at court.<sup>75</sup> It appears that Grabu's rapid progress in the musical society of England at the beginning of Charles II's reign was not well received by various figures within the musical public. This is recorded by Pepys in his diary on 15 November 1667 when he wrote: *'Humphreys said that Grebus, the Frenchman, the King's master of musick, understands nothing, nor can play on any instrument, and so cannot compose: and that he will give him a lift out of place: and that he hath already spoken to the King of Grebus.'*<sup>76</sup>

#### 4.5 Conclusion

The England depicted in Samuel Pepys' diary was a very turbulent time as regards politics, economics and culture. Theatre and music were significantly affected by this turmoil and there was also considerable continental influence on musical styles and practices. Pepys recorded all his experience of these changes and influences in music and theatre in his diary from 1660 until 1669. In order to put his diary into context, one has to get to know the man as he was seen in society as well as the private man who emerges from the diary. The next chapter presents a brief biography of Samuel Pepys and a discussion of his diary.

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<sup>74</sup> Westrup. *Foreign Musicians in Stuart England*. p. 75.

<sup>75</sup> Ashbee. Grabu, Louis. *The Oxford Companion to Music*.

<sup>76</sup> Cummings. Louis Grabu. p. 229.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Samuel Pepys: Personality, identity and preference

#### 5.1 Introduction

It was stated in Chapter Two that an individual's personality and identity are influenced by his or her surroundings and cultural background, and therefore it follows that taste in music is then determined by that individual's social identity and personality. Ultimately all of these factors then play a part in how an individual, such as Samuel Pepys, receives and experiences a musical event. Therefore, it is necessary to explore Pepys' background in order to understand his character and personality, as well as, the social group that he identified with, and finally, his musical taste.

#### 5.2A brief biography: Getting to know Samuel Pepys, the public man

Samuel Pepys was born on 23 February 1633 on the east side of Salisbury Court, London, in his father's house near St. Bride's Church where his father, John Pepys, ran a tailoring business.<sup>1</sup> He had a modest lineage, with his family being middle class and consisting of butchers, blacksmiths, leather-sellers and alehouse keepers, mostly from the village of Cottenham.<sup>2</sup> Later in his life he expressed his opinion about his descent in these words: '*I believe, indeed, our family were never considerable*'.<sup>3</sup> Music was a large part of family life in the Pepys household. Samuel's father was a musical man who played the bass viol and thus having been exposed to singing and musical instruments from a very young age, Samuel developed an immense passion for music.<sup>4</sup> At the time of Pepys' birth there was a great deal of turmoil between the King and Parliament. When civil war broke out in England, Pepys was sent to safety by his parents and attended a grammar school in Huntingdon, just north-west of Cambridge.<sup>5</sup> At the age of fifteen when King Charles I was taken prisoner, Pepys returned to London where he attended St. Paul's School, studying Latin, Greek, Hebrew and

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<sup>1</sup> Tomalin. *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self*. p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Lubbock. *Samuel Pepys*. p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Tomalin. *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self*. p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 14.

geography. Two years later Pepys was awarded a Cambridge Scholarship. This, and other scholarships, allowed him to attend Magdelene College, Cambridge, from March 1651 until 1654. Through his study of Greek and Latin Pepys developed a great love of books and music.<sup>6</sup> Soon after leaving Cambridge, Pepys went into service as a steward to his second cousin, Sir Edward Montagu of Hinchinbrooke, looking after his household while he was away at sea. Sir Edward Montagu was a member of Cromwell's Council of State as Commissioner of the Treasury and General at Sea, also known as Admiral. It is believed that Pepys had a chamber in Sir Edward Montagu's lodgings at Whitehall Palace in Westminster.<sup>7</sup>

At the age of twenty-four Samuel Pepys met his wife-to-be, Elizabeth, the daughter of a French émigré by the name of Alexander Marchant. Elizabeth is said to have been a great beauty, and there is frequent reference to this in Pepys' diary.<sup>8</sup> Samuel and Elizabeth were married on 1 December 1655, two weeks before Elizabeth's fifteenth birthday, according to the rites of the Protestant church.<sup>9</sup> Pepys was unable to afford a house for his young wife until the year in which he started diarising as from 1 January. This was three years after their union when he was appointed Clerk of the Acts of the Navy in 1660.<sup>10</sup> In March of that same year, Pepys' kinsman, Admiral Montagu, retired from his post and asked Samuel to serve as his secretary at sea. Pepys can be seen as an opportunist because at this time with the news of the king's return, he became a devoted royalist, whereas up until then, alongside Sir Edward Montagu, he had been a loyal supporter of Cromwell.<sup>11</sup> Pepys, with the Fleet bearing the invitation from Parliament, set sail for Holland to facilitate the King's return to England. On his return to London in June 1660, Pepys was appointed Commissioner of the Navy and Clerk of the Acts, which substantially augmented his annual earnings.<sup>12</sup> Only a few weeks later he was also appointed Clerk of the Privy Seal.<sup>13</sup> Pepys enjoyed and was diligent in his work and always attempted to conduct it to a very high standard.<sup>14</sup> However, during this time of wealth Pepys also found pleasure in plays, social company and wine. He enjoyed spending his time conversing with colleagues in the Navy Office, as well as with musicians,

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<sup>6</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 15.

<sup>8</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 16.

<sup>9</sup> Ponsonby. *Samuel Pepys*. p. 75.

<sup>10</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 18.

<sup>11</sup> Lubbock. *Samuel Pepys*. p. 21.

<sup>12</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 24.

<sup>13</sup> Ponsonby. *Samuel Pepys*. p. xii.

<sup>14</sup> Lubbock. *Samuel Pepys*. p. 23.

singers, and men of science, politics and war.<sup>15</sup> It should be noted that outwardly he played the part of a dignified official and a respected patron of the arts, not a man given to worldly pleasures.<sup>16</sup> At the end of 1661 Pepys was overcome by a wave of guilt regarding his decadent lifestyle and decided to take a 'solemn oath to abstain from plays and wine'. He was successful in this endeavour for a few months but in spite of his vows he fell back into his old ways of excessive living but excused himself by saying, '*I do think it best to enjoy some degree of pleasure now that we have health, money, and opportunity, rather than to leave pleasures to old age or poverty, when we cannot have them so properly.*'<sup>17</sup> During this time he was also made a member of the Tangier Commission,<sup>18</sup> which was set up by the king to run the new colony brought as a dowry by his Portuguese wife.<sup>19</sup> Soon after, in May of that year, Pepys was motivated anew to apply himself to the work of the Navy Office.<sup>20</sup>

Although Pepys was not a courtier, his business frequently took him to Whitehall Palace where he also attended the Theatre Royal.<sup>21</sup> Decadence reigned at the king's court and this sparked Pepys' curiosity. He soon began to perceive himself as a courtier and he felt this excused him from 'sin'.<sup>22</sup> The new self that Pepys identified with put strain on his marriage and things became turbulent at home.<sup>23</sup> Elizabeth was, according to Lubbock,<sup>24</sup> a faithful and generally submissive wife but through a combination of jealousy and neglect, Pepys tested these qualities. He saw his wife as empty-headed but very beautiful and this was, to him, a great annoyance. However, it appears that despite all their differences they loved one another and were able to resolve their quarrels easily.<sup>25</sup> On 20 March 1664 Pepys was named Treasurer of the Tangier Commission, a job that took its toll on him and with which he frequently struggled.<sup>26</sup> The year 1665 saw the emergence of the Great Plague in London and while Pepys, already in 1664, had heard rumours from Amsterdam of its approach he did not leave the city as most of the upper classes did. It is believed that he was naturally immune to

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<sup>15</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 36.

<sup>16</sup> Ponsonby. *Samuel Pepys*. p. 78.

<sup>17</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 38.

<sup>18</sup> Ponsonby. *Samuel Pepys*. p. xiii.

<sup>19</sup> Tomalin. *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self*. p. 144.

<sup>20</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 37.

<sup>21</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 41.

<sup>22</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 41.

<sup>23</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 43.

<sup>24</sup> Lubbock. *Samuel Pepys*. p. 19.

<sup>25</sup> Lubbock. *Samuel Pepys*. p. 19.

<sup>26</sup> Ponsonby. *Samuel Pepys*. p. xiii.

fleas (the transmitter of the plague) and that the well-kept condition of his house was favourable to him and all living there.

During this time Elizabeth acquired a new companion or maid by the name of Mary Mercer. Pepys was intrigued by her pretty face, youth and good singing voice, all of which he valued a great deal.<sup>27</sup> On 2 September 1666 the great Fire of London started, lasting four and a half days and destroying four fifths of the city, with 13 200 buildings being burnt. Pepys' household had packed all their belongings for safety but they remained undamaged. After the fire Pepys described London in his diary as follows: '*and there saw the saddest sight of desolation that I ever saw.*'<sup>28</sup> Samuel Pepys concluded his diary on 31 May 1669 due to a drastic deterioration in his eyesight.<sup>29</sup> On 6 October of that same year Samuel and Elizabeth returned from a trip to France. On this journey she contracted a fever and grew steadily worse each day and about a month later, on 10 November 1669, she died at the age of twenty-nine.<sup>30</sup>

A few months after his wife's death in 1670 Pepys, who at thirty-six years of age was still a young man with a lust for pleasure, took a mistress, Mary Skinner who was a new maid in his household. She remained his mistress for thirty-six years.<sup>31</sup> In 1673 Pepys, who had risen very high in royal favour, was appointed Secretary of the Admiralty.<sup>32</sup> In 1676 he was Master of the Trinity House and the next year he was made Master of the Clothworkers' Company. In 1679 on 22 May he resigned his post as Secretary of the Admiralty and Tangier treasurer due to accusations against him of Piracy, Popery and Treachery, as it was believed that he was sending secret information about the British Navy to the French Government.<sup>33</sup> The very next day he was imprisoned in the Tower of London. It is believed that Pepys expected the king to rescue him at once from his imprisonment, but it was a vain hope. However, after a well-prepared defence Pepys was released on bail from the Tower on 9 June 1679.<sup>34</sup> On 10 June 1684 Pepys was reinstated as Secretary of the Admiralty, but his appointment only lasted two and a half years before his career in the Navy ended in 1688.

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<sup>27</sup> Tomalin. *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self*. p. 168.

<sup>28</sup> Hunt. *Samuel Pepys in the Diary*. p. 63.

<sup>29</sup> Ponsonby. *Samuel Pepys*. p. 80.

<sup>30</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 166

<sup>31</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 168.

<sup>32</sup> Tomalin. *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self*. p. 216.

<sup>33</sup> Tomalin. *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self*. p. 318.

<sup>34</sup> Tomalin. *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self*. p. 319.

As a commemoration of his long career in the Navy he published his 'Memoirs of the Royal Navy' in 1690. At the beginning of the new century in 1701, Pepys retired to William Hewer's house in Clapham, where he died two years later on 26 May 1703.<sup>35</sup>

### 5.3 The diary: Revealing the private man

It is believed by Ponsonby<sup>36</sup> that the habit of diary-keeping during and around the time of Samuel Pepys was more common than has been realized. For instance, John Evelyn, a wealthy, wise and distinguished aristocrat, was also a diarist in the seventeenth century<sup>37</sup> but as far as we can tell neither Pepys nor Evelyn were aware of the other's diary writing, even though both are mentioned in each other's diaries.<sup>38</sup> When Pepys was thirty-eight years old, Evelyn described him as being 'extraordinary, ingenious, and knowing' and some thirty years later, upon Pepys' death, Evelyn's opinion had stayed fairly consistent since he wrote the following: Pepys was 'a very worthy, industrious and curious person, none in England exceeding him in knowledge of the navy,... with great integrity... He was universally beloved, hospitable, generous, learned in many things, skilled in music, a very great cherisher of learned men.'<sup>39</sup> The question can be raised that had Evelyn read Pepys' most private thoughts and confessions in his diary, his opinion of Pepys might have been different.

Samuel Pepys faithfully kept a diary of each day's events stretching over almost ten years from January 1660 until May 1669.<sup>40</sup> However, it is unknown whether the published pages we have access to today are his very first attempts at diarising since when looking at how comfortable he appears to be in diary writing and his use of shorthand, he may have kept a diary prior to the one under discussion.<sup>41</sup> His diary was not meant for anyone's eyes but his own and it remained private for the duration of his lifetime, locked away safely in his desk, with his use of shorthand making it difficult for anyone other than himself to understand what he had written.<sup>42</sup> Pepys' desire to keep his diary private is understandable when looking at

<sup>35</sup> Ponsonby. *Samuel Pepys*. p. xiii.

<sup>36</sup> Ponsonby. *Samuel Pepys*. p. 70.

<sup>37</sup> Hunt. *Samuel Pepys in the Diary*. p. 1.

<sup>38</sup> Ponsonby. *Samuel Pepys*. p. 70.

<sup>39</sup> Hunt. *Samuel Pepys in the Diary*. p. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 14.

<sup>41</sup> Ponsonby. *Samuel Pepys*. p. 71.

<sup>42</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 14; Ponsonby. *Samuel Pepys*. p. 74.

the public character he outwardly portrayed and the enormous difference when looking at the private man revealed in the diary.<sup>43</sup> The diary begins in a very impersonal way and evolves into a detailed account of his most private thoughts, describing his love for theatre, music, the fairer sex and fine clothes; his career in the Navy; his relationship with a wide range of people from different classes, titles and occupations; and finally, all his erotic adventures.<sup>44</sup> According to Wilson,<sup>45</sup> Pepys was man who had an eye for a beautiful woman and would often use church as an excuse to gaze at woman other than his own very beautiful wife. Pepys is said to have been a very promiscuous man, but he kept his affairs very private, using his diary as his only confidante.<sup>46</sup> Although Pepys' liking for women was a large part of his character and has been extensively written about, it did not distract him from his main intentions and goals, which were the importance of his work in the Navy, often reiterated in his diary. The fact that he gave in to worldly pleasures such as theatre, music, wine, women and social company did not divert him from his main path.<sup>47</sup> His diary can be seen as a tale of ambition and acquisition, where money is one of the major themes. Pepys valued money greatly and desired wealth above most things, and when he acquired it did not hesitate to spend it on enjoyable experiences such as going to the theatre, making and listening to music and trips out of town.<sup>48</sup> Pepys had a very decadent lifestyle, but even so he was quick to judge others for profanity while he himself projected an image of a very moral man.<sup>49</sup>

Pepys' diary is not at all introspective but rather depicts a record of events and experiences. The length or conciseness of his entries varies according to his mood and from this one is hard put to decide whether he was in a state of depression or jubilation since he did not confess his mood in the diary. Pepys was incapable of writing for effect and if and when he was moved, he stated it in a way that pointed out the emotion he experienced or observed rather than painting a picture of it.<sup>50</sup> It can be said that Pepys' diary is succinct and to the point. He does not conduct long philosophical discussions within its pages, nor does he give detailed biographical information on the people he writes about. He had a flair for summing

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<sup>43</sup> Ponsonby. *Samuel Pepys*. p. 78.

<sup>44</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 14; Tomalin. *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self*. p. 5.

<sup>45</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 10.

<sup>46</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 10.

<sup>47</sup> Hunt. *Samuel Pepys in the Diary*. p. 2.

<sup>48</sup> Tomalin. *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self*. p. 87.

<sup>49</sup> Wilson. *The Private Life of Mr. Pepys*. p. 10.

<sup>50</sup> Ponsonby. *Samuel Pepys*. p. 86.

up the character of a person in two or three lines and stating his opinions on that person without hesitation.<sup>51</sup>

Pepys' diary is a historical account of everyday events, full of passion, ambition and comedy, showing his life as a range of rambunctious, disorganized and uncontrollable experiences.

#### 5.4 Pepys in musical society: A music lover, musician and songwriter

When looking at music in society during the seventeenth century, Pepys was not considered, according to Ponsonby,<sup>52</sup> to be an accomplished connoisseur, instrumentalist, singer or composer and he did not feature as a person of influence in that society. However, music was always one of Pepys' greatest pleasures and because of his love and appreciation for music, he is considered, by some, such as Ponsonby,<sup>53</sup> as being as great an artist as the composers and performers of the time. Pepys was a man with a natural aptitude for music, blessed with an excellent ear and with a yearning to expand his knowledge in musical matters. After he completed his degree he was known at Cambridge for his opinion on the importance of musical studies.<sup>54</sup> Although he never received formal musical training he did play the lute and violin and was a fairly talented singer. He surrounded himself with music,<sup>55</sup> musicians and musical families such as the Vines whose sons were very musical and Mrs Crisp who, at her house, played the harpsichord and taught her son, Laud, to sing. While at sea Pepys also made music with Montagu's clerk, Will Howe.<sup>56</sup>

In his diary Pepys writes about four of his own compositions, songs for which he wrote the melody and was assisted in writing the accompaniment. The first of these songs is called *Great, good, and just*, a song that was written before he began his diary and which he only mentions once within its pages. This song is about the beheading of King Charles I and

<sup>51</sup> Ponsonby. *Samuel Pepys*. p. 91.

<sup>52</sup> Ponsonby. *Samuel Pepys*. p. 115.

<sup>53</sup> Ponsonby. *Samuel Pepys*. p. 115.

<sup>54</sup> Tomalin. *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self*. p. 42.

<sup>55</sup> Samuel Pepys' full library is housed at the Magdalene College in Oxford. His library has some sixty medieval manuscripts, some important early printed books (including seven *incunabula* by Caxton, eight by Wynkyn de Worde, and seven by Pynson), and a naval collection (notably the 'Anthony Roll', illustrating the ships of the Royal Navy c. 1546, such as *The Mary Rose*, and Drake's autographed nautical pocket almanack). In addition, there are special collections of prints, ballads, music, maps, and calligraphy, all of them now the subject of comprehensive published catalogues.

<sup>56</sup> Tomalin. *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self*. pp. 70, 104.

Pepys used the first eight lines of the verses by the Marquis of Montrose, the king's chief general in Scotland.<sup>57</sup> About a month before Pepys started writing his second song, he took music composition lessons from Mr. Thomas Berkenshaw, an established musician and teacher. His second song, *Gaze not on Swans*, was composed on the eve of 11 February 1662 and was finished two weeks later, the day after his twenty-ninth birthday.<sup>58</sup> The words were by Henry Noel, an obscure writer who lived long before Pepys' time. These words came from his play *Gismond of Salerne*. Henry Lawes had also set these words to music in the first issue of his *Ayres and Dialogues* in 1653.<sup>59</sup>

Pepys' third song was *Beauty Retire* which he wrote on 6 December 1665, a song with words from the second part of Act IV of Davenant's play *The Siege of Rhodes*. A month after the completion of this song on 3 January 1666 Mrs. Coleman, an actress who had sung the part of the heroine Ianthe in Davenant's play, visited Pepys at his home and sang his song.<sup>60</sup> The fourth and final song written by Pepys that he mentions in his diary is called *It is Decreed*, with the words that go with the melody written by Ben Jonson. Pepys started writing this song on 5 April 1666 but did not finish it until 11 November of that same year. Mr. Hingston, an old friend of Pepys and a musician, complimented Pepys' melody and wrote the bass for it.<sup>61</sup>

### 5.5 The relevance of Pepys' diary in the study of the reception of music

Music reception is a growing field of study today and Samuel Pepys' diary is a first-hand account of his experience while making and listening to music. He was an amateur musician, and so understood music and was also able to listen to music with a semi-trained ear. However, more importantly, he had a deep love of music that brings a different perspective to the study of music reception. Most studies that are done to determine the reception of a musical event take place in a controlled environment, such as a lecture hall or concert hall. Pepys diarised about his musical experiences in everyday life. His diary provides the opportunity to study the experience of a listener in an authentic environment. Pepys' diary is

<sup>57</sup> Hunt. *Samuel Pepys in the Diary*. p. 112.

<sup>58</sup> Hunt. *Samuel Pepys in the Diary*. p. 114.

<sup>59</sup> Hunt. *Samuel Pepys in the Diary*. p. 113.

<sup>60</sup> Hunt. *Samuel Pepys in the Diary*. p. 116.

<sup>61</sup> Hunt. *Samuel Pepys in the Diary*. p. 117.

an account of music-making, response to music, as well as the material and social factors conditioning musical activity in England during the years from 1660 until 1669. Throughout his diary, Pepys comes across as a man of great natural aptitude, one who was gifted with an excellent ear and an immense curiosity about anything musical. Despite his lack of musical training he was a gifted music lover and the reviews in his diary about the music of the time are of great interest to scholars today.<sup>62</sup>

University of Cape Town

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<sup>62</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). x. p. 259.

## CHAPTER SIX

### Samuel Pepys' reception of vocal music: An analysis of select diary entries

#### 6.1 Introduction

Vocal music in England according to Samuel Pepys during the period 1660 to 1669 is discussed in this chapter. It is divided into two main sections: A quantitative analysis section and a qualitative analysis section of the data that has been collected from the diary, which is used as the primary source. The main aim of this chapter is to identify the different facets that influenced Pepys' reception of vocal music during the selected period. It provides a discussion as a basis to answer the questions initially asked in this study. The main question, What are Pepys' views on vocal music as reflected in his diary? is divided into three sub-questions 1) What are his views, as an Englishman, on music from different cultures? 2) What other factors influence Pepys' experience of a musical event? and 3) What was Pepys' emotional experience of a musical event?

#### 6.2 Quantitative analysis of diary entries

The Latham and Matthews edition of Samuel Pepys' diary consists of nine volumes, which contain a wide variety of themes and topics, including politics, economics, social status, religion and music. In the theme of vocal music a total of 284 diary entries have been extracted for the purpose of this study. Not all of these entries are usable in terms of their qualitative value. The unusable entries collected are those that are purely informative and do not discuss Pepys' view or feelings about a musical event. He made an entry on 22 September 1667 that is an example of this, '*and Pelling come to me at supper and then to sing a Psalm with him*'.<sup>1</sup> The first stage of analysis is the sorting of usable and unusable diary entries. In this stage approximately half of the entries, a total of 136 (48%), have been filtered out as they do not add anything to the discussion of the reception of music by Pepys in this study. The remainder of the entries, totalling 148 (52%) will be categorised as part of the quantitative analysis and then discussed in the qualitative analysis section of this chapter.

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<sup>1</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). viii. p. 444.

These entries are divided into a number of different categories for the purpose of the qualitative analysis discussion, which is presented later in this chapter. The categories under discussion will be Pepys' love of music, his taste in music, his experience of music while listening or singing alone or with others, his emotional experience when making or listening to music and finally how Pepys' expectations alter his experience of a musical event.

As part of the second stage of quantitative analysis it is necessary to standardise the language used by Pepys in order to divide the data into four main categories, as discussed below. The diary entries that form part of this stage are also under discussion in the qualitative analysis. Table 6.1 presents the words or phrases used by Pepys in his diary and the way in which the researcher interprets their meaning. In order to maintain as objective a view as possible, a dictionary was used to search for the closest synonyms for the words and phrases used by Pepys in his diary. This allows for the categorisation of the diary entries based on the words or phrases used by Pepys.

Table 6.1: Standardisation of language used in the diary entries

<b>Word or phrase used in Pepys' diary</b>	<b>Interpretation</b>
A great joy	Very pleasing
Admire	Very good
Barbarous	Bad/not pleasing
Brave	Good
Command me as nothing ever did	Heavenly
Content	Pleasure
Contemptible	Not pleasing
Exceedingly taken	Heavenly
Finely	Very good
Great content	Very pleasing
Great delight	Very pleasing
Great pleasure	Very pleasing
Great store of Musique	Excellent
Harsh	Bad
I do so not dislike	Pleasing
Incomparable	Excellent

Loves it	Heavenly
Made audience laugh	Not pleasing
Mighty pleasure	Very pleasing
Mighty readily	Very good
Most/very neatly	Very good
Pleased me mightily	Very pleasing
Pretends to sing well	Bad
Prettily	Good
Rare	Very good
Some pleasure	Pleasing
Special good	Very good
Very fine	Very good
Very handsomely	Very good
Very pleasantly	Very pleasing
Very rich and beautiful	Excellent
Well	Good
Well pleased	Very pleasing

The entries are divided into four main categories: Pepys' experience of a musical event; Pepys' record of the reception of others; Pepys' view of the quality of the music; and Pepys' view of the quality of performance. In each of the first two categories the data is split into the following four classes: Not pleasing, Pleasing, Very pleasing and Heavenly. In each of the last two categories the data is divided into the following four grades: Bad; Good; Very good; and Excellent. For this study 'pleasing' has not been equated with 'good' for the reason that, at times Pepys wrote about the quality of a musical piece being good but did not necessarily find the performance of such a piece pleasing to hear. These terms are separated in order to allow the researcher to distinguish between Pepys' view of the quality of a musical event and his emotional reception of it. In the first category the interpretation of the data on Pepys' experience of a musical event show that in ten per cent of the diary entries Pepys finds his musical experience 'not pleasing', in seven per cent of the diary entries the experience is interpreted as 'pleasing', in thirty-two per cent 'very pleasing' and in seven per cent, 'heavenly'. In the second category, where Pepys, through his diary entries, observes the reactions of other's when experiencing a musical event, approximately three-and-a-half per

cent of his entries show that a musical experience was ‘not pleasing’ to others, one per cent found them ‘pleasing’, approximately four per cent show others to have had a ‘very pleasing’ experience and two per cent of the diary entries show a ‘heavenly’ reaction. Figure 6.1 shows these results graphically.

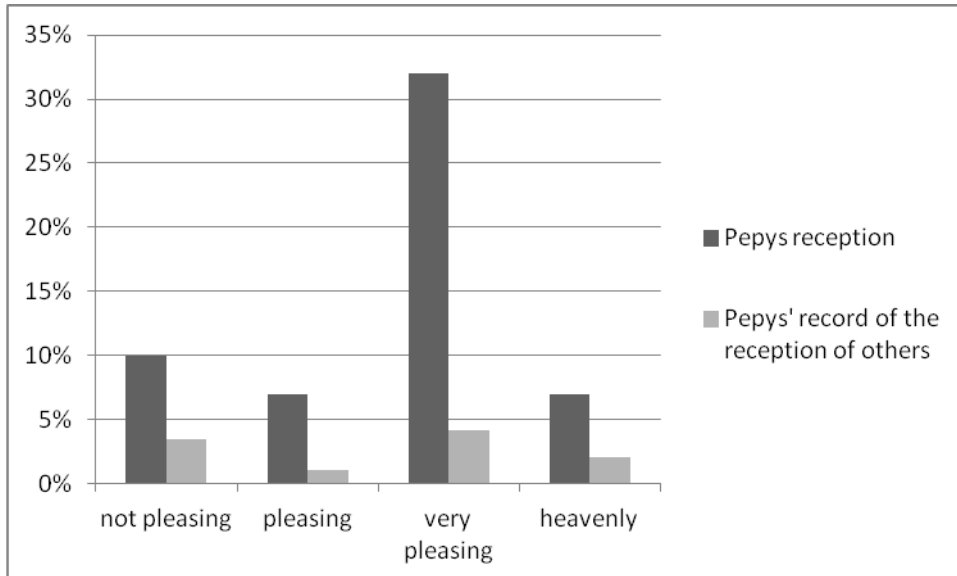


Figure 6.1: A chart depicting Pepys' experience of a musical event and Pepys' record of reception of a musical event.

This chart shows that although in both categories Pepys' experience and his observation of others' experience of a musical event are predominantly ‘very pleasing’, that in his diary, Pepys' wrote far more about his own experience than he did about his observation of others' experience of a musical event.

The third category shows Pepys' view of the quality of the composition of a musical event and the fourth category shows Pepys' view of the quality of the performance of a musical event. The results of these categories are as follows: In approximately three-and-a-half per cent of the entries under discussion he views the music to be of a ‘bad quality’ while in seven per cent of the entries the performance of a musical event is noted as being of a ‘bad quality’. In fourteen per cent of the entries he expresses the music as being of a ‘good quality’ with the performance being of a ‘good quality’ in six per cent of the entries. Twelve per cent of the entries show the music to be of a ‘very good quality’ and eighteen per cent show the performance to be of a ‘very good quality’. Finally, eleven per cent of the entries show the music to be ‘excellent’ and five per cent show the performance to be ‘excellent’. Figure 6.2 depicts these results graphically. (Also see appendix B.)

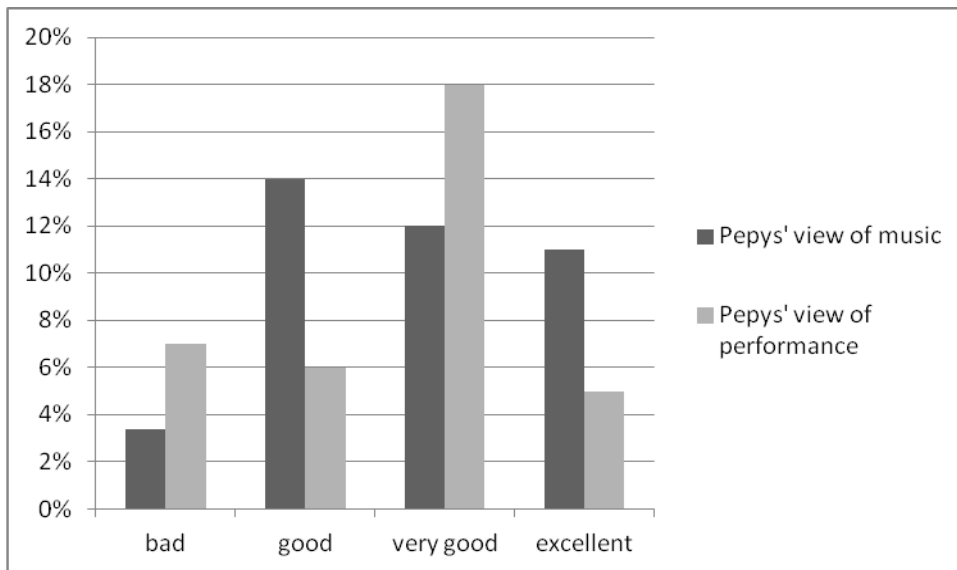


Figure 6.2: A chart depicting Pepys' view of the quality of the music and Pepys' view of the quality of performance.

This chart shows that Pepys elevates the performance of compositions above the compositions themselves. This could mean, on the one hand, that he was more readily impressed with the performers in a musical event and more critical of the compositions being performed. However, on the other hand, this could mean that Pepys was more inclined to focus on the performance and performer of a musical composition rather than the actual composition.

The quantitative results show that in Pepys' experiences of musical events, there were more positive than negative observations. This could be interpreted in one of two ways, Pepys was either more inclined to diarise his positive experiences of music, or he did indeed have more positive than negative experiences of musical events. His positive experiences could be ascribed to his innate love of music, but, on the other hand, his musical ear and skill as an amateur musician equipped him to recognise faults in a musical performance or to recognise an unskilled performer, or a composition that was not up to standard. It is difficult to draw a conclusion from his observations of others' reception of a musical event because he does not write about this often.

### 6.3 Qualitative analysis of dairy entries

#### 6.3.1 Pepys' view of English music in comparison with music of other nationalities

Samuel Pepys was an Englishman. He was born and grew up in London, was educated in Huntingdon and Cambridge and lived through much turmoil as a result of England's political situation and the nature of its society. He had a long and successful career in the British Navy and was highly regarded within the upper classes of English society as well as the Royal Court. Just like his compatriots, Pepys recognised the value and beauty of the music from the continent. However, he was proud of his British heritage and valued all things associated with it, especially English music. His musical ability and good ear allowed Pepys to acknowledge the value of vocal music from the continent but he also admitted that he was unable to experience and appreciate it as fully as he did English music because of his heritage and because of the language in which it was sung. It was Pepys' view, which seeks to fulfil the first of Merriam's principal functions of music, that in order to fully appreciate and understand the ideas and emotions which a piece of vocal music is attempting to convey, one has to understand each word that is being sung. Therefore, he was unable to experience music sung in languages other than English in their entirety, but was also sceptical about English choral music because he was unable to understand all the words being sung. Pepys did find Italian music to be very pleasing and his experience of it led him to write on 22 July 1664: *'Mr. Hill and Andrews and one slovenly and ugly fellow, Seignor Pedro, who sings Italian songs to the Theorbo most neatly; and they spent the whole evening in singing the best piece of musique, counted of all hands in the world, made by Seignor Charissimi the famous master in Rome. Fine it was indeed, and too fine for me to judge of.'*<sup>2</sup> Despite his enjoyment of Italian music it is also apparent from the diary entry of 22 July that Pepys was unable to experience the music fully because he was unable to relate to it in the same way in which an Italian listener would. Furthermore, on 7 April 1667 Pepys provided an explanation for his belief that he was unable to receive music other than that of English vocal music when he wrote:

*I' am convinced more and more, that as every nation hath a particular accent and tone in discourse, so as the tone of one not to agree with or please the other, no more can the fashion of singing to words; for that tone of the country whose language the song speaks;*

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<sup>2</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). v. p. 21.

*so that a song well composed by an Englishman must be better to an Englishman then it can be to a stranger, or than if set by a stranger in foreign words.*<sup>3</sup>

The French influence on music in England during the time of Pepys' diary was mostly attributed to the extended stay of King Charles II at the French Court. For his Royal Court King Charles II imported music as well as musicians from France, most significantly Louis Grabu. He also sent young English musicians such as Pelham Humfrey to study music in France. The French influence on musical preference was most concentrated within the Royal Court, but outside of the king's court Italian music seemed to be the preference of the upper classes of English society. In Chapter Four it was mentioned that at the time, the King's appointment of Grabu displeased a great number of people. As recorded in Pepys' diary on 15 November 1667, Humfrey expressed his disdain for Grabu. Pepys' view of the French musician in the service of the King was also very low as is apparent from his diary entry of 1 October 1667 (which preceded Humfrey's comments):

*is presented this night by Monsieur Grebus, the master of his musick; both instrumentall - I think twenty-four violins - and vocall; an English song upon Peace. But, I never was so little pleased with a concert of musick in my life. The manner of setting of words and repeating them out of order, and that with a number of voices, makes me sick, the whole design of vocall musick being lost by it. Here was a great press of people; but I did not 'to Whitehall, and there in the Boarded-Gallery did hear the musick with which the King see many pleas'd with it, only the instrumentall musick he had brought by practice to play very just.'*<sup>4</sup>

Humfrey's and Pepys' opinion of Grabu's music may have been the result of their dislike of him as a composer and musician and not necessarily as a Frenchman although his nationality might have been a contributing factor towards their judgement. Pepys expresses quite a different opinion of French song than his view of Grabu's music but his obvious preference for English song comes through clearly in his entry of 18 June 1666 where he wrote: *'at dinner there played to us a young boy lately come from France, where he had been learning a year or two on the viallin, and plays finely. But impartially, I do not find any goodness in their ayres (though very good) beyond ours, when played by the same hand; I observed in several of Baptiste's (the present great composer) and our Bannister's.'*<sup>5</sup> John Banister was an English musician and composer who, like Humfrey, was sent to France to receive an education in the French styles of music and was subsequently appointed as director of the

<sup>3</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). viii. p. 154.

<sup>4</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). viii. p. 458.

<sup>5</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). vii. p. 171.

King's *Quatre-vingt Violins du Roi*. He was known as England's Lully.<sup>6</sup> Jean-Baptiste Lully is referred to by Pepys as 'Baptiste'. In this diary entry Pepys expresses his admiration for French songs but is, once again, unable to truly experience them as a Frenchman would because of his inability to understand the language. What is interesting about this particular entry is that both the French and English songs are played by the same performer. Pepys' opinion of these songs from the different nations is purely about the music itself and the performer plays no role in his contrasting feelings toward the different styles.

Pepys did not only feel that he was unable to relate to music from the continent, he also expressed his lack of understanding of Scottish music. In his diary entry of 28 July 1666 he wrote: '*But at supper there played one of their servants upon the viallin, some Scotch tunes only - several - and the best of their country, as they seemed to esteem them by their praising and admiring them; but Lord, the strangest ayre that ever I heard in my life, and all of one cast.*'<sup>7</sup> It is unclear whether or not Pepys actively disliked this music but one can conclude from his negative tone that he did not have a pleasurable experience while listening to it. He seems surprised that the pieces he heard were considered, from a Scottish point of view, to be excellent and he felt that the admiration of the Scottish company for the performance was unjustifiable. Furthermore, it is possible that his expectation of a musical event also influenced his experience of it.

### 6.3.2 How Pepys' expectations alter his experience of a musical event

There was a discussion in Chapter Two about the expectation one has of a musical event possibly influencing one's experience of it, both in a positive and negative way. Pepys occasionally writes about his expectations of a musical event and how they may have been crushed by the actual outcome of the event. At times he was pleasantly surprised by a musical event, especially when listening to his wife sing. As discussed in Chapter Two, Huron refers to this reaction to expectation as having a 'contrastive valence.'<sup>8</sup> Pepys never held his wife to a high standard and when she did sing well he was filled with joy, as he writes on 19 March 1667 '*my wife; and after dinner with a great deal of pleasure had her*

<sup>6</sup> Holman & Lasocki. Banister. *Grove Music Online*.

<sup>7</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). vii. p. 224-225.

<sup>8</sup> Huron. *Sweet Anticipation: music and the psychology of expectation*. p. 21.

sing, which she begins to do with some pleasure to me, more than I expected.<sup>9</sup> At other times Pepys' positive expectations of a musical event were crushed not only because the experience was bad but because his anticipation of it was thwarted, thus making his reaction to it intensely negative. He writes of such a time on 21 August 1667: *'This morning came two of Captaine Cookes boys, whose voices are broke and are gone from the Chapel, but have extraordinary skill; and they and my boy, with his broken voice, did sing three parts (their names were Blaeu and Loggings); but notwithstanding their skill, yet to hear them sing with their broken voices, which they could not command to keep in tune, would make a man mad, so bad it was.'*<sup>10</sup>

Pepys frequently attended the theatre and would watch a single production several times. In describing his love of music on 27 February 1668, Pepys refers to a specific section in the *The Virgin Martyr* where he is transported into a state of serenity. He attended the theatre to experience this production for a second time and on 2 March 1668, he writes: *'to see The Virgin Martyr again; which doth mightily please me, but above all the Musique at the coming down Angell - which at this hearing the second time doth so still command me as nothing ever did, and the other music is nothing to it.'*<sup>11</sup> Having experienced this before, Pepys goes into the performance with anticipation and the expectation that he may be moved in the same way as he was before. He is not disappointed, his expectation is fulfilled and so his emotional reaction is once again ultimate pleasure.

### **6.3.3 The influence of Pepys' personality, identity and preference on his perception and reception of music**

#### **6.3.3.1 Pepys' love of music**

Music was Samuel Pepys' one great love and he often wrote about this in his diary. An entry was made on 30 July 1666 as an expression of this, when he said *that 'music is the thing of the world that I love most, and all the pleasure almost that I can now take.'*<sup>12</sup> His obsession with this particular performing art is evident when looking at his frequent engagement with a

<sup>9</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). viii. p. 119.

<sup>10</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). viii. pp. 393-394.

<sup>11</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). viii. p. 250.

<sup>12</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). vii. p. 166.

variety of musical activities, including recurrent discourses with various musicians, composers and writers, church music, theatre, music within the king's court and he himself singing and making music in his own home, either by himself or with his household. While Pepys does describe his love of music as being his one great love, he equates this love with his love of women. As discussed in Chapter Five, Pepys could not help noticing a beautiful woman and he often gave in to his desire for women other than his wife, Elizabeth, who was also a great beauty. As with music, beautiful women drew Pepys away from his work. This is apparent from a diary entry made on 17 February 1663 where he wrote that with *'music and women I cannot but give way to, whatever my business is.'*<sup>13</sup>

In his diary Pepys also mentions his feelings about the purity of domestic music. His belief was that when one is trying to make music in a domestic situation it is purely for enjoyment, (thus serving Merriam's second function of music), but that being in the company of professional or learned musicians could take away from the creativity of the musical experience. Thus he mentions on one occasion, 22 July 1664, while in the company of his friends Thomas Hill and Thomas Andrews and the musician Seignor Pedro: *'great store of Musique we had, but I begin to be weary of having a master with us, for it spoils methinks the ingenuity of our practice.'*<sup>14</sup>

#### 6.3.4.2 Pepys' taste in music

Though Samuel Pepys came from a modest background he was a man of tremendous ambition, yearning to be part of the upper classes of society, both in image and in wealth. Music has always played a large part in illustrating the nature of a society, with different genres and styles of music being associated with the varying classes of society and religious sectors. On the one hand Chapter Two revealed that social class and religious identity are possible determining factors of a person's musical preference and musical taste. On the other hand, it was revealed that a person's musical taste could be a reflection of a characteristic of their personality. When considering various attributes of Pepys' behaviour within society, it can be said that he was an extrovert. This is supported by Rentfrow and Gosling's<sup>15</sup> discovery, as discussed in Chapter Two, that Pepys' particular preference and love for vocal

<sup>13</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). iv. p. 48.

<sup>14</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). v. p. 226.

<sup>15</sup> Rentfrow and Gosling. Message in a ballad: The role of music preference in interpersonal perception. p. 240.

music was a sign of his extroverted nature. A society's music may represent certain characteristics and attract those listeners who may desire the qualities that they perceive as representing the same values, beliefs and attitudes of others with the same or similar musical preference. In other words, music becomes a way for an individual to become part of a social group and so the music becomes a symbol of identity.<sup>16</sup>

Pepys identified with the King's church, the Church of England, and thus preferred the music of this church to that of the Queen's church, or the Catholic Church. His diary entries on Catholic music seem to indicate that while he actually enjoyed it, he did not identify with this particular religious sector and as a result was more critical of the music. On 1 April 1666 he attended the Queen's church and he wrote: *'and to the Queen's chapel - where I do not so dislike the music.'*<sup>17</sup> In this diary entry Pepys does not sound as sure about his opinion as he does in the majority of his other entries where he phrases his experience in a less direct way, indicating greater uncertainty. In a diary entry made only two weeks later on 15 April 1666 he wrote, *'so walked into the park to the Queen's chapel and there heard a good deal of their mass and some of their Musique, which is not so contemptible, I think, as our people would make it, it pleasing me very well - and indeed, better than the Anthemne I heard afterward at White-hall at my coming back.'*<sup>18</sup>

Pepys preferred vocal music and he found the sound of a woman's voice one of the most beautiful things in his experience, expressing the following on 6 December 1665:

*'Here the best company for Musique I ever was in my life, and wish I could live and die in it, both for music and the face of Mrs. Pierce and my wife Knipp, who is pretty enough, but the most excellent mad-hum[ou]rd thing; and sings the noblest that ever I heard in my life, and Rolt with her, some things together most excellently - I spent the night in an ecstasy'*<sup>19</sup>

These feelings of pleasure and admiration concerning vocal music were clearly contrasted by his opinion of certain instrumental music, specifically brass instruments, on an occasion on

<sup>16</sup> Rentfrow & McDondald. Preference, personality, and emotion. p. 681.

<sup>17</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). vii. p. 87.

<sup>18</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). vii. p. 99.

<sup>19</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). vi. pp. 320-321.

29 October 1663 when he made the following diary entry, *'I expected Musique, but there was none; but only trumpets and drums, which displeased me.'*<sup>20</sup>

Pepys was also very critical of many voices singing together as a choir, explaining that so many voices together cannot be considered as vocal music, explicitly stating on 15 September: *'I am more and more confirmed that singing with many voices is not singing, but a sort of Instrumentall music, the sense of the words being lost by not being heard, and especially as they set them with Fuges of words, one another; whereas singing properly, I think, should be but with one or two voices at most, and that counterpoint.'*<sup>21</sup> He believed that a number of voices singing together could instead be classified as bad instrumental music since he was unable to hear the words being sung. Pepys regarded the words being sung as being almost of greater importance than the music. If, in his opinion, the music did not enhance the words he found it to be displeasing, as illustrated by the following on 9 February 1668: *'though they sang fine things, yet I must confess that I did take no pleasure in it, or very little, because I understood not the words; and with the rests that the words are set, there is no sense nor understanding in them, though they be English - which makes us weary of singing in the manner, it being but a worse sort of instrumental music.'*<sup>22</sup>

#### **6.3.4 How a performer's physical appearance influenced Pepys' experience**

Pepys' weakness for beautiful women was discussed in Chapter Five. When he saw a woman whom he found attractive he frequently noted it in his diary. He also frequently commented that music and women were the two main weaknesses in his life. His discussions on music in his diary were often accompanied by comments on the physical appearance of the performer. However, the question is whether or not the physical appearance of a performer of a musical event as experienced by Pepys affected the way in which he received the music itself, as illustrated in the earlier quote concerning 'Mrs Pierce and my wife Knipp'.

As discussed in Chapter Two the physical attributes of a performer may influence a listener's musical experience. The aforementioned diary entry (that of 6 December 1665) emphasises the standard of the singing of Mrs Pierce but Pepys also admits that Mrs. Pierce's beauty

<sup>20</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). iv. p. 355-356.

<sup>21</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). viii. p. 438.

<sup>22</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). viiii. pp. 58-59.

added to his experience of the music. Pepys refers to Mrs Pierce's singing as being the finest he has ever heard, but this statement may be interpreted as hyperbole. Based on the research done by Wapnick *et al.* on the influence of the attractiveness of a performer, it can be assumed that because of Pepys' attraction to Mrs Pierce his reaction towards her singing and the musical experience as a whole was positively influenced by her physical attributes. Although a performer who was a beautiful woman may have enhanced Pepys' experience of music, he was also not repelled by the physical attributes of a performer who may have been perceived as less attractive, as becomes evident from the diary entry made on 15 October 1665, '*and to sing, his man Dutton's wife singing very prettily (a mighty fat woman), and I wrote out one song from her and pricked the Tune, being very pretty.*'<sup>23</sup>

On 2 July 1666 Pepys further displayed how much the physical attractiveness of a female performer swayed his experience of the performance when he wrote: '*Mrs. Norton, the Second Roxalana, a fine woman, indifferent handsome, good body and hand - and good mind; and pretends to sing, but doth it not excellently; however, I took pleasure there*'.<sup>24</sup> One could question whether Pepys found any pleasure in the performance of the music or whether it was purely Mrs. Norton's physical appearance that gave him pleasure. This entry suggests that it was the combination of an attractive woman and the music that gave him contentment, even if it was not perceived to be a good performance. This entry again demonstrates that beautiful women and music were his two great loves.

It was not only the physical appearance of women that influenced Pepys' experience of a musical performance. The image that men portrayed may also have had an influence on his judgement of a performer. Pepys was a man who valued a stately presentation and this may have had an influence on his judgement of the skill of two men as singers when he commented on 29 May 1668: '*by and by comes Mercer and Gayett, and two gentlemen with them, Mr. Montouth and Pelham, the former a swaggering young handsome gentleman - the latter a sober citizen merchant; both sing, but the latter with great skill; the other, no skill but a good voice and a good basse - but used to sing only tavern tunes; and so I spent all this evening until 11 at night singing with them, until I tired of them because of the swaggering fellow with the basse*'.<sup>25</sup> From this diary entry one could assume the attitude of the

<sup>23</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). vi. p. 267.

<sup>24</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). vii. p. 191.

<sup>25</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). viii. p. 217.

‘swaggering’ gentleman may have offended Pepys in some way, which, in turn, could have made him more critical of the gentleman's skill as a singer. On the other hand he specifically refers to the other gentleman as being ‘sober’ which, for Pepys, may have portrayed a sense of refinement, an attribute which Pepys favoured, and this may have influenced him to applaud his skill as a singer.

### 6.3.5 The emotional affect that music induced in Pepys

#### 6.3.5.1 Pepys' experience of vocal music as a singer and a listener

Pepys was a very active member of the musical society of late 17<sup>th</sup> century England. He often wrote about listening to vocal music in church, he attended the theatre where music was part of the production and he frequently had discussions about music with musicians and music lovers. He also made music with these various acquaintances, took singing lessons as a leisure activity and took the time to make music in his own home. Domestic music in the private homes of the middle and upper classes played a significant role in English life during the time of Pepys' diary. Music in the Pepys household was a common pastime and from his diary it can be assumed that he used music as an escape from the daily pressures of living. The ladies of the household, including his wife Elizabeth, would sing with Pepys on an almost daily basis. Pepys took great pleasure in making music in both his garden and his house, writing on 9 September 1664: *‘back again home and there my wife and Mercer and Tom and I sat until 11 at night, singing and fiddling; and a great joy it is to see me maister of so much pleasure in my house’*.<sup>26</sup> The two women that he most frequently sang with were Mary Mercer, a maid in his household, and his wife, Elizabeth Pepys. Although Pepys was sometimes displeased when hearing his wife sing due to her lack of skill and musicality, he later found tremendous joy in her growth and improvement as a singer. He mentions this in his diary on a few occasions, one of which was on 7 May 1667 when he wrote: *‘after hearing my wife sing, who is manifestly come to be more musical in her eare then ever I thought she could have been made; which rejoices me to the heart, for I take great delight now to hear her sing.’*<sup>27</sup> Pepys would also repeatedly write about his experience when singing with Mercer. He found her to be of great musical talent and on occasion, to his wife's discontent,

<sup>26</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). v. p. 266.

<sup>27</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). viii. p. 204.

would spend hours singing with her, as he writes on 30 July 1666: *'I find my wife plainly dissatisfied with me, that I can spend so much time with Mercer, teaching her to sing, and could never take that pains with her - which I acknowledge; but it is because that the girl doth take music mighty readily, and she doth not; and music is the thing of the world that I love most, and all the pleasure almost that I can now take.'*<sup>28</sup> According to Pepys' diary, Mercer's musicality far surpassed that of his wife although the three of them would often join each other in singing. They frequently sang until the early hours of the morning because of the pleasure it brought into their home, as Pepys records on 26 June 1666: *'my wife and Mercer came into the garden, and my business being done, we sang until about 12 at night with mighty pleasure to ourselves and neighbours'*.<sup>29</sup>

Pepys makes a number of references to his making of music and singing with Mr. Hill and Mr. Andrews. Thomas Hill was one of Pepys' friends during the time of his entries in his diary. It was Hill's taste for music that prompted their friendship.<sup>30</sup> Thomas Andrews was a friend and business associate, together with Thomas Hill. Pepys, Hill and Andrews took great pleasure in making music together as an escape from their business activities. The entry made on 4 December 1664 is one of many recording their musical experiences together: *'and by and by comes Mr Hill and Andrews and sung together long and with great content.'* Pepys had a high opinion of Andrews' skill as a singer. It can be assumed that their first introduction was through Hill and at this meeting they sang together, with Pepys admiring him as a singer, writing on 12 April 1664: *'Here I also met Mr. Hill, the little merchant. And after all was done, we sung. I did well enough a psalm or two of Lawes; he I perceive hath good skill and sings well - and a friend of his sings a good bass.'* It is not clear from this entry whether the friend of Hill was Thomas Andrews but this is most probably the case, because of Pepys', Hill's and Andrews' subsequent joint musical activities after this date.

### 6.3.5.2 Pepys' emotional experience when making or listening to music

It is clear from the diary entries made by Pepys when he refers to how music affected him that he was deeply moved by its magnificence. He was so intensely moved at times that he was unable to resume the conversation, activity or business in which he was initially

<sup>28</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). vii. p. 228.

<sup>29</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). vii. p. 117.

<sup>30</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Wheatley (ed.). i. p. 175.

involved. This is illustrated in his entry of 9 November 1663 when he writes: '*and upon many more things, we had discoursed, when some persons in a room hard by begun to sing in three parts very finely, and to play upon a Flagelette so pleasantly, that my discourse afterward was but troublesome and I could not attend it*'.<sup>31</sup>

When Pepys writes about listening to music or singing, either alone or with others such as Hill, Andrews, Mercer, his wife and various other individuals, he repeatedly uses the words 'content' or 'contentment' and 'pleasure' or 'pleasing' to describe his experience of these musical occurrences. When reviewing the use of these words in the context of the emotional effect that music has, it is necessary to look at their definitions as well as synonyms in order to understand the nature of the emotional effect of music. Pepys' diary was written during the late seventeenth century and therefore it is necessary to determine the definitions of these terms according to a source from that time. The closest available source is *A Dictionary of the English Language* by Samuel Johnson from 1755.<sup>32</sup> According to this source the definition for content is "[t]o satisfy so as to stop complaint; not to offend; to appease without plenary happiness or complete gratification."<sup>33</sup> This definition is in accordance with the *Collins English Dictionary* definition that is most relevant for content or contentment in this context is 'mentally or emotionally satisfied with things as they are', and 'peace of mind; mental or emotional satisfaction.'<sup>34</sup> According to the *The Academia Dictionary of English Synonyms and Antonyms*<sup>35</sup> the synonyms for content or contentment are 'satisfied', 'appease', 'mollify', and 'ease'.

According to Johnson's dictionary the term 'pleasure' is defined as '[d]elight; gratification of the mind or senses. Pleasure, in general, is the consequent apprehension of a suitable object, suitably applied to a rightly disposed faculty.'<sup>36</sup> This is in accordance with the definition from the *Collins English Dictionary* according to which pleasure or pleasing is '1. An agreeable or enjoyable sensation or emotion: *the pleasure of hearing good music*. 2. Something that gives or affords enjoyment or delight: *his garden was his only pleasure*. 3. Amusement, recreation, or enjoyment. [...] 4. *Euphemistic*. sexual gratification or

<sup>31</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). iv. p. 377.

<sup>32</sup> Johnson. *A Dictionary of the English Language*.

<sup>33</sup> Johnson. *A Dictionary of the English Language*. p. 462.

<sup>34</sup> Hanks, Long & Urdang. *Collins Dictionary of the English Language*. p. 324.

<sup>35</sup> Christ. *The Academia Dictionary of English Synonyms and Antonyms*. p. 63.

<sup>36</sup> Johnson. *A Dictionary of the English Language*. p. 1518.

enjoyment'.<sup>37</sup> This definition is substantiated by the synonyms which are listed in *The Academia Dictionary of English Synonyms and Antonyms* for pleasure or pleasing: 'gratification', 'indulgence', 'enjoyment', 'delight', 'delectation', 'joy', 'gladness', 'satisfaction', 'happiness' and 'comfort'.<sup>38</sup>

Our focus is on the experience Pepys had when listening to music. For the purposes of this study, modern models of emotion will be used in order to interpret the way Pepys responded to the music of the time. In analysing the emotional expression of Pepys as recorded in his diary, a combination of two models of music and emotion is used, namely Russell's circumplex model and Hevner's adjective clock. Hevner's adjective clock is a circle that is divided into clusters of adjectives representing various emotions around the circle. These are positioned to represent various arousal and valence scales as shown in Figure 6.3.<sup>39</sup> Hevner's model will be used to categorize the words (and synonyms) used by Pepys in order to determine their arousal and valence. This is shown in Figures 6.4 and 6.5. Once the terms have been categorized, the original terms used by Pepys will be attached to Russell's circumplex model. This model is a dimensional model of music and emotion, as shown in Figure 6.6. The model has two main dimensions, namely valence and arousal. Valence is representative of the spectrum of pleasure/displeasure emotion and arousal represents the range of activation/deactivation.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Hanks, Long & Urdang. *Collins Dictionary of the English Language*. p. 1124.

<sup>38</sup> Christ. *The Academia Dictionary of English Synonyms and Antonyms*. p. 212.

<sup>39</sup> Zentner & Eerola. *Self-Report Measures and Models*. p. 201-202.

<sup>40</sup> Zentner & Eerola. *Self-Report Measures and Models*. p. 199.

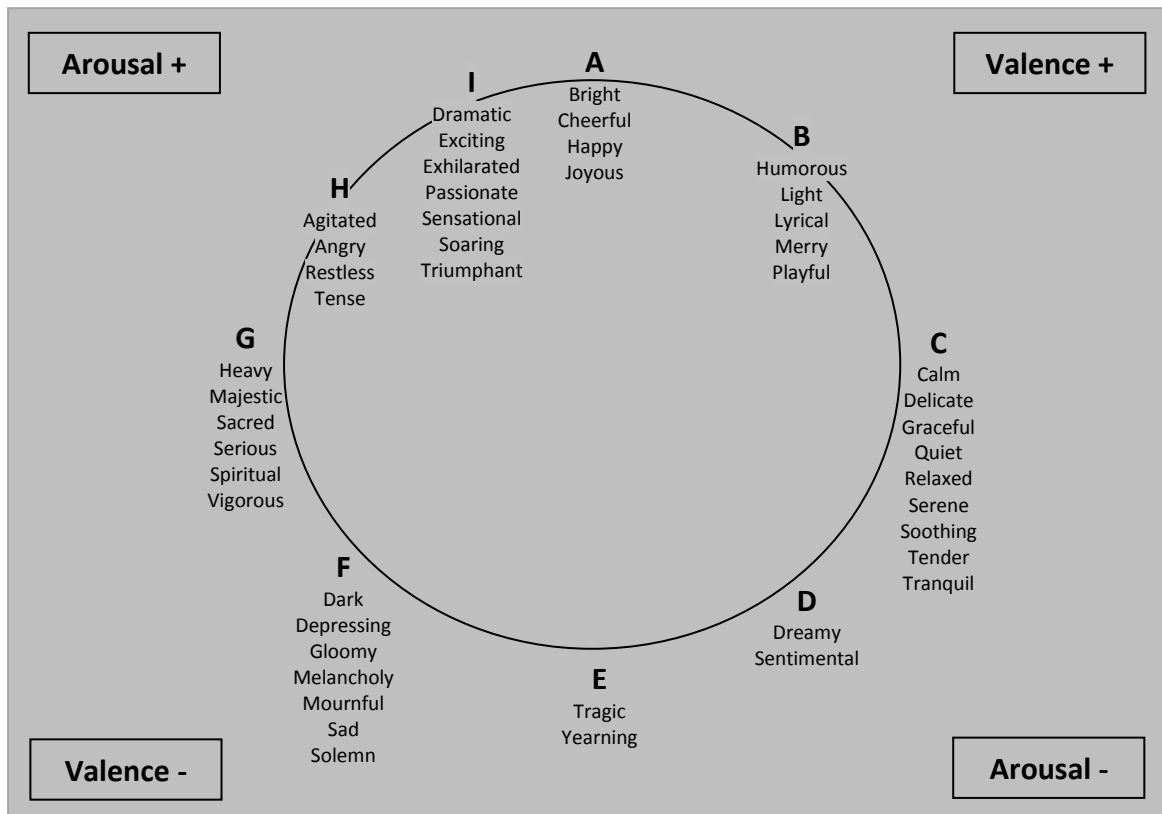


Figure 6.3: A representation of Hevner's adjective clock.<sup>41</sup>

In demonstrating the synonyms for the terms used by Pepys in this model 'pleasure' is represented in Figure 6.2 and 'content' is represented in Figure 6.3.

<sup>41</sup> Zentner & Eerola. Self-Report Measures and Models. p. 203.

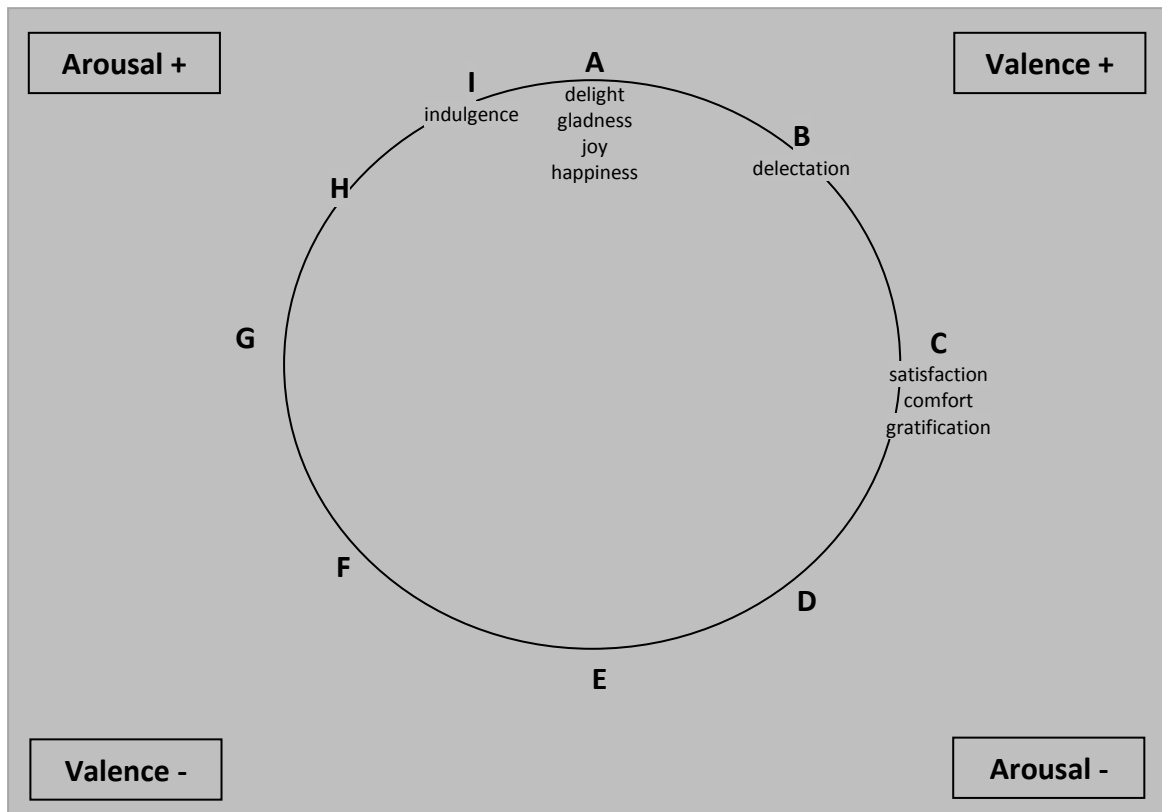


Figure 6.4: A representation of the synonyms for 'pleasure' on Hevner's adjective clock.

This figure shows the valence and arousal experiences that Pepys may have had when using the word 'pleasure'. According to this model, Pepys' experience of music when using the word 'pleasure' relating to it in his diary has either a positive or negative arousal and a positive valence, which means he experienced pleasure on either a high or low activation level.

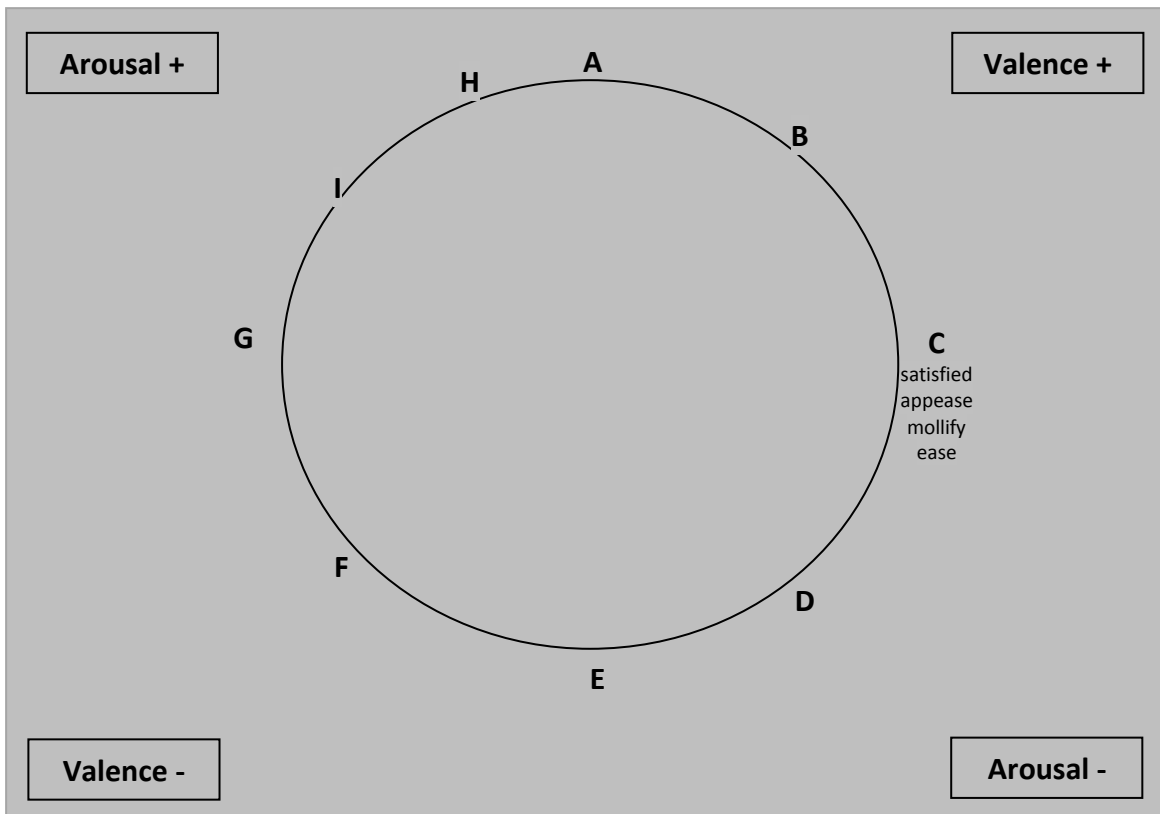


Figure 6.5: A representation of the synonyms of 'content' on Hevner's adjective clock.

This figure shows the valence and arousal experiences that Pepys may have had when using the word 'content'. According to this model, Pepys' experience of music when using the word 'content' relating to that experience, in his diary, has a neutral arousal and a positive valence, which means that he experienced contentment on a positive level.

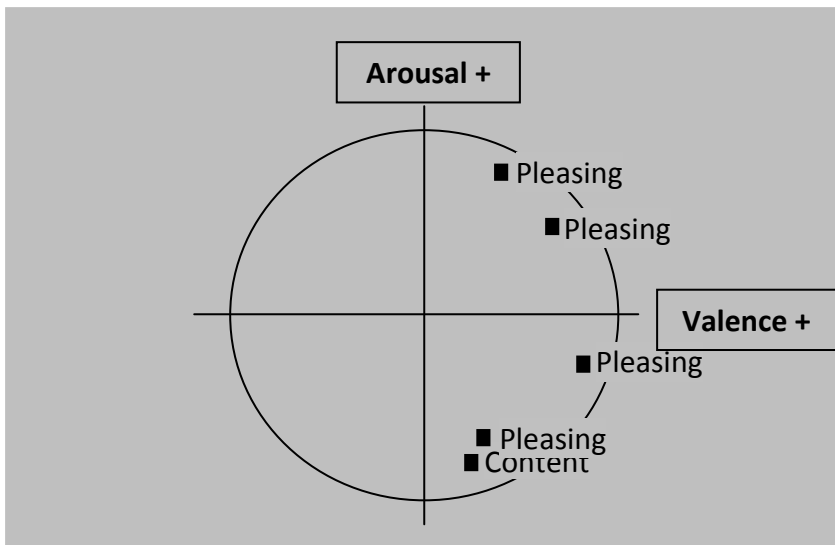


Figure 6.6: Illustration of Russell's circumplex model of emotions with Pepys' basic emotional descriptions attached.<sup>42</sup>

This figure is a graphic representation of Hevner's adjective clock with reference to Pepys' use of language within his diary.

In order to gain an overall view of Pepys' emotional reception of music, it is necessary to refer back to the earlier quantitative discussion of the data. The category that will be discussed in this section is 'Pepys' reception of a musical experience' where the data is split into the following four classes: Not pleasing, Pleasing, Very pleasing and Heavenly. Each of these classes can be catalogued according to arousal and valence, as shown in Figure 6.7.

<sup>42</sup> Zentner & Eerola. Self-Report Measures and Models. p. 199.

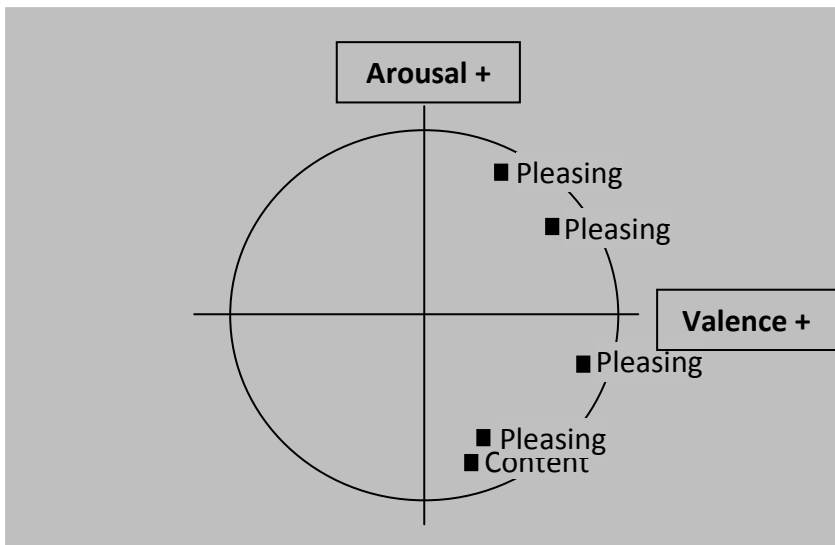


Figure 6.7: Illustration of Russell's circumplex model of emotions with classes of Pepys' reception attached.<sup>43</sup>

The quantitative results in the majority of his listening experiences as reflected in his diary entries show that in Pepys' experience of a musical event his affective emotional experience had a positive arousal and a positive valence. Music excited and distracted Pepys. When looking at this result the question can be asked whether it was the music itself that affected Pepys on such a deep emotional level, or whether it was his love of music that enhanced his experience.

#### 6.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to discuss the diary entries of Pepys. These include Pepys' feelings about music and specifically vocal music, which he particularly loved, as shown in his diary. In studying the diary entries on this topic on a deeper level it is now possible to answer the main questions of this study. The next chapter will draw conclusions in answer to the main question raised in the study, namely: What is Samuel Pepys' reception and perception of vocal music in late seventeenth-century England as evidenced by his diary?

<sup>43</sup> Zentner & Eerola. Self-Report Measures and Models. p. 199.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### Conclusions

#### 7.1 Introduction

In order to draw conclusions from the preceding chapter, it is necessary to reset the focus of this study and the questions asked at the opening of this study. The main question asked is:

What is Samuel Pepys' reception and perception of vocal music in late seventeenth-century England as evidenced by his diary (1660 - 1669)?

As the data has revealed in the analysis of Pepys' diary entries in Chapter Six, this main focus and research question can be answered by dividing it into three sub-questions.

1. What is Pepys' view within his diary, as an Englishman, on music from different cultures?
2. What other factors influence Pepys' experience of a musical event?
3. What was Pepys' emotional experience surrounding a musical event within the genre of vocal music?

The purpose of this chapter is to attempt to answer the above questions with reference to the discussion on the selected entries from Pepys' diary in the preceding chapter.

#### 7.2 Samuel Pepys' perception and reception of vocal music in late seventeenth-century England

##### 7.2.1 Pepys' view, as an Englishman, on music from different nationalities

It was Pepys' view that the words of a vocal piece were of even greater importance than the music. He felt that in order to fully experience a piece of vocal music, every word should be heard and understood by the listener. Pepys highlights two main issues that influenced his understanding of the text. One was the language in which the text was written and the other is the number of voices singing the text, which will be discussed later in this chapter. He frequently wrote about being unable to fully appreciate a piece of vocal music because he

was unable to understand the text. As an Englishman, French and Italian were not his first languages and therefore he did not understand the words of songs or vocal church music of these nations. Thus he did not find vocal music from France or Italy as pleasing as he did English vocal music even though he was able to judge and appreciate the value and quality of a vocal piece from a nation other than his own. Although the language of a piece of vocal music appears to be the overriding factor in Pepys' underlying negative reaction to vocal music of a different nation, the political and social relationship between England and other countries may also have played a part in his judgement and experience of their music.

Pepys was also of the opinion that the language of a particular nationality had a specific accent and tone, which would then influence the way in which words are set to music from said nation. Therefore, a composer composing a piece of vocal music would be much more capable and successful in doing so in his own language, than in doing so in a language foreign to him. Similarly, a listener would be better able to judge and fully experience a piece of vocal music from his own country in his own language.

### **7.2.2 Influencing factors surrounding Pepys' experience of a musical event**

One of the factors that influenced Pepys' experience of a piece of music was his taste in music. Music was a symbol of Pepys' identity and the music that he enjoyed listening to formed part of the image of himself that he wished to portray, namely an image of prestige and wealth as well as dignity and high moral stature. Pepys not only loved music but used it as a tool to elevate his image and position in society. He was well known at Cambridge for his fierce belief in musical education and was often referred to by the lecturers at Cambridge even when he was no longer a student there.

A second factor that greatly influenced Pepys' experience of a musical event was the physical appearance of a singer. Pepys was a man with an appetite for beautiful women and this frequently affected his experience of a piece. However, when looking at his diary entries showing this, it should be noted that the appearance of a singer did not cloud his judgement of a piece of music. For example, if a beautiful woman sang badly or sang a piece with little musical value he would be able to acknowledge this. However, despite his knowledge that a

piece of music or the performance thereof was of a low quality, he would, at times, still enjoy the performance of it because he was physically attracted to the singer.

A third factor that influenced Pepys was the number of voices singing together in a piece of vocal music. Even though he did have a deep love of vocal music, his admiration for it did not stretch to more than approximately three or four voices singing together as a 'choir'. Pepys viewed music sung by many voices as 'instrumental', because of the difficulty the listener may have in hearing and, therefore, understanding the words. As discussed earlier, the text of a vocal piece of music carried the most weight with Pepys as a listener. Just as he was unable to understand the words of a French or Italian piece and so was unable to fully experience it, he also found it difficult to grasp the words when many voices were singing an English piece together. He therefore argued that he was unable to appreciate such music fully. In fact, Pepys had such a strong opinion about the relationship between words and music, which he set down in his diary, that it can become a little monotonous for the reader.

### 7.2.3 Pepys' emotional experience surrounding a musical event within the genre of vocal music

Pepys' frequently wrote about his love of music, and especially vocal music, in his diary. In order to fully understand his true adoration of music it is necessary to restate Pepys' diary entry made on 28 February 1668. Even though this diary entry is not about vocal music in particular, it illustrates the intensity with which Pepys experienced music:

*'[...]that which did please me beyond anything in the whole world was the wind-musique when the Angell comes down, which is so sweet that it ravished me; and ended in a word, did wrap up my soul so that it made me really sick, just as I have formerly been when in love with my wife; that neither then, nor all the evening going home and at home, I was able to think of anything, but remained all night transported, so as I could not believe that ever any music hath that real command over the soul of a man as this did upon me'*<sup>1</sup>

Taking his feelings in the previous diary entry into consideration and then looking at Pepys' overriding response to vocal music as a whole, whether he was experiencing it as a listener or as a singer, it can be seen that his attitude was mostly positive. His deep love of music builds the foundation for this response. He went into each musical event with an attitude of

<sup>1</sup> Pepys. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Latham and Matthews (eds). viiii. p. 94.

appreciation and enjoyment. At times, even when he felt that the music at a particular music event was not of a high standard, he would express the pleasure he experienced just by the act of listening to or making music. As discussed in Chapter Six, out of 148 diary entries used as part of the qualitative discussion in this study, in only ten per cent of these was his experience not pleasing. In contrast, in forty-six per cent of these entries he expressed his musical experience as being pleasing, very pleasing or heavenly. As seen in the Hevner models of emotion in Chapter Six, Pepys' overriding emotional experience when either listening to or singing vocal music had both a positive arousal and valence. It can therefore be concluded that Pepys' attitude towards the music of the time influenced the way in which he experienced it emotionally. He went into a musical event with a positive attitude and expectation, which set the tone for each of these events. Mostly his expectations were fulfilled, but at times he was 'pleasantly surprised' by the performance of a singer, and his expectations were rarely sufficiently crushed to cause him to have a negative response to the musical event.

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## APPENDIX A

## Database of entries from Samuel Pepys' dairy with reference to vocal music

ID	Vol.	Pg.	Entry date	Main category	Sub-topic	Diary entry	Footnotes
1	1	19	16 January 1660	Vocal	Pepys Sings: sight reads	Thence we went to the Greene Dragon on Lambeth hill, both the Mr. Pinknys, Smith, Harrison, Morrice that sang the bass, Sheply and I, and there we sang of all sorts of things and I ventured with good success upon things at first sight and after that played on my flagelette;	Pepys sang bass, as shown by his music MSS in the PL.
2	1	19	16 January 1660	Pepys Taste	dislikes old fashioned singing	And after dinner we had pretty good singing and one Hazard sung alone after the old fashion; which was very much cried up, but I did not like it.	Perhaps a lutenist ayre as contrasted with later declamatory song-forms. Hazard was probably Thomas Hazard, later of the Chapel Royal.
3	1	32-33	30 January 1660	Vocal	Pepys sings	This morning, before I was up, I fell a-singing of my song <i>Great, good, and just, &amp;c.</i> and put myself thereby in mind that this was the fatal day, now ten year since, his Majesty died.	Possibly John Wilson's setting of a version of the poem by Montrose: Bodl., MS. Mus. B. 1, f. 147r.
4	1	59	18 February 1660	Vocal	Pepys sings	A great while at my Viall and voice, learning to sing <i>Fly boy, fly boy</i> without book.	Music by Simon Ives; source of words untraced. Printed in John Playford, <i>Select ayres and dialogues</i> (1659), p. 90.
5	1	63	21 February 1660	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: Italian and Spanish part songs	Here we had variety of brave Italian and Spanish songs and a Canon for 8 <i>Voc.</i> , which Mr. Lock had newly made on these words: <i>Domine salvum fac Regem</i> , an admirable thing.	Untraced
6	1	64	22 February 1660	Vocal	Pepys sings	Then home and sang a song to my vial; so to my office and to Wills, where Mr. Pierce found me out and told me that he would go with me to Cambridge	
7	1	76	4 March 1660	Vocal	Pepys sings	Before I went to church I sang <i>Orpheus Hymne</i> to my Viall.	O king of heaven and hell' - Henry Lawes's setting of Sir John Birkenhead's words; headed 'Orpheus Hymn to God' in Lawes's <i>Second book of ayres and dialogues</i> (1655), pp. 47-8; not in the PL.
8	1	111	18 April 1660	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: psalms	W. Howe sat by my bedside and he and I sang a psalm or two; and so I to sleep.	

9	1	113	21 April 1660	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	At night late singing with W. Howe, and under the barber's hands in the coach.	
10	1	115	24 April 1660	Vocal	Pepys sings	And after supper my Lord and we had some more very good Musique and singing of <i>Turne Ameryllis</i> , as it is printed in the Song-book, with which my Lord was very much pleased	Playford's <i>Select ayres and dialogues</i> (1659), pp. 112-13, has Thomas Brewer's new setting of James Shirley's lyric 'Turn Amaryllis to thy swain' ( <i>Schoole of complement</i> , 1631, p.37).
11	1	118	28 April 1660	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	After supper, my Lord exceeding merry; and he and I and W. Howe to sing.	
12	1	129	5 May 1660	Vocal	Pepys sings	At night after supper, good Musique: My Lord, Mr. North, I and W. Howe.	
13	1	144	17 May 1660	Vocal	Pepys Sings: sings to echo	Here I met with Mr. Woodcock of Cambridge, Mr. Hardye and another. And Mr. Woodcock beginning, we had two or three fine songs, he and I and W. Howe, to the Echo, which was very pleasant, and the more because in a haven of pleasure and in a strange country - that I never was taken up more with a sense of pleasure in my life.	
14	1	162	27 May 1660	Vocal	Pepys sings	And after that I went down to W. Howe's Cabbin and there with a great deal of pleasure sang until it was late.	
15	1	164	31 May 1660	Vocal	Pepys sings	After dinner, a great while below in the great Cabbin, trying with W. Howe some of Mr. Lawes's songs, peticularly that of <i>What is a kisse</i> , with which we had a great deal of pleasure.	A setting of Herrick's lyric 'Among thy fancies, tell me this', entitled ' <i>The Kisse. A Dialogue</i> ': Henry Lawes, <i>Ayres, and dialogues... the third book</i> (1658), pp. 29-31.
16	1	169	5 June 1660	Vocal	Pepys sings	In the evening in my cabin a great while, getting the song without book, <i>Help, helpe Divinity &amp;c.</i>	Help, help, O help, divinity of love'; Henry Lawes's setting of Henry Hughes's poem (referring to Henrietta-Maria's landing in a storm at Bridlington, 1643), printed in Lawes's Second book of ayres and dialogues (1655), pp. 1-3; Willa McC. Evans, H. Lawes, p. 211; W. Maynard in <i>Music and Letter</i> , 33/335+.
17	1	195	8 July 1660	Church Music		To White-hall to chapel, where I got in with ease by going before the Lord Chancellor with Mr. Kipps. Here I heard good Musique, the first time that I remember ever to have heard the Organs and singing-men in Surplices in my life.	After the Restoration, these usages (together with the Book of Common Prayer) returned first in the chapels royal, cathedrals and college chapels.
18	1	176	17 June 1660	Church Music	organ	To Mr. Messums; a good sermon. This day the Organs did begin to play at White-hall before the King.	The organ in Whitehall Chapel, like many church organs, had been taken down during the revolution. It was recovered through John Playford's efforts and erected in its old place soon after the Restoration. 'Father' Bernard

							Smith's new organ there, built under John Hingston's supervision, was apparently completed by October 1662.
19	1	205	21 July 1660	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: canons and catches	Went to the Six Clerks' Office to Mr. Spong for the writings, and dined with him at a club at the next door, where we had three voices to sing catches.	
20	1	215	5 August 1660	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: psalms	How at Mr. Pierces, where I stayed singing of songs and psalms an hour or two, and were very pleasant with Mrs. Pierce and him.	
21	1	220	12 August 1660	Church Music		After sermon a brave Anthem of Captain Cookes, which he himself sung, and the King was well pleased with it.	Calamy meant to demonstrate that Presbyterians were as loyal as Anglicans.
22	1	237	2 September 1660	Church Music	Whitehall Chapel: anthems: dull	After that to Chappell, where Dr Ferne, a good honest sermon upon: "the Lord is my Shield." After sermon, a dull Anthem; and so to my Lord's (he dining abroad) and dined with Mr. Sheply.	A loose recollection of 2 Sam. Xxii. 3; or Ps. Iii. 3; or Ps. Xxviii. 7. The chapel was that of Whitehall Palace, and the preacher Henry Ferne, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Dean of Ely.
23	1	265	14 October 1660	Church Music	badly sung	To White-hall Chappell, where one Dr Crofts made an indifferent sermon and after it an anthemne, ill sung, which made the King laugh.	
24	1	268	17 October 1660	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	They being gone and Mr. Creed, Mr. Spong and I went to our Musique to sing;	
25	1	272	23 October 1660	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	So to White-hall, where I met Mr. Spong and went home with him and played and sang	John Spong, mathematical instrument maker.
26	1	274	24 October 1660	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	Esquire Ashmole, who I find a very ingenious Gentlemen; with him we two sang afterward in Mr. Lilly's study.	Elias Ashmole, antiquary and herald; a friend of Lilly and much concerned with astrology, who had this day taken up his duties as a Comptroller of the Excise for London: C. H. Josten (ed.), <i>Ashmole</i> , ii. 800.
27	1	283	4 November 1660	Church Music	Westminster Abbey: organ	After dinner to Westminster, where I went to my Lord; and having spoke with him, I went to the abby, where the first time that ever I heard the organs in a Cathedrall.	The Abbey organ was despoiled during the Interregnum; an instrument (? The same) was 'sett up' this month (Rugge, I, f.134r); 'Father' Smith repaired and added to an organ there in 1660: A. Freeman, <i>Father Smith</i> , p.3; P. A. Scholes, <i>Puritans and music</i> , ch. xv; W. L. Sumner, <i>The Organ</i> (1962), pp. 128, 145.

28	1	313	9 December 1660	Vocal	Pepys sings with choir	This being done, I went to Chappell and sat in Mr. Blagraves pew and there did sing my part along with another before the King - and with much ease.	Thomas Blgrave was one of the gentlemen of the Chapel Royal; Pepys was singing (? at sight) with the choir. Cf. the similar occasion on 29 December 1661.
29	1	324	30 December 1660	Church Music	Westminster Abbey: organ	I to the abby and walked there, seeing the great confusion of people that came there to hear the organs.	
30	2	6	6 January 1661	Church Music	St Olave's, Hart St: long psalm	To church again; where before Sermon, a long Psalm was set that lasted an houre while the Sexton gathered his year's contribucion through the whole church.	To set a long psalm for this purpose was a common practice: cf. below, 12 January 1668. The sexton was Fleetwood Duell, appointed in 1644.
31	2	41	23 February 1661	Church Music	rehearsal	After dinner to White-hall chappell with Mr. Childe; and there did hear Captain Cooke and his boy make a tryall of an Anthemne against tomorrow, which was rare Musique.	
32	2	57	21 March 1661	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	And at noon dined with my Lord, who was very merry; and after dinner we sang and fiddled a great while.	
33	2	71	10 April 1661	Vocal	Pepys sings	Going home, she would needs have me sing; and did pretty well and was highly esteemed by them.	
34	2	77	16 April 1661	Vocal	Pepys sings	And by and by took barge again and so home - and by the way they would have me sing, which I did to Mr. Coventry - who went up to Sir Wm. Battens;	Mr. Coventry: Pepys would sing bass
35	2	101	17 May 1661	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	So home to my musique; and my wife and I sat singing in my chamber a good while together.	
36	2	104	22 May 1661	Vocal: Pepys listens to others		Before dinner my Lady Wright and my Lady Jem. Sang songs to the Harpsicon. Very pleasant and merry at dinner.	
37	2	118	9 June 1661	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	I went up to Jane Shores tower and there W, Howe and I sang; and so took my wife and walked home and so to bed.	Jane Shores: Little appears to be known about this Tower and its association with Jane Shore, Edward IV's mistress: see R. Allen Brown et al., King's Works, ii. 980-1. The Wardrobe building had been used by Edward as a royal residence: Stow, Survey (ed. Strype, 1720), vol. i, pt iii. 224.
38	2	121	13 June 1661	Vocal	Pepys sings	And after dinner I went down below and there sang and took leave of W. Howe, Captain Rolt, and the rest of my friends;	

39	2	126	25 June 1661	Vocal	Pepys sings	This morning came Mr. Goodgroome to me, recommended by Mr. Mage. With whom I agreed presently to give him 20s entrance; which I then did, and 20s a month more to teach me to sing. And so we begun and I hope I shall come to something in it. His first song is La cruda la bella.	Theodore Goodgroome was probably brother of the John Goodgroome who (like Humphrey Madge) was a royal musician.  <i>La cruda la bella mia pastorella. Probably a MS. Copy; not published in England until 1667, in Playford's Catch that catch can, or The musical companion, pp. 192-3.</i>
40	2	128, n. 4	30 June 1661	Vocal	Pepys sings: practises trillo	Hence I to Grayes Inn walk all alone; and with great pleasure seeing the fine ladies walk there - myself humming to myself (which nowadays is my constant practice since I begun to learn to sing) the <i>trillo</i> ;	Not the modern trill but the accelerated reiteration of the same note. He was still hoping that Goodgroome could teach him the <i>trillo</i> on 7 September 1667.
41	2	135-6	15 July 1661	Church Music	King's College, Cambridge: organ	Then to King's College chappell, where I find the schollers in their surplices at the service with the organs - which is a strange sight to what it used in my time to be here.	The organ at King's had been removed in 1643, and by the time Pepys came into residence at Magdalene in 1651 the choristers had dwindled to one. There are signs that an organ was used after 1654. In 1660 a small organ belonging to Henry Loosemore the organist was used. Lancelot Pease was paid £200 for a 'chaireorgan' in 1661. See T. Fuller, <i>Hist. univ. Cambridge</i> (1655), p. 167; R. Willis and J. W. Clark, <i>Archit. hist. Cambridge</i> , i. 519-21; ii. 141-4, 205-14, 572-81; P. A. Scholes, <i>Puritans and music</i> , p. 237; W. L. Summer, <i>The Organ</i> (1962 ed.), pp. 125, 132; VCH, Cambs., iii. 391.
42	2	144	30 July 1661	Vocal	Pepys sings: has lessons	After my singing-master had done with me this morning, I went to White-hall, where I find the King expected to come and adjourne the parliament.	Singing-master: Theodore Goodgroome
43	2	145	31 July 1661	Vocal	Pepys sings: has lessons	Singing-master came to me this morning.	
44	2	240	29 December 1661	Vocal	Pepys sings with choir	and I to the Abby and there meeting with Mr. Hooper, he took me in among the Quire and there I sang with them their service.	Cf. the entry at 9 December 1660 when Pepys similarly sang in Whitehall Chapel. William Hooper was a minor canon of the Abbey.

45	3	46	14 March 1662	Vocal	Pepys sings	Then to my lute, upon which I have not played a week or two; and trying over the two songs of <i>Nulla nulla</i> , &c and <i>Gaze not on Swans</i> , which Mr. Berchinsha set for me a little while ago, I find them most incomparable songs as he hath set them - of which I am not a little proud, because I am sure none in the world hath them but myself, not so much as he himself that set them.	
46	3	67-68	20 April 1662	Vocal	Pepys sings: 'holy things'	And then walked home with Mr. Blagrave to his old house in the Fish yard, and there he had a pretty kinswoman that sings and we did sing some holy things; and afterwards other came in and so I left them and by water through the bridge (which did trouble me	In the PL certain MS. Songs are classified as 'Compositions: Grave'.
47	3	82	13 May 1662	Vocal	Pepys sings	And Will Joyce came with a friend, a Cosen of his, to see me and I made them drink a bottle of wine; and so to sing and read and to bed.	
48	3	84	18 May 1662	Church Music		By water to White-hall and there to Chappell n my pew, belonging [to] me as Clerk of the the Privy Seale. And there I heard a most excellent sermon of Dr. Hacker, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry - upon these words: "Hee that drinketh this water shall never thirst." We had an excellent Anthemne sung by Captain Cooke and another, and brave Musique; and then the King Come down and offered, and took the Sacrament upon his Knees - a sight very well worth seeing.	<i>Recte</i> Hacket: now over 70, but still one of the most popular preachers of the the day, in the elaborate style of preaching fashionable in the early part of the century. A loose recollection of John, iv. 14. Two of his sermons on his text (both preached at Whitehall, but neither dated) were published in his Century of sermons (1675), pp. 893+, 902+.
49	3	85	18 May 1662	Church Music		Thence with Sir G. Carteret to his lodgeing to dinner, with his Lady and one Mr. Brevin, a french divine. We were very merry, and good discourse, and I had much talk with my Lady - after dinner; and so to Chappell again and there had another good Anthemne of Captain Cookes.	Dabel Brevint, Canon of Durham, later (1682) Dean of Lincoln, who had married Anne, Cateret's sister. Not French, but like Carteret a Jersey man. He had been educated in France (at Saumur) and had spent his years of exile there during the revolution, becoming spiritual director of Turenne's wife, and had returned from Normandy only a few months before: Corr. J. Cosin (ed. Ornsby), ii. 26. His visit to London may have been connected with his presentation to Brancepeth, co. Durham, a rectory in the royal gift, at about this time: CSPD 1661-2, pp. 256, 370.
50	3	86	19 May	Vocal	Pepys sings	So [with] my wife walking and singing upon the leads	

			1662		with others	until very late, it being pleasant and mooneshine	
51	3	99	1 June 1662	Vocal	Pepys sings: French psalms	At church in the morning a stranger made a very good sermon. Dined at home, and Mr. Spong came to see me. So he and I set down a little to sing some French psalms	
52	3	147	27 July 1662	Vocal	Pepys sings	Here meeting with Laud Crispe, I took him to the further end and sat under a tree in the corner and there sung some songs; he singing well, but no skill and so would sing false sometimes.	
53	3	190	7 September 1662	Church Music	with symphonies	and then sent to tell Sir J. Minnes that I would go with him to White-hall, which anon we did, in his coach; and to the Chappell, where I heard a good sermon of the Deane of Elys upon Returning to the old wayes - and a most excellent Anthem (with Symphony's between) sung by Captain Cooke.	Francis Wilford was the preacher, and the text presumably Jer., vi. 16. The subject was the return of ecclesiastical uniformity.
							The symphonies were probably played on the organ, perhaps supported by wind instruments: cf. Evelyn, 21 December 1662. According to Pepys, 14 September 1662 was 'the first day of having Vivalls and other Instruments to play a Symphony between every verse of the Anthem': below, p. 197.
54	3	197	14 September 1662	Church Music	with symphonies	Thence to White-hall chapel, where sermon almost done and I heard Captain Cookes new Musique; this the first day of having Vialls and other Instruments to play a Symphony between every verse of the Anthem; but the Musique more full then it was the last Sunday, and very fine it is. But yet I could discern Captain Cooke to overdo his part at singing, which I never did before.	
55	3	293	25 December 1662	Church Music	with symphonies	The sermon done, a good Anthemne fallowed, with vialls; and then the King came down to receive the sacrament, but I stayed not;	

56	4	48	17 February 1663	Love of Music		Hither we sent for her sister's Viall, upon which she plays pretty well for a girl; but my expectation is much deceived in her, not only for that but her spirit, she being I perceive a very subtle, witty jade and one that will give her husband trouble enough, as little as she is - whereas I took her heretofore for a very child and a simple fool. I played also, which I have not done this long time before upon any instrument; and at last broke up and I to my office a little while, being fearful of being too much taken with musique, for fear of returning to my old dotage thereon and so neglect my business as I used to do.	Viall: A bass viol
57	4	63	1 March 1663	Vocal	Pepys sings: new tunes	Thence, after singing some new tunes with W. Howe, I walked home	
58	4	63	1 March 1663	Church Music		After sermon, a very fine Anthemne.	
59	4	69	8 March 1663	Church Music	discontinued in Lent	Thence (the chapel in Lent being hung with black and no Anthemne sung after sermon as at other times) to my Lord Sandwich at Sir W Wheelers.	
60	4	104-5	17 April 1663	Love of Music	fears its distraction	This Morning Mr. Hunt the instrument-maker brought me home a Basse-viall to see whether I like it, which I do not very well; besides, I am under a doubt whether I like it, which I do not very well; besides, I am under a doubt whether I had best buy one yet or no - because of spoiling my present mind and love to business.	
61	4	110	25 April 1663	Vocal	Pepys sings	Up betimes and to my Vyall and song book a pretty while	
62	4	149	20 May 1663	Vocal	Pepys sings	and so to Woolwich town, where at alehouse I find them ready to attend my coming; and so took boat again, it being cold and I sweating with my walk (which was very pleasant along the green corne and peas); and most of the way sang, he and I, and eat some cold meat we had and with great pleasure home.	

63	4	235	19 July 1663	Vocal	Pepys sings	home and played on my lute and sung psalms until bedtime; then prayers and to bed.	
64	4	249	27 July 1663	Vocal: Pepys listens to others	impromptu part songs	so I rid up to them and find them only voices - some Citizens, met by chance, that sing four or five parts excellently. I have not been more pleased with a snapp of Musique, considering the circumstances of the time and place, in all my life anything so pleasant.	
65	4	269	9 August 1663	Church Music	new psalm	This afternoon I was amuzed at the tune set to the psalm by the clerke of the parish; and thought at first that he was out, but I find him to be a good songster, and the parish could sing it very well and was a good tune. But I wonder that there should be a tune in the psalms that I never heard of.	
66	4	355-6	29 October 1663	Pepys Taste	dislikes trumpets and kettledrums	I expected Musique, but there was none; but only trumpets and drums, which displeased me.	
67	4	377	9 November 1663	Vocal: Pepys listens to others	part songs in the tavern	Thus far, and upon many more things, we had discoursed, when some persons in a room hard by begun to sing in three parts very finely, and to play upon a Flagilette so pleasantly, that my discourse afterward was but troublesome and I could not attend it; and so anon considering of a sudden the time a-night	
68	4	393	22 November 1663	Church Music	in five parts	At Chappell I had room in the Privy Seale pew with other gentlemen, and there heard Dr. Killigrew preach; but my mind was so, I know not whether troubled or only full of thoughts of what had passed between my Lord and me, that I could not mind it nor can at this hour remember three words; the Anthemne was good after sermon, being 51 psalme - made for five voices by one of Captaine Cookes boys, a pretty boy - and they say there are four or five of them that can do as much	Henry Killigrew, chaplain to the King, Almoner to the Duke of York, and Master of the Savoy The composer was probably Pelham Humfrey, now aged about 16, whose anthem 'Have mercy upon me, O God' is found (inwhole or in part) in BM, Add. 17784, 17840, 33235; Harl. 7338; Ch. Ch. Oxford, MS. 621; Fitzwilliam, Cambridge, MS. 117; St Michael's Coll. Tenbury, MSS 310, 1029, 1034; W. Boyce, Cathedral Music (1760-73), ii. 235. John Blow, Thomas Tudway, William Turner and Michael Wise also composed anthems.

69	4	418-19	14 December 1663	Church Music	by Sandwich	Thence I through White-hall, only to see what was doing; but meeting none that I knew, I went through the garden to my Lord Sandwiches lodging, where I found my Lord got before me (which I did not entend or expect) and was there trying Some musique which he entends for Anthemne of three parts; I know not whether for the King's Chappell or no - but he seems mighty intent upon it.	
70	4	428	21 December 1663	Vocal: Pepys listens to others	Italian songs / by Sandwich	Thence having enough of it, by coach to my Lord Sandwiches; where I find him within with Captain Cooke and his boys, my Lord's Anthemne which he hath made to sing in the King's Chappell.	
71	5	12	11 January 1664	Love of Music	his music room	Thence to the Coffee-house, whither comes Sir W. Petty and Captain Grant, and we fell in talk (besides a young gentleman I suppose a merchant, his name Mr. Hill, that hath travelled and I perceive is a master in most sorts of Musique and other things) of Musique, the Universall Character - art of Memory - Granger's counterfeiting of hands - and other most excellent discourses, to my great content, having not been in so good company a great while.	John Graunt, a friend of Petty and, like him, a statistician.
							Thomas Hill, a merchant, became a close friend of Pepys later. He was several times to tell Pepys about music in Italy from personal knowledge: e.g. below, 12 October 1668.
							The attempt to produce a non-mathematical system of characters or symbols which could represent words of any language - a favourite project of the virtuosi of the time. The signs would represent not sounds (as in shorthand), but ideas. Bacon and Comenius were interested in it; for Bishop Wilkin's book on the subject, see below, 11 January 1666.
Abraham Gowrie Granger (alias Hill, alias Browne, etc.), a notorious forger, was alleged in the recent trial of Col. Turner to have plotted to counterfeit Tryon's will and his signature: State Trials (ed. Howell), vi. 580. A warrant for his arrest was issued on 14 February: CSPD 1663-4, p. 480. He had also recently been accused of forging a deed in the case of Lord Gerard v. Fitton: below, 21 February 1668 & n.							

72	5	19	18 January 1664	Vocal: Pepys listens to others	a Dutchman	Here was one Mr. Benson a Dutchman played and supped with us, that pretends to sing well; and I expected great matters but found nothing to be pleased with at all.	
73	5	53	19 February 1664	Vocal: Pepys listens to others		I set Maes to singing; but he did it so like coxcomb that I was sick of him.	
74	5	67	28 February 1664	Church Music	St Paul's Cathedral: poor choir	Both before and after sermon I was most impatiently troubled at the Quire, the worst that ever I heard. But what was extra-ordinary, the Bishop of London, who sat there in a pew made a-purpose for him by the pulpitt, doth give the last blessing to the congregation - which was, he being a comedy old man, a very decent thing methought.	A loose recollection of Jas, iii. 17. The preacher was Dr William Hawkyns, Fellow of Magdalen College and Canon of Winchester.
							Humphrey Henchman (Bishop of London since 1663) was now 71; he died in 1675 in his 83rd year.
75	5	120	12 April 1664	Vocal	Pepys sings	Here I also met Mr. Hill, the little merchant. And after all was done, we sung. I did well enough a psalm or two of Lawes; he I perceive hath good skill and sings well - and a friend of his sings a good bass.	friend of Lawes: possibly Thomas Andrews.
76	5	242	15 April 1664	Vocal: Pepys listens to others		In comes he, and so to sing a song, and his niece with us, but she sings very meanly.	
77	5	126	18 April 1664	Vocal: Pepys listens to others		meeting Mr. Blgrave, went home with him and there he and his Kinswoman sang but I was not pleased with it, they singing methought very ill, or else I am grown worse to please then heretofore.	
78	5	136	29 April 1664	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	Thence straight home and to the office; and in the evening comes Mr. Hill the merchant and another with him that sings well, and we sung some things and good Musique it seemed to me;	
79	5	179	14 June 1664	Vocal	Pepys sings	going into Sir H. Finch's garden and seeing the fountayne and singing there with the ladies;	Sir Heneage Finch (solicitor-General) had lived at Neyt Manor (later known as Kensington Palace) since 1663. He had made many alterations both to the house and to the grounds, which lay to the south of it. It was bought by William III in 1689, and little now remains of the original building and gardens.

80	5	194	1 July 1664	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: psalms	and then by agreement came Mr. Hill and Andrew and one Cheswicke, a maister who plays very well upon the Spinette, and we sat singing Psalms until 9 at night, and so broke up with great pleasure;	
81	5	199	8 July 1664	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	and then came Mr. Hill and Andrews and we sung an hour or two.	
82	5	209	15 July 1664	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	In the evening Mr. Hill, Andrews and I to my chamber to sing, which we did very pleasantly;	
83	5	217	22 July 1664	Pepys Taste	critical of Carissimi	Mr. Hill and Andrews and one slovenly and ugly fellow, Seignor Pedro, who sings Italian songs to the Theorbo most neatly; and they spent the whole evening in singing the best piece of musique, counted of all hands in the world, made by Seignor Charissimi the famous master in Rome. Fine it was ended, and too fine for me to judge of.	Giacomo Charissimi (d. 1674); most famous for his vocal compositions, in particular for his quasi-operatic chamber cantatas and oratorios.
84	5	226	29 July 1664	Pepys Taste	finds professionals spoil 'ingenuity' of domestic music	So away home - glad I escaped without any inconvenience; and there came Mr. Hill, Andrews and Seignor Pedro, and great store of Musique we had, but I begin to be weary of having a master with us, for it spoils methinks the ingenuity of our practice.	
85	5	229	1 August 1664	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	Thence to Westminster to Mr. Blagraves; and there, after singing a thing or two over,	
86	5	230	2 August 1664	Love of Music	his music room	But four operas it shall have the best Scenes and Machines, the best Musique, and everything as Magnificent as is in Christondome; and to that end hath sent for voices and painters and other persons from Italy.	Thomas Killigrew was manager of the King's Company and of the Theatre Royal where they played. A 'nursary' was a minor theatre for training of young actors. On 30 March 1664 Killigrew and Davenant received royal license to institute a theatre of this kind. Killigrew was probably referring to this project but he was unable to set up his nursary at Moorfields: below, 12 February 1667.
87	5	235	7 August 1664	Love of Music	his music room	So I walked homeward and met with Mr. Spong; and he with me as far as the Old Exchange, talking of many ingenuous things, Musique, and at last of Glasses, and I find him still the same ingenuous man that ever he was;	John Spong, maker of optical instruments.

88	5	261	4 September 1664	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: psalms	All the afternoon my wife and I above, and then the boy and I to singing of psalms, and then came in Mr. Hill and he sung with us a while; and he being gone, the boy and I again to singing of Mr. Porter's mottets, and it is a great joy to me that I am come to this condition, to maintain a person in the house able to give me such pleasure as this boy doth by his thorough understand of music, as he sing[s] anything at first sight.	Walter Porter, <i>Mottets of two voyces for treble or tenor and bass</i> (1657); not in the PL.
89	5	266	9 September 1664	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	and so back again home and there my wife and Mercer and Tom and I sat until 11 at night, singing and fiddling; and a great joy it is to see me maister of so much pleasure in my house	
90	5	290	5 October 1664	Pepys Taste	prefers vocal music to instrumental music.	Thence to the Musique-meeting at the post office, where I was once before. And thither anon come all the Gresham College and a great deal of noble company. And the new instrument was bought, called the Arched Viall - where, being tuned with Lutestrings and played on with Kees like an Organ - a piece of Parchment is always kept moving; and the strings, which by the keys are pressed down upon it, are grated, in imitation of a bow, by the parchment; and so it is intended to resemble several vyalls played on with one bow - but so basely and harshly, that it will never do. But after three hours' stay, it could not be Fixt in tune; and so they were fain to go to some other Musique of instruments, which I am grown quite out of love with; and so I, after some good discourse with Mr. Spong, Hill, Grant, Dr Whisler, and others by turns, I home to my office and there late;	It was a harpsichord-like instrument in appearance: Evelyn, 5 October 1664.
91	5	320	13 November 1664	Church Music	clerk out of tune	The morning to church, where mighty sport to hear our Clerke sing out of tune, though his master sits by him that begins and keeps the tune aloud for the parish.	St Olave's had been without an organ since 1644: cf. below, 4 April 1667 & n.
92	5	321	13 November 1664	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: psalms	In the evening, to sing psalms; and in came Mr. Hill to see me, and then he and I and the boy finely to sing; and so anon broke up after much pleasure.	
93	5	325	20 November 1664	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	in the evening comes Mr. Andrews and sings with us.	

94	5	337	4 December 1664	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	and by an by comes Mr Hill and Andrews and sung together long and with great content.	
95	5	339	7 December 1664	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	They late with me; and when gone, my boy and I to music and then to bed.	
96	5	342	11 December 1664	Pepys Taste	critical of Ravencroft's psalms	It was a little strange how these psalms of Ravencroft, after two or three times singing, prove nut the same again, though good - no diversity appearing at all almost.	
97	5	342	11 December 1664	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	in the afternoon I to the French church - where much pleased with the three sisters of the parson, very handsome; especially in their noses - and sing prettily.	
98	5	349	18 December 1664	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	Then home, and there Mr. Andrews and Hill came and we sung finely.	
99	6	18	21 January 1665	Vocal	Pepys Sings: sings to echo	and so down the great stone stairs to the garden and tried the brave Eccho upon the stairs - which continues a voice so long as the singing three notes, concords one after another, they all three shall sound in consort together a good while most pleasantly.	
100	6	18	22 January 1665	Church Music	Anthem	After dinner walked to Westminster; and after being at the Abbey and heard a good Anthem well sung there, I, as I had appointed, to the Trumpett, there expecting when Jane Welsh should come;	
101	6	24	29 January 1665	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	Then Mr. Andrews and Hill, and we up to my chamber and there good Musique, though my great cold made it the less pleasing to me.	
102	6	32	5 February 1665	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	There came also Mr. Andrews and Hill, and we sang very pleasantly; and so they being gone, I and my wife to supper.	
103	6	28	2 February 1665	Vocal: Pepys listens to others		Here I heard her Kinswoman sing three or four very fine songs, and in good manner.	
104	6	34	12 February 1665	Vocal: Pepys listens to others		Only, a gentleman sat in the pew I by chance sat in, that sang most excellently, and afterward I found by chance his name - and I was also well pleased with the church, it being a very fine church.	

105	6	34	12 February 1665	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	and in the evening comes Mr. Hill (but no Andrews) and we spent the evening very finely, singing, supping, and discoursing.	
106	6	44	26 February 1665	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	in the evening comes Mr. Andrews and Hill; and so home and to singing.	
107	6	50	5 March 1665	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	So home again; and there, after a song or two in the evening with Mr. Hill, I to my office, and then home to supper and to bed.	
108	6	64	22 March 1665	Vocal: Pepys listens to others		After dinner Mr. Hill took me with Mrs. Hubland, who is a fine gentleman - into another room, and there made her sing; which she doth very well - to my great content.	
109	6	73	2 April 1665	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	All the afternoon Mr. Tasborough, one of Mr. Povy's clerks, with me about his maister's accounts; in the evening Mr. Andrews and Hill sung - but supped not with me.	
110	6	77	10 April 1665	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	Here Captaine Cooke met me and did seem discontented about my boy Tom's having no time to mind his singing nor Lute;	
111	6	79	13 April 1665	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	Musique at and after dinner, and a fellow danced a jigg;	
112	6	86	22 April 1665	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	Up, and Mr. Caesar, my boy's lute-Maister, being come betimes to teach him, I did speak with him seriously about the boy, what my mind was if he did not look after his lute and singing, that I would turn him away - which I hope will do some good upon the boy.	
113	6	88	23 April 1665	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	And then to my house - where comes Mr. Hill, Andrews, and Captain Taylor, and good Musique;	
114	6	98	7 May 1665	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	And after sermon comes Mr. Hill and a gentleman, a friend of his, one Mr. Scott, that sings well also; and then comes Mr. Andrews, and we all sung and supped;	
115	6	109	28 May 1665	Church Music	unspecified music	By water to the Duke Albemarle - where I hear that Nixon is condemned to be shot to death for his Cowardize by a council of war. Went to chapel and heard a little Musique and there met with Creed, and with him a little while walking and to Wilkinsons for me to drink, being troubled with Winde;	

116	6	125	11 June 1665	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	In the evening comes Mr. Andrews and his wife and Mr. Hil, and stayed and played and sung and supped	
117	6	137	14 June 1665	Vocal: Pepys listens to others		So being both well pleased with the proposition, I saw his neece there and made her sing ne two or three songs, very prettily;	niece: Mrs Worship
118	6	138	25 June 1665	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: psalms	But had a psalm or two with my boy and Mercer before bed, which pleased me mightily.	
119	6	156	13 July 1665	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	and he proved a man of love to Musique and he and I sung together the way down - with great pleasure	
120	6	217		Vocal	Pepys sings	and then home, and so to sing a little and then to bed.	Quite possibly Henry Lawes's three collections of <i>Ayres and dialogues</i> (1653, 1655, 1658) bound together. The first song in 1653 book is Lawes's famous 'Ariandne'.
121	6	215	7 September 1665	Vocal: Pepys listens to others		And after dinner Sir Rob. led us up to his long gallery, very fine, above stairs (and better or such furniture I never did see), and there Mrs. Worship did give us three or four very good songs, and sings very neatly - to great delight.	
122	6	219	10 September 1665	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	Anon comes Mr. Andrews, though it be a very ill day. And so after dinner we to Musique and sung until about 4 or 5 a-clock	
123	6	235	21 September 1665	Vocal: Pepys listens to others		I walked into the ruined garden, and there found a plain little girl, kinswoman of Mr. Falconbrige, to sing very finely, by the eare only but a fine way of singing - and if I come ever to lack a girl again, I shall think of getting her.	Her name was Barker, and she came to serve the Pepyses on 12 October 1666.
124	6	267	15 October 1665	Vocal: Pepys listens to others		And after supper to talk and to sing, his man Dutton's wife singing very prettily (a mighty fat woman), and I wrote out one song from her and pricked the Tune, being very pretty.	
125	6	283	30 October 1665	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	At noon to dinner, and after some discourse of music, he and I, I to the office awhile	
126	6	287	3 November 1665	Vocal: Pepys listens to others	sailors	and I took the <i>Bezan</i> back with me, and with a brave gale and tide reached up that night to the Hope, taking great pleasure in learning the seamen's manner of singing when they sound the depths.	

127	6	303		Vocal	Pepys sings	I alone by water to Erith, all the way with my song-book singing of Mr. Lawes's long recitative Song in the beginning of his book	
128	6	320-1	6 December 1665	Love of Music		Here the best company for Musique I ever was in my life, and wish I could live and die in it, both for music and the face of Mrs. Pierce and my wife Knipp, who is pretty enough, but the most excellent mad-hum[ou]rd thing; and sings the noblest that ever I heard in my life, and Rolt with her, some things together most excellently - I spent the night in an ecstasy almost;	
129	6	323	8 December 1665	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	Most excellent Musique we had in abundance, and a good supper - dancing - and a pleasant Scene of Mrs. Knipp's rising sick from table - but whispered me it was for some hard word or other her husband give her just now, when she laughed and was more merry then ordinary - but we got her humour again, and mighty merry, spending the night until 2 in the morning with most complete content as ever in <my> life	
130	6	324	9 December 1665	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	and then home to Mr. Hill and sang, among other things, my song of <i>Beauty returne</i> , which he likes; only, excepts against two notes in the bass, but likes the whole very well.	<i>Beauty returne</i> : Recte 'Beauty Retire'
131	6	325	10 December 1665	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	and there we sang some things, but not with much pleasure, Mr. Andrews being in so great haste to go home	
132	6	326	11 December 1665	Vocal	Pepys sings with others	Thence Cocke and I by water, he home and I home, and there sat with Mr. Hill and my wife supping, talking, and singing until midnight, and then to bed.	
133	7	44	15 February 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	While he painted, Knipp and Mercer and I sang;	
134	7	53-54	23 February 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	And at home I spent all the night talking with this baggage and teaching her my song of <i>Beauty retire</i> , which she sings and makes go most rarely, and a very fine song it seems to be.	Mrs Knepp. 'Baggage' was sometimes used in a playful sense.
135	7	58	26 February	Church Music	St George's Chapel,	And hither comes cushions to us, and a young singing-boy to bring us a copy of the Anthemne to be sung. And here,	I.e. the service set in a rich, contrapuntal style, with repetitions of phrases of the text.

			1666		Windsor: anthem	for our sakes, had this anthem and the great service sung extraordinary, only to entertain us. It is a noble place indeed, and a good Quire of voices.	Descriptions in Magalotti, pp. 282-3 [1669]: Celia Fiennes, <i>Journeys</i> (ed. Morris), pp. 274-5 [c. 1698].
136	7	69	9 March 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	Anon all home to Sir W. Batten's, and there, Mrs. Knipp coming, we did spend the even together very merry, she and I singing;	
137	7	69	9 March 1666	Love of Music		However, music and women I cannot but give way to, whatever my business is.	
138	7	87	1 April 1666	Church Music	his opinion changes	Thence, meeting Dr. Allen the physician, he and I and another walked in the park, a most pleasant warm day, and to the Queen's chapel - where I do not so dislike the music. Here I saw on a post a invitation to all good Catholics to pray for the soul of such a one, departed this life.	
139	7	95	8 April 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: psalms	At night had Mercer comb my head; and so to supper, sing a psalm, and to bed.	
140	7	99	15 April 1666	Church Music	his opinion changes	Up, and by water to Westminster [White-hall] to the Swan to lay down my cloak, and there found Sarah alone; with whom after I had stayed awhile, I to White-hall chapel; and there coming late, could hear nothing of the Bishop of London's sermon; so walked into the park to the Queen's chapel and there heard a good deal of their mass and some of their Musique, which is not so contemptible, I think, as our people would make it, it pleasing me very well - and indeed, better than the Anthemne I heard afterward at White-hall at my coming back.	For Pepys's opinion of the music at St James's Chapel
141	7	100	15 April 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: psalms	And after singing a psalm or two, and supped, to bed.	
142	7	111	27 April 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	At night spent a good deal of time with my wife and Mercer, teaching them a song; and so after supper, to bed.	
143	7	113	30 April 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings	So down to sing a little, and then to bed.	

144	7	73	14 March 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	Mrs. Pierce's, where I find much good company; that is to say, Mrs. Pierce, my wife, Mrs. Worship and her daughter, and Harris the player and Knipp, and my wife and Mercer, and Mrs. Barbary Sheldon, who is come this day to spend a week with my wife. And here, with music, we danced and sung and supped, and then to sing and dance until past one in the morning.	Her stay was prolonged until 2 April, but (perhaps because she was 'odd looked') is not much noticed in the diary. She was the niece of William Sheldon of Woolwich, in whose house Mrs Pepys had lodged during the worst months of the Plague.
145	7	92-93	7 April 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	Bab and I sang, and were mighty merry as we could be there, where the rest of the company did not over please.	Bab Allen: Mrs Knepp's nickname
146	7	95	9 April 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	So we with great affright turned back, being holden to the gentleman, and there I spent about 30s upon the jades with great pleasure - and we sang finely, and stayed until about 8 at night, the night coming on apace;	
147	7	110	25 April 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	So home, and with my wife and Mercer spent our evening upon our new leads by our bedchamber, singing, while Mrs. Mary Batelier looked out of the window to us; and we talked together and at last bade goodnight.	
148	7	113	30 April 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	In the evening with my [wife] and Mercer by coach to take the ayre as far as Bow, and eat and drank in the coach by the way, and with much pleasure and pleased with my company	
149	7	117	5 May 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	and so my wife and Mercer came into the garden, and my business being done, we sang until about 12 at night with mighty pleasure to ourselves and neighbours, by their Casements opening.	
150	7	171	18 June 1666	Pepys Taste	prefers English to French songs	Thence to my Lord Bellasyse by invitation, and there dined with and his lady and daughter; and at dinner there played to us a young boy lately come from France, where he had been learning a year or two on the viallin, and plays finely. But impartially, I do not find any goodness in their ayres (though very good) beyond ours, when played by the same hand; I observed in several of Baptiste's (the present great composer) and our Bannisters. But it was pretty to see how passionately my Lord's daughter loves music, the most that ever I saw creature in my life.	John Banister directed the King's string band of 24 performers. 'Baptiste' was Jean-Baptiste Lully.

151	7	172	19 June 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	Thence home, and at my business until late at night; then with my wife into the garden, and there sang with Mercer - whom I myself beginning to love too much, by handling of her breasts in a morning when she dresses me, they being the finest that I ever saw in my life	
152	7	173	20 June 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	So I at home all the evening doing business, and at night in the garden (it having been these three or four days mighty hot weather) singing in the evening; and then home to supper and to bed.	
153	7	174	21 June 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	So home to my letters, and then with my wife in the garden, and then upon our leads singing in the evening	
154	7	183	26 June 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	Then into the garden; then my wife and Mercer, and my Lady Pen and her daughter with us. And here we sang in the dark very finely half an hour, and so home to supper and to bed.	
155	7	191	2 July 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	and so I home, and there was called by Pegg Pen to her house, where her father and mother and Mrs. Norton, the Second Roxalana, a fine woman, indifferent handsome, good body and hand - and good mine; and pretends to sing, but doth it not excellently; however, I took pleasure there	
156	7	195	5 July 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	and then a song with my wife and Mercer in the garden, and so with great content to bed.	
157	7	197	6 July 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	and so back again home, and very busy all the evening; at night, a song in the garden and to bed.	
158	7	199	9 July 1666	Vocal: Pepys listens to others	French song	And there was also Mrs. Mary Batelier and her sister, newly come out of France, a black, very black, woman; but mighty good-natured people both, as ever I saw. Here I made the black one sing a French song, which she did mighty innocently - and then Mrs. Lovett play on the lute, which she doth very well, and then Mercer and I sang; and so with great pleasure - I left them, having showed them my chamber and 1000l in gold, which they wondered at - and given them sweet-meats	

159	7	200	10 July 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	I home, and there find my wife and the two Mrs. Bateliers walking in the garden; I with them until almost 9 at night, and then they and we, and Mrs. Mercer the mother and her daughter Anne, and our Mercer to supper, to a good venison-pasty and other good things, and had a good-humoured. We sang and talked, and then led them home;	
160	7	205	12 July 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	and so home and to supper; and after supper, falling to singing with Mercer, did however sit up with her (she pleasing me with her singing of <i>Help, Helpe</i> ) until past midnight, and I not a whit Drowzy.	
161	7	206	14 July 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	and so to supper and to bed - after a song in the garden - which, and after dinner, is now the greatest pleasure I take, and ended doth please me mightily.	
162	7	212	20 July 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	and thence, he gone, my wife and Mercer came and walked, and sang late, and then home to bed.	
163	7	216	24 July 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	At noon to dinner; and after dinner, with Mercer (as of late my practice is) a song.	
164	7	224-5	28 July 1666	Pepys Taste	Scottish tunes	We find [him] and his lady and some Scotch people at supper - pretty odd company; though my Lord Brouncker tells me my Lord Lauderdale is a man of mighty good reason and judgement. But at supper there played one of their servants upon the viallin, some Scotch tunes only - several - and the best of their country, as they seemed to esteem them by their praising and admiring them; but Lord, the strangest ayre that ever I heard in my life, and all of one cast. But strange to hear my Lord Lauderdale say himself, that he had rather hear a Catt mew then the best Musique in the world - and the better the music, the more sick it makes him. And that of all instruments, he hates the Lute most; and next to that, The Bagpipe.	Lauderdale, Secretary for Scottish affairs, 1660-80, had generally a reputation not only for ability but lack of scruple.
165	7	227	30 July 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	At noon home to dinner, and there did practise with Mercer one of my new tunes that I have got Dr Childe to set me a bass to, and it goes prettily.	

166	7	228	30 July 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	Thence home, and to sing with my wife and Mercer in the garden; and coming in, I find my wife plainly dissatisfied with me, that I can spend so much time with Mercer, teaching her to sing, and could never take that pains with her - which I acknowledge; but it is because that the girl doth take music mighty readily, and she doth not; and music is the thing of the world that I love most, and all the pleasure almost that I can now take. So to bed in some little discontent, but no words from me.	
167	7	228	30 July 1666	Love of Music		and music is the thing of the world that I love most, and all the pleasure almost that I can now take.	
168	7	230	31 July 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	and then after supper into the garden and there walked, and then home with them; and then back again, my wife and I am the girl, and sang in the garden, and then to bed.	
169	7	236	6 August 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	I very pleasant with her, and there I sat and talked with her, it being the first time of her being here since her being brought to bed, I very pleasant with her, but perceive my wife hath no great pleasure in her being here, she not being pleased with my kindness here to her. However, we talked and sang, and were very pleasant.	Mrs. Knepp
170	7	237	6 August 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	Knipp and I sang, and then I offered them to carry them home and to take my wife with me	
171	7	240	8 August 1666	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: passim	About 10 a-clock we rose from table, and sang a song, and so home in two coaches	
172	7	245	14 August 1666	Church Music		So to the chapel, and heard a piece of the Dean of the Westminsters sermon and a special good Anthemne before the king after sermon.	Dr John Dolben (later Bishop of Rochester and Archbishop of York) was Clerk of the Closet and Dean of Westminster, 1662-6. The sermon (on Ps. xviii. 1-3) was printed soon afterwards by the King's command: A sermon preached before the King, Aug. 14, 1666; being the day of thanksgiving for the late victory at sea (1666).

173	7	341	25 October 1666	Vocal: Pepys listens to others		I was glad to see the Jade - made her sing - and she told us they begin at both houses to act on Monday next.	The public theatres in Lincoln's Inn Fields and Bridges St, Drury Lane, did not in fact, re-open for regular performances after the Fire until very late in November 1666, possibly on the 29th. See London Stage 1600-1800, pt 1, 1660-1700 (ed. W. van Lennep), p. 98.
174	7	343- 344	27 October 1666	Vocal: Pepys listens to others		At noon home to dinner, where Mrs. Pierce and her boy and Knipp - who sings as well, and is the best company in the world - dined with us, and infinite mirth.	
175	7	383	25 November 1666	Church Music		At the end of the sermon, an excellent Anthemne. But it was a pleasant thing, an idle companion in our pew (a prating, bold counsellor, that hath been heretofore at the Navy Office, and noted for a great eater and drinker, not for quantity but of the best - his name Tom Bales) said, "I know a fitter Anthem for this sermon, a speaking only of our duty of following the saints, and I know not what - Cooke should have sung Come Fallow Fallow mee.	Possibly the popular catch composed by John Hilton (d.1657): see <i>Catch that catch can</i> (1652), p. 22, and later editions. But the first line is common to several songs and ballads.
176	7	409	16 December 1666	Church Music		Then after dinner by water to Westminster to see Mrs. Martin, whom I found up in her chamber and ready to go abroad. I sat there with her and her husband and others a pretty while; and then away to White-hall and there walked up and down to the Queen's side, and there saw my dear Lady Castlemayne, who continues admirable methinks - and I do not hear but that the King is the same to her still as ever. Anon to chapel, by the King's closet, and heard a very good Anthemne.	
177	8	25	22 January 1667	Theatre Music	<i>The siege of Rhodes</i>	I did give him a Crowne for them - and did enquire after the music of <i>The Siege of Rhodes</i> , which tells me he can get me, which I am mighty glad of.	For the opera, see above, ii. 130 & n. 2. The vocal music was by Henry Lawes, Capt. Cooke, and Matthew Locke; the instrumental by Charles Coleman and George Hudson: William Davenant, <i>The siege of Rhodes</i> (1656), p. 41. The music has not been traced.
178	8	26	23 January 1667	Church Music	Roman Catholic (general)	He discoursed much of the goodness of the Musique in Rome, but could not tell me how long Musique had been in any perfection in that Church - which I would be glad to know	

179	8	29	24 January 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	only, towards morning Knipp fell a little ill, and so my wife home with her to put her to bed, and we continued dancing - and singing;	
180	8	29	24 January 1667	Vocal: Pepys listens to others	Irish songs	Harris I first took to my closet; and I find him very curious and understanding person in all, pictures and other things - and a man of fine conversation. And so is Rolt. So away with all my company down to the office, and there fell to dancing and continued at [it] an hour or two - there coming Mrs. Anne Jones, a merchant's daughter hard by, who dances well. And all in mighty good humour; and danced with great pleasure, and then sung, and then danced, and then sung many things of three voices, both Harris sung his Irish song, the strangest in itself and the prettiest sung by him that ever I heard.	
181	8	32	27 January 1667	Church Music		Thence I up to the King's closet and there heard a good Anthemne and discoursed with several people here about business; among others, with Lord Bellasses; and so from one to another after sermon until the King had almost dined;	
182	8	41	3 February 1667	Church Music		I to Chapel a little; but hearing nothing, did take a turn into the park, and then back to Chapel and heard a very good Anthemne to my heart's delight;	
183	8	55	12 February 1667	Theatre Music	T. Killigrew on improvement in	But the whole composition is certainly most excellent; and the poetry, T. Killigrew and Sir R. Murray, who understood the words, did say was excellent. I confess I was mightily pleased with the music. This done, T. Killigrew and I talk; and he tells me how the Audience at his House is not above half so much as it used to be before the late fire. That Knipp is like to make the best actor that ever came upon the stage, she understanding so well. That they are going to give her 30l a year more. That the stage is now by his pains a thousand times better and more glorious then ever heretofore. Now, waxcandles, and many of them; then, not above 3lb. of tallow. Now, all things civil, no rudeness anywhere; then, as in a bear-garden.	<p>Wax candles were used to illuminate the stage and auditorium of the Restoration theatre. Tallow candles had been used for the same purpose in the roofed 'private' theatres of the Elizabethan period.</p> <p>An exaggeration; Restoration audiences were often noisy and sometimes riotous</p> <p>Another exaggeration: the musical effects of 17th century theatres were often very elaborate.</p>

184	8	54-55	12 February 1667	Vocal: Pepys listens to others	recitativo	By and by with my Lord Brouncker by coach to his house, there to hear some Italian Musique; and here we met Tom Killigrew, Sir Rob. Murray, and Italian Seignor Baptista - who hath composed a play in Italian for Opera which T. Killigrew doth intend to have up; and here he did sing one of the acts. Himself is the poet as well as the Musician, which is very much; and did sing the whole from the words without any Musique pricked, and played all along upon a Harpsicon most admirably; and the composition most excellent. The words I did not understand, and so know not how they are fitted; but believe very well, and all in the Recitativo very fine. But I perceive there is a proper accent in every country's discourse; and that doth reach in their setting of notes to words, which therefore cannot be natural to anybody else but them; so that I am not so much smitten with it as it may be I should be if I were acquainted with their accent. But the whole composition is certainly most excellent; and the poetry, T. Killigrew and Sir R. Murray, who understood the words, did say was excellent. I confess I was mightily pleased with the music.	Tom Killigrew: Manager of the Theatre Royal in Bridges St, Drury Lane.
							Sir Rob. Murray: Courtier and virtuoso
							The composer was probably Giovanni Battista Draghi: J. Pulver, <i>Biog. Dict.</i> , p. 149. The play has not been traced.
185	8	54	12 February 1667	Vocal: Pepys listens to others	Italian songs	By and by with my Lord Brouncker by coach to his house, there to hear some Italian Musique; and here we met Tom Killigrew, Sir Rob. Murray, and Italian Seignor Baptista - who hath composed a play in Italian for Opera which T. Killigrew doth intend to have up; and here he did sing one of the acts.	Tom Killigrew: Manager of the Theatre Royal in Bridges St, Drury Lane.
							Sir Rob. Murray: Courtier and virtuoso
							The composer was probably Giovanni Battista Draghi: J. Pulver, <i>Biog. Dict.</i> , p. 149. The play has not been traced.
186	8	56-57	12 February 1667	Vocal: Pepys listens to others	Italian songs	He [King] tells me that he hath gone several times, eight or ten times he tells me, hence to Rome to hear good music; so much he loves it, though he never did sing or play a note. That he hath ever endeavoured, in the last King's time and in this, to introduce good Musique; but he never could do it, there never having been any music here better then ballads. "No", [he] says "Hermitt poore and Chivy chase was all the music we had - and yet no ordinary Fidlers get so much money as ours do here,	Hermitt poore: Probably Nicholas Lanier's setting of the Elizabethan lyric: cf. Playford's <i>Select ayres</i> etc. (1659), p. 1.
							Chevy Chase: the tune to the famous 16th-century Border ballad of that name; used as a tune to a score or so of ballads: see C. M. Simpson, <i>Brit. Broadside ballad and its music</i> , pp. 96+.

						<p>which speaks our rudenesse still." That he hath gathered nine Italians from several Courts in Christendome to come to make a consort for the king, which he doth give 200l a year apiece to, but badly paid, and do come in the room of keeping four ridiculous Gundilows - he having got the King to put them away and lay out the money this way. And indeed, I do commend him for it, for I think it is a very noble undertaking. He doth intend to have some times of the year these Operas to be performed at the two present Theatres, since he is defeated in what he intended in Moore Fields on purpose for it. And he tells me plainly that the City Audience was as good as the Court - but now they are most gone. Baptista tells me that Giacomo Charissimi is still alive at Rome, who was maister to Vincentio, who is one of the Italians the King hath here, and the chief composer of them. My great wonder is how this man doth do to keep in memory so perfectly the music of that whole Act, both for the voice and for the instrument too - I confess I do admire it.</p>	<p>In addition to the two public theatres (the TR, Drury Lane and the LIF), Killigrew had hoped to set up a 'nursary' - a minor theatre for the training of young actors - in Moorfields</p> <p>Giacomo Carissimi (d. 1674), famous for his declamatory vocal compositions. 'Baptista' was Draghi</p> <p>Possibly the 'Vencenzo Albrigi' to whom the King gave gifts in May 1668: H. C. de Lafontaine, <i>King's Musick</i>, p. 203; R. Nettel, <i>Seven centuries of popular song</i>, p. 115.</p>
187	8	57	12 February 1667	Vocal: Pepys listens to others	recitativo	<p>But in Recitativo the sense much helps him, for there is but one proper way of discoursing and giving the accent. Having done our discourse, we all took coaches (my Lord's and T. Killigrew's) and to Mrs. Knepp's chamber, where this Italian is to teach her to sing her part. And so we all thither, and there she did sing an Italian song or two very fine, while he played the bass upon a Harpsicon there; and exceedingly taken I am with her singing, and believe she will do miracles at that and acting.</p>	
188	8	59	13 February 1667	Theatre Music	<i>The siege of Rhodes</i>	<p>But what I wondered at, Dr. Clerke did say that Sir W. Davenant is no good judge of a dramatic poem, finding fault with his choice of <i>Henery the 5th</i> and others for the stage, when I do think and he confesses the <i>Siege of Rhodes</i> as good as ever was writ.</p>	<p><i>Henery the 5th</i>: by Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery; a play which Davenant had produced</p>

189	8	59	13 February 1667	Vocal: Pepys listens to others	Italian songs	After dinner, Captain Cooke and two of his boys to sing; but it was ended, both in performance and composition, most plainly below what I heard last night, which I could not have believed. Besides, overlooking the words when he sung, I find them not at all humoured as they ought to be, and as I believed he had done all he had set - though he himself doth indeed sing in a manner, as to voice and manner, the best I ever heard yet;	
190	8	97	5 March 1667	Vocal: Pepys listens to others		So home to supper; and hear my wife and girl sing a little and then to bed with much content of mind.	
191	8	108	11 March 1667	Vocal: Pepys listens to others		Thence away to the office, where late busy; and then home to supper, mightily pleased with my wife's Trill; and so to bed.	
192	8	119	19 March 1667	Vocal: Pepys listens to others		At noon dined at home very pleasantly with my wife; and after dinner with a great deal of pleasure had her sing, which she begins to do with some pleasure to me, more than I expected.	
193	8	150	4 April 1667	Church Music	Hackney church (St Augustine's)	The consideration hereof did make me go away very sad; and so home by coach and there took up my wife and Mercer (who had been today at White-hall to the Maundy, it being Maundy Thursday; but the King did not wash the poor people's feet himself, but the Bishop of London did it for him; but I did not see it) and with them took up Mrs Anne Jones at her mother's door; and so to take the ayre to Hackny, where good neat's tongue and things to eat and drink, and very merry, the weather being mighty pleasant; and here I was told the their church they have a fair pair of Organs, which plays while the people sing; which I am mighty glad of, wishing the like at our church at London, and would give 50 l towards it.	The organ at St Olave's had been removed in 1644 and was not replaced until 1783: A. Povah, <i>Annals St Olave</i> , pp. 42, 62; GL, MS 858. The congregation sang unaccompanied, led by the parson or the parish clerk: cf. above, v. 320.

194	8	154	7 April 1667	Vocal: Pepys listens to others	Italian songs	And then to walk in the park, and heard the Italian music at the Queen's chapel; whose composition is fine, nor am more pleased with it at all then with English voices, but instrument - which is wonderful pleasant; but I am convinced more and more, that as every nation hath a particular accent and tone in discourse, so as the tone of one not to agree with or please the other, no more can the fashion of singing to words; for that tone of the country whose language the song speaks; so that a song well composed by an Englishman must be better to an Englishman then it can be to a stranger, or then if set by a stranger in foreign words.	
195	8	166	13 April 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings	and after dinner, with a little singing with some pleasure, alone with my poor wife, and then to the office, where sat all the afternoon until late at night;	
196	8	171	18 April 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	So home; and to the office a little and then home, where I find Goodgroome and he and I did sing several things over and tried two or three three-parts in Playford's new book, my wife pleasing me in singing her part of the things she knew; which is a comfort to my very heart.	The second section of Playford's book contained part songs.
197	8	171	19 April 1667	Theatre Music	<i>Macbeth</i>	So to the playhouse, where not much company come, which I impute to the heat of the weather, it being very hot. Here we saw <i>Macbeth</i> , which though I have seen it often, yet is it one of the best plays for a stage, and variety of dancing and music, that ever I saw.	This was the spectacular musical adaptation of <i>Macbeth</i> devised by Davenant; the music was composed by Matthew Locke.
198	8	174	21 April 1667	Church Music		So after dinner she and I sung Scio Moro, which is one of the best pieces of music to my thinking that ever I did hear in my life; and found much difficulty to get pews, I offering the sexton money and he could not help me - so my wife and Mercer ventured into a pew, and I into another.	<i>Sio Moro</i> : a short partsong (author and composer unknown) in J. Playford, <i>Catch that catch can, or The musical companion</i> (1667), pp. 162-3.
199	8	174	21 April 1667	Church Music	King's College, Cambridge: organ	That which we went chiefly to see was the young ladies of the schools, whereof there is great store, very pretty; and also the organ, which is handsome and tunes the psalm and plays with the people; which is mighty pretty and makes me mighty earnest to have a pair at our church, I having almost a mind to give them a pair if they would settle a maintenance on them for it - I am mightily taken	

						with them.	
<b>200</b>	8	176	22 April 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings	And so home to the office and did business until my eyes are sore again; and so home to sing and then to bed, my eyes failing me mightily.	
<b>201</b>	8	198	2 May 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	and then to supper and to bed - having a song with my wife with great pleasure, she doing it well	
<b>202</b>	8	203	6 May 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	then home to supper and sing with my wife, who doth begin to give me real pleasure with her singing;	
<b>203</b>	8	204	7 May 1667	Vocal: Pepys listens to others		and the home to supper and to bed - after hearing my wife sing, who is manifestly come to be more musical in her eare then ever I thought she could have been made; which rejoices me to the heart, for I take great delight now to hear her sing.	
<b>204</b>	8	206	8 May 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	and so home to supper and sing a little with my dear wife, and so to bed.	
<b>205</b>	8	223	19 May 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	and Mercer being there, we some of us to sing and so to supper; a great deal of silly talk; among other things	
<b>206</b>	8	238	27 May 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	So home; and there to sing with my wife before dinner, and then to dinner;	
<b>207</b>	8	244	30 May 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	I by my coach home and there busy at my letters until night; and then with my wife in the evening, singing with her in the garden with great pleasure.	
<b>208</b>	8	250	4 June 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	To the office all the afternoon, where I despatched much business to my great content; and then home in the evening, and there to sing and pipe with my wife;	
<b>209</b>	8	253(2)	6 June 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	And after dinner, my father and wife to a play and I to my office; and there busy all the afternoon until late at night; and then my wife and I sang a song or two in the garden, and so home to supper and to bed.	

210	8	283	22 June 1667	Vocal: Pepys listens to others		After dinner I left them, and to the office and thence to Sir W. Penn's, there to talk with Mrs. Lowther and by and by, we hearing Mercer and my boy singing at my house, making exceeding good music, to the joy of my heart that I should be the maister of it, I took her to my house and there merry a while;	
211	8	289	24 June 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	Having done all this discourse and concluded the Kingdom in a desperate condition, we parted; and I to my wife, with whom was Mercer and Betty Michell, poor woman, come with her husband to see us after the death of her little girl; we sat in the garden together a while, it being night; and then Mercer and I a song or two, and then in (the Michells home), my wife, Mercer and I, to supper;	
212	8	322	5 July 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings	At noon I home to dinner with my wife; and after dinner to sing, and then to the office a little	
213	8	325	7 July 1667	Vocal: Pepys listens to others	a boat full of Spaniards'	and in the cool of the evening back again, and sang with pleasure upon the water and were mightily pleased in hearing a boat full of Spaniards sing; and so home to supper and to bed.	
214	8	327	9 July 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	At noon home to dinner and to play on the flagelette with my wife; and then to the office, where very busy, close at my office until late at night; at night walked and sang with my wife in the garden, and so home to supper and to bed.	
215	8	344	19 July 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	So to dinner with my wife and then to sing; and so to the office, where busy all the afternoon late, busy;	
216	8	346	21 July 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings	I and my wife and Mercer up by water to Barne elmes, where we walked by Moone-shine; and called at Lambeth and drank, and had cold meat in the boat, and did eat and sang, and down home by almost 12 at night, very fine and pleasant;	
217	8	351	25 July 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	At noon home to dinner and there sang with much pleasure with my wife; and so to the office again and busy all the afternoon.	
218	8	380	10 August 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	At the office all the morning, and at noon home to dinner, where I sang and piped with my wife with great pleasure, and did hire a coach to carry us to Barnett tomorrow.	

219	8	384	12 August 1667	Pepys Taste	prefers English songs to Italian songs	The play being done, I took the woman, and Mrs. Manuell's the Jew's wife, formerly a player, who we heard sing with one of the Italian's that was there; and ended, she sings mighty well and just after the Italian manner, but yet doth not please me like one of Mrs. Knepps songs to a good English tune, the manner of their ayre not pleasing to me so well as the fashion of our own, nor so natural.	
220	8	390	19 August 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	I to Westminster about some tallies at the Exchequer and then straight home again and dined; and then to sing with my wife with great content;	
221	8	393-394	21 August 1667	Vocal: Pepys listens to others		This morning came two of Captaine Cookes boys, whose voices are broke and are gone from the Chapel, but have extraordinary skill; and they and my boy, with his broken voice, did sing three parts (their names were Blaeu and Loggings); but notwithstanding their skill, yet to hear them sing with their broken voices, which they could not command to keep in tune, would make a man mad, so bad it was.	John Blow and John Loggings had received their leaving present of clothes ('retirement liveries') from the Great Wardrobe on 17 May 1665 and 4 December 1666 respectively: PRO, LC 5/61, pp. 246, 349. Blow (now aged about 19) was the composer; in 1674 he became Master of Children at the Chapel Royal.
222	8	425	8 September 1667	Church Music		I went to the King's Chapel to the closet, and there I hear Cresset sing a Tenor part along with the Church music; very handsomely, but so loud that people did laugh at him - as a thing done for ostentation.	Possibly Francis Cresset who became messenger in the Stamp-duty Office, 1670.
223	8	427-8	8 September 1667	Church Music	harsh voices	Thence, meeting Creed, I with him to the parke, there to walk a little, and to the Queen's Chapel and hear their music, which I liked in itself pretty well as to the composition, but their voices are very harsh and rough, that I thought it was some instruments they had that made them sound so.	
224	8	429	8 September 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	and I by coach home and there find Mr. Pelling and How and we to sing, and good music until late and then to supper,	
225	8	430	9 September 1667	Vocal	Italian manner	Here I fell in talk with Tom Killigrew about music, and he tells me that he will bring me to the best music in England (of which ended he is master), and that is two Italians and Mrs. Yates, who he says is come to sing the Italian manner as well as ever he heard any.	Mrs Yates of the Theatre Royal.
226	8	432	10 September	Love of Music	his music room	Here Mr. Pelling came to sit with us, and talked of Musique and the musicians of the town; and so to bed	

			1667			after supper.	
227	8	438	15 September 1667	Pepys Taste	critical of elaborately contrapuntal songs/anthems	We also to church, and then home, and there comes Mr. Pelling with two men by promise, one Wallington and Piggot; the former whereof, being a very little fellow, did sing a most excellent bass, and yet a poor fellow, a working goldsmith, that goes without gloves to his hands. Here we sung several good things, but I am more and more confirmed that singing with many voices is not singing, but a sort of Instrumentall music, the sense of the words being lost by not being heard, and especially as they set them with Fuges of words, one another; whereas singing properly, I think, should be but with one or two voices at most, and that counterpoint.	In Playford's Catch that can, or The musical composition (1667) there is mention of 'the late Musick Society and Meeting, in the Old-Jury, London', which included John Pelling, citizen, Benjamin Wallington, citizen, George Piggot, gentleman, and Francis Piggot, citizen. Wallington and Francis Piggot are known to have composed songs.
228	8	444	22 September 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings with others: psalms	And then to supper, and Pelling come to me at supper and then to sing a Psalm with him;	
229	8	452	27 September 1667	Vocal	Spanish serenades	He says that many ladies in Spain, after they are found to be with child, do never stir out of their beds or chambers until they are brought to bed - so ceremonies they are in that point also. He tells of their wooing by serenades at the window, and that their friends do always make the match; but yet that they have opportunities to meet at Masse at church, and there they make love.	
230	8	458	1 October 1667	Vocal: Pepys listens to others		to White-hall and there in the Boarded-gallery did hear the music with which the King is presented this night by Monsieur Grebus, the master of his music - both instrumental (I think 24 violins) and vocall, an English song upon peace; but God forgive me, I was never so little pleased with a consort of music in my life - the manner of setting of words and repeating them out of order, and that with a number of voices, makes me sick, the whole design of vocall music being lost by it. Here was a great press of people, but I did not see many pleased with it; only, the instrumental music he had brought by practice to play very just.	

231	8	458	1 October 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings	So thence late, in the dark round by the Wall home by coach; and there to sing and sup with my wife and look upon our pretty girl, and so to bed.	
232	8	465	7 October 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	and by and by we parted, we going before them; and very merry, my wife and girl and [I], talking and telling tales and singing; and before night did come to Bishop Stafford	
233	8	467-468	8 October 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	Only, the gallery is good; and above all things, the cellars, where we went down and drank of much good liquor, and ended the cellars are fine; and here my wife and I did sing to my great content and then to the garden and there eat many grapes, and took some with us; and so away thence, exceeding well satisfied, though not to that degree that by my old esteem of the house I ought and did expect to have done - the situation of it not pleasing me.	
234	8	478	13 October 1667	Church Music		Thence I to the Chapel and there heard the sermon and a pretty good anthemne;	
235	8	504	27 October 1667	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	and so away back again home, reading all the way the book of the Collection of Oaths in the several offices in this nation, which is worth a man's reading; and so home, and there my boy and I to sing, and at it all the evening; and to supper and so to bed.	The book of oaths: attributed to Richard Garnet. It prints the principal ministers, and some minor officers, but not of the naval officials. Wing gives the date of the first edition as 1649, and lists no other edition, apart from that of 1689.
236	8	515	1 November 1667	Church Music	by Humphrey	and so I to the Chapel and there stayed (it being Allhollows day) and heard a fine Anthemne, made by Pellam (who is come over) in France, of which there was great expectation; and ended is a very good piece of Musique, but still I cannot call the Anthem anything but Instrumentall music with the Voice, for nothing is made of the words at all.	Pelham Humfrey (who became in 1672 Cooke's successor as Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal) had in 1664 been sent by the King to France, where he studied under Lully until his return in 1666.
237	8	522	7 November 1667	Theatre Music	<i>The Tempest</i> (echo song)	and the most innocent play that ever I saw, and a curious piece of Musique in an Echo of half-sentences, the Echo repeating the former half while the man goes on to the latter, which is mighty pretty. The play no great wit; but yet good, above ordinary plays.	This was Ferdinand's song (echoed by Ariel) 'Go thy way' (III, 3), and was composed by John Banister. Copies in BM, G. 109 (2), pp. 3-4; and in some issues of Choice ayres, songs, & dialogues... (1675), pp. 79-80. This production contained spectacular musical turns and became a semi-opera.

238	8	588	24 December 1667	Church Music		But here I did make myself to do la cosa by mere imagination, mirando a jolie mosa and with my eyes open, which I never did before - and God forgive me for it, it being in the chapel. Their music very good indeed, but their service I confess too frivolous, that there can be no zeal go along with it; and I do find by them themselves, that they do run over their beads with one hand, and point and play and talk and make signs with the other, in the midst of their Messe. But all things very rich and beautiful. And I see the papists had the wit, most of them, to bring cushions to kneel on; which I wanted, and was mightily troubled to kneel.	
239	8	599	30 December 1667	Pepys Taste	prefers English songs to Italian songs	and there with her to Mrs. Manuel's, where Mrs. Pierce was and her boy and girl; and here I did hear Mrs. Manuel and one of the Italian's, her gallant, sing well; but yet I confess I am not delighted so much with it as to admire it; for not understanding the words, I lose the benefit of the other, and performance, was very fine. And therefore was more pleased to hear Knepp sing two or three little English things that I understood, though the composition of the other, and performance, was very fine.	
240	9	11	5 January 1668	Vocal: Pepys listens to others		And so it growing night, I away home by coach, and there set my wife to read; and then comes Pelling, and he and I to sing a little; and the sup and so to bed.	
241	9	13	6 January 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	and after supper to dancing and singing until about 12 at night;	
242	9	14	7 January 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	and there I walked with them in the garden a while, and to sing with Mercer there a little; and so home with her and taught her a little of my <i>It is decreed</i> , which I have a mind to have her learn to sing, and she will do it well;	
243	9	35	22 January 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	So home, and there to cards with my wife, Deb, and Betty Turner and Batelier; and after, supper and late to sing; but Lord, how did I please myself to make Betty Turner sing, to see what a beast she is as to singing, not knowing how to sing one note in tune; but only for the experiment I would not for 40s hear her sing a tune - worse then my	

						wife a thousand times, so that it doth a little reconcile me to her.	
244	9	48	3 February 1668	Theatre Music	<i>The Tempest</i> (seamen's dance)	this day I took pleasure to learn the <tune of the> Seamans dance - which I have much desired to be perfect in, and have made myself so.	Pepys had already seen the play four times
245	9	55	6 February 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	This evening coming home I did put my hand under the coats of Mercer and did touch her thigh, but then she did put by my hand and no hurt done, but talked and sang and was merry.	
246	9	58-59	9 February 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	I must remember the Pegg Pen was brought to bed yesterday of a girl; and among other things, if I have not already set it down, that hardly ever was remembered such a season for the smallpox as these last two months have been, people being seen all up and down the streets, newly come out after the smallpox); but though they sang fine things, yet I must confess that I did take no pleasure in it, or very little, because I understood not the words; and with the rests that the words are set, there is no sense nor understanding in them, though they be English - which makes us weary of singing in the manner, it being but a worse sort of instrumental music. We sang until almost night, and drank my good store of wine;	
247	9	81	20 February 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	Thence home, and there a little to the office; and so home to supper, where Mercer with us, and sang and then to bed.	
248	9	85	22 February 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	I did give over the thoughts of ours coming on; and so with my wife and Mercer and Deb, who came to the Hall to me, I away to the Beare in Drury-lane and there bespoke a dish of meat and in the meantime sat and sung with Mercer;	
249	9	94	27 February 1668	Love of Music	<i>The virginmartyr</i> (wind music)	but that which did please me beyond anything in the whole world was the wind-musique when the Angell comes down, which is so sweet that it ravished me; and ended in a word, did wrap up my soul so that it made me really sick, just as I have formerly been when in love with my wife; that neither then, nor all the evening going home and at home, I was able to think of anything, but remained all night transported, so as I could not believe that ever	The part of the angel was probably played by Nell Gwyn: J.H. Wilson in <i>N. &amp; Q.</i> , 27 February 1948, pp. 71-2. Spectacular descents in Restoration theatres were managed by means of ropes and pulleys. Pepys is probably referring to the episode in <i>V, I</i> , in which Angelo appears to Theophilus. As in the Elizabethan theatre, the descent of a

						any music hath that real command over the soul of a man as this did upon me; and makes me resolve to practise wind-music and to make my wife do the like.	supernatural being in the Restoration music. The music played on this occasion (presumably on recorders) has not been traced.
250	9	100	2 March 1668	Theatre Music	<i>The virginmartyr</i> (wind music)	House to see <i>The Virgin Martyr</i> again; which doth mightily please me, but above all the Musique at the coming down Angell - which at this hearing the second time doth so still command me as nothing ever did, and the other music is nothing to it.	
251	9	188	6 May 1668	Theatre Music	<i>The virginmartyr</i> (wind music)	thence I back to the King's playhouse and there saw <i>The Virgin Martyr</i> - and heard the music that I like so well;	
252	9	111	10 March 1668	Vocal: Pepys listens to others		and here we were as merry as that fellow Joyce could make us with his mad talking, after the old wont, which tired me. But I was mightily pleased with his singing, for the rogue hath a very good eare and a good voice.	
253	9	126	22 March 1668	Church Music		I up and walked to the Temple; and there got a coach and to White-hall, where spoke with several people, and find by all that Pen is to go to sea this year with this fleet. And they excuse the Prince's going by saying that it is not a command great enough for him. Here I met with Brisban; and after hearing the service at the King's chapel, where I heard the Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Reynolds the old presbyterian, begin a very plain sermon, he and I to the Queen's chapel and there did hear the Italians sing; and ended, their music did appear most admirable to me, beyond anything of ours - I was never so satisfied in my life with it.	Edward Reynolds had been the only one of the moderate Presbyterian leaders to accept a bishopric in 1661, when offers of preferment were made to several. The sermon he preached on the occasion (on Hebrews, xiii. 20-1) was published. As a preacher he was given to excessive quotation: W. Fraser Mitchell, Engl. pulpit oratory, p. 104.
254	9	131	24 March 1668	Pepys Taste	Scottish tunes and bagpipes	He took Lord Brouncker and me down to the guards, he and his company being upon the guards today; and there he did, in a handsome room to that purpose, make us drink, and did call for his Bagpiper; which, with pipes of ebony tipped with silver, he did play beyond anything of that kind that ever I heard in my life. And with great pains he must have obtained it, but with pains that the instrument doth not deserve at all; for at the best, it is mighty barbarous music.	
255	9	134	26 March 1668	Theatre Music	<i>The Man is the maister</i>	Thence by agreement, we all of us to the Blue Balls hard by, whither Mr. Pierce also goes with us, who met us at	John Banister, leader of the King's band.

						the play; and anon comes Manuel and his wife and Knipp and Harris, who brings with him Mr. Banester, the great maister of Musique	
256	9	166	17 April 1668	Theatre Music	<i>The Surprizall</i>	Thence with <i>Br[ouncker]</i> to the King's House and saw <i>The Suprizall</i> where base singing only <i>Knepp</i> .	The play was a comedy by Sir Robert Howard. Mrs Knepp played Emilia.
257	9	179	29 April 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	I heard Mercer's voice and my boy Tom's singing in the garden; which pleased me mightily, I longing to see the girl, having not seen her since my wife went; and so into the garden to her and sang and then home to supper, and mightily pleased with her company in talking and singing; and so parted and to bed.	
258	9	189	7 May 1668	Theatre Music	<i>The Tempest</i> (echo song)	But I did here get him to prick me down the notes of the Echo in <i>The Tempest</i> , which pleases me mightily.	
259	9	196	11 May 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	After the play done, I took Mercer by water to Spring-garden and there with great pleasure walked and eat and drank and sang, making people come about us to hear us, and two little children <of one of> our neighbours that happened to be there did come into our Arbour and we made them dance prettily.	
260	9	197(2)	12 May 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	and so to the old house at Islington and eat and drank and sang, and mightily merry; and so by moonshine with infinite pleasure home; and there sang again in Mercer's garden and so parted	
261	9	199	14 May 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	Thence to the waterside at Strand bridge, and so up by water and to Fox hall, where we walked a great while, and pleased mightily with the pleasure thereof and the company there; and then in and eat and drank, and then out again and walked; and it beginning to be dark, we to a Corner and sang, that everybody got about us to hear us;	
262	9	201	15 May 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	And here supped; and so home and got Mercer, and she and I in the garden singing until 10 at night; and so home to a little supper, and then parted with great content and I to bed.	
263	9	203	18 May 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	So away thence, very little satisfied with the play, but pleased with my company: I carried them to Kensington to the Grotto, and there we sang to my great content;	

264	9	213	26 May 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	Up by 4 a-clock; and by the time we were ready and had eat, we were called to the coach; where about 6 a-clock we set out, there being a man and two woman of one company, ordinary people, and one lady alone that is tolerable handsome, but mighty well spoken, whom I took great pleasure in talking to, and did get her to read aloud in a book she was reading in the coach, being the King's Meditations; and then the boy and I to sing	
265	9	216	28 May 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	and so to Fox-hall, where with great pleasure we walked; and then to the upper end of the further retired walk and there sat and sang, and brought great many gallants and fine people about us;	
266	9	217	29 May 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	Thence home, whither by agreement by and by comes Mercer and Gayett, and two gentlemen with them, Mr. Montouth and Pelham, the former a swaggering young handsome gentleman - the latter a sober citizen merchant; both sing, but the latter with great skill; the other, no skill but a good voice and a good basse - but used to sing only tavern tunes; and so I spent all this evening until 11 at night singing with them, until I tired of them because of the swaggering fellow with the basse, though the girl Mercer did mightily commend him before me.	
267	9	221(2)	2 June 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	And after dinner, they gone, only Mercer and I to sing a while, and then parted;	fair of custard: Several fairs were held at Abingdon: this (founded in 1290 and by the 17th century mainly a pleasure fair) was the largest and longest and lasted for a week. VCH, Berks., iv. 441; description in W. Addison, Engl. Fairs, pp. 134-5. Custard was the dish served at it - cf. the 'Goose fair' at Nottingham, and the 'Goose-berry-pie fair' at Totnes.
268	9	227	9 June 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	At night came to <i>Abington</i> where had been a fair of custard and met many people and scholars going home and there did get some pretty good music and sang and danced until supper	
269	9	249	24 June 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	only, when we came home, Mercer and I sat and sung in the garden a good while.	

270	9	250	28 June 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	and then home to dinner, where Betty Turner, Mercer, and Captain Deane. And after dinner, to sing, Mr Pelling coming.	
271	9	251	29 June 1668	Church Music	by Silas Taylor	Thence to the Chapel, it being St. Peter's day, and did hear an Anthem of Silas Taylors making - a dull old-fashion thing of six and seven parts that nobody could understand; and the Duke of York, when he came out, told me that he was a better store-keeper than Anthem-maker - and that was bad enough too.	Taylor (Navy Storekeeper at Harwich) probably got his compositions performed through his friendship with professionals. None were published. The King told Aubrey that he liked his anthems: <i>Brief Lives</i> (ed. Clark), ii. 254.
272	9	261	13 July 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	So home, it being almost night, and there find in the garden Pelling, who hath brought Tempest, Wallington, and Pelham to sing; and there had most excellent music, late in the dark, with great pleasure.	
273	9	269	29 July 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	and so to the New Exchange and thence by water home with much pleasure; and then to sing in the garden, and so home to bed	
274	9	294	30 August 1668	Church Music		Thence to White-hall to chapel and heard the Anthemne, and did dine with the Duke of Albemarle in a dirty manner as ever. All the afternoon, I sauntered up and down the House and park; and there was a Committee of Tanger met, wherein Lord Coles;	
275	9	300	6 September 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	My boy was with me, and read to me all day, and we sang a while together; and so home to supper a little, and so to bed.	
276	9	320	27 September 1668	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	<This evening I found at home Pelling and Wallington and one Albrige, and we supped and sung.>	
277	9	329	14 October 1668	Theatre Music	<i>The faithful sheperdess</i>	but went all of us to the King's playhouse and there saw <i>The Faythfull Shepherdess</i> again, that we might hear the French Eunuch sing; which we did, to our great content, though I do admire his action as much as his singing, being both beyond all I ever saw or heard.	A pastoral drama by John Fletcher
278	9	436	2 February 1669	Theatre Music	<i>The Heiress</i>	but that that pleased me most in the play is the first song that Knepp sings (she singing three or four); and indeed, it was very finely sung, so as to make the whole house clap her.	

279	9	555	14 May 1669	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	So home, sullen; but then my wife and I by water, with my brother, as high as Fullam, talking and singing and playing the rogue with the western bargemen about the women of Woolwich, which mads them.	
280	9	563	28 May 1669	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	so home, making sport with the Westernne bargees and my wife and I singing, to my great content.	Hoxten
281	9	513	8 April 1669	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	and then with my wife by coach to Islington to pay what we owe there for the late dinner at Jane's wedding; and so round by Kingsland and Hogsden home, pleased with my wife's singing with me by the way;	The Lord Mayor was Sir William Turner, a lifelong bachelor. (he was a brother of the lawyer John Turner who had married a cousin of Pepys.) On 5 May he had given a feast to 'a noble company' of London bachelors. The verses published (anonymously) on the occasion were by the puritan versifier Robert Wild, whose popular Iter Boreale (1660) had celebrated Monck's march from land to restore the King. His present effort - Upon rebuilding the city... the Lord Mayor and the noble company of bachelors dining with him, May 5th 1669(1669) - combined a encomium of the mayor with an attack on the papists for causing the Great Fire. It was republished, under the author's name, in Iter Boreale etc. (1670).
282	9	515	11 April 1669	Church Music		Thence, leaving Balty there, I took my wife to St. James and there carried her to the Queen's Chapel, the first time I ever did it - and heard excellent music, but not so good as by accident I did hear there yesterday as I went through the park from White-hall to see Sir W. Coventry; which I have forgot to set down in my journal yesterday. And going out of the Chapel, I did see the Prince of Tuskany come out, a comely black, fat man, in a mourning-suit - and my wife and I did see him this afternoon through a window in this Chapel.	Perhaps because the services were Roman Catholic.
283	9	552	11 May 1669	Vocal	Pepys sings with EP/Mercer	in the evening, my wife and I all alone, with the boy, by water up as high as Putney almost with the tide, and back again, neither staying, going nor coming; but talking and singing, and reading a foolish copy of verses up[on] my Lord Mayor.	

284	9	563	29 May 1669	Church Music		To White-hall, where all very gay; and perticularly, the Prince of Tuscany very fine, and is the first day of his appearing out of morning since he came. I heard the Bishop of Peterborough preach, but dully; but a good anthem of Pelham's.	Joseph Henshaw; Bishop of Peterborough, 1663-79; the sermon does not appear to have been printed.
							Pelham Humfrey's

University of Cape Town

## APPENDIX B

## Quantitative analysis of diary entries with qualitative value

NP	not pleasing
P	pleasing
VP	very pleasing
H	heavenly

B	bad
G	good
VG	very good
E	excellent

Diary entry ID	Pepys' reception of musical event				Pepys' record of other's reception				Pepys' view of the quality of the music				Pepys' view of the quality of performance			
	NP	P	VP	H	NP	P	VP	H	B	G	VG	E	B	G	VG	E
2	1													1		
5											1					
10							1				1			1		
12										1						
13				1							1					
14			1													
15			1													
17										1						
21							1			1						
22																
23					1								1			
31											1					
45												1				
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56				1												
58											1					
64				1												1
65										1				1		
66	1															
67			1											1		
68										1						
72	1												1			

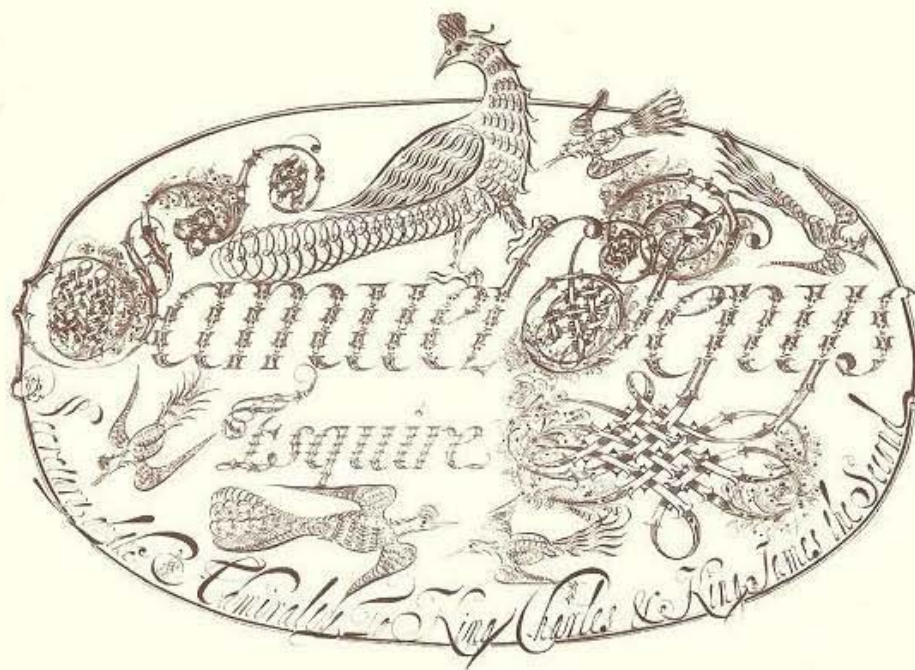




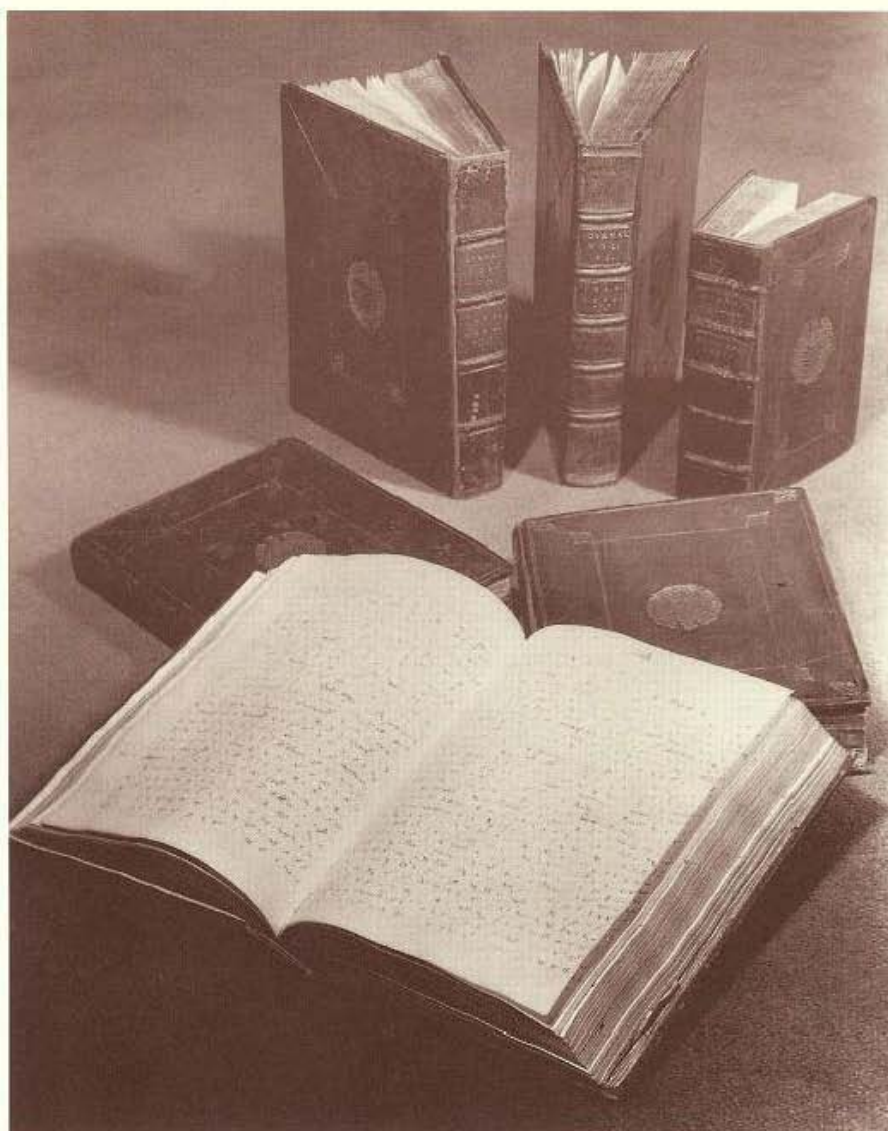
220			1														
221	1												1				
222					1										1		
223									1				1				
224									1								
225							1										
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258			1														
263			1														
266		1					1							1		1	
268										1							
271										1							
272			1													1	
277			1														1
278							1									1	
280			1														
281		1															
282																1	
284										1							
<b>Total:</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>8</b>	
<b>%</b>	10	7	32	7	3.4	1	4.1	2	3.4	14	12	11	7	6	18	5	

## APPENDIX B

Booklet for the Samuel Pepys Library at Magdalene College in Cambridge



THE PEPYS LIBRARY



THE DIARY

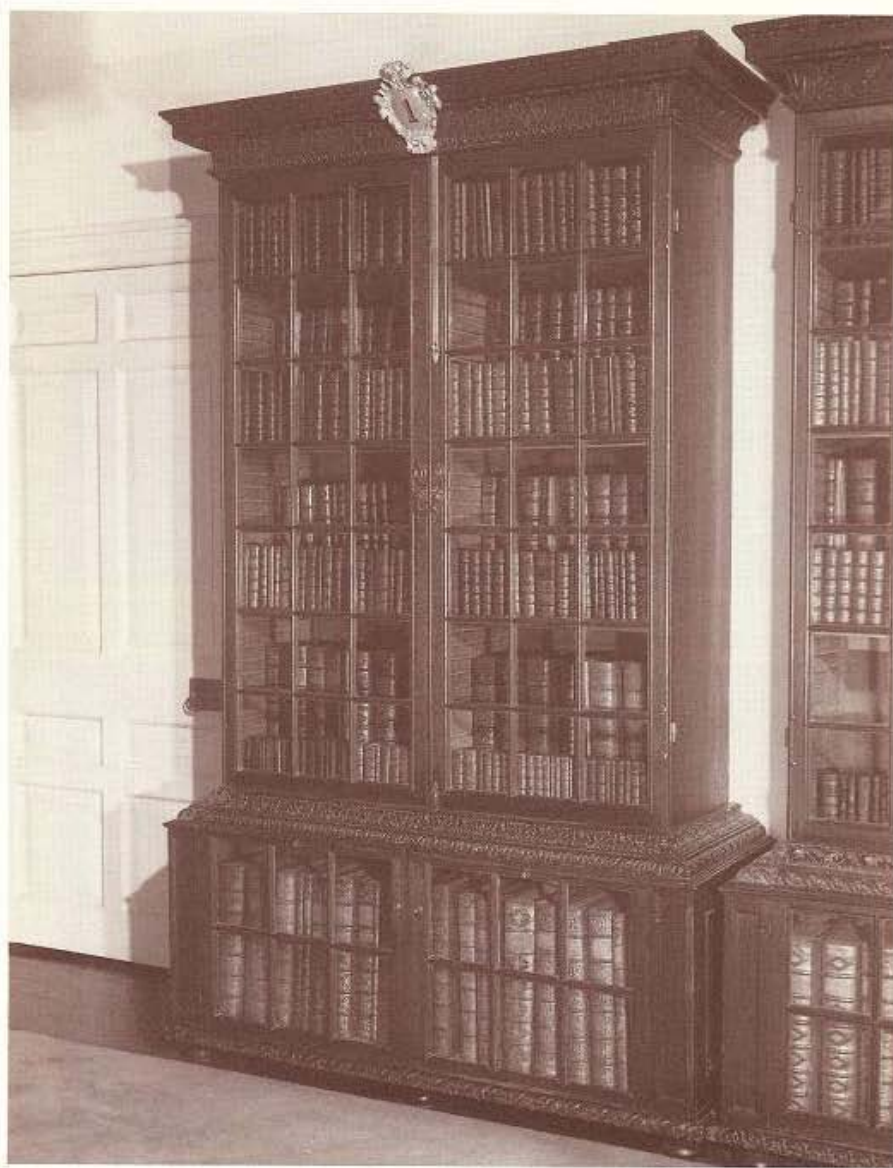
THE PEPYS LIBRARY is now sufficiently well known to raise expectations in the minds of those who come to visit it. As they pass through the College 'screens' and the beautiful façade of the Pepys building comes into view, such expectations can hardly fail to receive some further stimulation. In actual fact the building that the visitor now approaches was not erected with any intention of providing a home for Samuel Pepys's books: it was built late in the seventeenth century as an extension to the College, and Pepys with several other graduate members of the College was a generous subscriber towards the cost of its completion. Like many other College buildings put up about this time, it became known as the New Building; and it was only after the arrival of the library that its present name, Pepys Building, seems gradually to have come into use. Visitors should therefore realize that the words *Bibliotheca Pepysiana 1724* above the central arch of the arcade denote the arrival of Pepys's library at Magdalene, and have no reference either to the date of the building, or to the purpose for which it was erected.

Samuel Pepys died on 26 May 1703, and it was only a fortnight before his death, in two codicils to his will, dated 12 and 13 May, that he made testamentary provision for his library. In the codicil of 12 May he directs that his nephew John Jackson (now first made Pepys's principal heir in the place of the elder brother Samuel, who had 'thought fit to dispose of himselfe in marriage against my positive advice and injunctions') is to have 'the full and Sole possession of all my Collection of Books and Papers contained in my Library... during the Terme of his natural Life'. Moreover, 'if it shall not please God in his mercy to restore me to a condition of prosecuting my thoughts', Jackson is to put the library in its final order, and is given very full instructions how to do this. And finally, he and Will Hewer, Pepys's executor, are to 'consider of the most effectual means of preserving the said Library intire in one body, undivided unsold and secure against all manner of deminution damages and embesselments... for the benefit of posterity'.

However, the codicil of 13 May relieved Will Hewer and John Jackson of their responsibility for the final disposal of the library. It would take

too much space to quote this codicil in full. Preserving John Jackson's life interest, Pepys left the library 'to one of our Universities and rather in that of Cambridge than of Oxford'. Then to a College rather than the 'publick Library'. Then (assuming Cambridge) to Trinity or Magdalene, and 'rather in the latter for the Sake of my own and nephews Education therein'. If in Trinity 'to have communication with the new [Wren] Library there...and if in Magdalen that it be in the new building there and any part thereof at my nephews election. 8<sup>thly</sup> That my said Library be continued in its present form and noe other books mixt therewith...12<sup>thly</sup>. And that for a yet further Security herein the said two Colleges of Trinity and Magdalen have a Reciprocal Check upon one another. And that the Colledge which shall be in present possession of the said Library be subject to an Annual visitation from the other and to the forfeiture thereof to the like possession and Use of the other upon Conviction of any breach of their said Covenants. S. Pepys.' We have no record that Trinity has exercised this right of inspection.

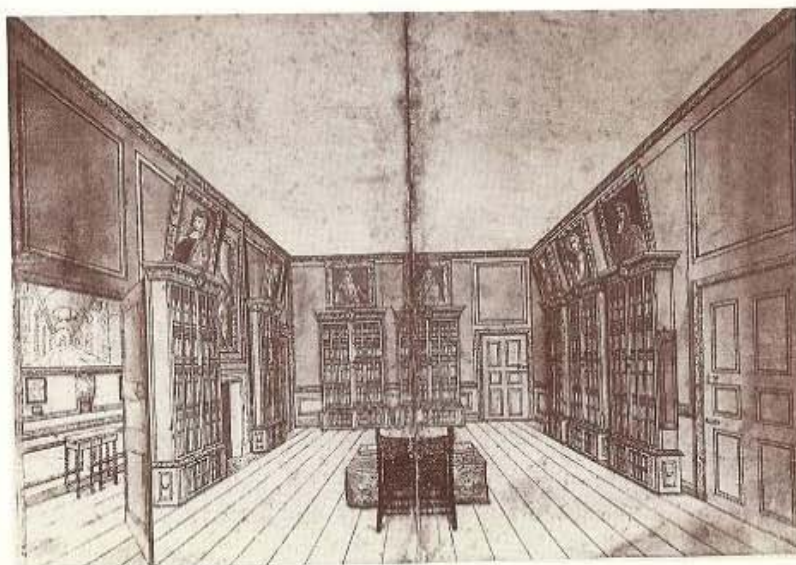
The books are housed in twelve most beautiful oak bookcases or 'presses', and in Pepys's own Library table, which contains some of the largest books of the collection at either end. These bookcases are of great interest. They are as early as any known to contain books behind glass doors. The visitor should remember that at the Restoration the bookshelf is still a recent feature of the house. The comparatively small collections of the private person were formerly kept in boxes or chests; a use still encountered by Dr. Johnson and Boswell on their tour in northern Scotland and the Hebrides, where older customs still lingered. Pepys's presses are elaborately carved in the cornices and again round the upper parts of the lower and wider sections of the cases, designed to house the large folios. The twelve cases are all similar in size and general design, but there are many variations in the detail of the carving. All twelve are the work of the joiner, and not of the cabinet-maker. We know from the diary that the earliest presses were made by Thomas Simpson, master-joiner of Deptford and Woolwich dockyards, in 1666. July 23: 'And then comes Simpson the Joyner, and he and I with great pains contriving presses to put my books up in; they now growing numerous, and lying one upon another on my chairs, I lose the use, to avoid the trouble of removing them when I would open a book.' August 24: 'And then comes Sympson to set up my other new Presse...'. Thus, during the period of the diary, 1660-9, Pepys managed with two presses, each of which would



ONE OF THE PRESSES



[A] THE PEPYS BUILDING



[B] PEPYS'S LIBRARY IN YORK BUILDINGS, c. 1693  
There were then seven presses, the wall not shown being occupied by windows

have contained about 250 books. Others were added as his collection grew. Two pictures originally in Pepys's own catalogue (and now displayed in the lobby) show the library as it was in 1693 in York Buildings in a room overlooking the Thames. There were then seven presses. It seems plain therefore that much of the library was collected during the last ten years or so of his life, during his retirement. It is not quite certain that all the twelve presses now here were made in his lifetime, for his own final catalogue, made in 1700, lists 2474 books, which could be contained in ten presses; but he bought many new books during the last three years of his life. The 2474 books were 'Review'd and finally Placed August 1st 1705 J. Jackson, vid. rest of y<sup>e</sup> Library in Additament. Catalogue consisting of 526 Books more, making the whole Number just 3000. J. Jackson.' And already in a declaration, dated 20 April 1704, Will Hewer and Jackson had decided that the library 'to the just number of Three Thousand volumes contained in Twelve wainscott Presses and one Table' be offered to 'Magdalen Colledge', provided that they would accept Pepys's conditions.

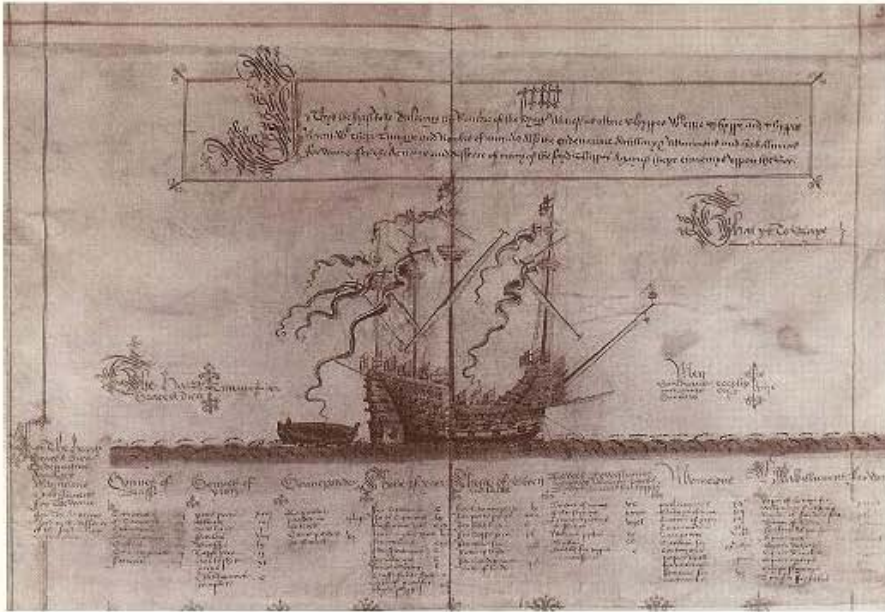
The visitor looking at these stately cases can hardly fail to be impressed by the neat arrangement of the books within them and by the beautiful appearance of the leather bindings. Among the instructions given to Jackson concerning his books (in the codicil of 13 May 1703) Pepys enjoins: '8<sup>thly</sup> That the placing as to heighth be strictly reviewed and where found requiring it more nicely adjusted'. And so 'the placing as to heighth' remains to this day. This arrangement is very sensible, and made almost imperative by the double rows in shelves two, three and four in every bookcase. In a collection so miscellaneous any attempt to place books by subject would prove either impracticable or very unsightly. What matters is an efficient system of cataloguing, and in this, too, Pepys was something of a pioneer, supplementing his alphabetical index with both 'class' and subject catalogues. The books are numbered from 1 (the smallest) to 3000 (the largest). A 'table' then quickly tells the librarian on what shelf any required number will be found.

The bindings throughout the library, as is to be expected in a collection made at this period, are uniformly good, and many of them are very fine indeed. In his instructions to Jackson Pepys ordered that 'my Arms or Crest or Cypher be Stamp't in Gold on the outsides of the Covers of every booke admitting thereof', and this was done: crest and name, etc., in front, and arms, crest and motto at the back. Nearly all books have the bookplate,

an engraving from the portrait (after Kneller) hanging in the library, and also Pepys's end-plate, a device of ropes and anchors entwined with the initials S.P., and, above, the motto *Mens cujusque is est quisque*. Thus practically every book bears four separate evidences of Pepys's ownership. It is reasonable to suppose that many books were so completed before his death. Sometimes a book bearing this paraphernalia appears on the market, and it is presumed that it has been lost from the library. This is not the case, for the collection being limited to 3000, a certain number of books were removed to make room for others.

To return to the bindings, the great majority are naturally English work, although there are some interesting foreign bindings. A collection of fifteenth-century translations of the Bible into English is very beautifully bound in an earlier manner but the finest work is that executed in Pepys's own life-time. There are many books in red calf beautifully tooled in gold in the simple but satisfying style associated with the King's binders, and there are also examples of great elaboration in that style. Many books, presented or dedicated to Pepys, are splendidly bound, as are also some of his own naval MSS., specially those prepared for the scrutiny of James II. Of all naval books, the prize must be awarded to the Anthony Roll, perhaps the finest binding in the library. Other books, e.g. Barlow's *Aesop's Fables*, have very grand bindings for no apparent reason. The variety is fascinating. There is a type of binding called 'sombre', i.e. black with blind (uncoloured) and gold tooling, of which there are some very fine examples, particularly the compositions of Cesare Morelli, Pepys's private musician. Many books of but few pages, especially music books, are bound in delightfully coloured and designed paper covers, a rather special feature of the library. There is much good work in vellum. Finally, the excellent state of preservation of the books throughout the library adds great lustre to a collection of bindings so various and interesting. For this state of preservation we are chiefly indebted to Pepys's own care and foresight in the instructions he gave to Jackson, and to Jackson's diligence in carrying them out. In the codicil of 13 May 1703, Pepys wrote: 'I do hereby declare that could I be sure of a constant Succession of Heirs from my said Nephew qualified like himself for the use of such a Library I should not entertain a thought of its ever being Alienated from them.' He was quite justified in so writing.

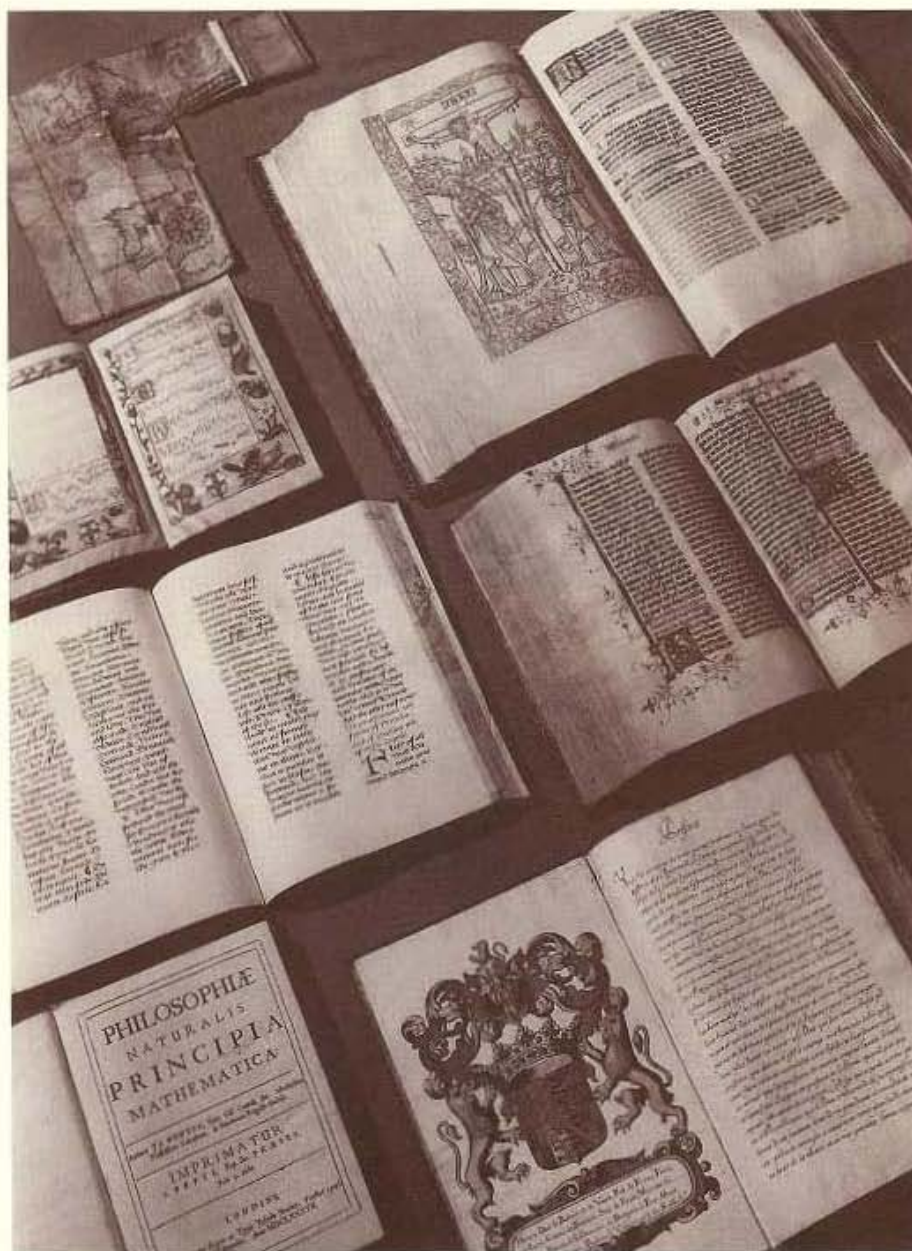
There are some 3000 volumes in the library, but many more titles, many volumes containing several titles, especially among the early printed



[A] THE GREAT HARRY FROM THE 'ANTHONY ROLL'



[B] TWO PAGES FROM 'THE MONK'S DRAWING BOOK'



**VARIOUS BOOKS OF INTEREST**

Top left is Drake's *Pocket Book* and next but bottom on the left is the Caxton *Metamorphoses*

books. To give any satisfactory account of the books in this short review would be impossible. Pepys was a true virtuoso, as wide in his interests as in his abilities, and the library reflects this. Apart from the large number of contemporary books on every kind of subject, the remainder of the library may perhaps be subdivided as follows:

1. Medieval manuscripts.
2. Early printed books.
3. Printed books and manuscripts dealing with the Royal Navy, and other closely related nautical matters.
4. The special collections.
5. Books closely connected with Pepys's life.

1. MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS. There are some sixty of these. The most profusely illuminated is an illustrated Apocalypse of about 1350, with text in French and English. The most beautifully written is a version of the New Testament in English of about 1440, beautifully decorated and in a fine binding. There is some interesting music: a finely written Bishop's Choir Office of about the year 1400; a *Chansonnier* of Guillaume de Machaut; and two very interesting collections of polyphonic music of the middle of the fifteenth century and early sixteenth century. The later of these is very well written and decorated. It was called by Pepys *King Henry VII's Musick Book*. The gold thread of the covers has now largely worn away. The most interesting of the medieval manuscripts is perhaps a collection of drawings of the fourteenth century called by Pepys *Monk's Drawing Book*. Birds and saints predominate. This is a most attractive and unusual manuscript.

2. EARLY PRINTED BOOKS. This is a large and valuable collection for the size of the library, containing nearly 200 titles printed up to 1558, including twenty-seven incunabula, all but two English, of which seven are by Caxton, eight by Wynkyn de Worde, eight by Pynson, one by William de Maclinia, and one by the anonymous St Albans' printer. Nine of these are thought to be unique. Some of these are very beautiful. Of particular interest is a collection of Latin Grammars. Together with Caxton's printed books should be mentioned a most interesting manuscript, comprising a part of his own translation (*via* the French) of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. The missing part was acquired by the College, largely thanks to an American benefactor, in 1967.

3. THE NAVAL COLLECTION. This is a large collection, containing many of Pepys's official papers from the Navy Office and the Admiralty. It includes large volumes of letters, minutes and memoranda, a great collection of miscellaneous 'sea' and naval matter, many separate volumes of naval statistics, special reports etc. Very little of this considerable mass of manuscript material is in Pepys's own handwriting, it being largely in the form of fair copies made by his clerks. Quite a lot of the material collected was, from Pepys's point of view, antiquarian; for he long meditated, but never achieved, a history of the Navy. The whole collection is naturally of great importance to the naval historian, for every aspect of naval administration is dealt with in much detail, including shipwrightry. There are many printed books on naval matters, including navigation, and all aspects of seamanship. A certain portion of this material has been printed by the Navy Records Society, in works edited by the late Dr J. R. Tanner and by the late R. C. Latham; but much remains to be done. Some of the naval manuscripts are of great interest. The Anthony Roll must be mentioned first. This is an illustrated armament roll of the navy of Henry VIII, made for him c. 1546 by Anthony Anthony, one of the Officers of the Ordnance. There were three rolls: 1. Ships; 2. Galliasses; 3. Pinnaces and Row-barges. Charles II gave rolls 1 and 3 to Pepys. Roll 2 is now at the British Museum. Pepys cut up the rolls ship by ship, mounted them on vellum, and made of the whole a magnificent book, superbly bound. Then there is the victuallers' book of the Spanish Armada; every ship is listed with its victuals. There is the nautical almanack bearing the signature *F. Drak*, with a map of Western Europe, much thumbed around the entrance to the Channel. *Fragments of Ancient English Shipwrightry* is the crucial early manuscript on shipbuilding of the period 1590-1627, brought up to date by Sir Anthony Deane's *Doctrine of Naval Architecture* and other manuscript works by Pepys's contemporaries, Sir William Petty, Samuel Fortree, Edmund Dummer, and others.

4. THE SPECIAL COLLECTIONS. There are two collections of great distinction, the prints and the ballads; the calligraphical and shorthand collections are also most interesting and valuable in their own spheres.

The print collection is extensive, and is contained in a score of very large albums. The works of the early engravers from Dürer onwards are abundantly and beautifully represented, especially in the New Testament

volume. The great number of engraved portraits, sometimes supplemented by drawings, are of considerable historical value. Of topographical importance are many of the maps, prints and drawings in the first of two volumes labelled *London and Westminster*. The second volume so named has much of great social interest: processions, trials, costumes, cries, trade-cards, cartoons, etc. There is an interesting Paris volume. Of Pepys's contemporaries, the work of Wenceslaus Hollar is the most abundant, both in *London and Westminster* and in a special volume in that part of the collection called by Pepys *Prints General*. Altogether, the print collection is of very great interest and importance, and we know from his correspondence that it occupied much of Pepys's time after his retirement.

The ballad collection is also extensive and important. In five large albums are pasted more than 1700 broad-sheet ballads, of which over 850 are unique. Vol. I opens with a manuscript version of the Agincourt Victory song, the polyphony differing slightly from that in the Trinity carol roll and in the British Museum. The ballad collection has now been fully catalogued and a facsimile edition is available. There is also a collection of Spanish ballads.

The calligraphical collection is most attractive. It consists for the most part of engraved sheets of the work of the writing-masters. It is contained in three large volumes, English, Foreign and Miscellaneous. There is some actual writing, such as the elaborate *Samuel Pepys* here reproduced on the front cover. Vol. I opens with a medieval section showing pages of writing from the eighth century onwards, with two snippets cut for Pepys from the famous Durham Gospel (also eighth century) with the Dean's permission.

Pepys wrote his diary in a system of shorthand called *Tachygraphy* invented by Thomas Shelton. It seems likely that Pepys either learned or gained his first interest in shorthand during his time at Magdalene, where there is some evidence that shorthand was fashionable at the time. But there were many systems that had come into being from the end of the sixteenth century onwards, and Pepys did pioneer work in collecting as many of these systems as he could, and listing those that he could not get. The collection is contained in five small volumes of varying size.

Apart from these four collections briefly described, there are several others, such as the volumes called *Old Plays* (containing important editions of John Heywood and others), the (mostly 16th-century) *State Papers*, the *Liturgick Controversies*, and so on.

#### 5. BOOKS INTIMATELY CONNECTED WITH PEPYS'S LIFE.

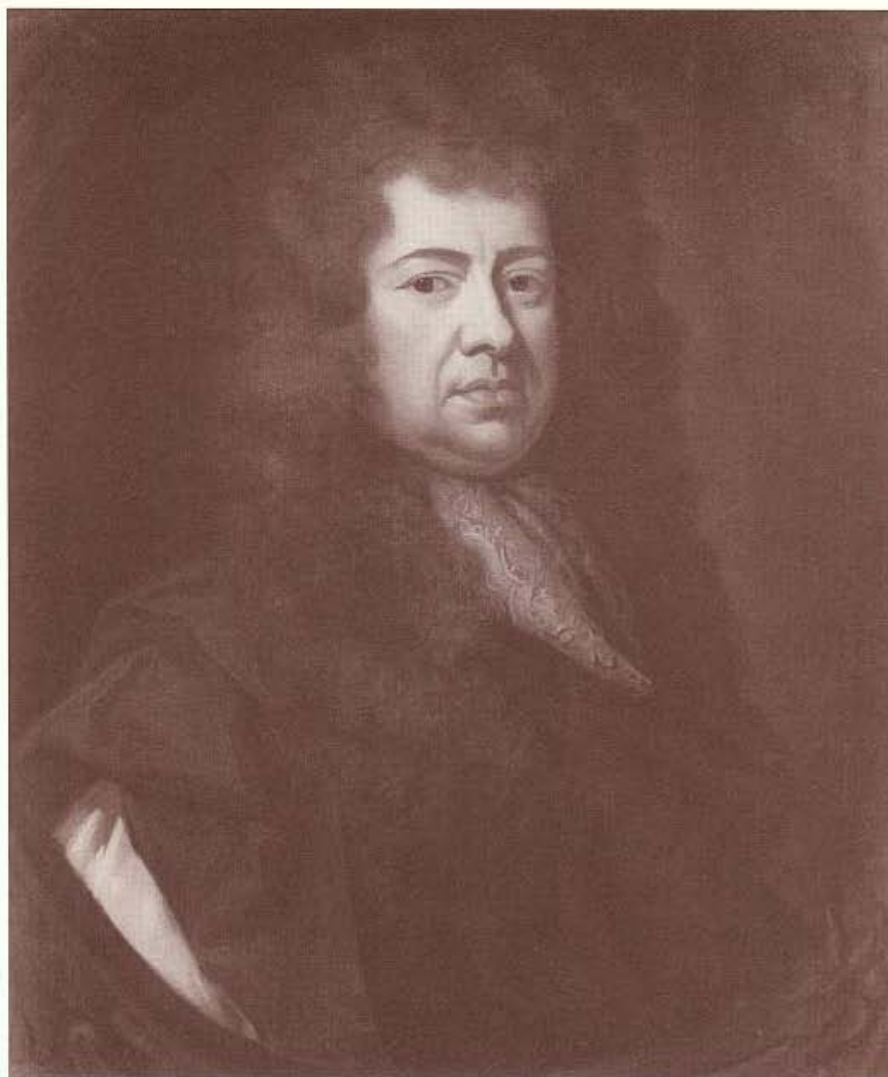
Naturally, many of the manuscript volumes in the naval section belong also to this category. Some of these are in diary form, full of personal touches, but it is the diary itself, which must take the place of honour here. There is also the shorthand account, which Pepys took from Charles II at Newmarket in 1680, of the King's adventures after the battle of Worcester until his escape to France. There are two large manuscript books, which Pepys enigmatically names 'My volumes of *Mornamont*'. During the years of the Popish Plot, Pepys, through his close connexion with the King and the Duke of York, was in great danger from the Shaftesbury faction. In these two volumes, the actions of his accusers, in particular the infamous 'Colonel' Scott, are closely recorded, and the evidence against them marshalled. There is his only printed work, *Memoires... of the Royal Navy* [1679-88] published in 1690, in which Pepys in no uncertain terms vindicates his administration at the Admiralty under Charles II and James II. Perhaps here should be mentioned, too, the first edition of Newton's *Principia*, published in 1686 when Pepys was President of the Royal Society, and bearing his *imprimatur* on the title page. A volume of Christ's Hospital papers bears witness to Pepys's energetic, but in part unavailing efforts as a Governor of that institution. There are many other records of Pepys's activities outside the sphere of naval administration, including the manuscript of his own song *Beauty Retire*, set with a guitar tablature.

The diary is contained in six volumes, of which the first is smaller than the remaining five. The binding is uniform: brown calf with gold tooling, arms and crest. It records a period of nine years and five months, from 1 January 1660 to 31 May 1669; nevertheless, it is a million and a quarter words long, more than one-and-a-half times as long as the Bible. That it is contained in six medium-sized volumes is owing to the fact that it is written mostly in shorthand. It was often written late at night by a tired man with overstrained eyes in candlelight. Yet we may turn over page after page of uncorrected, meticulously clear writing: a great tribute to the clarity of thought and strength of mind of the author. Did he intend it for the public eye? Diaries were not published in the seventeenth century; nevertheless, he meant it to be preserved, for here it is in the library, placed and catalogued by Pepys himself; and we know he meant the library to be preserved 'for the benefit of posterity'.



#### PEPYS AND HIS FRIENDS

A page from the print collection. The portrait of Pepys (engraved from the Kneller painting) is his book-plate



PORTRAIT OF SAMUEL PEPYS BY KNELLER

The diary is immortal, and its merits need no enumeration here; but it is perhaps still worth pointing out that had the diary never been written, Pepys would on at least three counts be well known to us to-day: as a great administrator and civil servant, the creator of the Navy that with the genius of Nelson defeated Napoleon a hundred years after his death; as a virtuoso, President of the Royal Society, intimate friend of Evelyn and many of the leading intellects of his day; and lastly as the creator and preserver of this exceedingly beautiful and fascinating library.

The whole library is redolent of Pepys; it is various as the topics of the diary, fastidious as he alone knew how to be; and it has a kind of intimacy that he was careful to retain. For he drew a distinction between a private library 'and the more pompous collections of princes'. He never wished it to be larger than it is; the library of an educated man should be what he himself can compass, reflecting his own interests and activities. *Mens cujusque is est quisque*: it is indeed fortunate that Pepys's mind was so capacious. To sit alone in silence surrounded by those books and presses and before that somewhat austere gaze, so penetrating, sober, and wise, is an experience both precious and humiliating.

#### CHIEF EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF SAMUEL PEPYS

- 1633 *February 23*. Born at Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, London.
- c. 1644 Living at Brampton with his uncle Robert Pepys. Attended Huntingdon Grammar School.
- c. 1646-50 At St Paul's School, London.
- 1651 Began residence at Magdalene College, Cambridge. B.A. 1654; M.A. 1660.
- 1655 Married Elizabeth St Michel.
- c. 1656 Steward in London to his cousin Edward Mountagu, created 1st Earl of Sandwich at the Restoration.
- c. 1656 Appointed a Clerk in the Exchequer.
- 1658 *March 26*. Operated on for the stone.
- 1660 *January 1*. Begins the diary.  
*March 22*. Appointed Secretary to the Generals at Sea of the Fleet sailing to Holland to bring back Charles II (i.e. virtually Mountagu's secretary, with whom he set sail on 5 April).  
*June 29*. Appointed Clerk of the Acts of the Navy Office, of which he now becomes a Principal Officer.

## CHIEF EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF PEPYS

- 1665 *March 20.* Appointed Treasurer for Tangier.  
*June to September.* Great plague. Pepys remains in London.  
*November 8.* Appointed Surveyor-General of Victualling.
- 1666 *September 2.* Fire of London begins.
- 1668 *February 27.* Marriage of his sister Paulina to John Jackson (senior).  
*March 5.* Successful speech at the bar of the House of Commons in defence of the Navy Office during the 2nd Dutch War.
- 1669 *May 31.* Diary discontinued owing to eye-strain.  
*June to October.* Tour with Mrs Pepys in Holland and France.  
*November 10.* Death of Mrs Pepys.
- 1673 *June 18.* Appointed Secretary to the Admiralty: resigned from Clerkship of the Acts. M.P. for Castle Rising, Norfolk.
- 1676 Master of Trinity House; Governor of Christ's Hospital.
- 1677 Master of Clothworkers' Company.
- 1679 M.P. for Harwich.  
*March 21.* Under pressure from the Shaftesbury faction resigned from the Admiralty and from the Treasurership of Tangier.  
*March 22.* Committed to the Tower.  
*July 9.* Released on bail.
- 1683 *July 30.* Set out with Lord Dartmouth as Secretary of the Tangier Expedition.
- 1684 *March 30.* Returned from Tangier and made a tour of Southern Spain.  
*June 10.* Appointed Secretary for Admiralty Affairs.  
*December 1.* Elected President of the Royal Society, of which he had been a Fellow since 1665.
- 1685 M.P. for Harwich.
- 1689 *February 20.* Resigned from the Admiralty as a consequence of the Revolution.
- 1690 *June 25-30.* Imprisoned in the Gatehouse on suspicion of being 'affected to King James'. Published his *Memoires... of the Royal Navy* [1679-88].
- 1701 *c. June.* Finally retired from York Buildings to Clapham.
- 1703 *May 26.* Died.  
*June 4.* Buried in St Olave's, Hart Street.
- 1723 *March 22.* Death of John Jackson.
- 1724 *July.* Library removed to Magdalene College.



#### BINDINGS

The volume on the right is the only known copy of the *Pastoralle* by Louis Grabu, 1684