

Samuel Pepys and Muslims in Seventeenth Century England

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Introduction: Pepys's Diary as a Window of Seventeenth Century Life

Samuel Pepys famous Diary offers a unique window into many aspects of life in seventeenth century England and especially in London. Due to his insatiable curiosity and wide interests and his work as a civil servant and member of parliament his writing has attracted interest from sociologists, historians and from scholars from many other disciplines. Among other achievements Pepys is credited as the architect of the Royal Navy, as one of the main shapers of the Civil Service and as a pioneer of double-entry bookkeeping. An under explored area is how his writing helps us understand perceptions of Muslims at the time. This paper builds on Andrew Rouse's *Mr Pepys and the Turk* (2014) which was his habilitat dissertation. Analysis shows that actual relations with the Muslim world and England was complex. In addition to references in the Diary, Pepys ballad collection and his personal library contain material relevant to Christian-Muslim relations in the seventeenth century. Pepys also travelled to help shut down the failed English colony of Tangier. This gives insight into this first ever English colonial venture into Muslim controlled territory. His later Diary is the only known account of this event and merits more attention. Thus analysis begins with a brief biography then discusses Pepys Diary, library, ballads and Tangier papers concluding with an evaluation of the significance of this legacy.

Biography

Samuel Pepys was born in Salisbury Court, Fleet St., London on 23 February 1633. He was the fifth child of John Pepys, a tailor and Margaret *née* Kite, a butcher's daughter. Pepys boarded at several schools before attending Huntington Grammar School from 1644 moving to St Paul's, London in 1646. In 1649, he witnessed Charles I's execution. In 1651, having won two scholarships from St. Paul's, he matriculated at Magdalene College, Cambridge (transferring from Trinity Hall where he matriculated but never attended). Although Pepys' parents were of modest means members of the wider family had served in parliament and in various important offices. Pepys graduated BA in 1654. He married in 1655 and entered the service of his father's cousin, Sir Edward Montagu (1625-72). Pepys assisted in the management of Montagu's businesses. However, in 1658 he became a clerk to Sir George Downing (1623-84) at the Exchequer. Downing secured him the post of clerk of the Acts of the Navy Board in July 1660 and he moved into an official residence. That year, he received his MA and was appointed a Justice of the Peace. On 1 January 1660 he began writing his famous diary. In 1662 he was made a freeman of Plymouth. He became Secretary to the Admiralty in 1673, a senior civilian position. He also held posts in Customs and Excise and as clerk to the Privy Seal. That year he was elected Member of Parliament for Castle Rising, Norfolk. In 1679 he was elected to the short parliament as member for Harwich winning re-election in 1685. He lost his seat in 1689.

Serving in parliament was never Pepys main preoccupation, his life's work was organising and improving the navy, and he used his seat in parliament to enlarge the navy's fleet by thirty ships. He used his perks of office to finance his interests which included collecting books, music (he played the guitar and accumulated a very large collection of guitar sheet music), attending the theatre (he records 338 visits), dressing in the latest fashion and advancing socially. Infamously, he also misused his office to have sexual encounters with the wives of men seeking better posts or promotion; Pimm describes him as a serial sex offender and predator (*The Dark Side*, 2017). As well as receiving commissions on contracts to the navy and a share of prize money he accepted bribes to facilitate promotion and fees for issuing patents as Privy Seal clerk. He also made navy yachts available to his friends. Pepys was elected to the Royal Society in 1664 and served as President for two years (1684-5). He was also a brother of Trinity House becoming Master in 1676-7 and again in 1685-6.

He was Master of the Clothworker's Company in 1677. During 1679 Pepys was briefly held in the Tower of London on suspicion of treason and of Catholic sympathies. He was eventually restored to his position at the navy in 1684 (until his retirement in 1689) also serving as King's Secretary for Admiralty Affairs. Pepys was again accused of treason and imprisoned in 1689 and in 1690 which precipitated his retirement. During his years in the Admiralty Pepys introduced standards for holding such posts as surgeon and chaplain, examinations in navigation and mathematics for promotion to lieutenant and ensured that healthy rations were served at sea. Pepys' *Memoirs of the Royal Navy* was published in 1690. He helped set up the Royal Mathematical School for service at sea (1673) at Christ's Hospital and was appointed a Governor of Christ's in 1675. He also served as a baron of the cinque ports.

Written in a form of shorthand between January 1660 and 31 May 1669 (he stopped writing due to problem with his eyesight) Pepys diary described such events as the Great Plague, the Restoration of the monarchy and the Great Fire of London, among others. It is also a rich source of information on life in the seventeenth century benefitting from Pepys' insatiable curiosity. Pepys attended meetings of the Rota Club at the Turk's Head in New Palace Yard, a society for political debates and had a large circle of acquaintances. His method of recording his income and expenditure contributed to the development of double-entry book keeping. Entries illustrate that there was quite a degree of public awareness about Turkey at this time as do Turkish allusions in his collection of ballads. These do not reveal much about Pepys' own attitude to Turks or to Muslims but when he resumed his diary in 1683 during his mission to Tangier some more personal observations become available. Between 1662 and 1679 Pepys served on the Committee for Tangier, an English Crown possession from 1661 to 1684 and as Treasurer from 1665. In 1683 he was a member of the mission sent by the King to dismantle the colony. This was the first English colonial experiment in Muslim-majority territory. Pepys has a keen interest in the Barbary coast and in the Levant due to his concern for the safety of British ships and their crews both naval and commercial.

Pepys contributed toward the construction of a building at Magdalene College, Cambridge, completed during 1700 where his library of 3,000 volumes and his papers were housed after the College inherited these after his literary executor's death in 1724. Pepys left strict instructions on how to catalogue and preserve his collection – also bequeathing his bookcases – because he was alarmed by how many collections were broken up after their owner's death. He had his loose diary pages bound into six volumes (PpS 14). After retiring Pepys spent the last few years of his life living on the edge of Clapham common where he died 26 May 1703. The Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury attended his funeral. Despite being a public figure during his life it was not until the first version of his diaries was published in 1825, with passages considered too obscene expunged, that his name became synonymous with diary writing. In addition to the diaries, his correspondence has been published. Relevant archives are housed in the National Archives, Kew, Magdalene College, Cambridge, the Rawlinson collection at the Bodleian and at the National Maritime Museum

1[0Diary, Ballads, Tangier Papers, Letters, Manuscripts

The Diary

Samuel Pepys' papers, letters and manuscripts collectively constitute his works. Except *Memoirs of the Navy* (1690) everything in print was published posthumously. Often written in shorthand it is unknown whether Pepys ever intended their publication. He did take extraordinary steps to ensure that his writing, his library and music collections were preserved. Beginning with first diary entry 1 January 1660 to the last entry 31 May 1669, through his official correspondence and letters to his return to keeping a journal during his visit to Tangier and Spain (30 July 1683-5, March 1684), allusions to Muslims - usually Turkes (sic) - feature as they do in his broad sheet ballad collection. Turk could be an ethnically Turkish subject of the Ottoman sultan, any Muslim from an Ottoman province or even a Moor. Confusingly, Pepys sometimes called Muslims from the Barbary coast Turks (see *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 54) but he did also use Moor. He records three visits to the theatre to see *The Moor of Venice* or *Othello the Moor of Venice* between 11 October 1660 and 6 February 1667?8 (Pepys and McFee, *Restoration Stage*, p. 73) Pepys knew that 'turning Turk' meant converting to Islam. He also mentions important places and events in the Muslim world. A selection of allusions are described below covering the first diary, his ballad collection, correspondence and his second diary. Many references could be seen as incidental because they describe someone he met or something he saw. Quite a few indicate that Pepys was personally and professionally interested in aspects of Muslim life and in England's relationship with Muslim states. This is supported by items of note in his book collection identified from Pepys Library and C.F. Knighton, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library. Census of Printed Books* (2004).

Other references demonstrate how tropes about and metaphors linked with Turks were commonplace and that *Turquerie* or Turkish fashion and objects were already popular in late seventeenth century England. Many tropes were negative such as the 'troublesome Turk', 'the infidel Turk', 'the lustful Turk' and Turks as military threat. Yet appreciation for cultural objects from Turkey and even exotic tropes of life in the seraglio evoke more positive images. As early as 1621 when Sir Thomas Roe went to Constantinople as the 6th English ambassador collected antiquities for friends at home (R. Eisner, *Travelers to an Antique Land*, Ann Arbor MI, 1993, p. 56). Obviously, the state of the Ottoman Empire and conditions on the Barbary coast were major concerns for someone in Pepys' position at the Admiralty and as a Tangier commissioner. Protecting English merchant ships and policing the sea lanes was a major task of the Royal Navy. An entry for 15 January 1664 about a meeting with the king expresses concern for a planned fleet of merchants sailing to Turkey because only six warships were available as an escort (vol. 4, p. 332). Typically, fourteen warships accompanied the large Dutch Smyrna fleet. At the meeting, the King asked Pepys for news of a naval battle against the Dutch in the Herculean Straits (Straits of Gibraltar) during which two out of eight English ships were lost (vol. 4, pp. 338-9). This engagement launched the Second Dutch War. References to Barbary piracy, redeeming captives, dealing with Muslim rulers and administering an English colony in Muslim-majority territory occur throughout his works. The Clothworkers Company, too, which Pepys served as Master, was heavily involved with the Turkey trade and in the Turkey Company which it helped to establish and run. One entry describes Pepys visiting the offices of the Turkey Company to ask if company ships would transport "some men of ours to Tangier" reporting that he was received civilly and that it would not be practical for them to deny the request (23 January 1664; vol. 4, p. 340).

The 1660-9 diary was first transcribed from the original hand written bound volumes written in black or brown ink with a quill pen at Magdalene (PpS 14) by John Smith (1799-1870) while studying at Magdalene. Edited by the 3rd Baron Braybrooke, Richard Griffin (1783-1858) in two volumes, it was published in 1825. After the key to the shorthand cipher was discovered on a shelf above the diaries, Magdalene president Mynors Bright (1818-83) produced a new transcription. Published 1875-9 in six volumes and covering eighty percent of the original diary this version corrected some errors of the previous edition. Between 1893 and 1899 Henry B. Wheatley (1838-1917) - Bibliographical Society president 1911-13 - edited a new edition in ten volumes with notes and index. An uncensored version in nine volumes by the Pepys Librarian, Robert Latham (d. 1995) and William Matthews (d. 1975) a UCLA professor of English, was published between 1970 and 1983. There is also a *Companion* and an *Index* (vols 10 and 11). In addition there are numerous single volume abridgements. Entries described will be identified by date. Direct citations are sourced to the 1893 edition.

The first relevant entry, for 10 May 1660, records Pepys dining with the Governor of Dover, Heneage Finch (Lord Winchelsea), who appears in four entries in the Wheatley edition. Winchelsea later served as Ambassador to Turkey (1668-72) (Wheatley, 1893, vol. 1, p.133; see index, vol. 9, p. 350).

On 28 February 1661, Pepys went to bed speculating on two issues of the day, namely who would the king marry and where was the fleet being assembled headed, 'most think Algier against the Turk' or to engage the Dutch (vol. 1, p. 354). The first aimed at reducing the threat to England's merchant fleet; the second to replace the Dutch as masters of the trade routes. Either of these were within Pepys' professional field of interest.

On 22 April 1661 Pepys observed the pre-coronation parade in honour of Charles II during which he saw 'a Company of men all like Turks' (vol. 2, p. 18) Andrew Rouse, whose *Mr Pepys and the Turk* (2014) analyses all twenty-six references to Turks in the diary, speculates that after the sombre Commonwealth period (when theatres were closed and colourful dress discouraged) the parade aimed to be spectacular. The company dressed in Turkish style intended to conjure up images of wealth, resurgent power and 'exoticism' in contrast to the sobriety of the past era (vol. 2, p. 46). This is one of a number of entries that describe the developing taste for Turkish styles in furniture, fashion and various exotic items.

On 21 November 1666 Pepys visited Sir Philip Howard (d. 1686), an MP, at his home and found him 'dressing himself in his night gown and turban like a Turke' (vol. 6, p. 71). Pepys describes this without saying anything judgemental. Rouse suggests that Sir Philip's donning of this dress was not an attempt to 'adopt the by then stereotypical qualities of the Turk' but was 'genteel: he is in his dressing gown, attended by servants, listening to music strummed on an instrument of the middle east' (a guitar) (*Pepys and the Turk*, p. 87). This represents appreciation for Turkish customs; not everything Turkish has to be viewed with distaste. Unlike some Europeans in the next century who would pose for portraits wearing Turkish dress Howard did not have ties with Turkey.

Pepys owned a Turkish carpet given him by Captain Roger Cuttance, a regular drinking partner and later a Tangiers Commissioner, together with a jar of olives (27 September 1660, vol. 1, p. 230). A later entry refers to Mrs Betty Martin, his mistress of many years (married to Samuel Martin, English Consul at Algiers) buying 'turkey works, chairs etc'. He was annoyed by her 'expensefulness' (14 April 1667; vol. 6, p. 272). Turkey work was red tapestry in Turkish style. For Valentines Day, he gave his 'wretch' of a wife a Turkey stone with diamonds (24 February 1667; vol. 7, p. 338). The Museum of Leathercraft in Abington, Northants, houses a leather purse with Pepys name engraved on one side and 'Constantinople' on the other which is thought to have been a gift to Pepys from a Turkish envoy. Gifts from the Ottoman world could also be exotic animals; Samuel Martin famously sent Pepys a lion, which he apparently kept in his official residence, writing back on 28 September 1673 that it was 'tame' and 'good company' (*Catalogue of Naval Manuscripts*, vol. 2, p. xxxvi). Before the lion he had a monkey (vol. 1, p. 329).

When the Moroccan ambassador, Mohamed ben Haddū, visited London in 1681, whom Pepys 'may well have met ... when' he 'visited the Royal Society' he presented King Charles with two lions and twenty or thirty ostriches (Latham, *Companion*, vol. 10, p. 411). The ambassador successfully negotiated the return of captured guns, munitions and of 107 Muslim prisoners although due to the continued use of captive Moors in the English colony of Tangier the king refused to 'release British prisoners' (Matar, *British Captives*, 2014, p. 128). Pepys was very concerned with the redemption of slaves and treaty negotiations with the Regency States to secure safety at sea. Several entries refer to peace initiatives. Vice-Admiral John Lawson, with whom Pepys dined, made peace with 'Tunis and Tripoli, as well as Algiers' (vol. 2, pp. 398, 405). Sir Thomas Allin (some versions of the diaries have Allen), who succeeded Lawson as commander of the Mediterranean fleet, twice negotiated peace with Algiers (vol. 4, p. 296; vol. 7, p. 251 refers to 'some sort of peace with Algiers') but neither treaty lasted very long (vol. 7, p. 211). Lord Winchilsea's name appears in connection with securing the Ottoman ruler's approval (vol. 3, p. 334). Allin told Pepys 7 August 1668 that the Turks were 'very civil to our merchantmen everywhere' (vol. 8, p. 76). A denizen of coffee houses, Pepys visited the first opened in London in 1652 by Pasqua Rosée from Smyrna, where he drank his first cup of tea which, as had coffee, came to England through the Turkish trade. The editorial note in Wheatley reads, 'it is stated in "Boyne's Trade Tokens"' ed. [G.] Williamson, vol. 1, 1889, p. 593, that 'the word tea occurs on no other tokens than those issued from the Great Turk ... coffeehouse in Exchange Alley' (24 September 1660, vol. 1, pp. 249-50). The shop sold up to 600 daily servings of coffee.

The entry for 14 April 1667 twice refers to Pepys' satisfaction in reading his 'new history of Turkey'. This was Paul Rycaut's *History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1666 but dated 1667; Library item 2372/1), one of his most prized books at the time, it was among only six that survived the great fire. He had examined a copy 15 October 1666 before the fire. When he finally bought his copy 8 April 1667 the price has risen dramatically from eight to fifty shillings but he thought it worth the investment (vol. 6, p. 231). A coloured edition, he treated it as a coffee table book and would show it off to dinner guests. He finished reading the book 3 May 1667 having taken it to bed at least once. Today it is the only surviving copy of the first coloured edition. Rycaut worked in Constantinople as Lord Winchilsea's private secretary (from 1661) then as English Consul at Smyrna 1667-78. Pepys described another book, a *History of Algiers* (item 754), as 'mighty pretty reading' (December 1667, vol. 7, p. 244; see also p. 241). This was E. d' Aranda's *History ... and its slavery, English'd by John Davies* (1662). Items in Pepys library indicate his interest in matters of religion. He possessed a copy of the 1649 *Alcoran of Mahomet* in English (item 1096) and other books on Islam and Islamic history including Lancelot Addison's *The Life and Death of Mahumed, The Author of the Turkish Religion* (1667; item 936) (when Addison was chaplain at Tangier his expenses were paid through Pepys), and Richard Knolles' *The Turkish History with Rycaut's continuation* (item 2739) both cover the life and teachings of Muḥammad. Other works described Muslim practices. Library item 885 is Alexander Ross' pioneer work on comparative religion, *Pansébeia, or, A view of all religions in the world*.

Pepys was a regular churchgoer and often went to several Sunday services usually commenting on the sermon in his diary. Despite being dogged by accusations of Catholic loyalty, Pepys was an Anglican. However, he attended other denominations' services (including Catholic which was probably courageous for him in the circumstances). Once he attended the Catholic service held for Queen Henrietta Maria in Marlborough House (vol. 2, p. 342).

Bible reading may be underreported in the diary because Pepys took this for granted but there are some references to this. 29 September 1661 he recorded having forget this for the first time (vol. 2, p. 110) and in July 1660 he mentions reading from the *Book of Common Prayer* after moving to a new home (Loveman, *Books*, p. 43; vol. 1, p.206). On the ship sailing to Tangier, he recorded reading 'some chapters in the bible and going by and by to prayers' (*Papers*, p. 13). He once went to a synagogue, unaware that it was Simchat Torah, he wrote 'but Lord! to see the disorder' but accurately described the service (14 October 1663, vol. 3, p. 303). He maintained contact with London's Jewish community (Loveman, *Books*, p. 221). In Tangier, where Jewish interpreters played a vital role as translators he observed a Muslim demonstrate daily prayers. Pepys was curious about other religions and interested in learning about them.

Pepys' Library: His interest in Islam and in other religions

His diary does not shed any direct light on his religious opinions. Although, he did possess several books that defended the Trinity and some that supported Unitarianism including two by Stephen Nye (d. 1719) (items 635, *Brief History of the Unitarians* which was censored in the Lower House of Convocation in 1689 as 'very dangerous', and 1009, *Life of Mr. Thomas Firman with ... present state of the Unitarian controversy*), several on Arianism (items 673-5, 2356) and a larger number on alleged heresies (items 635, 673-4, 738, 1012, 1181/2, 1183/8 and 1186/4) suggesting that he took notice of theological debates and alternative views.

Pepys' book collection has many accounts of travel in the Muslim world and captivity narratives. Thomas Phelps, the escaped Barbary captive, dedicated his *A True Account* (1684) to Pepys after he introduced him to the king. In his entry for 8 February 1661 Pepys describes visiting the 'Fleece tavern to drink' where he spent all afternoon 'telling stories of Algiers and the manner of life of slaves there' with two former captives who acquainted him 'with their condition there... how they ate nothing but bread and water' (vol. 2, pp. 242-3). English captives were redeemed during Pepys time in Tangier (*Papers*, p. 286-7). Slavery, especially when involving female captives and the seraglio could lead to the creation of imagined exotic spaces in which Galley slaves wore chains of Iron but others 'of Gold' (Rycaut, *Present State*, p. 9). Pepys also possessed *The History of the Grand Visiers ... with the intrigues of the seraglio* by F. de Chassepol (item 1039). The French Baron 'openly acknowledged on his title page the selling power of the seraglio and its mysterious inmates' (M.R. Schenkelberg, 'Headlong he Runs into Circe's Squares', New Brunswick NJ, 2012 (PhD diss. Rutgers) p. 46). Pepys' two companions, though, painted a dark picture. The English government set certain moneys aside for the redemption of captives following the 1641 Relief of Captives Act. On the other hand, while in Tangier, Pepys heard about how badly Muslim captives were treated by Admiral Arthur Herbert (1648-1716), who starved a hundred 'Turks and Moors' even though he had hung up 'for the Turks to see' the 'Allowance of Victuals' which they were permitted (*Papers*, p. 209). Another 'five hundred slaves' had 'died of famine' (*Papers*, p. 225). Pepys made a note to investigate the matter.

Pepys' Broadsheet Ballad Collection

Pepys became a serious collector of broadsheet ballads after finishing his first diary. Many items date from earlier in the century but some were contemporary. He bound the leaves into five albums trimming the pages to fit the volumes. Many of the these were illustrated. There are over 1,800. He pasted some into other volumes. Pepys catalogued the collection (with page numbers) arranged chronologically and by category (eleven). The first printed edition of the complete collection, edited by W.G. Day in 1987, is a facsimile of the bound volumes. Helen Weinstein prepared her two volume catalogue to accompany this edition (1992). In 1929, Hyder E. Rollins (1889-1958), encouraged by Magdalene College, had edited a volume of 505 selected ballads in eight volumes. Rolins' shorter *Pepysian Garland*,

a single volume with seventy-nine ballads was published in 1922. The whole collection is part of the digital English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA) at University of California at Santa Barbara. Seventy two ballads in Pepys' collection contain the word Turk (or a variation) while others mention Turkey or contain other Oriental allusions (Rouse, *Pepys and the Turk*, p. 23). None of the tropes necessarily represent ways that Pepys saw Muslims but those ballads whose subject was more directly related to the Barbary coast, for example, might reflect his interests. All provide a window into popular seventeenth century images. Ballads are identified both by the EBBA number and by pages in Pepys' bound volumes.

Ballad 22373 dated 1697 (vol. 5, p.110), to the tune of Packington's Pound, is set against the background of the French easily taking the Belgian city of Ath 5 June 1694 which led to the Treaty of Ryswick that ended the Nine Years War. The ballad is a mock eulogy praising the French army which no nation could resist.

This ballad could well have been sung in coffee houses called the Turk's Head with an assumed French inflexion. It begins: 'A New Calculation of late has been given/ Of the wonderful Year of Ninety and Seven/ How the French Preparations by Sea and by Land/ Has threaten'd each Nation on every hand/Begar me'll out-doe [meaning By God, I will out do] de Turk and de Jew/ And Fight de dam Dutch, and de English too/No Hero, no Hero, is like dat of France ...'

Inclusion of both Turks and Jews as military enemies is odd because, while the Ottoman might be still be seen as a threat (which would soon diminish after the defeat at Zenta 11 September 1697) it is difficult to see why Jews would be involved in any war at this time. Jews and Turks, though, were often 'juxtaposed' as outsiders (Rouse, *Pepys and the Turk*, p. 40) whose very otherness was seen as threatening. The second stanza refers to 'Mahomet Faith'.

Ballad 2041 (vol. 1, p. 508-9) (dated 1684-6), 'The Young Man's A.B.C.', to the tune of 'Aim Not Too High' also alludes to Turks and Jews, this time mentioned with heathens, to represent the other but here, in a poem about unrequited love, these are less cruel than the narrator's love. Each stanza begins with a letter. After X, it reads: 'Thousand times/more cruel is thy mind/ Then Heathens, Jews/ or Turks are in their kind/ Or any one/ that on the earth doth go/ And woe is me/ For I have found it so...'

Ballad 20870 (vol. 2, p. 257) 'A Full Description of These Times', also set to Packington's Pound; Ballad 20916 (vol. 2, p. 299) 'The Protestant Soldiers Resolution' set to 'My life and my death: Or, Let Cesar live long' and Ballad 20889 (vol. 2, p. 275), 'The Protestant Court of England' set to 'The Pudding' all dated 1669/1690 celebrate the coronation of William and Mary of Orange and denounce Jesuits, the Pope, Turks and others as the enemy. Ballad 20889 employs the common rhyme of "Turk" with "Work": 'The Pope that saw Turk/ So [sleely] at [wo]rk' (eighth stanza). Under William, the English need not give a 'a Figg for the Devil the Pope and the Turk' (first stanza, Ballad 20870). Giving a Fig derives from a Turkish gesture meaning we will not yield. They had no fear but would fight by land and sea against one and all; 'Our English brave Sea-men shall stand upon Deck,/ who scorns for to fly from the face of a Turk; Pope, Devil, and French-men, come all if you dare ...' (Ballad 20916, penultimate stanza). There are several references to the Jesuits.

Some Protestant polemicists did see Islam and Catholicism as related or as similar heresies. France was for many years closely allied with the Ottomans. The *Tangier Papers* refer to the king of France's aim of 'making the Turks his friends and thereby enemies to us and others, then to make himself [master] of Flanders and thereby of Ostend, and so will plague us with privateers, till he comes to master Holland' (p. 242). On the other hand, Elizabeth I of England has attempted to forge an alliance with the Ottomans against their common enemy, the Spanish idolators.

Ballad 20281 (pp. 94-5, probably 1624) 'Newes from Argeir' (Tune; King Henries going to Bolloigne) about a sea battle between the Royal Navy and Algerian pirates (called Turkes) on Christmas Day 1621 presented a humiliating defeat as a victory. Referring to a lunar eclipse during the encounter, the ballad uses this to depict Turks as fearful and superstitious. Such a naval encounter would have been familiar to Pepys although he would have known what really happened. Ballad 21850 (vol. 4, p. 188) 'Algier Slaves Releasement' set to 'Awake, Oh my Cloris' is about the redemption of a captive who endured torture and deprivation remaining a 'true Protestant' rather than convert to Islam for the sake of his beloved Betty; 'I do slight all the Torments/ bestow'd by the Turk;/When I think on my Dear, and in Gallies do work'. Pepys' interests included the treatment of Barbary captives and the allure of conversion. Finally in this selection, Ballad 20114 (vol. 1, pp. 248-9), dated around 1620, 'A Merry Ballad of a Rich Maid' set to 'hoop do me no harme good man' recounts how all eighteen of a rich maid's suitors fail to win her hand. These include men from England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Holland, Russia and elsewhere and a 'troublesome Turke', a trope by itself. She 'scorned his beliefs, and so to be briefe, he did return home offended'. However, since she rejected all her suitors the Turke was not singled out for any different treatment but was dealt with like everybody else.

Pepys' Tangiers Papers

When, in 1682, Pepys was sent out with Lord Dartmouth, Admiral of the Fleet, to close and abandon the crown colony at Tangier - although he did not know what the real mission was before he sailed - he recommenced writing a diary. Sometimes called his second diary, this is also known as his *Tangier Papers*. The handwritten original was not bound with the first diary or lodged at Magdalene, but became part of Oxford's Rawlinson collection (MSS Rawl. D. 750, D. 752, D. 754, D. 794, D. 916A).

Volume 2 of the 1825 edition of the first diary included Pepys 'Voyage and Residency at Tangier' (pp. 325-456) but not his visit to Spain. *Tangier Papers*, published by the Navy Records Society in 1935, edited by Edwin Chappell, is regarded as a fuller transcription. It is the only report of this mission.

After years of helping to run the colony from afar Pepys now saw it for himself. Also, for the first time, he had close personal dealings with Muslims. Entries mentioning Tangier in the first diary could easily be used to write the colony's history beginning when Charles II appointed Pepys' relative, Edward Montagu, Ambassador Extraordinary to Portugal to escort his bride, Catherine of Braganza, from Lisbon and to oversee taking possession of Tangier which became, with Bombay, an English crown possession as part of the marriage dowry (*Diary*, Vol 4, p. 271). The king thought Bombay too far off to be very useful and leased the territory to the East India Company. Tangier, being much closer to England and strategically situated to police the Mediterranean and end piracy, was thought more desirable and an ideal location for a major trading station. However, surrounded by hostile Arabs it needed to be protected so the decision was taken to station a garrison there under a military governor. Work soon began on the construction of a Mole, a breakwater in the harbour. Constant raids by Arabs despite efforts to negotiate peace treaties meant that the colony was largely dependent on importing food and water when this could not be purchased locally. By the time that Pepys was sent to assist in abandoning the colony, over two million pounds had been spent, much of which had passed through Pepys hands as treasurer. He profited from such transactions. He was also aware that much expenditure was wasted or unnecessary. Towards the end, English sailors were being paid with promissory notes. Many lives were lost in defending the colony.

Pepys may have wanted to intervene and raise questions about the colony's financial corruption but too many others also benefitted and he kept silent (see Lincoln, 'Pepys and Tangier', p. 420). After the Great Fire, Parliament refused to authorise more funds and Charles decided that it was prudent to withdraw. The plan of developing a major trading centre had not materialised - in contrast, Bombay became a commercial success - and military personnel outnumbered civilians. Hills overlooking the fortified town made it very difficult to defend. Pepys only learned of the mission's purpose after he had set out from London 30 July 1683. With Admiral Lord Dartmouth, Pepys was anxious to justify closing the colony, which the king ordered to be destroyed. In case Charles changed his mind, Pepys task was to evaluate property for compensation (Montagu had a house there). He also prepared a paper on 'Arguments for Destroying Tangiers', pp. 75-83). Dartmouth and Pepys persuaded officers to sign statements that Tangier was unsuitable for policing the straits, although few actually accepted this (p. xxviii). Pepys did not want anyone to scrutinise the colony's financial history too closely. The first reference to a Turk occurs before the ship sailed, from Portsmouth, 'This morning the Turk for an attempt of buggery ... was whipped severely at the capstan and his beard burned with a candle' (17 August, p. 5). However, most references to Moors and Turks in the papers are complimentary rather than hostile. This contrasts sharply with Pepys' very negative account of the morality and conduct of the English residents especially of the military commander, Colonel Percy Kirke (d. 1691) and his mainly Irish troops whom he vilified. He recorded and censored Kirke's sexual exploits reporting that he saw 'nothing but vice in the whole place of all sorts ... swearing, cursing, drinking and whoring' (p. 89). Pepys wrote that 'more men had been killed by brandy than by the Moors' (p. 99). Bryant comments that the behaviour Pepys now censored as a 'middle aged moralist' closely resembles his 'own earlier transgressions' (*Pepys*, vol. 3, p. 37). Despite his own indiscretions, Pepys had not hesitated to chastise his former patron, Edward Montagu for spending too much time away from court with his mistress and doing so openly (November 18, 1663, vol 3, p. 348). What really offended Pepys, says Bryant, was Kirke's tyranny (*ibid*).

Kirke flouted the law and turned a profit from all transactions in the colony through tariffs which rendered it useless as a trading centre (*Papers*, p. 30). This caused many civilians to leave the colony while soldiers deserted and joined the Moorish army. Jews also left the colony. Pepys was angered to hear that Kirke banished Jews 'contrary to express order from England ... because of their denying him ... his private profits' (p. 97). Describing the Moorish army, Pepys admired the Moors' sobriety and discipline (p. 27). He described the commander and his son as 'civil' while their style was 'extremely fine' (p. 27). Pepys' curiosity took him outside the town's fortifications several times at some risk. On one occasion talking with Moorish sentries and remarking that he was pleased to have learned 'some of the' colony's history (p. 46). Watching some Turks or Armenians from Smyrna lay out their wares on the beach he wrote that he 'liked their habit and countenance very much' (p. 41). Describing negotiations for a treaty with the Moors, he said that they always 'ended up with expressions of desiring peace' (p. 32). The negotiations were hindered by the King's command that they should not inform the Moors that they were there to abandon the colony.

While Pepys did describe the Moors as unlikely to keep any treaty since they are naturally 'perfidious' (p. 80) he also mentioned Dartmouth's plan to renege on one of the proposed terms - supplying gunpowder to the Moors (p. xxviii) which shows that duplicity crosses racial and religious boundaries. Supplying gunpowder in return for the promise of peace and various privileges such as hunting, fishing and felling trees outside the colony featured in several treaties and putative treaties; see item 17 in the proposed treaty of 3rd January 1680 (J. David, *The History of the Second Queen's* 1887, p.182). The colony ended up arming its attackers.

After observing a Muslim demonstrate prayer, Pepys wrote that he 'never was more taken with any appearance of devotion in' his 'life in any person of any religion' (p. 21). Well aware that English soldiers and sailors turned Turk, he comments on how some soon 'turned Protestant again' (p. 198) he hints that he saw how serving in a more disciplined army might attract others. There were so many English 'renegades' in the Moorish camp that the Tangier troops had to resort to using 'Gaelic ... to keep their communications secret from the enemy' (Beach, 'Satirizing', p.240). The army Pepys saw was different from that which has opposed the colony's previous occupants, 'the Moors are no more the ignorant and unskillful neighbours they were to the Portuguese, but grown to a great degree of knowledge in the business of war, as has been abundantly proved by their late attempts and methods of attack upon this place' (p. 78). Nor did Pepys have any praise for the English engineers who were tasked with destroying the Mole before the evacuation, 'It is mighty plain how slender masters we Englishmen are in the business of engineers and miners, from the little success found in the first trials of the Master of the Ordinance and his Master Gunner in the works of Tangier' (p.150; see p. 149). On the other hand, the English had a reputation for gunnery thus 'any man of whatever trade' taken 'at sea by the Turks' became a gunner (p. 302).

Significance

Pepys provides readers with a unique view of life in London during the second half of the seventeenth century. The number of references to Turks and Moors either in reports of conversations or in Pepys' ballad collection and also to Turkish dress and objects demonstrate a high level of public awareness of the Ottoman world. While some references are pejorative perpetuating tropes of the violent, dangerous Muslim others reflect admiration for aspects of Turkish culture such as dress and decorative items. References also show how important trade with the Muslim world was to England at this time. Pepys was well aware of negative assumptions about Turks and Moors and alludes to some for example to the claim that Moors could not be trusted to keep their word. On the other hand, that negative remark is part of material intended for official purposes that was transcribed into long hand and may reflect an opinion Pepys thought he would be expected to express. His positive comments remained in short hand. When he encountered Moors in person almost everything he wrote about them was positive. His *Tangier Papers* do not assume an 'us' - 'them' polarity with all the good qualities on one side, that of the Christian European but more or less reverse this with civil and sober Muslims and drunk, rude and corrupt Christians. The first English attempt to occupy and rule Muslim territory was a complete failure. When Pepys saw the 'disciplined Islamic men' standing outside the city walls he could imagine 'a better future for Tangier' under Moorish rather than English rule. 'Rather than writing in a derogatory Orientalist vein as we might expect' about the Moors, Beach comments, Pepys 'explores their superiority to the bastard English people found in Tangier' ('Satirizing', p.240). At this time, it was possible for someone such as Pepys to resist embracing all Orientalist assumptions about European superiority and Muslim inferiority culturally and morally as well as with reference to religion. In fact, he ridiculed the technical skills of the English engineers. He also denounced the treatment of Moorish captives. While he did not comment on theological differences between Islam and Christianity he did express admiration for Muslim prayer. He did not suggest that this is futile. His book collection suggests a genuine interest in religion and theology that was not limited to Christianity.

The Tangier experiment merits more attention from a Christian-Muslim relations perspective. Toward the beginning of the colony, some 'lament[ed] the missed opportunities for cultural exchange and understanding with the Moors' due to the settlers' isolation (Lincoln, 'Pepys and Tangier', p. 421). Later, the colony's inability to defend itself and distrust of the Moors dominated discourse. The Irish troops, though, were looked on with suspicion too as potential rebels. Kirke was offered a treaty that would have recognized Moorish sovereignty in return for the same rights afforded Jews in Morocco but seeing this as surrender rejected these terms (K. Bejjit, *English Colonial Texts on Tangier, 1661-1684*, Farnham, 2015, p. 48). Conceding Moorish sovereignty would have involved loss of face but it would also have meant the continuation of the outpost which could have carried out its expected role in policing the trade routes which later fell to Gibraltar. Tangier may represent a missed opportunity for finding ways to coexist even if this involved compromise.

Conclusion

What is not present in Pepys writing is a total juxtaposition of the Moors as Oriental others or any attempt to dehumanize them. By the end of the next century, this trope all but dominated Christian writing with few exceptions. Christian-Muslim relations may not feature explicitly in Pepys' work but this can be seen as an example of how willingness to see the religiously other as fellow humans with strengths and weaknesses rather than limiting the former to one's own community provided a basis for the development, though briefly, of an appreciation for those whom others could only demonise. This might have become a foundation on which better understanding could be built. Beach suggests that the only redeeming aspect of Pepys' expedition to Tangier was the opportunity of experiencing a 'new culture in North Africa' and that he was inclined to see the Moors as 'the rightful possessors of Tangier' ('Satirizing', p. 241).

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