

รายงานการวิจัยฉบับสมบูรณ์  
ทุนพัฒนาอาจารย์ใหม่ / นักวิจัยใหม่  
เลขรหัส GDNS 59-041-22-002

เพศสภาพกับความเป็นพี่น้องในชีวิตของซามูเอล พีพส์, ค.ศ. 1660-1669  
(Gender and sibling relations in the life of Samuel Pepys, 1660-1669)

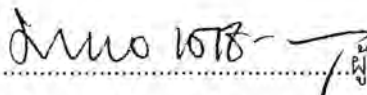
ผู้รับทุน  
อาจารย์ ดร. ดุลย์ อิศรางกูร ณ อยุธยา  
ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์ คณะอักษรศาสตร์  
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

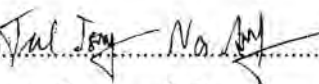
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย  
สัญญาารับทุนกองทุนรัชดาภิเษกสมโภช

สัญญานี้ทำขึ้น ณ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย ตั้งอยู่เลขที่ ๒๕๔ ถนนพญาไท เขตปทุมวัน กรุงเทพมหานคร เมื่อวันที่ ๑๐ กุมภาพันธ์ พ.ศ.๒๕๕๙ ระหว่างจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย โดยศาสตราจารย์ นายสัตวแพทย์ ดร.มงคล เตชะกัภาพุ ตำแหน่ง รองอธิการบดี ซึ่งต่อไปในสัญญานี้เรียกว่า “ผู้ให้ทุน” ฝ่ายหนึ่งกับ อาจารย์ ดร.ตุลย์ อิศรางกูร ณ อยุธยา ที่อยู่ปัจจุบัน ๓ สวนผัก ๕๔ ถนนสวนผัก แขวงฉิมพลี เขตตลิ่งชัน กรุงเทพฯ ๑๐๑๗๐ โทรศัพท์ ๐๙๒-๓๓๑-๘๑๑๙ E-mail:tuli@chula.ac.th พนักงานมหาวิทยาลัย ในตำแหน่ง อาจารย์ สังกัด ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์ คณะอักษรศาสตร์ ซึ่งต่อไปในสัญญานี้เรียกว่า “ผู้รับทุน” อีกฝ่ายหนึ่งคู่สัญญาได้ตกลงกันดังต่อไปนี้

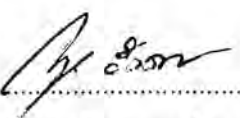
๑. ผู้ให้ทุนตกลงให้ทุนพัฒนาอาจารย์ใหม่/ นักวิจัยใหม่ กองทุนรัชดาภิเษกสมโภช ปีงบประมาณ ๒๕๕๙ โดยมีระยะเวลา ๑ ปี (ตั้งแต่วันที่ ๑๐ กุมภาพันธ์ พ.ศ.๒๕๕๙ ถึงวันที่ ๙ กุมภาพันธ์ พ.ศ.๒๕๖๐) เป็นจำนวนเงิน ๑๒๐,๐๐๐ บาท (หนึ่งแสนสองหมื่นบาทถ้วน) โดยจ่ายให้ภายใน ๑ เดือน นับแต่วันลงนามในสัญญา
๒. รายชื่ออาจารย์อาวุโสซึ่งเป็นผู้ดูแล ผู้รับทุนจะเปลี่ยนแปลงไม่ได้นอกจากจะได้รับความยินยอมจากผู้ให้ทุน
๓. ผู้รับทุนจะดำเนินการตามกิจกรรมให้แล้วเสร็จ และได้ผลสมความมุ่งหมายของผู้ให้ทุน หากเกิดอุปสรรคไม่สามารถดำเนินการได้ด้วยประการใดก็ดี ผู้รับทุนจะรีบรายงานให้ผู้ให้ทุนทราบทันที เพื่อพิจารณาหาทางแก้ไขหรือดำเนินการตามที่เห็นสมควรต่อไป
๔. ผู้รับทุนจะควบคุมการใช้เงินทุนให้เกิดประโยชน์ทางวิชาการและเป็นไปอย่างมีประสิทธิภาพ
๕. ผู้รับทุนจะจัดทำรายงานการใช้เงิน และรายงานผลการดำเนินงาน พร้อมแนบเอกสารอ้างอิงที่เกี่ยวข้องเมื่อสิ้นสุดโครงการตามสัญญาให้ผู้ให้ทุนทราบ โดยผู้รับทุนเป็นผู้จัดเก็บเอกสารหลักฐานการใช้จ่ายเงินเพื่อการตรวจสอบตามระเบียบเป็นเวลา ๑๐ ปี
๖. ผู้รับทุนส่งบทความตีพิมพ์ในวารสารวิชาการระดับนานาชาติ โดยเป็นชื่อแรกหรือ Corresponding author พร้อมชื่อของอาจารย์อาวุโส และต้องเป็นผลงานวิจัยที่ทำในประเทศไทย โดยที่ผลงานนั้นไม่ใช่ผลงานจากการทำวิทยานิพนธ์ของผู้รับทุน
๗. ผู้รับทุนยินยอมสละสิทธิ์การรับทุนพัฒนาอาจารย์ใหม่/ นักวิจัยใหม่ กองทุนรัชดาภิเษกสมโภช ปีงบประมาณ ๒๕๕๙ ในกรณีที่ผู้รับทุนผิดเงื่อนไขกรณีใดกรณีหนึ่ง ดังต่อไปนี้

- ๗.๑ ลาออกหรือไม่ได้รับการต่อสัญญาจ้าง เหตุขัดข้องไม่สามารถรับราชการ/ เป็นพนักงานมหาวิทยาลัย/ เป็นลูกจ้างต่อไปในปีที่ได้รับทุน ผู้รับทุนจะต้องส่งคืนเงินทุนที่รับในปีนั้นทั้งหมดให้กับมหาวิทยาลัย ภายใน ๑ สัปดาห์ หลังจากแจ้งความจำนง
- ๗.๒ ผู้รับทุนไม่สามารถดำเนินการตามที่เสนอสาระสำคัญไว้ในโครงการโดยไม่มีเหตุผลอันสมควร ผู้รับทุนจะต้องสรุปผลงานทั้งหมดที่ได้ดำเนินการไปแล้วพร้อมส่งรายงานและหลักฐานการใช้จ่ายเงินและส่งคืนเงินทุนที่ได้รับไปคืนในส่วนที่เหลือ โดยให้รองอธิการบดีที่ได้รับมอบหมายเป็นผู้พิจารณาตามความเหมาะสม ทั้งนี้ให้ส่งที่ สำนักบริหารวิจัย ภายใน ๑ เดือน นับแต่วันที่ต้องยุติการรับทุน
๘. ในกรณีที่ผู้รับทุนถึงแก่กรรมในระหว่างการรับทุนตามสัญญานี้ ให้ถือว่าสัญญานี้ระงับลงทันที สัญญานี้ทำขึ้นสองฉบับมีข้อความตรงกัน คู่สัญญาได้อ่านแล้วเข้าใจข้อความในสัญญานี้โดยตลอดแล้ว จึงได้ลงลายมือชื่อไว้เป็นสำคัญต่อหน้าพยานของแต่ละฝ่าย และต่างเก็บไว้ฝ่ายละฉบับ

ลงชื่อ.....  ผู้ให้ทุน  
(ศาสตราจารย์ นายสัตวแพทย์ ดร.มงคล เตชะกำพู)  
รองอธิการบดี

ลงชื่อ.....  ผู้รับทุน  
(อาจารย์ ดร.ตุลย์ อิศรางกูร ณ อยุธยา)

ลงชื่อ.....  พยาน  
(ศาสตราจารย์ ดร.มงคล เตชะกำพู)  
อธิการบดีมหาวิทยาลัยเทคโนโลยีราชมงคล

ลงชื่อ.....  พยาน  
(รองศาสตราจารย์ นายสัตวแพทย์ ดร.กฤษ อังคนาพร)  
ผู้ช่วยอธิการบดี

แบบรายงานการใช้ทุนพัฒนาอาจารย์ใหม่ / นักวิจัยใหม่

- I. ชื่อผู้รับทุน (ภาษาไทย) อาจารย์ ดร. ตุลย์ อิศรางกูร ณ อยุธยา  
ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์  
คณะอักษรศาสตร์  
ชื่ออาจารย์อาวุโส (ภาษาไทย) ผู้ช่วยศาสตราจารย์ ดร. ภาววรรณ เรืองศิลป์  
ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์  
คณะอักษรศาสตร์  
สถานที่ติดต่อ ที่ทำงาน ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์ คณะอักษรศาสตร์  
โทรศัพท์ 092 331 8119 eMail: tul.i@chula.ac.th  
ที่อยู่ปัจจุบัน 3, ซอยสวนผัก 54, ถนนสวนผัก, แขวงจิมพลี, เขตตลิ่งชัน  
กทม. 10170
- II. กิจกรรมที่ได้ดำเนินการในช่วงระยะเวลาการรับทุนพัฒนาอาจารย์ใหม่ / นักวิจัยใหม่ ปีที่ 1
1. กิจกรรมที่ดำเนินการโดยใช้ทุนพัฒนาอาจารย์ใหม่ / นักวิจัยใหม่  
การทำวิจัย (แนบเอกสารรายงานการวิจัย / การตีพิมพ์ผลงานวิจัย)  
ชื่อโครงการ เทศสภาพกับความเป็นพี่น้องในชีวิตของซามูเอล พีพส์, ค.ศ. 1660-1669  
สถานภาพผู้วิจัย ผู้วิจัยหลัก  
สถานภาพการดำเนินการ สำเร็จแล้ว
  2. กิจกรรมที่ดำเนินการโดยไม่ใช้ทุนพัฒนาอาจารย์ใหม่ / นักวิจัยใหม่  
การตีพิมพ์เผยแพร่ผลงาน (โปรดแนบเอกสารที่ตีพิมพ์ผลงาน)  
ชื่อเรื่อง Gender and sibling relations in the life of Samuel Pepys, 1660-1669<sup>1</sup>  
ชื่อหนังสือ / วารสารที่ตีพิมพ์  
ตีพิมพ์เผยแพร่ในประเทศ (ต่างประเทศ)

*Tul. Tg. No. 01*

อาจารย์ ดร. ตุลย์ อิศรางกูร ณ อยุธยา

ผู้รับทุน

5 มิถุนายน 2560

I อยู่ในระหว่างการปรับและแก้ไขบทความฉบับภาษาอังกฤษก่อนนำเสนอพิจารณาแก่วารสารนานาชาติ (Intended journal: Journal of Family History).

รายละเอียดการใช้ทุนพัฒนาอาจารย์ใหม่ / นักวิจัยใหม่

ลำดับที่	กิจกรรมที่ใช้	จำนวนเงิน
1	ค่าตัวเครื่องบินชั้นประหยัด กทม.-ลอนดอน (09/05/2016-15/05/2016) เพื่อเดินทางไปนำเสนอผลงานทางวิชาการเรื่อง Writing Sincerity in Eighteenth-Century England ณ The Northern Renaissance Seminar เมื่อวันที่ 12-13 May 2016	29,000 บาท
	ค่าเบี้ยเลี้ยงวันละ 2,100 บาท เป็นเวลา 6 วัน (ภายหลังการนำเสนอผลงาน ข้าพเจ้าได้เดินทางต่อไปยังหอจดหมายเหตุต่างๆ ในประเทศอังกฤษเพื่อเก็บข้อมูลเพิ่มเติม)	12,600 บาท
	ค่าที่พัก ณ กรุงลอนดอนและลีดส์ ประเทศอังกฤษ เพื่อการเก็บข้อมูล ณ หอจดหมายเหตุ (10/05/2016-14/05/2016)	12,507.22 บาท (248.9 GBP)
	ค่าประกันอุบัติเหตุการเดินทาง	1,243 บาท
2	จัดซื้อหนังสือ The Diary of Samuel Pepys, vol 1, 1660	18.99 GBP
3	จัดซื้อหนังสือ The Diary of Samuel Pepys, vol 2, 1661	13.99 GBP
4	จัดซื้อหนังสือ The Diary of Samuel Pepys, vol 3, 1662	15.99 GBP
5	จัดซื้อหนังสือ The Diary of Samuel Pepys, vol 4, 1663	18.99 GBP
6	จัดซื้อหนังสือ The Diary of Samuel Pepys, vol 5, 1664	15.99 GBP
7	จัดซื้อหนังสือ The Diary of Samuel Pepys, vol 6, 1665	15.99 GBP
8	จัดซื้อหนังสือ The Diary of Samuel Pepys, vol 7, 1666	18.99 GBP
9	จัดซื้อหนังสือ The Diary of Samuel Pepys, vol 8, 1667	18.99 GBP
10	จัดซื้อหนังสือ The Diary of Samuel Pepys, vol 9, 1668	18.99 GBP
11	จัดซื้อหนังสือ The Diary of Samuel Pepys, vol 10, 1669	18.99 GBP
12	จัดซื้อหนังสือ Phyllis Mack, <i>Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment: Gender and Emotion in Early Methodism</i> (Cambridge, 2011)	30.99 GBP
13	จัดซื้อหนังสือ Bernard Aikema, <i>Europe in the</i>	60.96 GBP

	<i>Renaissance: Metamorphoses, 1400-1600</i> (Zurich, 2016)	
14	จัดซื้อหนังสือ Margaret McGlynn, <i>The Renaissance and Reformation in Northern Europe</i> (Toronto, 2014).	37.99 GBP
15	จัดซื้อหนังสือ John G. A. Pocock, <i>The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition</i> (Princeton, rep. 2013).	24.95 GBP
16	จัดซื้อหนังสือ Hannah Greig et al. (eds.), <i>Gender and Material Culture in Britain Since 1600</i> (London, 2015)	18.75 GBP
17	จัดซื้อหนังสือ Olga Gomez, <i>The Enlightenment: A Sourcebook and Reader</i> (London, 2003)	24.43 GBP
18	จัดซื้อหนังสือ Brian P. Levack, <i>The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America</i> (Oxford, 2005)	29.54 GBP
19	จัดซื้อหนังสือ Heinz Schilling, <i>Martin Luther: Rebell in einer Zeit des Umbruchs</i> (Munich, 2013)	15.67 GBP
20	จัดซื้อหนังสือ Lyndal Roper, <i>Martin Luther</i> (London, 2016)	20.40 GBP
21	จัดซื้อหนังสือ Gerd Althoff, <i>Kontrolle der Macht: Formen und Regeln politischer Beratung im Mittelalter</i> (Darmstadt, 2016)	36.97 GBP
22	จัดซื้อหนังสือ Claire Tomalin, <i>Samuel Pepys: The Unequal Self</i> (London, 2003)	10.68 GBP
23	จัดซื้อหนังสือ The Diary of Samuel Pepys: The Companion	18.99 GBP
24	จัดซื้อหนังสือ The Diary of Samuel Pepys: The Index	15.99 GBP
25	จัดซื้อหนังสือ Guy de la Bedoyere (ed), <i>Particular Friends: The Correspondence of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn</i> (Madrid, 1987)	14.99 GBP
26	จัดซื้อหนังสือ Matt Cook, <i>Queer Domesticities: Homosexuality and Home Life in Twentieth-Century London</i> (London, 2016)	22.50 GBP
27	จัดซื้อหนังสือ L. E. Miller (ed.), <i>Selling Silks: A Merchant's Sample Book</i> (London, 1999)	31.49 GBP

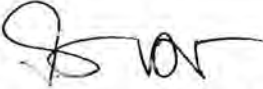


28	จัดซื้อหนังสือ Alfred Kohler, <i>Von der Reformation zum Westfällischen Frieden</i> (Munich, 2009)	18.99 GBP
29	จัดซื้อหนังสือ J. Otto, <i>Luthers Thesenanschlag: Faktum oder Fiktion</i> (Goettingen, 2010)	34.83 GBP
30	จัดซื้อหนังสือ Ulinka Rublack, <i>Reformation Europe</i> (Cambridge, 2005)	21.99 GBP
31	จัดซื้อหนังสือ K. R. Barlett, <i>A Short History of Italian Renaissance</i> (Toronto, 2012)	30.44 GBP
32	ค่าจัดส่งหนังสือตามรายการที่ 2-31 รายการละ 2.80 GBP	84 GBP
	**หมายเหตุ: รวมลำดับที่ 2-32 เป็นสกุลเงินปอนด์ (อังกฤษ) 781.44 x 50.25 <sup>2</sup> เป็นสกุลเงินบาท	39,267.36 บาท
33	ค่าหนังสือ <i>ประวัติศาสตร์วรรณกรรมเอกอังกฤษ</i> (โครงการตำราคณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาฯ)	1,062.50 บาท
34	ค่าหนังสือ <i>วารสารอักษรศาสตร์ ปีที่ 41 และ 35</i>	210 บาท
35	ค่าหนังสือ <i>รวมบทความ ภาษิต สำนวน คำพังเพย: บทศึกษาครอบครัว</i> (โครงการตำราคณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาฯ)	212.50 บาท
36	ค่าวัสดุการศึกษา (ปากกา, กระดาษพิมพ์)	585 บาท
37	ค่าบริการตรวจทานบทความภาษาอังกฤษจากโครงการวิจัยสถาบันภาษา จุฬาฯ	5,000 บาท
38	ค่าดำเนินการในการตีพิมพ์บทความในวารสารวิชาการระดับนานาชาติ (Intended journal: 'Journal of Family History')	10,000 บาท
39	ค่าพิมพ์เอกสารและถ่ายเอกสาร	8,315 บาท
	รวมทั้งสิ้น (ลำดับที่ 1-39)	120,002.58* บาท

Tul Tsg Nth M

Tul Tsg Nth M  
 อาจารย์ ดร. ตูลย์ อิศรางกูร ณ อยุธยา  
 5 มิถุนายน 2560

ผู้รับทุน

  
 ผู้ช่วยศาสตราจารย์ ดร. กาวรรณ เรืองศิลป์  
 5 มิถุนายน 2560

อาจารย์อาวุโส

2 1 GBP = 50.25 Thai Baht

\* ผู้วิจัยขอเบิกเงินตามที่ได้รับอนุมัติไว้ 120,000 บาท (ไม่มีเงินคงเหลือในบัญชี)

Tul Tsg Nth M

1. ชื่อโครงการ                      เพศสภาพกับความเป็นพี่น้องในชีวิตของซามูเอล พีพส์, ค.ศ. 1660-1669  
Gender and sibling relations in the life of Samuel Pepys, 1660-1669
2. ผู้วิจัย                              อาจารย์ ดร.ตุลย์ อิศรางกูร ณ อยุธยา  
ปริญญาเอก สาขาประวัติศาสตร์ยุโรป  
ตำแหน่ง อาจารย์  
ภาควิชาประวัติศาสตร์ คณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย  
โทร. 092 331 8119

### 3. บทสรุปโครงการวิจัย (ภาษาไทย ฉบับย่อ)

(โปรดดูรายงานการวิจัยฉบับสมบูรณ์เป็นภาษาอังกฤษในส่วนท้ายของเอกสารฉบับนี้)

การเปลี่ยนแปลงทางการเมืองของอังกฤษในช่วงทศวรรษ 1660 มีผลกระทบอย่างกว้างขวางต่อโครงสร้างทางสังคม วัฒนธรรม และชีวิตประจำวันของผู้คน โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งในกรุงลอนดอนซึ่งเป็นศูนย์กลางทางการเมือง การพาณิชย์ และการต่างประเทศของอังกฤษ ปี ค.ศ. 1660 เป็นจุดสิ้นสุดของสงครามกลางเมือง (1640-1660) และเป็นการเริ่มต้นของการฟื้นฟูระบอบกษัตริย์ของราชวงศ์สจวร์ตโดยพระเจ้าชาร์ลที่สอง การเปลี่ยนแปลงดังกล่าวนำไปสู่การยกเลิกระบอบการปกครองสาธารณรัฐแบบปuritane (The Puritan Republic) อันเป็นมรดกตกทอดของระบอบคrompton-เวลล์ซึ่งเป็นระบอบการปกครองที่ใช้หลักจริยธรรมคริสต์ศาสนศาสตร์แบบคาลวินนิสม์ (Calvinism) ในการกำหนดวิถีชีวิตประจำวันของผู้คนอย่างเคร่งครัด ด้วยเหตุดังนั้นการฟื้นฟูราชวงศ์สจวร์ตจึงเป็นการยกเลิกวิถีชีวิตแบบคาลวินนิสม์ที่ดำเนินมากกว่าสองทศวรรษ ในบริบทการเปลี่ยนแปลงทางสังคมและการเมืองเช่นนี้ จึงเป็นธรรมดาอยู่เองที่กลุ่มชนชั้นนำในสังคมต้องดำเนินการสร้างบรรทัดฐานทางสังคมและวัฒนธรรมให้แก่การดำเนินชีวิตประจำวันเสียใหม่ ทั้งเพื่อยืนยันความชอบธรรมของตนเองในฐานะชนชั้นนำของสังคมและเพื่อตอบสนองต่อกระแสความไม่พอใจของประชาชนที่มีต่อระบอบปuritane ชนชั้นนำอังกฤษผลักดันการเปลี่ยนแปลงทางสังคมและวัฒนธรรมดังกล่าวโดยมุ่งเน้นกลุ่มเป้าหมายคือกลุ่มชนชั้นกลาง (middling sorts) ทั้งนี้เพื่อขยายพันธมิตรทางการเมืองและทางสังคมของตนเอง

หนึ่งในการพยายามของชนชั้นนำอังกฤษที่จะนิยามบรรทัดฐานทางสังคมและวัฒนธรรมใหม่นั้น ได้แก่ประเด็นด้านบทบาทเพศสภาพ (gender) ของกลุ่มชนชั้นกลาง หัวใจหลักของการเปลี่ยนแปลงในมิตินี้คือการทบทวนบทบาทของความเป็นชายที่ให้ความสำคัญแก่หัวหน้าครอบครัวตามคติแบบปuritane กล่าวคือ ลัทธิคาลวินนิสม์กำหนดอุดมคติความเป็นชายที่การเป็นหัวหน้าครอบครัว สามีมรดกและมีสถานะอันสูงส่งเสมือนเป็นกษัตริย์และผู้แทนของพระเจ้าเป็นเจ้าเพื่อดูแลความเป็นอยู่ทางกายภาพและศีลธรรมของสมาชิกในครอบครัว ลัทธิคาลวินนิสม์เรียกลักษณะหัวหน้าครอบครัวดังกล่าวนี้ว่า 'paterfamilias' อย่างไรก็ตามอำนาจประหนึ่งสมบูรณาญาสิทธิราชย์ซึ่งถูกท้าทายอย่างมากในช่วงหลังระบอบปuritane แม้ภาวะชายเป็นใหญ่ (patriarchy) จะไม่ได้ถูกท้าทายไปด้วยก็ตาม การล้มล้างคติ paterfamilias ยังสัมพันธ์โดยตรงกับทฤษฎีการเมืองว่าด้วยพันธสัญญาทางสังคม (social contract) ที่ยื่นเตือนให้ผู้ปกครองต้องรับผิดชอบ (accountability) ต่อประชาชน โดยตรงกระเดียวกันนี้ความเป็นชายและความเป็นหัวหน้าครอบครัวจึงควรมีลักษณะเป็นพันธสัญญาเช่นเดียวกัน ชายชนชั้นกลางจำเป็นต้องมีความรับผิดชอบต่อสมาชิกในครอบครัวที่มีสถานะที่สูงและต่ำกว่า เพราะด้วยการประพฤติดินที่รับผิดชอบต่อบริวารว่านเครือเช่นนี้เท่านั้นที่ความเป็นชายของแต่ละคนจะได้รับการยอมรับในสังคม

ความเป็นชายที่วางบนฐานของความรับผิดชอบต่อครอบครัวที่ได้รับการนิยามใหม่นี้ ส่งผลให้เกิดการทบทวนความหมายและขอบเขตของคำว่า "ครอบครัว" ขึ้นใหม่ ทศวรรษ 1660 เป็นช่วงเวลานักคิดและสิ่งตีพิมพ์ต่างๆ เผยแพร่บทความ จดหมายถึงบรรณาธิการของผู้อ่าน บทเทศนาของพระนักบวช ฯลฯ ในประเด็นว่าด้วยความหมายของ

3 ดูรายละเอียดความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างการฟื้นฟูราชวงศ์สจวร์ต ค.ศ. 1660 กับรากกติการะบอบปuritane ได้ใน J.C.D. Clark, *English Society 1660-1832* (Cambridge, 2000), 43-123; Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian England* (Oxford, 2013), 1-31.

4 Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London, 1992), chs. 6-7.



"ครอบครัว" เนาโอมิ ทัดมอร์ (Naomi Tadmor) ผู้ศึกษาความหมายของคำว่า "ครอบครัว" ในช่วงสมัยใหม่ตอนต้น พบว่านับตั้งแต่ทศวรรษ 1660 เป็นต้นมาจนถึงต้นคริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 20 "ครอบครัว" มีความหมายครอบคลุมถึงสมาชิกที่สัมพันธ์กันโดยสายเลือดไม่ว่าจะอยู่ภายใต้ครัวเรือนเดียวกันหรือไม่ก็ตาม และรวมถึงคนรับใช้ ลูกจ้างและบริวารในธุรกิจขอครอบครัวด้วย ซึ่งแตกต่างจากระบบพหุรัแทนที่ครอบครัวหมายถึงเฉพาะบุคคลที่อาศัยในครัวเรือนเดียวกันเท่านั้น<sup>5</sup> ในแง่นี้สายสัมพันธ์พี่น้อง (siblinghood) จึงกลายมาเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการนิยามความเป็นชายด้วยความหมายและความสำคัญใหม่ของความเป็นพี่น้องมีผลอย่างมากต่อการจัดความสัมพันธ์และรูปแบบการมีปฏิสัมพันธ์ระหว่างพี่น้องในช่วงคริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 18 เป็นต้นมา

แม้ว่านักวิชาการด้านสังคมวิทยาและมานุษยวิทยาจะเป็นขั้วบทบาทและความสำคัญของความเป็นพี่น้องในการก่อร่างสร้างอัตลักษณ์และสถาปนาตัวตนของอัตบุคคล (individual)<sup>6</sup> ทว่านักประวัติศาสตร์ยังคงไม่มีความพยายามอย่างเด่นชัดที่จะศึกษาสายสัมพันธ์ระหว่างพี่น้องในมิติต่างๆ ตัวอย่างงานชิ้นสำคัญอาจได้แก่งานวิจัยของเอมี แฮร์ริส (Amy Harris) เรื่อง *Siblinghood and Social Relations in Georgian England: Share and Share Alike* (2012)<sup>7</sup> และงานของ เอ็มม่า โรทซ์ชิลด์ (Emma Rothschild) เรื่อง *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History* (2011)<sup>8</sup> งานวิจัยทั้งสองชิ้นนี้แม้จะศึกษาความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างพี่น้อง แต่เน้นพิจารณาบทบาทของพี่น้องในฐานะทุนทางสังคม (social capital) โดยมุ่งอภิปรายถึงโอกาสในการเคลื่อนที่ทางสังคมของปัจเจกบุคคลที่ได้รับการสนับสนุนโดยพี่น้องร่วมบิดามารดาเดียวกัน แม้การศึกษาความเป็นพี่น้องในลักษณะทุนทางสังคมเช่นนี้จะช่วยให้นักประวัติศาสตร์ตระหนักถึงสายสัมพันธ์ระหว่างคนในครอบครัว แต่การศึกษาตามแนวทางดังกล่าวไม่ได้ศึกษาลงในรายละเอียดของความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างพี่น้องในมิติด้านเพศสภาพ อารมณ์และความรู้สึก ซึ่งเป็นมิติพื้นฐานที่สุดและลึกซึ้งที่สุดของหน่วยความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างอัตบุคคลด้วยกันเอง นอกจากนี้ปฏิสัมพันธ์ระหว่างพี่น้องและภาวะความรับผิดชอบที่ผูกติดกับสถานภาพความเป็นพี่น้องร่วมสายเลือดอันส่งผลต่อการประกอบสร้างอัตลักษณ์ทางเพศสภาพ (gendered identity) อาทิ ความเป็นพี่ชาย, ความเป็นน้องชาย, ความเป็นพี่สาว และความเป็นน้องสาว ยังคงไม่ได้รับความสนใจจากนักประวัติศาสตร์ในวงกว้างนัก<sup>9</sup>

ในงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ ผู้วิจัยมุ่งจะศึกษาบทบาทของปฏิสัมพันธ์ระหว่างพี่น้องในการประกอบสร้างอัตลักษณ์ความเป็นชายให้แก่กลุ่มชายชนชั้นกลางสมัยปลายคริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 17 และต้นคริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 18 ในสังคมอังกฤษ ดังได้กล่าวแล้วว่างานวิจัยก่อนหน้ามักศึกษาเฉพาะบทบาทของพี่น้องในส่งเสริมการเคลื่อนที่ทางสังคมแก่กันและกันเป็นหลัก งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ต้องการพิจารณามิติด้านเพศสภาพ โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่ง ความเป็นชาย ว่าถูกประกอบสร้างขึ้นมาอย่างไรในสายสัมพันธ์ของพี่น้องร่วมบิดามารดาเดียวกัน การเปลี่ยนแปลงทางบรรทัดฐานทางสังคมที่เป็นไปอย่างรวดเร็วในช่วงการฟื้นฟูราชวงศ์สจิวต์ส่งผลอย่างไรต่อการเปลี่ยนแปลงความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างพี่น้องด้วยกันเอง และบรรทัดฐานทางสังคมที่เปลี่ยนแปลงไปดังกล่าวนั้นก่อให้เกิดผลกระทบอย่างไรต่อภาวะอัตวิสัย อารมณ์ความรู้สึก และความคาดหวังระหว่างพี่น้องแก่กันและกัน

คำตอบของคำถามเหล่านี้จะทำให้ผู้วิจัยสามารถทบทวนข้อถกเถียงในประวัติศาสตร์นิพนธ์ที่ใหญ่ขึ้นได้ในสองด้าน ได้แก่ ประวัติศาสตร์เพศสภาพ และ ประวัติศาสตร์ครอบครัว ในช่วงสมัยใหม่ตอนต้น กล่าวคือ ประวัติศาสตร์นิพนธ์ในปัจจุบันทั้งสองสาขานี้มักสร้างความเชื่อมโยงแก่กันและกันในลักษณะที่ว่าเพศสภาพเป็นตัวกำหนดพฤติกรรม การแสดงออก และปฏิสัมพันธ์ของบุคคลในครอบครัว การพิจารณาในลักษณะดังกล่าวนี้ได้รับอิทธิพลโดยตรงจากนักประวัติศาสตร์เพศสภาพคนสำคัญ คือ โจน สกอต (Joan Scott) ซึ่งเสนอข้อถกเถียงไว้ว่า เพศสภาพเป็นปัจจัยหลักที่โดดเด่นที่สุดในการจัดระเบียบของกลุ่มคนภายในสังคมต่างๆ ปฏิสัมพันธ์ทางสังคมล้วนถูกกำหนดโดยเพศสภาพทั้ง

5 Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge, 2001), esp. 175-92.

6 ไดอาน่า เชน Elizabeth DeVita-Raeburn, *The Empty Room: Surviving the Loss of a Brother or Sister at Any Age* (New York, 2004).

7 Amy Harris, *Siblinghood and Social Relations in Georgian England: Share and Share Alike* (Manchester, 2012).

8 Emma Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History* (Princeton, 2011).

9 ตัวอย่างงานศึกษาความเป็นพี่สาวน้องสาว (sisterhood) ดูได้ใน Elizabeth Bergen Brophy, *Women's Lives and the 18th-Century English Novel* (Tampa, 1991), ch. 7.

สิ้น<sup>10</sup> อย่างไรก็ตามในระยะเวลาที่ผ่านมานักประวัติศาสตร์ได้พยายามทบทวนข้อเสนอดังกล่าวของสก๊อต ตัวอย่างที่สำคัญ ได้แก่ งานของจิน บอนสตัน (Jeanne Boydston) ซึ่งกระตุ้นให้นักประวัติศาสตร์หันมาพิจารณาปัจจัยอื่นๆ นอกไปจากเพศสภาพที่อาจมีผลต่อการจัดระเบียบสังคมและการสร้างอัตลักษณ์ของอัตตบุคคล อาทิ เชื้อชาติ, ความรู้, เครือข่ายทางสังคม, ฐานะทางการเงิน, สิทธิธรรมจากภาวะเหนือธรรมชาติ ฯลฯ เป็นต้น<sup>11</sup> ดังนั้นผู้วิจัยมีสมมติฐานในเบื้องต้นว่าเพศสภาพอาจได้รับการประกอบสร้างจากปัจจัยอื่นก็เป็นได้ อาทิ ปฏิสัมพันธ์, หน้าที่ และความรับผิดชอบระหว่างสมาชิกในครอบครัวที่มีแก่กันและกัน

เพื่อทดสอบสมมติฐานดังกล่าว ผู้วิจัยเลือกศึกษาความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างเพศสภาพกับความเป็นพี่น้องในสังคมอังกฤษช่วงสมัยใหม่ตอนต้น ผู้วิจัยเลือกศึกษาปฏิสัมพันธ์ระหว่างพี่น้องและการประกอบสร้างความเป็นชายผ่านกรณีศึกษาหนึ่งกรณีศึกษา ได้แก่ ความเป็นพี่ชายของซามูเอล พีพส์ (Samuel Pepys, 1633-1703) ซามูเอลรับราชการเป็นหัวหน้าหน่วยเอกสารของกองราชนาวิกอังกฤษ เขามีพี่น้องทั้งสิ้น 11 คน เขาเองเป็นคนที่ 5 อย่างไรก็ตามพี่น้องส่วนใหญ่ของซามูเอลถึงแก่กรรมไปตั้งแต่เยาว์วัย เหลือพี่น้องที่รอดชีวิตและเติบโตเป็นผู้ใหญ่เพียง 4 คน เท่านั้น ได้แก่ ซามูเอลเอง, โทมัส (1634-64), โพลีนา (1640-89) และจอห์น (1641-77) ซามูเอลกลายเป็นพี่ชายคนโตในหมู่พี่น้องของเขา ความน่าสนใจของซามูเอลคือเขากลับมาโตอารีทุกวันระหว่างวันที่ 1 มกราคม ค.ศ. 1660 ถึงวันที่ 31 ธันวาคม ค.ศ. 1669 เป็นระยะเวลาหนึ่งทศวรรษ โตอารีของเขาเต็มไปด้วยเรื่องราวทั้งภายในครอบครัวของเขาเอง และที่เกี่ยวข้องกับโลกสาธารณะของสังคมอังกฤษในช่วงเวลาดังกล่าว โตอารีของซามูเอลเป็นรู้จักกันดีในหมู่นักประวัติศาสตร์อังกฤษและยุโรปและได้รับการตีพิมพ์อย่างสมบูรณ์มาเป็นระยะเวลาที่นานกว่าครึ่งศตวรรษแล้ว อย่างไรก็ตามโตอารีของซามูเอลยังไม่เคยมีนักประวัติศาสตร์คนใดนำมาศึกษาอย่างจริงจังเพื่อสำรวจกระบวนการสร้างความเป็นชาย โดยเฉพาะมิติความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างเพศสภาพกับความเป็นพี่ชายของซามูเอล<sup>12</sup>

โตอารีของซามูเอล พีพส์ ถือได้ว่าเป็นอัตเอกสาร (ego-document) ที่น่าสนใจและให้ข้อมูลจำนวนมากที่สำคัญแก่การศึกษาประเด็นด้านเพศสภาพ, ความเป็นชาย, และสายสัมพันธ์พี่น้อง ผู้วิจัยได้สำรวจโตอารีของซามูเอลแล้ว ในเบื้องต้นพบว่าในบรรดาข้อความต่างๆ ที่ซามูเอลบันทึกโตอารีนั้น มีหลายข้อความที่ชี้ชัดถึงการให้ความสำคัญต่อภาระหน้าที่ความเป็นพี่ชายของซามูเอลเอง อาจกล่าวได้ว่าซามูเอลมีสำนึกการต้องดูแลน้องๆ เป็นอย่างดียิ่งตัวอย่างที่น่าสนใจ ได้แก่ บันทึกประจำวันวันที่ 17 มิถุนายน ค.ศ. 1666 อันเป็นช่วงเวลาที่ซามูเอลกำลังมองหาเส้นทางประกอบอาชีพให้แก่จอห์น พีพส์ (John Pepys, 1641-77) ซึ่งกำลังจะจบการศึกษาจากมหาวิทยาลัยเคมบริดจ์ และมีผลการเรียนไม่สู้จะดีนัก ดังนี้

Then as to John. I tell him I will promise him nothing, but will supply him as so much lent him – I declaring that I am not pleased with him yet. And that when his degree is over, I will send for him up hither, and if he be good for anything, doubt not to get him preferment. This discourse ended to the joy of my father, and no less to me, to see that I am able to do this.

ข้อความข้างต้นอาจเป็นที่ไม่สะดุดใจนักแก่ผู้อ่านที่คุ้นเคยกับวัฒนธรรมเอเชียตะวันออกที่พี่ชายคนโตสามารถมีวินิจฉัยทางหนึ่งทางใดในลักษณะสั่งการแก่อนาคตของน้องๆ ในครอบครัวได้ และยังคงพบเห็นได้ในปัจจุบัน แต่ในบริบทของวัฒนธรรมยุโรปนั้น ลักษณะเช่นนี้เป็นเรื่องไม่สู้จะปกติในสังคมปัจจุบัน นักวิชาการจำนวนมากจึงเพิกเฉยต่อลักษณะอันน่าสนใจของปฏิสัมพันธ์ระหว่างพี่น้องดังกล่าวนี้ ข้อความข้างต้นชี้ให้เห็นอย่างชัดเจนว่าซามูเอลตระหนักถึงหน้าที่ที่ต้อง "สัญญา" ต่อน้องชายในการให้ความช่วยเหลือด้านการเงินซึ่งปกติแล้วเป็นหน้าที่ของบิดาในการดูแลการศึกษาแก่บุตร นอกจากนี้ยังตั้งใจที่จะดูแลส่งเสริมการประกอบอาชีพให้แก่น้องชาย และที่น่าสนใจที่สุด เห็นจะได้แก่ ข้อเท็จจริงที่ว่าซามูเอลทำหน้าที่ดูแลน้องชายครั้งนี้ภายใต้การกำกับดูแลของบิดาของเขาเอง ซามูเอลบันทึกว่าทั้งบิดาและตัวเขา

10 Joan W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *American Historical Review*, 91 (1986), 1053-75.

11 Jeanne Boydston, 'Gender as a Question of Historical Analysis', *Gender & History*, 20 (2008), 558-83.

12 Mark S. Dawson, 'Histories and Texts: Refiguring the Diary of Samuel Pepys', *Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), 407-31; Claire Tomalin, *Samuel Pepys: The Unequal Self* (London, 2012).

เองต่าง "ดีใจ" ที่เห็นว่าซามูเอลสามารถดูแลน้องชายได้ ความดีใจของบิดาทำหน้าที่ประหนึ่งการให้การยอมรับ (social recognition) แก่ซามูเอล และการให้การยอมรับนี้นำไปสู่การสร้างความภาคภูมิใจให้แก่ตัวพี่ชายคือซามูเอลเอง การทำหน้าที่พี่ชายจึงเป็นกลไกสำคัญกลไกหนึ่งที่จะสร้างอัตลักษณ์และตัวตนให้แก่สมาชิกในครอบครัว หน้าที่ต่อสมาชิกครอบครัว จึงเป็นมากกว่าภาระของปัจเจกบุคคล แต่สัมพันธ์โดยตรงต่อความเข้าใจและการรับรู้ตัวตนของปัจเจกบุคคลนั้นๆ

(รายงานการวิจัยฉบับสมบูรณ์ ฉบับภาษาอังกฤษ)

## **Gender and Sibling Relations in the Life of Samuel Pepys, 1660-1669**

On 31 December 1663, the 30-year-old Samuel Pepys put his pen to paper to keep his diary as usual. In this entry Pepys reviewed the lives of his family members, friends and acquaintances. A note on his brothers' and sister's circumstances revealed us how much siblings occupied his mind and soul:

My brother Tom I know not what to think of, for I cannot hear whather [*sic*] he minds his business or no. And my brother John, at Cambridge with as little hopes of doing good there; for when he was here, he did give me great cause of dissatisfaction with his manner of life. Pall with my father, and God knows what she doth there or what will become of her, for I have not anything yet to spare her, and she grows now old and must be disposed of one way or other.<sup>13</sup>

At first glance, one might imagine that Pepys penned these lines without any significant emotions. His tone seemed to be plain and forthright, even callous. Yet, upon reading Pepys' diary for the year 1663, it is difficult to deny that this year-summary entry carried with it the wholesome burden upon the eldest brother's shoulders, now freshly became the heir of the family.<sup>14</sup> *First*, his younger brother, Tom Pepys, showed no sign of attending his tailor's shop. Given that Tom took over the shop from his aged father, the decline of his business would, in effect, mean the deterioration of the family's business which had experienced its heyday under John Pepys, the father. In other words, the Pepys' business identity was shattering. *Second*, the youngest John Pepys, then a student at Cambridge, proved to be nothing but an errant teenage, if not a juvenile profligate son, with ill manner. That is, the doors to all government posts were shut down to him, for in the world of politeness of the 'long' eighteenth century there was no more serious crime than being ill-mannered.<sup>15</sup> *Third*, the

13 Robert Latham and William Matthews (eds.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1971), 11 vols. (hereafter in the following format: *Diary*, date month year), here *Diary*, 31 Dec. 1663.

14 Samuel Pepys was appointed the family heir and was expected to inherit all his uncle's property in 1660 when his uncle realised that he would not live long due to his severe illness, see *Diary*, 7 Jan. 1660: '[H]e doth believe he cannot continue in that condition long. He tells me that my Uncle did acquaint him very largely what he did intend to do with his estate: to make me his Heire [*sic*] and to give me my Brother Tom some things; and that my father and mother should have something likewise for to raise portions or Joh. and Pall.'

15 It is to be noted that the late seventeenth century witnessed the rise of the culture of politeness, advertised



younger sister Paulina, who had become twenty three this year, was still unmarried. Moreover, there was no sign that she was courted by any gentlemen. The situation happened to be appalling, for most genteel women after the Stuart Restoration in 1660 married at the age of 23, while men at the age of 25.<sup>16</sup> Thus, Samuel Pepy's diary entry for 31 December 1663, however plain in its tone, did suggest a clear sign of how much he was concerned for his sibling circumstances. All of them were living their lives in a crucially precarious situation. As an heir and the eldest brother, Samuel Pepys must have felt obliged to better his siblings' conditions. It was the eldest brother's familial duty and obligation, together with the emotional intensity which bound him, that will be explored in the following pages.

The relationship with a sibling had a profound impact on character and personality. This impact was also recognised by early modern contemporaries. Many proverbs of the time brought the importance of sibling relations to light. 'He has made a younger brother of him' suggests the influence of a close relationship between brothers in which the younger one overshadowed the elder one's character by using his formidable personality. For the landed families where primogeniture ruled the inheritance of family estates, old sayings did not fail to underline the effects of this inheriting principle upon the heir and the younger brothers: 'The younger brother hath the more wit', and 'The younger brother is the ancients Gentleman'.<sup>17</sup> These proverbs reveal the fact that among the landed families, primogeniture that deprived younger sons of inheriting the family estate could significantly shape the favourable characteristics in the younger brothers. They could not inherit family land and therefore were comparatively of low-income; they tended to struggle harder to build up their careers and fortunes by profiting from their own hard work. The industry in these younger brothers' character would possibly be an agreeable consequence.

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and propagated by Whig politicians and writers, most notably, Earl of Shaftesbury, Richard Steele and Joseph Addison. Late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century politeness valorised a set of personal qualities, including individual refinement, taste, sociability, good-breeding and well-mannered behaviour. Since it was invented and propagated by Whig politicians reigning the political stage of the Georgian century, it was taken to be an article of faith, or rather the morality of the age. It became strict a code of conduct, an essential qualification in advancing one's career both in London and in the provinces. For detailed discussion of the relationship between politeness and politics in eighteenth-century England, see John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York, 1997), chs. 1-2; Lawrence E. Klein, 'Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth century', *History Journal*, 45 (2002), 869-98; *idem*, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1994).

16 For the discussion of the relationship between marriage average age and emotion for both male and female, see Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven and London, 1998), ch. 2.

17 J. Ray, *A Compleat Collection of English Proverbs; Also the most celebrated Proverbs of the Scotch, Italian, French, Spanish, And other Languages* (London, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 1768), 66.

Although modern sociologists have offered research on the significant impact of the sibling relationship on the individual's social life, personal emotion, self and identity,<sup>18</sup> it is surprising that in the historiography siblings have been little studied. Exceptions are very rare.<sup>19</sup> Yet, where sibling relationships are explored, historians have been interested chiefly in the sibling definition, mutual obligations, and the roles of siblings in defining the features of nuclear and extended families.<sup>20</sup> This demographic history apart, some historians have concentrated mainly on siblings of the landed families, analysing how primogeniture generated acute family dramas when younger brothers united themselves against the heir.<sup>21</sup> Yet other historians, notably Linda Pollock, have pointed out more positive, creative and co-operative aspects of fraternal relationships.<sup>22</sup>

More recent research has moved away from sibling rivalry and family contention to the exploration of siblings' roles in developing each other's personhood. In her landmark essay about sibling relations in nineteenth-century Britain, Leonore Davidoff calls for studies on sibling relationships as coloured by gender and family hierarchy. She argues that siblings played a key role in shaping the individual's sense of self: '[C]hildren and young people are acutely aware of same-sex siblings as models, sometimes identifying with one another but sometimes rejecting such identification'.<sup>23</sup> Davidoff's article has influenced a range of

18 See, for example, Dorothy Rowe, *My Dearest Enemy, my Dangerous Friends: Making and Breaking Sibling Bonds* (London and New York, 2007); Rosalind Edwards *et al.*, *Sibling Identity and Relationships: Sisters and Brothers* (London and New York, 2006).

19 A. W. Purdue, 'John and Harriet Carr: A Brother and Sister from the North-East on the Grand Tour', *Northern History*, 30 (1994), 122-38; W. I. C. Morris, 'Brotherly Love: An Essay on the Personal Relations between William Hunter and His Brother John', *Medical History*, 3 (1959), 20-32.

20 Naomi Tadmor, 'Early Modern English Kinship in the Long Run: Reflections on Continuity and Change', *Continuity & Change*, 25 (2010), 15-48; Keith Wrightson, 'The Family in Early Modern England: Continuity and Change', in Stephen Taylor *et al.* (eds.), *Hanoverian Britain and Empire: Essays in Memory of Philip Lawson* (Woodbridge, 1998), 1-22; David Cressy, 'Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 113 (1986), 38-69.

21 For a classic account of this topic, see Joan Thirsk, 'Younger Sons in the Seventeenth Century' in *idem*, *The Rural Economy of England: Collected Essays* (London, 1984), 335-58. For a more recent account on sibling rivalry, see Sheila Cooper, 'Intergenerational Social Mobility in Late-Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth-Century England', *Continuity & Change*, 7 (1992), 283-301. Margaret Hunt offers an analysis of the impact of the partible inheritance on the sibling rivalry among the middling sorts; see her, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1789* (Berkeley, 1996), 81-82, 99.

22 Linda A. Pollock, 'Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family in Seventeenth-Century England', *Journal of Family History*, 23 (1998), 3-27; *idem*, 'Younger Sons in Tudor and Stuart England', *History Today*, 39 (1989), 23-29. Randolph Trumbach also argued for the positive aspects of sibling solidarity in a cognatic system. see his, *The Rise of the Egalitarian Family: Aristocratic Kinship and Domestic Relations in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York and London, 1978), 31. Cf. Naomi Tadmor, 'Dimensions of Inequality among Siblings in Eighteenth-Century English Novels: The Cases of *Clarissa* and *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless*', *Continuity & Change*, 7 (1992), 303-33; for the nineteenth century case, see Pamela Richardson, 'Kinship and Networking in a Quaker Family in the Nineteenth Century', *Family and Community History*, 12 (2009), 22-36.

23 Leonore Davidoff, 'Where the Stranger Begins: The Question of Siblings in Historical Analysis', in *idem*,



historical analyses. Building on Davidoff's work, the late Patricia Crawford explored siblings and the sense of self in seventeenth-century English families, and concluded that sibling relationships were 'psychologically complex, as brothers and sisters both needed each other and sought to be independent'. For Crawford, this may have been more crucial for boys, 'since no one except girls themselves seem to have wanted girls to become independent women'. That is, boys were expected to form their own separate identities, distinguishing themselves from other male siblings; yet for younger brothers it was significant that they subsumed under their male superiors in families. These 'contradictory messages' formed a burden of identity that was placed upon a boy's shoulders.<sup>24</sup>

However, as for the case of eighteenth-century England, current scholars have indeed directed their attention to sibling relations, and made important contributions to family history. Recent work conducted by Margot Finn, Emma Rothschild, and Amy Harris has argued that the family tie 'was at once a place of political power, a prime site of capital accumulation, a focal point of identity formation and a key locus of emotional development and expression'.<sup>25</sup> This body of historical narratives has underlined the significance of sibling relations as a social capital for the individuals. Yet, little research has explored sibling relations from gender perspectives. In her pioneering study of eighteenth-century representations of brotherhood and sisterhood, Ruth Perry has recently argued that the benevolent, charitable, attentive and protective brother came to be a conventional ideal in fiction, as unconditional love was disappearing in life when it was eroded by the competing demands of matrimonial families and the new cash economy. For Perry, brotherly love to a sister became 'a moral litmus test' for men, which was considered as 'a fundamental marker of his character', a recurring subplot in many eighteenth-century fictions. Perry observes that '[i]f a man could play the part of a good brother, it guaranteed that he would be a good husband'.<sup>26</sup>

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*Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class* (New York, 1995), 211. Also, see *idem*, 'Kinship as a Categorical Concept: A Case Study of Nineteenth Century English Siblings', *Journal of Social History*, 39 (2005), 411-28; *idem*, *Thicker than Water: Siblings and their Relations 1780-1920* (Oxford, 2012).

24 Patricia Crawford, *Blood, Bodies and Families in Early Modern England* (Harlow, 2004), esp. 223-31, quoted from pp. 230-31.

25 Margot Finn, 'Anglo-Indian Lives in the Later Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 33 (2010), 49-50; Emma Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History* (Princeton and Oxford, 2011); Amy Harris, *Siblinghood and Social Relations in Georgian England: Share and Share Alike* (Manchester, 2012); *idem*, 'That Fierce Edge: Sibling Conflict and Politics in Georgian England', *Journal of Family History*, 37 (2012), 155-74.

26 Ruth Perry, *Novel Relations: The Transformation of Kinship in English Literature and Culture, 1748-1818* (Cambridge, 2004), ch. 4. A similar argument can be found in Gerald A. Barker, *Grandson's Heirs: The*

This article aims to problematise Perry's argument. It shows that performing fraternal roles and duties had more significance for shaping a brother's gendered life than being a signifier of how promising he would make his lover a good husband. One needs look no further than remembering that Samuel Pepys was felt obliged to take care of his siblings throughout the 1660s, even though he had been married since 1655!

Thus, the article explores the meanings and characteristics of brotherly masculinity as being forged and affected by sibling relations. Central to this issue are questions of how men perceived their social status in the sibling hierarchy, how sibling obligations contributed to the way men fashioned and performed their masculinity, and how important siblings were for each other in constructing an individual's character and personality. Answering these questions will test Ruth Perry's contention that brotherly masculinity was *chiefly* measured – conferred or denied – by a man's behaviour towards his sisters *alone*, as if other factors – such as birth order, sibling obligations and gender relations – did not play a vital role in the brothers' lives. In this article, the aspects to be explored are fraternal obligations, the construction of the loving brothers, the importance of sibling ties in men's emotional and personal lives.

This article is intended to be an exemplary study of the brotherly life of Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) who was one of the most well-known diarists of early modern England. Pepys was the eldest son of John and Margaret Pepys. He had two surviving younger brothers, Thomas (1634-1664) and John (1642-1677), and one surviving sister, Paulina (1640-1689). However, it was only Samuel Pepys who enjoyed a professional career as he became a private secretary to the Royal Navy Offices at Greenwich. As the only one successful child in the family, Pepys was known down to history as 'the elected son'.<sup>27</sup> It is, therefore, interesting to imagine how much burdened Pepys would have felt when he happened to be the only one able son in the family to help his siblings survive in the changing world of the late seventeenth century.

It is important to point out that this study is first and foremost a diary-reading-investigation. Samuel Pepys left us a plethora of writing, including his monumental massive

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*Paragon's Progress in the Late Eighteenth-Century English Novel* (Newark, 1985), 75-76. Perry's *Novel Relations* apart, Stana Nenadic offers a brief analysis of sibling relationships and the formation of the individual's sense of self in her *Lairds and Luxury: The Highland Gentry in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2007), 40-64. For a brilliant study on sibling relationships in colonial and post-revolutionary America which also sheds light on 'Old England', see C. Dallett Hemphill, *Siblings: Brothers & Sisters in American History* (Oxford, 2011), chs. 1 and 4.

<sup>27</sup> Claire Tomalin, *Samuel Pepys: The Unequal Self* (London, 2002), ch. 1.

diaries of ten years (1660-1669) and private correspondence. It is impossible to access all of his writings at distance. Therefore, I limit my study to only reading the 10 volumes of his published diary. However, this was not always a disadvantage in itself. As Mark Dawson alerts us a decade ago, to better understand Pepys, it would be of benefit to pay particular attention to his diary and its textual movement within the diary itself, rather than contextualizing his diary entries with his other writings, for only in the diary that Pepys the individual barely conversed with him and himself, whereas in correspondence he might have re-fashioned himself to please his significant others.<sup>28</sup>

In addition, diary was a precious stone of historical sources. As Kaspar von Greyerz has pointed out, it reveals the inner life of its creator.<sup>29</sup> As for the case of Samuel Pepys, the diarist, the historian Lawrence Stone envisaged that the diary was a 'means both of confession of sin and of checking upon [his] moral balance-sheet ... brought up under Puritan direction ... [he was] haunted thereafter by a lingering sense of guilt about [the] exuberant enjoyment of all the pleasures of life, especially those of the flesh.'<sup>30</sup> According to Stone, Pepys' diary was a confession sheet, shaped and framed by Puritan ethics of the Restoration period. In this sense, the diary was nothing but a conversation between the diarist and God. It assumed the redemptive function. If Stone is correct, historians are encountering not a simple day-to-day activity records, but a description of moral reflections, conveying what a contemporary valued most for his life. Furthermore, as E. P. Thompson brilliant remarked:

we have evidence not of a spontaneous unmediated attitude but of this transcribed into an approved self-image (perhaps with approved doctrinal after-thoughts), like someone arranging his face in a looking-glass.<sup>31</sup>

Diary-keeping provided diarists with useful platforms for self-reflection which in effect enabled them to look for ways to improve themselves.<sup>32</sup> With this in mind, I will read Pepys' diaries to find out how he reflected on – and approved of – the performances of brotherly masculinity in his family life as recorded in his own writing.

It is to be noted that I limit my study to only sibling relationships between common blood family members. That is, only relationships between siblings with the same two parents ('real siblings'), *and* those who were related through their own marriages ('brother-in-law' or

28 Mark S. Dawson, 'Histories and Texts: Refiguring the Diary of Samuel Pepys', *Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), 407-31.

29 Kaspar von Greyerz, 'Ego-Documents: The Last Words?', *German History*, 28 (2010), 273-82.

30 Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (London, 1977), 264.

31 E. P. Thompson, 'Anthropology and the Discipline of Historical Context', *Midland History*, 1 (1972), 42.

32 Trevor Field, *Form and Function in the Dairy Novel* (Basingstoke, 1989), 31.

'sister-in-law') are taken into account in my analysis. Therefore, those with one common parent ('half-siblings') and those whose sibling relationships were generated by the remarriages of their parents ('stepbrother' or 'stepsister') are excluded.<sup>33</sup> My selection is by no means arbitrary. Firstly, it is an analogy to sibling categories which are explored in Ruth Perry's work. Secondly, 'real siblings' and 'in-laws' shared common perceptions of early modern society. That is, just as a husband and a wife became one flesh at the altar, so a wife's 'real siblings' became her husband's brothers and sisters, too.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, in terms of the formation of the individual's character and personality, 'real siblings' were particularly crucial, for they often spent so much of their childhood and infancy together, either at home or at school, the life phase when gender identities were being forged.<sup>35</sup>

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It is not an exaggeration to claim that Paulina, Samuel Pepys' youngest sister, occupied the most part of Pepys' concern throughout the 1660s. Their relationship was not sort of an easy one. It was in the line of love and anxiety, joy and pressure. Nevertheless, their relationship provides us insight into Pepys' role and self-understanding as the eldest brother of the family.

To begin with, Paulina was, by no means, considered by her brother as a favourite little sister. Pepys left a sheer number of records paying particular attention to pour scorn on her appearance and manners. When Paulina was at her twenty six, an average age for marriage in the long eighteenth century, Pepys described her physical appearance as follows:

Waked up very betimes in the morning by extraordinary Thunder and rain, which did keep me sleeping and waking till very late; and it being a holiday, and my eye very sore, and myself having had very little sleep for a good while till 9 a-clock – and so up, and so saw all my family up, and my father and sister (who is a pretty good bodied woman and not over-thicke, as I thought she would have been; but full of Freckles and not handsome in face).<sup>36</sup>

Pepys' comment on Paulina's facial and physical beauty is interesting, indeed. In a polite society, as Roy Porter observed, only slim body was accepted as ideal female figure.<sup>37</sup> Pepys

33 Sibling categories mentioned here are referring to Leonore Davidoff's categorisation of consanguinity and affinity in the history of the Western family in her article 'Where the Stranger Begins', 208. Cf. Sybil Wolfram, *In-Laws and Outlaws: Kinship and Marriage in England* (London and Sydney, 1987), 67.

34 Crawford, *Blood, Bodies and Families*, 211-14.

35 Davidoff, 'Kinship as a Categorical Concept', 413.

36 Pepys, *Diary*, 31 May 1666.

37 Roy Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason* (London, 1998), ch. 8.



had imagined that Paulina would have been thicker and to some extent “over-thicke”. In the light of the culture of politeness, he was worried that his sister may have degraded from a polite body. Yet, Pepys paid particular attention to Paulina's facial beauty. He passed the verdict that her face was 'not handsome' and 'Full of Fleckles’. As Aileen Ribeiro has pointed out, the key characteristics of female facial beauty since the Renaissance was cleanliness and spotlessness in look, skin and complexion.<sup>38</sup> Although Pepys did spare his sister from impolite body, she appeared in his eyes as not a beautiful little girl. Moreover, it is interesting to enjoy our imagination that Pepys' comments was not arbitrary. Pepys was meticulously sensitive in praising women's facial beauty. When Pepys courted Elizabeth whose age was equal to Paulina, he penned a line to her, emphasising her extraordinary beautiful face:

Endeared Sweetheart, When I was last with you there fell into my Bosom such a spark of Love that nothing will quench it but Yourself. The Nature of this Love, is, I hope sincere, the measure of it great, and as far as I know my own Heart it is right and genuine. The very bare probability of success ravished my Heart with Joy ... I hope the Lord has given You in part your father's Spirit, and has made You all glorious within, he has beautified your Body, very pleasant are You to me. You are in my Heart to live and die in waiting on You; and I extremely please Myself in loving You, and I like my Affections the better because they tell me they are only placed upon You ... sweet Mrs Betty as I have given my Heart to You, You ought in return to give me Yours, and You cannot in Equity deny it me.<sup>39</sup>

In contrast to Paulina's ugly appearance, Pepys were eloquent to Elizabeth. Although it is true that we can never be sure whether he devoted these impressive words to Elizabeth in order to woo her, or he was speaking his mind sincerely, it is to be highlighted that face was the most outstanding part in female body that attracted Pepys' attention. Thus, it was not his personal bias when he claimed that Paulina's face was “not handsome”. Still, it is striking to ask why Pepys felt obliged to record ugly details that may blacken his sister's reputation his his diary entry, for he may have simply left out this aspect throughout should he wish not to leave any negative comments on his siblings. Arguably, Pepys' harsh comment on Paulina's ugly appearance clearly testified his own negative attitude towards his little sister.

It is important to note that the sibling relationship between Pepys and his youngest sister was marked as an unpleasant start. Yet, as it will emerge, Pepys did put effort throughout the decade to support and improve his little sister's impoverished circumstances.

<sup>38</sup> Aileen Ribeiro, *Facing Beauty: Painted Women and Cosmetic Art* (New Haven and London, 2011), ch. 1-2.

<sup>39</sup> Pepys' love letters did not survive. for he destroyed them in January 1663. This love letter is quoted from Claire Tomalin, *Samuel Pepys: The Unequaled Self* (London, 2002), 53.

One might argue that Pepys' repeated endeavour was not uncommon, since he was above all her brother. Such an argument would be too superficial, and it takes for granted that the proverb "Thicker than Water" always governs people's lives, then as now. We need look no further than Pepys' diary entry to disprove such comment. In October 1667 when Pepys visited his parents and Paulina in Devon, he recorded the episode when he departed from them for London:

Here I took leave of my father, and did give my sister 20s. She cried at my going; but whether it was at her unwillingness for my going or any unkindness of my wife's or no, I know not; but God forgive me, I take her to be so cunning and ill-natured that I have no great love for her; but only, is my sister and must be provided for.<sup>40</sup>

It is striking that Pepys was demonstrably direct in expressing his mind regarding how he thought of his sister Paulina. This is compelling. The evidence here clearly suggests that historians cannot take for granted love and fondness in every sibling relation. Pepys' reflection on his sister underlines that it was not blood tie that connected Pepys and his sister. Rather, it was familial duty and obligation that cemented the sibling relationship, as he revealed the reason for his not shrugging off his fraternal duty, confessing that 'only [she] is my sister and [I] must be provided for'. Brotherly love was therefore not natural. Neither was familial obligation an indicator of a brother's fondness towards his siblings. Yet, it can be argued that Pepys' relationship with Paulina was governed for the most part by gendered expectation, for he used the auxiliary verb 'must' to define his action. It was male, fraternal duty that the eldest brother had to provide for his younger siblings, in particular the female ones. Family responsibility was obviously gendered, a category that both family and gender historians have neglected for so long.

For proof of my argument that even family duty was gendered, that is, it was not natural, we need look no further than Pepys' repeated declarations of how he perceived brotherly provision as one of his duty. It is noteworthy that upon cursory reading, Pepys never announced that his brotherly provision was primarily driven by his emotional attachment towards his siblings. An excellent example is the following entry for 7 August 1664, when Pepys was told by his wife, Elizabeth, about the poor circumstances of his natal family:

*Lords day.* Lay long, caressing my wife and talking – she telling me sad stories

<sup>40</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, 10-11 Oct. 1667.



of the ill, improvident, disquiet, and sluttish manner that my father and mother and Pall live in the country; which troubles me mightily and I must seek to remedy it.<sup>41</sup>

Once again, Pepys felt obliged to 'seek remedy' for his natal family. The auxiliary verb 'must' suggests that he highly likely considered his action as crucial obligation. In other words, he internalised it, assuming it as one of the role attached to his status as the eldest brother of the family.

Throughout his *diary*, Pepys show a clear sign of devoting himself to support his little sister, Paulina. Waiting for coupling his sister with a suitable match, Pepys negotiated her impoverished life by bringing her to live under the same roof of where he was really the patriarch. As Amanda Vickery has demonstrated, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was a common practice for elder brothers to accommodate their younger sisters – both spinsters and widows – in order that the latter were able to survive their fatal circumstances, though temporarily.<sup>42</sup> Yet, this practice might carry with it an internal conflict within the family, especially conflict between sisters and the mistress of the house that they moved in.

In case of the Pepys family, it is engrossing to ruminate on the question of how Pepys would interact with his sister, Paulina, given the fact that she was never favoured by him. Added to this complex was the fact that she was the same age as Pepys' wife, Elizabeth. The age equality did not always result in friendship between the two parties. Rather, it was often the case that age quality led to quarrels between them, as analysed in detail by Naomi Tadmor.<sup>43</sup> Thus, upon offering Paulina a place in his own household, Pepys was negotiating between his brotherly duty and personal preference. It was without doubt that Pepys brought Paulina to his household not as a loving sister. He commented:

My father and I took occasion to go forth; and went and drank at Mr. Standings, and there discoursed seriously concerning my sister's coming to live with me – which I have much mind for her good to have, and yet I am much afeared of her ill-nature. Coming home again, he and I and my wife, my mother and Pall, went all together into the little Roome, and there I told her plainly what my mind was: to have her come not as a sister in any respect but as a servant – which she promised me that she would, and with many thanks did weep for joy. Which did give me and my wife some content and satisfaction.<sup>44</sup>

41 Pepys, *Diary*, 7 Oct. 1664.

42 See Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London, 2009), chs. 8-9.

43 Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, ch. 4.

44 Pepys, *Diary*, 12 Nov. 1660.

Although Pepys was burdened by Paulina's poor circumstances and was obliged to improve her condition, he was worried about her ill nature. Thus, Paulina was not completely welcome in Pepys's household since the beginning. To overcome the unpleasant situation, Pepys made a crystal-clear statement that she come to his household not as a sister, but as a servant. This is highly significant, for his condition transformed Paulina's status. It reduced her from the patriarch's sister to just a servant. The blood tie was disturbed, obviously. This statement also highlighted Pepys' superior status within the family. He was the commander, not the follower, and Paulina's negotiating power was completely switched off. It is also interesting to note that we shall never know how Paulina felt upon accepting Pepys' offer. Although she wept, it was only Pepys' interpretation that she 'wept for joy'. We do not have Paulina's direct testimony of how she felt towards her brother's move. Yet, we do have record that when Paulina entered Pepys' household in the early year of 1661, Pepys did 'not let her sit down at table with me; which I do at first, that she may not expect it hereafter from me'.<sup>45</sup> Also, we may entertain our interpretation that Pepys was happy with his move, not just because he was able to settle the family question, but also the solution he offered simultaneously underlined his superiority in the family hierarchy, whatever heartless this action may have looked like.

In the course of her dwelling at the Pepys', Paulina proved herself to be a troublesome presence. Pepys usually complained of how his best maid, Jane, was 'spoiled by Palls coming'.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, we indirectly know from the entry that as a servant, Paulina performed her duty unpleasantly and that she never emulated Jane at all.<sup>47</sup> Paulina's annoying manners forced Pepys to discuss with his parents that he did not want to have her in his household any longer:

After that, Pall being there, I spoke to my father about my intention not to keep her longer for such and such reasons; which troubled him and me also, and had like to have come to some high words between my mother and me.<sup>48</sup>

Whatever the cause it might be that drove Pepys to the decision of not having Paulina in his household, it is significant to note that his judgement led to a familial quarrel between parents and the eldest son. In fact, Pepys had long been concerned of recognising the problem with

<sup>45</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, 2 Jan. 1661.

<sup>46</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, 26 Aug. 1661.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>48</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, 13 Aug. 1661.

Paulina and had been trying to find a solution for not having her in his household. This question occupied, if not haunted, Pepys' mind even until summer of 1664:

In the evening home to my wife – and there talked seriously of several of our family concernments; and among others, of bringing Pall out of the country to us here, to try to put her off; which I am very desirous, and my wife also, of.<sup>49</sup>

By now it had been already three years since Paulina was brought to dwell at the Pepys in London. Yet, their unpleasant relationship had not been ever improved. Even more so, Pepys and his wife perceived it as a serious issue, and planed to 'put her off', that is, to marry her off.

Nonetheless, it is important to stress that marrying a sister off was by no means a simple method of a brother to shrug off his familial duty. Rather, as scholars have argued, in the seventeenth century it was a common practice, and even a duty, assumed by the eldest brother of the family to arrange the most suitable marriage for his sisters, especially when he was officially appointed to be an heir.<sup>50</sup> As Susan Whyman has pointed out in her superb study of the Verneys in late-Stuart England, the eldest brother Ralph Verney devoted himself to ensure that all his four younger sisters deserved the most suitable and prosperous gentlemen when the wedding bells rang.<sup>51</sup> In case of Pepys and Paulina, the evidence suggests that Pepys saw it as his pivotal obligation in finding the right match for his little sister. This seems to be contradictory in itself, for throughout the diary Pepys unmistakably showed his harsh criticism towards Paulina. It is then interesting to ruminate on Pepys' extraordinary self-devotion to find a perfect match for his sister Paulina: whether it was brotherly love that prompted his action, or whether it was his sense of fraternal duty, or both?<sup>52</sup>

To answer the question posed above, we need to be sensitive to what Pepys left us in his diary entries. It is striking that Pepys' matrimonial choice for his sister was primarily

49 Pepys, *Diary*, 19 June 1664.

50 See Susan Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys 1660-1720* (Oxford, 2002), 14-20, 110-138; Steven King, 'Chance encounters? Paths to household formation in early modern England', *International Review of Social History*, 44 (1999), 47-54. Helen Berry, *Gender, Society and Print Culture in Late-Stuart England* (Aldershot, 2003), 78. Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650-1850* (Manchester, 2011), 82-83. For a similar argument, see Nicole Fustace, 'The cornerstone of a copious work': Love and Power in Eighteenth-Century Courtship', *Journal of Social History*, 34 (2001), 518-45.

51 Whyman, *Sociability and Power*, ch. 1.

52 For a similar discussion, see Davidoff, *Thicker than Water*, chs. 9-10.

governed Pepys' own opinion. We do not have surviving records testifying what Paulina felt and thought. Female voices were totally silent in this dominant brother. Among others, Pepys paid particular attention to how gentlemanly a suitor was. In the late seventeenth century, the word 'gentleman' embraced a set of qualities, including money, gentlemanlike behaviour, professional background, civilising conversation, and the like.<sup>53</sup> In this light, scholars of family history tend to conclude that the matrimonial match prior to the advent of the eighteenth century had been a marriage-for-economy and marriage-for-lineage in which the match makers, often including parents and brothers of both parties, instead of marriage-for-love. Scholars have explained that the marriage-for-economy of the seventeenth century served the purpose of maintaining and enhancing the involved families' social and economic status.<sup>54</sup> Yet, the case of Pepys' matrimonial search for his sister throws a new light into gender and family history, for in finding Paulina a right match, Pepys did not left us any signs of what may categorise as marriage for economy or marriage-for-lineage. Nor was it a marriage-for-love. Rather, what lied at Pepys' main concern was how to get his sisterly burden of his shoulders with a good balance of dowry that had to pay. In other words, it was a familial management not for the sake of the whole family's prosperity, but very limited to a particular sibling relation. The marriage was therefore particularised and had to higher purpose to serve. It is an aspect that family historians have neglected for so long.

To begin with, as we have seen, the Pepys had troubles with Paulina's dwelling at their household. Pepys confessed to his parents that marrying Paulina off would be a practical solution for everyone. In other words, this can be seen as a marriage-for-practical reason. Yet, Pepys did show a clear sign of marriage negotiation, first in line of finding a good match for Paulina, and second, to ensure that the match was financially suitable for him to pay off the dowry. The first gentleman that came into matrimonial discussion was the upholster business

53 For a contemporary definition of the term 'gentleman', see Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London, 1785), 'gentleman'. For a discussion of the term 'gentleman', read Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, 1660-1800* (Harlow, 2001), ch. 1; Michèle Cohen, 'Manliness, Effeminacy and the French: Gender and the Construction of National Character in Eighteenth-Century England', in *idem* and Tim Hitchcock (eds.), *English Masculinities, 1660-1800* (Harlow, 1999), 44-61.

54 Literature on the modes of marriage in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is immense in number, but read, for instance, John R. Gillis, *A World of their Own Making: Myth, Ritual, and the Quest for Family Values* (New York, 1996), esp. ch. 7; *idem*, "'A Triumph of Hope over Experience": Chance and Choice in the History of Marriage', *International Review of Social History*, 44 (1999), 47-54; *idem*, 'Conjugal Settlements: Resort to Clandestine and Common Law Marriage in England and Wales, 1650-1850', in John A. Bossy (ed.), *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West* (Cambridge, 1983), 261-86. For an example of discussion on the subject, but from the literary scholars' point of view, see Bonnie Latimer, "'Apprehensions of Control": The Familial Politics of Marriage, Choice and Consent in Sir Charles Grandison', *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 32 (2009), 1-19.



man named Mr. Harman, a widower. Having studied his manners for a good two months, Pepys penned a line to his parents on 14 January 1666:

As also upon writing a letter to my father about Pall, whom it is time now, I find, to think of disposing of, while God Almighty hath given me something to give with her; and in my letter to my father I do offer to give her 450*l*, to make her own 50*l*, given her by my uncle, up 500*l*. I do also therein propose Mr. Harman the upholster for a husband for her, to whom I have a great love, and did heretofore love his former wife, and a civil man he is and careful in his way. Besides, I like his trade and place he lives in, being Comehill.<sup>55</sup>

It is noteworthy that there were a series of factors that governed Pepys' decision for Mr. Harman. First, Pepys thought that it was high time to marry Paulina off. It is remarkable that her feelings and personal wishes did not come into Pepys' consideration at all. Second, Pepys could handle the dowry when Mr. Harman accepted the proposal. Third, the suitor was of advantage in terms of polite behaviour and being a successful business owner. Mr. Harman's loving manners towards his deceased wife signified the happy matrimonial relationship with Paulina in the future, too.

From these three mentioned aspects for marital coupling, we have no clue of what historians have called marriage-for-love, nor marriage-for-economy. Rather, it was purely a practical reason for the marriage manager, like Pepys, that is, to marry his sister off to a person whose social and personal background was trustworthy to ensure a happy and carefree matrimony to his sister, and to marry her off to a person with whom the match maker could still have power for financial negotiation regarding the dowry. It was therefore both the immediate and future causes that were given a due respect when marital negotiation was under way. A preliminary observation may be pronounced here that, according to the records of the Pepys, the marital decision was primarily based on the maxim of marriage for prospective loving harmony between the couple supported by the acceptable sum of dowry. It was, rather, a mixture of marriage-for-love and marriage-for-economy. Matrimony was, after all, not an *either or* matter. Thus, the dichotomy of marriage-for-love and marriage-for-economy may have lost its explanatory power when it came to a specific case study of each family background.

To prove my argument on the marital decision making, we need to study a failed courtship. In March 1666, Pepys reached an interim agreement with Mr. Harman in which Pepys could still maintain the balance between money and manners of the gentlemanly suitor.

<sup>55</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, 14 Jan. 1666.

The interim settlement survived in the entry of 15 March 1666, showing a clear sign of this tripartite balance:

I offered 500/. And he declares most ingenuously that his trade is not be trusted on – that he however needs no money, but would have her money bestowed on her – which I like well, he saying that he would adventure 2 or 300/ with her. I like him as a most good-natured and discreet man, and I believe very cunning. We came to this conclusion, for us to meet one another the next week, and then we hope to come to some end, for I did declare myself well satisfied with the ma[t]ch.<sup>56</sup>

Yet, this temporary agreement was terminated when the bridegroom-to-be requested for the higher amount of dowry of 800/ which Pepys could not afford. Pepys reported:

Thence by coach to ... receive Harman's answer; which did trouble me to receive, for he now demands 800/, whereas he never made exception at the portion, but accepted of 500/ – this I do not like; but however, I cannot much blame the man, if he thinks he can get more of another then of me.<sup>57</sup>

It is to be noted that Pepys deployed the language of plainness in describing the terminating process of his sister's courtship. This diary entry testifies and simultaneously proves my argument that the dowry affordability of the marriage manager was far more important in marital decision making than family historians have allowed to accept.

Moreover, this piece of evidence reveals us a nature of a particular sibling relationship, an unpleasant relationship between the eldest brother and his dependent sister. It is striking from the the above-mentioned diary excerpt that Pepys left us no record of how much he cared and felt pity for his sister who may have looked forward to marrying off with a potential future husband. In other words, Paulina's heartfelt emotions and feelings, be it disappointment, sorrow, shame, despair, distress, anxiety and perhaps many more, were present among Pepys' concerns when the marriage negotiation failed. The straightforward diary record suggests that Pepys as the second patriarch of the family totally saw his sister's marrying off under his power and prerogative. Sisterly voice and resistance were completely unheard.<sup>58</sup> This brought the very nature of the Pepys' sibling relationship to light. That is, the second patriarch, the eldest brother, enjoyed the straight-forth power in gender and sibling

<sup>56</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, 15 March 1666.

<sup>57</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, 23 March 1666.

<sup>58</sup> Read Pepys, *Diary*, 31 March 1666: 'However, I do see that I must be grown richer then I was by a good deal the last month. Busy also I am in thoughts for a husband for my sister. and to that end, my wife and I have determined that she shall presently go into the country to my father and mother, and consider of a proffer made them for her in the country, which, if she likes, shall go forward.'



hierarchy. His action was pivotally governed more by financial and practical factors, rather than the blood ties that bound him and his little sister. Thus, historians cannot take for granted the power of family ties, sibling closeness and emotional humanitarianism. They may have played a key role in nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Yet their power was less present and less categorical in the early modern world.<sup>59</sup>

However, it would be too naïve to believe that Pepys' relationship with his sister Paulina did not change over time. Although the evidence suggests for the most part that Paulina was hardly Pepys' favourite sister, their relationship changed after her eventual marriage with a certain gentleman called Mr. Jackson whom Pepys brought to his sister himself, and their relationship significantly improved when the first male child of the Pepys family was born.

When the twenty-seven-year-old Paulina trespassed the average age for marriage in 1667, Pepys learnt that she was courted by a certain lawyer called Mr. Jackson. At that time both Paulina and her suitor lived in Devon.<sup>60</sup> In February 1668, Pepys and his wife Elizabeth had a chance to meet Mr. Jackson in London. Pepys described Mr. Jackson, as follows:

Thence I about 2 a-clock to Westminster hall by appointment, and there met my Cousin Roger again and Mr. Jackson, who is plain young man, handsome enough for her; one of no education nor discourse, but of few words, and one altogether that I think will please me well enough. ... I shall be eased of that care; ... my mind pretty well satisfied with this plain fellow for my sister, though I shall I see have no pleasure nor content in him.<sup>61</sup>

It is important to ask why Pepys agreed with a mediocre man who came to walk to the altar with his sister. Given the fact that Mr. Jackson did not seem to impress Pepys at all. Rather, Pepys considered him as plain and low-qualified suitor. Again, we do not have any evidence suggesting that Pepys did this for the sake of his sister's happiness. Rather, we have a direct testimony from Pepys' pen saying that 'I am well at ease in my mind to think that that care will be over'.<sup>62</sup> It was evident that Pepys felt relieved when he predicted that the family burden upon his shoulders as the second patriarch was soon be over. It was then family obligation that lied at the heart of the eldest brother, not the emotional attachment between them.

59 For the role of emotion in people's decision making, see Margit Pernau and Helge Jordheim *et al.* (eds.), *Civilizing Emotions: Concepts in Nineteenth Century Asia and Europe* (Oxford, 2015); Susan J. Matt and Peter N. Stearns (eds.), *Doing Emotions History* (Illinois, 2015).

60 Pepys, *Diary*, 21 Dec. 1667. 11 Jan. 1668.

61 Pepys, *Diary*, 7 Feb. 1668.

62 Pepys, *Diary*, 8 Feb. 1668.

The marrying off was indeed the turning point in the sibling relationship between Pepys and Paulina. In May 1668, Pepys and his wife Elizabeth left London for Devon to visit his parents and his brothers and sister. Pepys recorded the family reunion in the following lines:

Here I saw my brothers and sister Jackson, she growing fat, and since being married, I think looks comelier then before. But a mighty handsome, and they say mighty fond – and are going shortly to live at Ellington of themselves [*sic*], and will keep malting and grazing of cattle.<sup>63</sup>

Family reunion proved to be a special occasion in which siblings were offered an opportunity to show off their improved gender qualities, which they had developed while being apart from one another, to their siblings when they came back home and entered the 'family stage'.<sup>64</sup> The evidence above suggests that Paulina used the family reunion to highlight her peaceful state of mind after being independent from her eldest brother. Her happy situation embodied in her healthy body and look.

There was a sign suggesting that the scale was tipped in favour of the sister Paulina when she gave birth to the first child of the Pepys. Still, Pepys did not accept the news with a clear proclamation of joy, for he merely confessed that 'I know not whether it did more trouble or please me.'<sup>65</sup> The sway between being troubled and pleased in Pepys' mind is interesting. Hitherto we do not have records of Pepys' positive comments for Paulina. The news of a new born child was literally the first news that may have brought joy to Pepys. If his pride was too high to greet the new baby, his intention to give 100/ 'to the birth of the first child',<sup>66</sup> which he announced on the day he met Mr. Jackson for the first time in February 1668, could be understood as a sign of looking forward to and welcoming the first child of the Pepys family.

It is to be underlined that Pepys himself was a childless man. No children was procreated from his marital bed. A thought-provoking, although not unproblematic, article by Elizabeth Foyster and Helen Berry on childless men in early modern England has shown that a man's manhood would be set on trial if a married man failed to father a child. According to them, childless men sought to restore their manhood by either adopting their siblings'

63 Pepys, *Diary*, 24 March 1668.

64 'Family stage' and 'community state' were terms coined by the historian Rhys Isaac who adopted the terms as a framework for his performative analysis of mid- and late-eighteenth century colonial Virginia, see his, *The Transformation of Virginia* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 1999).

65 Pepys, *Diary*, 12 May 1669.

66 Pepys, *Diary*, 7 Feb. 1668.

children, being surrogate fathers, or running a charity such as opening an orphan house (if financial status allowed them to do so) to guide and instruct deserted children. All of these were pursued, they argue, to enable childless men to perform patriarchal duties, which were the core concept of early modern masculinity. In this sense, the patriarch's manhood could not be fulfilled without the existence of children.<sup>67</sup>

Is this plausible? Although Foyster and Berry's argument has confirmed the place of patriarchy in shaping male identity, some aspects remain unclear. Firstly, while the authors identify the cause of lost manhood among childless men as their own failed sexuality, there is no reasonable explanation of why these men restored their manhood through their social performances, rather than through their sexual activities. Secondly, failed sexuality could undermine men's gender identity in the seventeenth century, when manhood was firmly grounded on sex and marriage.<sup>68</sup> Yet, this cannot be straightforwardly applied to the eighteenth-century context, in which masculinity was not understood as sexual, but social.<sup>69</sup> Eighteenth-century childless men could be worried when they could not father a child, but the reason for this could also derive from other reasons, such as their dynastic concerns, rather than from anxiety over their own sexual performances alone.<sup>70</sup> Thirdly, as William van Reyk has argued, throughout the eighteenth century '[a]t the heart of Christian ideals of manliness was the imitation of Christ, an all-encompassing Christian ideal of personhood'.<sup>71</sup> In this light, running a charity, such as opening an orphanage, can also be viewed as a religious activity of ideal Christian men, who were imitating Christ's life. Indeed, some childless men felt religiously ashamed of their unfruitfulness, partly because they thought that their failed

67 Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster, 'Childless Men in Early Modern England', in *idem* (eds.), *The Family in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2007), 158-83.

68 Elizabeth A. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (Harlow, 1999).

69 Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York 1996).

70 For example, upon receiving the news of the death of his brother's son, Rev. Thomas Naish (1669-1755) recorded in 1708, then childless although having been married for fourteen years, that this was '[a] great calamity to us all, having no other son in our family.': see Doreen Slatter (ed.), *The Diary of Thomas Naish* (Devizes, 1965), 65. Similarly, a childless Joseph Ryder (1695-1768), a Yorkshire clothier and Unitarian, recorded 'affections as to a Posterity to keep up my name. I appear'd in a very resigned way. I thought if my name might but be found written amongst the Living in Jerusalem It was a Blessing Infinitely beyond my Desert.': see Matthew Kadane, *The Watchful Clothier: The Life of an Eighteenth-Century Protestant Capitalist* (New Haven and London, 2013), 123. Although impotence was a key source of humour in eighteenth-century erotica, it is certainly not reflected in men's diaries. The evidence we have, as shown in these two examples, speaks more towards men's dynastic concerns, rather than those of the sexual ones. On impotence in erotica, see Karen Harvey, *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century: Bodies and Gender in English Erotic Culture* (Cambridge, 2004), 137-39.

71 William van Reyk, 'Christian Ideals of Manliness in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *Historical Journal*, 52 (2009), 1053.

procreation would result in decreasing their communal piety, when they could not fill the increasing room on the parish church pews with their own progeny.<sup>72</sup> Quizzical eyebrows may have been raised to childless men, but it is still unclear in which respects their masculine identity was drawn into question: sexuality, patriarchy, piety, or all of these. Nevertheless, the issue of childlessness testifies that masculinity was closely linked with the state of being a father and being fathered.

Let us now return to the Pepys. It is likely that Pepys was pleased with the advent of the new-born child, for by early modern standard to have a family heir was nothing but a guarantee for maintaining one own's family lineage. The childless second patriarch was perhaps double burden with this problem. As Claire Tomalin has pointed out, the relationship between Pepys and his sister Paulina was improved by the birth of her son. We need look no further for proof than recalling the fact that she named her first son as Samuel, the first name of her eldest brother, and invited him to stand as godfather.<sup>73</sup>

The sibling relationship between Pepys and Paulina reveals various aspects of sibling relations, most of which were unexpected. Historians cannot take for granted that family ties were always 'thicker than water', especially in early modern England when financial and practical reasons might govern people's decision. To underline the privileged status of the eldest brother, thus an heir to the family, it was not uncommon to exercise his own power over his subordinates. This was embodied in the attempts to maintain sibling hierarchy as perceived in the case of Paulina when she stayed at the Pepys not as a sister, but as a servant. Pepys may have appeared to us as a heartless brother towards his only one surviving sister. Yet Pepys' behaviour and decision turned out to be understandable when historians were aware of the nature of sibling relations in the early modern world.

\* \* \* \*

The role of the eldest brother did not limit itself to just the final-word-giver in match making for his subordinates. The 'second patriarch' had other aspects to perform, ranging from feeding his siblings to guiding them in education and morality, which were similar to the paternal obligations.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, parents played a key role in shaping the

<sup>72</sup> Kadane, *The Watchful Clothier*, 58, 130.

<sup>73</sup> Tomalin, *Samuel Pepys*, 283.



sibling experience of their children through their treatment of them, especially in training the eldest son to assume the status of the 'second patriarch'. The eldest son was usually expected to take a watchful interest in the education and professional careers of his siblings, in particular those of his younger brothers. This is because there were strict differences in the course of schooling boys and girls.<sup>74</sup> In case of the Pepys, we have evidence from Pepys' diary that he earnestly took up the role of the tutorial guide for his youngest brother John (1641-1677), who was ten years his junior. What follows is an analysis of this role of a 'second patriarch'.

From the Restoration onwards, children were gradually educated at boarding schools and, for boys, at universities. As Anthony Fletcher has shown, this trend was coincided with the massive extension of bureaucracy in the 1660s when quizzical eyebrows were raised against the absolute monarchy and the decentralisation of bureaucratic power from the royal inner circle to a broader middle-sort bureaucracy was the norm.<sup>75</sup> Thus, the urge for strict educational control in the family was important and understandable. This atmosphere allowed us to comprehend the active role both fathers and elder brothers in supervising their subordinates in education.

Pepys's image of the 'second patriarch' was emphasised by the age gap between male siblings. As I noted earlier, Pepys was ten years older than his younger brother John. The age gap was such that the eldest brother could almost be the father of the youngest one. Hence, the brother's tutorial supervision and professional guidance were comparatively similar to those of the father. Since the beginning of John's school years at St Paul's in London, the eighteen-year-old John was supported by his eldest brother Pepys, then aged 27, in education. For example, on 9 January 1660 Pepys 'rose early this morning, and looked over and corrected my brother John's speech which he is to make the next Apposition'<sup>76</sup> before he proceeded to his office at the Royal Navy Quarters. A couple of days later, John came to him at noon and Pepys 'corrected as well as I believe he himself was as well able to do it as myself', even though Pepys was ill on that day and had not had a good night last.<sup>77</sup> When the

74 Anthony Fletcher, 'Courses in Politeness: The Upbringing and Experiences of Five Teenage Diarists, 1671-1860', *Transactions of Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), 417-30. Regarding girl's education in particular, see Michèle Cohen, "'To think, to compare, to combine, to methodise": Girls' Education in Enlightenment Britain', in Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor (eds.), *Women, Gender, and Enlightenment* (Basingstoke, 2005), 224-42.

75 Anthony Fletcher, *Growing Up in England: The Experience of Childhood, 1600-1914* (New Haven and London, 2008), ch. 20.

76 Pepys, *Diary*, 9 Jan. 1660.

77 Pepys, *Diary*, 15 Jan. 1660.

Apposition Day arrived, Pepys spent a huge sum of money to dress up his youngest brother with a new gown: 'I writ some notes for my Brother John to give to the Mercers tomorrow, it being the day of their Apposition.'<sup>78</sup> And, of course, Pepys did attend John's speech at St Paul's to finish off his school years before he left London for Cambridge.

These pieces of evidence may have seem too mundane for political historians of the Restoration, especially when King Charles' reign was about to start. Yet the energy that Pepys invested in correcting his brother's writing was of significance for family and gender historians. Pepys took up the obligation to correct John's homework, take care of his appearance on the day and attend his graduation day together with their father. It is remarkable that unlike today, only the father and the eldest brother were accepted to the graduation day of schoolboys in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In other words, only the patriarch and the 'second' patriarch were privileged in schoolboys' lives. Pepys' devotion to his younger brother's education was by no means uncommon. For example, the law student Thomas Greene (1737-1810) was assigned by his father, Thomas Greene of Slyne (d. 1762), to look after his youngest son William (d. 1762). In 1761, the 24-year-old Thomas wrote a letter to William, who was a schoolboy at Sedbergh. Thomas asked his brother to send him a specimen of writing together with the summary of his school progress: 'I shall be glad to see some little Performance of yours either in verse or prose Latin, or English, upon whatever subject you please, but let it be intirely your own with[ou]t the aid of any of your School ffellows, you may tell me at the same Time what Books you read, and what Class you are in'.<sup>79</sup> Thomas' requirement of his younger brother reminds us of similar letters which fathers sent to their sons at school or university. Compare now a father's letter to his sons. In 1771, the 47-year-old Lancashire flax merchant Thomas Langton (1724-1794) demanded of his boys, John and Will, to report their school improvement back home: 'Dear Will, [...] [I] am glad to hear your brother and you have made such improvements in your writing and accounts. [...] Dear Jack, [...] I was pleased to receive the specimen of your and your brother's writings as I think you are both improved'.<sup>80</sup> Here, there was hardly a difference between the 'real' patriarch (a father) and the 'second' patriarch (an eldest brother), when both of them performed the role of an educational guide. Thus, Pepys' seemingly mundane errands were far too complex that historians have allowed to admit. They were

78 Pepys, *Diary*. 7 Feb. 1660.

79 LRO, D1Gr/C1 (8 Aug. 1761), Thomas Greene. London, to William Greene, Sedbergh.

80 Joan Wilkinson (ed.), *The Letters of Thomas Langton, Flax Merchant of Kirkham, 1771-1788* (Manchester, 1994), 109, 112.



clues to unlock the meanings and significance that shaped the eldest brother's gendered identity as the 'second' patriarch.

If the apposition day marked the rite of passage in any schoolboys, it did not mark the end of the eldest brother's educational guide for his younger male siblings. The tutorial role remained until the university years. On 20 February 1660, after having dinner with his brother John, Pepys had a conversation with him regarding his move to Cambridge:

After dinner I took him [i.e. John] to my study at home and at my Lord's, and gave him some books and other things against his going to Cambridge.<sup>81</sup>

Before John's departure to Cambridge, Pepys instructed him extensively and passed his own books – well used and well loved – to him. We may speculate the intense emotion infused with hope and trust, anxiety and concern, that this eldest brother had towards his teenage brother upon entering the world on his own right. In fact, John's departure was perceived by his family members as a special occasion. It was the family's urgent agenda, so that a meal was forgotten to prepare:

To my father's to dinner, where nothing but a small dish of powdered beef and a dish of carrots, they being all busy to get things ready for my Brother John to go tomorrow. ... Home for my lantern and so to my father's, where I directed John what books to put [up] for Cambridge.<sup>82</sup>

Pepys did not fail to give instructions and guide his brother in terms of books and behaviour at the university where Pepys had study before. It is interesting that we have no surviving records testifying the role of the father in giving John pieces of advice for his university years. This may be due to the fact that the father himself did not have university education, for he was an ordinary tailor in London. The tutorial role was thus passed over to the 'second' patriarch's hands. In turn, this highlighted Pepys' privileged status in the family, since he was the only one among the family members who had university experiences. In this light, the opportunity in higher education played a key role in constructing the privileged status of the 'second' patriarch, and allowed him to perform his family obligation par excellence.

The tutorial role of the eldest brother was not limited just to sending his younger brothers off to schools and universities. It also embraced the taking care of his brothers' welfare. It was Pepys and his father who accompany John from London to Cambridge to ensure that the little John had a right place to accommodate at the university. In the evening

<sup>81</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, 20 Feb. 1660.

<sup>82</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, 22 Feb. 1660.

when John's chamber had not been furnished, John slept with his elder brother at an inn. The two brothers enjoyed a masculine conversation at night.<sup>83</sup> Although we shall never know what exactly Pepys instructed his brother on that night, we may speculate from other surviving records of other families from the same period to gauge and gain insight of what a brotherly advice would have been, and how the advice could reveal us about the role of the 'second' patriarch in early modern England.

A compelling example, which can shed light on how an eldest brother performed his role as a caring brother, comes from the Lovells, a lesser-landed family in Wiltshire. As this piece of evidence survives in the writings of a mother, it also points out how parents played an important role in constructing the image of a caring 'second patriarch'. We know from a letter which their mother Sarah wrote to her younger son Peter that her eldest son John, who had recently finished his degree at Oxford, wanted to pass a piece of fraternal advice to him, who just started his term at Oxford in 1778. John's advice was simple as to how his brother had better hold a candle when opening the door in the evening. The mother's letter reads: 'Jacky Desires you to Remember one thing, that is When go in the Studdy [*sic*] to Open ye Door with your Right hand and hold ye Candle in yr Left Because ye Wind with opening the Door Blows the Curtain just against your Candle'.<sup>84</sup> If we believe their mother's words that the advice came from the older brother John, this piece of brotherly advice suggests that this elder brother was keen to take care of his younger brother's welfare by guiding him how to conduct life alone without any familial services and assistance. Perhaps this handy tip was important for the young Peter who had just left the comfort of his genteel life-style at their country house where help was always at hand. Maybe, John had encountered similar problems himself when he attended the university earlier, and wanted to use his experiences he had had before to guide his younger brother. If their mother Sarah borrowed her eldest son's name to instruct her younger son, it was perhaps from her idea that such a piece of advice could naturally come from an experienced, caring brother. Maybe, she simply wanted to remind her younger son that he was the subject of his brother's concerns. Whatever it was, her action of passing the brotherly advice helped, indeed, to produce the specific image of the caring brother for her eldest son.

To test more convincingly whether eldest brothers eagerly adopted the role of the 'second patriarch' as their prime responsibility, it might be worthwhile to compare their letters

83 Pepys, *Diary*, 24-25 Feb. 1660.

84 WSA, 161/109 (20 Mar. 1778), Sarah Lovell, Cole Park, to Peter Lovell, Oxford.

to their younger brothers with those of fathers to sons. The father-like tone loomed large, as we shall see below, in brotherly letters, when they instructed their younger brothers on how to behave themselves. As scholars have pointed out, relationships between sender and receiver are constructed in correspondence, and letters 'take their meaning from the part they play in actual lives and relationships'.<sup>85</sup> Thus, we can see how the eldest brother understood or imagined his role through the tone which he deployed when instructing his younger siblings. Take the Yorkshire gentleman John Spencer as an example. In 1757, one year after inheriting the estates of his father William (d. 1756), the 39-year-old John wrote a letter to one of his twin younger brothers, Benjamin (d. 1759), who was then a merchant in London. In the letter John directly instructed his errant brother. The tone he deployed is remarkable:

Consider Dear Sir again & again, that you are now in the Prime of Life, that now is the Time for raising such a Fortune as may enable you to live with Ease & Affluence in the Decline of Life. Avoid mean Company; seek that which is polite, & will do credit to yourself. Once more I beg of you to avoid Liquor; throw that detestable Instrument your Tobacco Box which you so fond of into the Kennel, then shall I hope to live to see [...] an Honour to your Family & Country I am your constant Wellwisher & affectionate J. Spencer.<sup>86</sup>

The tone suggests the unequal relationship *between* the eldest brother, who at that time had become the first patriarch of the family, *and* his brother who was inferior to him, not only in age but also in fortune and social status. The instruction was direct in tone, implying how confident the writer felt in his superior position. Yet, his superiority does not give us the impression of another kind of unequal relationship, such as that of master and apprentice and the like. Rather, it suggests the tone of instruction-*cum*-benevolence (or brotherly responsible love), as John Spencer signed his letter with 'I am your constant Wellwisher & affectionate J. Spencer'. This reminds us of parent-child correspondence which fathers used as a medium to instruct their teenage boys at school or university. Indeed, John's letter to his brother Benjamin echoed the message John himself had received from his father two decades earlier, when he was a law student in London:

<sup>85</sup> Jane Couchman and Ann Crabb, 'Introduction', in *idem* (eds.), *Women's Letters across Europe, 1400-1700: Form and Persuasion* (Aldershot, 2005), 5. See also Liz Stanley, 'The Epistolarium: On Theorizing Letters and Correspondences', *Auto Biography*, 12 (2004), 201-35.

<sup>86</sup> SA, SpSt/60548/15 (6 Nov. 1757), John Spencer, Sewerby, to Benjamin Spencer, London. Also, see SA, SpSt/60548/6 (17 Sep. 1756), same, Cannon Hall, to same: 'Pray God you take Warning by his Misfortune. That you may meet with Succession all your Undertakings'.

I am glad to hear You have recovered Your Health, and heartily (wish You may) now use proper means to preserve it, but too much Indulgence in Bed in a morning, and frequent visiting the Play house at nights without other Exercise, I am sure won't be the way to do it. [...] if you would be a Good Oeconomist, You might out of this Allowance [i.e. £120] Live Handsomly, lay out a good deal of money in Law Books, and have always plenty in Your Pockets.<sup>87</sup>

However, it is not my intention to argue that John Spencer saw himself as his own brother's *natural* father. Rather, I am suggesting that his correspondence to his brother revealed how John perceived his privileged status, and how he exercised his authority. My conclusion is that the eldest brother realised his patriarchal power over his younger brothers and felt obliged to act according to the role that his social position gave him. The brotherly sense of being the 'second patriarch' was thus expressed and reflected in the tone of the sibling correspondence.

Let us return for now to the Pepys. Pepys himself devoted both his time and intellectual energy to accompany and support his brother John's education. In fact, John knew and indeed accepted the tutorial role of his eldest brother. For example, in September 1660 when John fancied to have academic books from London, it was Pepys, not his father, whom John turned to for assistance. And, again it was Pepys who directed his own father to buy books Pepys could not find immediately.<sup>88</sup> Moreover, Pepys kept close eyes over John's shoulders when his younger brother returned home and stayed with Pepys in London during summer vacation. This allowed Pepys to observe John's manners and intellectual development. Also, it enabled Pepys to exercise his power as the tutorial guide and the 'second' patriarch to control his younger brother. In August 1663, three years after John went to Cambridge, Pepys noticed that:

So home; and my brother John and I up, and to my Musique and then to discourse with him; and I find him not thorough a philosopher, at least in Aristotle, as I took him for, he not being able to tell me the definition of fire nor which of the four Qualitys [*sic*] belonged to each of the four elements.<sup>89</sup>

Pepys saw it his duty to supervise his younger brother John's intellectual progress. The summer of 1663 was the period that highlighted Pepys' status as a brother-*cum*-tutor. It seemed to be part of the brothers' everyday practice that Pepys forced his brother John to read

87 SA. SpSU60537/4 (13 Dec. 1740). William Spencer, Barnesley, to John Spencer, London.

88 Pepys, *Diary*, 12 Sept. 1660: 'My Brother Tom came to my house with a letter from my Brother John, wherein he desires some books – Barthol. *Inatomy*. Rosinus *Roman antiquities*. and Gassendus *astronomy*. The last of which I did give him, and an angell [*sic*] toward my father's buying of the others.'

89 Pepys, *Diary*, 7 Aug. 1663



and write texts in classical Latin and Greek.

As a man of letters in early modern England, one needed to be fluent in ancient languages of the west, especially Latin. A good command of antiquity was a sign of masculinity among the aristocrats and the upper middle-sorts, like the Pepys. In summer 1663, a certain teenager named William who was Elizabeth Pepys' cousin stayed for a while at the Pepys in London. William seemed to be a master in classics, something just as opposite to Pepys' own younger brother John. Pepys spent time tutoring two boys in those subjects:

Home and stayed up a good while, examining Will in his Latin bible and my brother along with him in his Greeke [*sic*].<sup>90</sup>

Why was Pepys so concerned about the intellectual inferiority of his younger brother John in comparison to his wife's cousin William? It might be the case that Pepys was worried that his brother would appear less a man in contrast to his peer, given that fluency in classics was a sign of masculinity during that period.

For boys, learning Latin at public schools required a strict timetable (eight hours a day of intensive declensions and conjugations), self-commitment, self-discipline, industry, and diligence. All were admirable attributes which formed the very fundament of masculinity.<sup>91</sup> Thus, the subject was designed not only for entering polite company, but also – perhaps ever more so – for constructing an elite boy's ideal character. Without being trained in classics 'a gentleman makes a most wretched figure', John Buxton warned his son.<sup>92</sup> Indeed, keeping oneself away from the discipline of classical learning was believed to damage manliness. The English poet and essayist, Bonnell Thornton (1725-1768), commented sharply in 1756:

While other lads are flogged into the five declensions, and at length lashed through a whole school, these pretty masters are kept at home to improve in whip-syllabubs, pastry, and face-painting. In consequence of which, when other young fellows begin to appear like men, these dainty creatures come into the world with all the accomplishments of a lady's woman.<sup>93</sup>

If 'effeminacy' was understood as an 'admission of the quality of a woman; softness; unmanly delicacy; [...] lasciviousness; loose pleasure', an upper-rank man without classical training was nothing but 'effeminate'.<sup>94</sup>

Classical knowledge had a specific meaning attached, for it was distinctive to the

<sup>90</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, 9 Aug. 1663.

<sup>91</sup> Cohen, 'Gender and "Method"': Fletcher, *Growing Up*, 150-55.

<sup>92</sup> Alan Mackley (ed.), *John Buxton Norfolk Gentleman and Architect: Letters to His Son 1719-1729* (King's Lynn, 2005), 36.

construction of gentlemanly masculinity. Whereas Latin kept a man masculine by exercising and strengthening his inner qualities, it was French which crowned his outward personality, for 'without which no *gentleman* had been considered accomplished'.<sup>93</sup> Consider, another example, the benefit of learning Persian, another language which became popular among the elite in the late eighteenth century. As the renowned Orientalist, Sir William Jones (1746-1794) argued, it was important for the British to study the 'languages of Asia', so that 'the limits of our knowledge will be no less extended than the bounds of our empire. [...] [T]hey are known to be useful, and will soon be found instructive and entertaining'.<sup>94</sup> Whereas French accomplished the gentlemanliness, Persian had connotations of usefulness and pleasure. But, it was Latin that was characteristically of great importance in constructing the inner masculine qualities of upper-rank boys. Small wonder, while a girl's developed femininity was measured by her self-crafted 'purses' and 'aprons' as gifts for her parents, her brother's masculinity was reflected in his own composition of a Latin letter, though often a laconic one.<sup>97</sup> Thus, the son's good command of Latin signified not only his brilliant intellect, but also a certain degree of how he mastered himself in the absence of parental control. Masculinity was therefore constructed by possessing – at least in a particular subject – appropriate training and knowledge.

As I have discussed above, intellect was central the construction of masculinity in early modern England. Thus, when the eldest brother governed his brother's study progress, it can be interpreted as he was in the process of constructing his brother's masculinity. It was therefore the family relationship that shaped a man's gender. In this light, it is not unexpected that Pepys lamented in his diary when his younger brother John had neglected his study and did not show a due progress:

93 *The Connoisseur*, no. 65 (24 Apr. 1755), 388.

94 Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 'effeminacy'.

95 Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, 83.

96 William Jones, *A Grammar of the Persian Language* (London, 1771), x. Persian remained the official language of the East India Company until the 1830s.

97 For examples of girls' needlework as familial gifts, see ESRO, SAY 1649 (29 Jul. 1734), Cordelia Collier, London, to Mary Collier, Hastings: 'Since I received yours have been so Busy in making new apron & handkerchief that I could not Spare time to write before'; CRO/Carl, D SEN 5/5/1/4/17 (24 Mar. [1767]), Joanna Senhouse, London, to Humphrey Senhouse II, I am extreemly [*sic*] Glad You approved of the purse, I am afraid it is not of the most usefull Shape but I could not deny my self the pleasure of working one for my Dear Pappa'. For examples of boys' Latin writings, see Brigitte Mitchell and Hubert Penrose (eds.), *Letters from Bath 1766-1767 by the Rev. John Penrose* (Gloucester, 1983), 79; SHL, MS 811/I/16 (12 Dec. 1821), George Lewin, London, to Thomas Lewin: 'Si Progressus meus Studiis ingenuis Moribusque urbanis tibi placeat multum gaudebo (If my progress in liberal education and civic manners would please you, I will be very happy [my translation]).

I am troubled also to see how, contrary to my expectation, my brother John neither is the schollar [*sic*] nor minds his studies as I thought he would have done – but loiters away his time, so that I must send him soon to Cambridge again.<sup>98</sup>

And again, towards the end of August 1663 Pepys summarized his summer time spending with his John in a lamenting tone:

Mr brother John with me, but not to my great content, because I do not see him mind his study or give me so good account thereof as I expected.<sup>99</sup>

And again, towards the year end of 1663 Pepys showed an unmistakable sign of disappointment with his brother's errant behaviour:

And my brother John, at Cambridge with as little hopes of doing good there; for when he was here, he did give me great cause of dissatisfaction with his manner of life.<sup>100</sup>

According to the evidence we have from Pepys' diary, it would not be an exaggeration to conclude that Pepys was engaged in watching out for his young brothers' manners and behaviour. Indeed, this sort of relationship resembled that of a father and a prodigal son.<sup>101</sup> It is noteworthy that Pepys' tutorial supervision was not for cost free. It was accompanied by his legitimate right, deriving from his birth order, to blame and instruct his errant brother, an action mainly preserved for the parents.

It is to be noted that Pepys was by no means an exception. A number of examples from the eighteenth century testify that the eldest brother assumed the role of tutorial guide both in education and social manners. Take the Leathes' as an example which provides us detailed story of a profligate brother. In early February 1771, the young and extravagant, Cambridge student Edward Leathes was pursued by his Cambridge creditors, who threatened to order an attorney to arrest him. Being alarmed by 'this intelligence', his brother John 'immediately' collected money to satisfy them all with the sum of £200. A fortnight later came in 'many bills upon yr Account from various people' of the town of Bury in Norfolk, John worriedly informed his brother. Although John did not immediately pay them all this time, he told his brother that 'I shall discharge these too as soon as I am furnish'd with

98 Pepys, *Diary*, 29 Aug. 1663.

99 Pepys, *Diary*, 31 Aug. 1663.

100 Pepys, *Diary*, 31 Dec. 1663.

101 Nicola Phillips, 'Parenting the Profligate Son: Masculinity, Gentility and Juvenile Delinquency in England, 1791-1814', *Gender & History*, 22 (2010), 92; Sarah M. S. Pearsall, *Atlantic Families: Lives and Letters in the Later Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2008), ch. 5.

Money'. Despite his promise to clear his brother's debts, John did not fail to blame his spendthrift brother and rhetorically asked him: 'I would be glad to know – if ever such a thought inter'd your head when You suppose you could ever have paid it. [...] You see then your debts alone might have been your ruin'.<sup>102</sup> Perhaps, his complaint served to forestall any further misconduct committed by Edward. Whatever the case, we have evidence right here of an eldest brother or the 'second' patriarch striving for controlling and disciplining his male subordinates.

If brotherly obedience was a sign of how a subordinate accepted his superior, a younger brother who rebelled against his 'second' patriarch could reveal the limit of the 'second' patriarch's power. We know only that by 1664 Pepys and his brother John stood in a conflict confronting each other. Yet due to the paucity of diary entry regarding this issue, we shall never know the details of what was going on between them. However, the conflict itself enabled us to gauge how the eldest brother would have felt when the conflict occurred and his power was challenged.

Although we do not know how the conflict between these two brothers came into being, we know from the diary that in October 1664 their mother asked Pepys to forgive his younger brother, to which which Pepys replied:

And then my mother called me into the garden and there, but all to no purpose, desiring me to be friends with John; but I told her I cannot, nor indeed [*sic*] easily shall; which afflicted the poor woman, but I cannot help it.<sup>103</sup>

Given that John's ill behaviour became evident by 1663, as Pepys recorded, it was highly likely that the cause of their conflict would have something to do with John's ill nature, and to some extent that John might have challenged his eldest brother's order. If my speculation is plausible, it can explain why Pepys insisted to his mother that he would never forgive him, unless the brother John begged for his pardon and aware of his guilt. It is remarkable that this diary entry truly suggested the privileged status of the 'second' patriarch of the family which Pepys enjoyed. He was second only to his father, but not his mother, for when she asked him to forgive John, he refused to do so. Thus, the relationship between brothers was threatened when the inferior challenged the authority of the superior. Forgiveness, too, had its own limitation.

To prove my argument that the brotherly relationship was shaken when the eldest

<sup>102</sup>NRO, BOL 2/43/1 (28 Feb. 1771), John Leathes, Bury, to Edward Leathes, Norwich.

<sup>103</sup>Pepys, *Diary*, 15 Oct. 1664.



brother's authority was challenged by his subordinates, we need to see how the conflict was ended. In April 1666 Pepys mentioned his brother John for the first time after two years of silence:

I very busy all the afternoon till night – among other things, writing a letter to my brother John, the first I have done since my being angry with him; and that so sharp a one too, that I was sorry almost to send it when I had wrote it; but it is preparative to my being kind to him, and sending for him up hither when he hath passed his degree of Maister [*sic*] in Arts.<sup>104</sup>

The passage suggests that Pepys showed a clear sign of brotherly reconciliation, though not without condition, which came out when John could get his degree. This implied that *first*, John's ill behaviour was improved, and that is, in line with Pepys' instruction; *second*, Pepys strove for ensuring that with the degree in hands, his brother John would have a better chance in the competitive world of the Restoration when knowledge was not just a sign of masculinity, but also a passport for a better career and social mobility. These two implications, in turn, confirm my argument that the brotherly quarrel would be terminated when the younger brother conformed to his elder brother's sensible command.

To bury the conflict more effectively, Pepys exercised his power as the 'second' patriarch in order to find an occupation for his brother after his graduation. Professional guide was also an obligation that the eldest brother felt obliged to take up. For example, We know from the letters of the young William Greene that his brother Thomas constantly guided him into the world of business, although it might have been too early for the boy who was just a pupil at Sedbergh boarding school. In August 1762, Thomas Greene advised his brother to 'abandon the thoughts of being a Limner' because in Thomas' opinion that business 'in all probability must tend to my [i.e. William's] own disadvantage'. Instead of being a limner, Thomas persuaded his brother to enter the services of the East India Company, to which idea William 'entirely' subsumed himself. The young boy wrote back to satisfy his eldest brother: 'I commit it entirely to your prudence to determine'.<sup>105</sup>

Let us turn to the Pepys. Pepys exercised his power as the professional guide to end the family conflict with his errant brother, too. In June 1666 Pepys sent a letter to John, saying that:

Then as to John, I tell him I will promise him nothing, but will supply him as so much lent him -- I declaring that I am not pleased with him yet. And that

<sup>104</sup>Pepys, *Diary*, 28 April 1666.

<sup>105</sup>LRO, DDGr/C1 (31 Aug. 1762), William Greene, Sedbergh, to Thomas Greene, London.

when his degree is over, I will send for him up hither, and if he be good for anything, doubt not to get him preferment. This discourse ended to the joy of my father, and no less to me, to see that I am able to do this.<sup>106</sup>

Pepys promised to find John a right occupation should he behave himself correctly and get his degree accordingly. Later, it turned out to be the case that Pepys did find a right job for his brother John after his graduation. John worked then as a clerk at Trinity House Post. However, it is noteworthy that the brotherly reconciliation met with his father's and his own satisfaction. Of course, one might argue that every father would have been satisfied with their children's reconciliation and harmony. Yet in this record Pepys underlined the sentence that 'I am able to do this'. This emphasis is of significance to our argument, for it suggests that Pepys was not actually happy with the end of the conflict per se. Rather, Pepys was proud of himself to be able to manage the unpleasant affair with his brother, and not least, he was able to once again maintain his status as the 'second' patriarch, the one who managed the household and brought the errant family member back in line. Here we have evidence not of sibling emotional harmony, but rather, above all, evidence of an eldest brother struggling to maintain his power, authority and status.

\* \* \* \*

The final case study among the Pepys siblings was the relationship between Pepys and his younger brother Tom (1634-1664). Tom was only one year younger than Pepys. Thus, of all his siblings, he was closest to Pepys. This section is intended to analyze the emotional bond between male siblings who shared the same age and closeness during their childhood. The section asks whether the emotional bond affected the eldest brother's decision, behaviour and manners towards his brother.

Upon cursory reading of the entire diary for over ten years of Pepys' record, it is striking that Tom was the only one sibling whose name was mentioned in the diary when the diarist recalled his childhood. For example, Pepys wrote on 25 April 1664 that 'thence to Kingsland by my nurse's house, Goody Lawrence, where my brother Tom and I was kept when young.'<sup>107</sup> It is also noteworthy that of all the siblings, it was Tom, of whom Pepys seemed to be worried most. This is due to the fact that Tom suffered under speech

<sup>106</sup>Pepys, *Diary*, 17 June 1666.

<sup>107</sup>Pepys, *Diary*, 25 April 1664.

impediment. Given that Tom was not clever by nature, the illness exacerbated his future in a great deal. First, it prevented him from attending schools and higher education. If St Paul's and Cambridge were institutions that the Pepys' boys attended, they never were home for Tom. Second, the sickness haunted Tom and made him inferior in the female eyes when marriage negotiations came into consideration. To his aspect, Pepys lamented for his brother that a woman called Miss Wheatley could not 'fancy my brother because of him imperfection in his speech – which I am sorry for, but there that business must die and we must look out for another.'<sup>108</sup> In comparison to the case of Pepys finding a husband for sister Paulina, Pepys did not leave any records revealing he was committed himself to find another man for her immediately after a failed courtship. However, in the case of Tom, Pepys explicitly left us a record that he strongly believed that it was his duty to find a right match for his brother. Although we can never be sure whether the very close age gap or Pepys' pity for Tom's speech imperfection or both that resulted in Pepys' favour in his brother, the strong commitment to find him a new match was likely a piece of evidence for Pepys' emotional attachment to his younger brother Tom.

Moreover, there are a number of records from Pepys' diary suggesting that Tom was indeed Pepys' favourite. Among others, Tom was the only one sibling whom repeatedly received gifts from the eldest brother, apart from allowances which were common to all siblings under Pepys' patronage. For example, on a rainy day in March 1661, Pepys left us a record, as follows:

My brother Tom comes to me, and among other things, I looked over my old clothes and did give him a suit of black stuff clothes and a hat and some shoes.<sup>109</sup>

It is remarkable that these gifts, although they were used items, were offered to Tom upon Pepys' own initiative. Pepys' favourite to Tom was unparalleled, comparing to the two sibling relationships that we have discussed earlier. Even when Tom requested for some items that Pepys was of opinion that his brother would do only little out of them, Pepys still chose to do Tom in favour:

This day I sent my brother Tom, at his request, my father's old Basse viall [i.e. bass violin] which he and I have kept so long, but I fear Tom will do little good at it.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>108</sup>Pepys, *Diary*, 22 Jan. 1663.

<sup>109</sup>Pepys, *Diary*, 27 March 1661.

<sup>110</sup>Pepys, *Diary*, 4 July 1662.

Pepys sent even an item that we might call a family inherited object. It must have had a true meaning for both Pepys and his father. Yet the object was passed down to an imperfect sibling. This is comprehensible only when we accept that Tom enjoyed a special position in the sibling hierarchy and, surely, in Pepys' mind.<sup>111</sup>

As I noted earlier, professional guide was a pivotal duty that came to define the status of the 'second patriarch'. Like the case of John Pepys, Tom was assisted by his eldest brother to set feet firmly upon entering the world. Since Tom was hindered from official education due to his speech impediment, Pepys knew it too well to prepare his brother Tom for succeeding the family business, that is, a tailor's shop which was founded by their father John Pepys in the early seventeenth century. However, it is interesting that Pepys performed his role as the 'second' patriarch in a very striking stroke when he decided to ask for his parents' permission to pass down the family business directly to Tom. Perhaps we can never expect any more direct and determined decision from Pepys than this case. Pepys recalled his decision, as follows:

So home to dinner – and my brother Tom dined with me, and after dinner he and I alone in my chamber had a great deal of talk, and I find that unless my father can forbear to make profit to his house in London and leave it to Tom, he hath no mind to set up the trade anywhere else. And so I know not what to do with him. After this I went with him to my mother and there told her how things do fall out short of our expectations; which I did (though it be true) to make her leave off her spending, which I find she is nowadays very free in, building upon what is left us by uncle to bear her out in it – which troubles me much.<sup>112</sup>

Pepys proposed to his parents to leave London for Devon, so that Tom could take over their parents' business, their family's tailor shop. Pepys did not only persuaded, if not forced, his parents to leave their business for Tom, so that he could live by himself, but also tried very hard to take up all financial burdens to facilitate Tom upon his entering the business world. Pepys reported to the end of August 1661 that:

No money comes in, so that I have been forced to borrow a great deal of money for my own expenses and to furnish my father, to leave things in order. I have

<sup>111</sup>For further discussion on the relationships between material culture and emotion in early modern Europe, consult Karen Harvey, 'Craftsmen in Common: Objects, Skills and Masculinity in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', in Hannah Greig *et al.* (eds.), *Gender and Material Culture in Britain Since 1600* (London, 2016), 68-89; Joanna Norman, 'Music at Home', in Elizabeth Miller and Hilary Young (eds.), *The Arts of Living: Europe 1600-1815* (London, 2016), 166-71.

<sup>112</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, 29 July 1661.



some trouble about my Brother Tom, who is now left to keep my father's trade, in which I have great fears that he will miscarry – for want of brains and care.<sup>113</sup>

If we recall how Pepys set an ultimatum for his brother John that he had to finish his degree on time to receive Pepys' support for finding him a position at Trinity House Post, this passage strikingly reveals us how the sensible Pepys preferred Tom to other siblings. Although Pepys was never be confident about how Tom would conduct the trade successfully, he invested the great deal of money to furnish Tom his first tailor shop. This may have caused Pepys in debt, too. It seems likely that emotion and personal attachment played a key role in shaping this brotherly relationship.

Yet one could maintain his privileged position in the 'second' patriarch's mind as long as he followed his eldest brother's order and kept his own behaviour in check. This is because doing things against what the 'second' patriarch's expectation would be interpreted as a challenge or threat against his power and authority. The rise and fall of the brother Tom was an epitome and, simultaneously, a proof for argumentation.

Let us begin with the rise of Tom to Pepys' favourite. As we have seen earlier, Pepys was both aware and concerned of Tom's physical disability and lack of official education. These were two things that were indispensable factors for making career in the Restoration period. Thus, Pepys was committed to facilitate Tom to get start on his business. There are a number of records testifying that Tom's business occupied the central position in Pepys' mind. After Tom started to run his tailor shop on his own right, Pepys kept visiting his brother regularly during the first few months to make sure that things were going well:

And then came to my brother Tom and stayed and talked with him; and I hope he will do very well – and get money.<sup>114</sup>

This was by no means a simple visit to one's brother's shop. Rather, Pepys came to his brother Tom to convey the message that Tom occupied his thought throughout the time. Furthermore, it was highly likely that during their conversation Pepys would have wished his brother good luck in business. This was nothing but a kind of moral support for his less-talented brother and a new comer in business.

In addition, Pepys left us a number of diary entries describing his own feeling when he knew that Tom's business was going well. For example, on 3 January 1662 having been

113 Pepys, *Diary*, 31 Aug. 1661.

114 Pepys, *Diary*, 8 Dec. 1661.

visiting 'several places about petty businesses', Pepys did not fail to manage himself to visit Tom's, 'who I find great hopes of that he will do well, which I am glad of and am not now so hasty to get a wife for him as I was before.'<sup>115</sup> Two months later, Pepys together with his wife, upon their ramble in a morning, visited Tom's, 'whom I find full of work, which I am glad of.'<sup>116</sup> Likewise, on 31 March 1662 Pepys suddenly decided to walk in to Tom's along the way when he actually went to a certain Lord Crewes. This time, Pepys recorded that 'in my way calling upon my brother Tom, with whom I stayed a good while and talked, and find him a man like to do well, which contents me much.'<sup>117</sup> And again, a year later, in May 1663 upon his visit to Tom's, Pepys accepted that Tom was the one, 'who I find very careful nowadays, more then ordinary, in his business, and like to do well.'<sup>118</sup>

It is altogether striking that Tom's business prosperity formed the core concerns of the 'second' patriarch, for perhaps he adopted the professional guide as his crucial obligation and identity. This seemed to be true and self-evident from the diary entry. However, the emotional attachment between these two brothers due to his close age gap as the important cause for Pepys' strong concernment towards his brother Tom cannot be easily denied. On 16 January 1663 Pepys took on an opportunity of his free day to visit Tom's and spent the whole afternoon walking and conversing with his beloved brother. He recounted:

I walk two or three hours with my brother Tom, telling him my mind how it is troubled about my father's concernments, and how things would be with them all if it should please God I should die; and therefore desire him to be a good husband and fallow [*sic*] his business, which I hope he doth.<sup>119</sup>

This diary entry is compelling. The role Pepys took upon himself was obviously the one what I coin the 'second' patriarch. Pepys was here the mediator between his father and his younger brother. He was second only to his father, but was superior to his younger siblings. In addition, we may speculate the feelings and emotions that were infused in this scene when the two brothers conversed with each other in that afternoon. Pepys was so worried of the future of his brother and his brother's business. It can be even claimed that Pepys was worried whether Tom could survived both in profession and in life when Pepys passed away suddenly. In other words, Pepys would carry this brotherly concern with him into the next world of afterlife. This may explain why Pepys was of happiness and great relief when he

115 Pepys, *Diary*, 3 Jan. 1662.

116 Pepys, *Diary*, 24 March 1662.

117 Pepys, *Diary*, 31 March 1662.

118 Pepys, *Diary*, 7 May 1663.

119 Pepys, *Diary*, 16 Jan. 1663.

witnessed his brother Tom's business prosperity, for it suggested that Tom could live on without Pepys' direct intervention. The survival of a sibling without the 'second' patriarch's guidance would have been a perfect dream for this eldest brother

However, as I have noted earlier, the relationship between the eldest brother and his favourite sibling would be under threat when the former felt his authority be challenged and violated. This may cause the inconvenient relationship between siblings. And, too, this was evident in the case of the relationship between Pepys and Tom before the latter died.

The relationship between Pepys and Tom was brought into question as early as 1663. That is, it was only one and a half years of business honeymoon of Tom's tailor shop. This shorter period of business prosperity may have influenced upon Pepys' anger towards his brother. The earliest sign of Tom's not minding his business that raged Pepys' anger was recorded in the entry of 21 October 1663, when Tom arrived at the Pepys' relatively late on an appointment:

And by and by came my brother Tom to me, though late (which doth vex me to the blood that I could never get him to come time enough to me, though I have spoke a hundred times; but he is very sluggish, and too negligent ever to do well at his trade I doubt);<sup>120</sup>

It is noteworthy that Pepys did not perceive Tom's late coming as his disrespect for his 'second' patriarch. Rather, he was angry, not least because Tom's unpunctuality suggested his not minding his business sufficiently.

To the present-day reader, Pepys' rage towards Tom's unpunctuality may seem trivial. Yet this ill quality of a tradesman was far more serious in the eighteenth century when the culture of polite shopping reigned. However, it was not the matter of unpunctuality that worried Pepys. Rather, unpunctuality itself was perceived as a sign of Tom's not minding his customers. This was highly significant in running business. In polite culture of the post-Restoration period, mercers as well as tailors were well-known of their sociability and pleasing talents. In fact, as contemporary periodicals showed, shopping as pleasurable entertainment was essentially actualised in the eighteenth century through the refinement of salesmanship. A shopping description published in *The Female Tatler* in 1709 revealed that "the variety of wrought silks, so many changes of fine scenes," and "the mercers are the performers in the opera, [...] They are the sweetest, fairest, nicest dish'd out creatures,"

<sup>120</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, 21 Oct. 1663.

respectively.<sup>121</sup> Thus, we may better understand Pepys' bad temper against his brother's unpunctuality. Pepys was then worried that Tom's negligence in business might have resulted in loss in business competition. Furthermore, it is important to recall the fact that Tom suffered under speech imperfection which was the greatest obstacle for being a perfect sociable tailor of the eighteenth century.

Tom's negligence towards his customers brought him into conflict with his 'second' patriarch, particularly when Pepys felt that he himself was ignored completely by his subordinate. In October 1663 Tom failed to send Pepys 'a bill with my things, so as that I think never to have more work done by him if ever he serves me so again.'<sup>122</sup> The situation was getting worse next year in 1664 when Pepys noticed that his brother gradually lost his interest in running his business. By March 1664 Pepys had found that Tom 'hath continued talking idle all night and now knows me not – which troubles me mightily.'<sup>123</sup> This shows that Tom neglected his business throughout, so that he did not notice it at all when his patron came in. Pepys took an opportunity that night to discuss Tom's problem with his maid who provided Pepys a great deal of information regarding Tom's strange and ill behaviour. The maid told Pepys that 'he hath run behindhand a great while and owes money and hath been dunned by several people, ... but whether it was for money or something worse she knows not, ... but what their dealings have been she knows not, but believes they were naught.'<sup>124</sup> Having heard the report, Pepys drew a conclusion and prepared a judgement for his brother Tom that 'upon the whole, I do find he is, whether he lives or dies, a ruined man.'<sup>125</sup> Indeed, the end of Tom's career was in sight. In March 1664 Tom seemed to cease run his tailor shop by himself. He transferred all orders to his servants even to tailoring the clothes:

Thence with my wife to see my father and discourse how he finds Tom's

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121 *The Female Tatler*, no. 9, 25-27 July 1709, in *The Commerce of Everyday Life: Selections from THE TATLER and THE SPECTATOR*, ed. Erin Mackie (Boston/New York, 1998), pp. 292-93. For current research on ritualised shopping culture in the eighteenth century, consult Claire Walsh, 'Shop Design and the Display of Goods in Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal of Design History*, 8 (1995), pp. 157-176; *idem*, 'The newness of the department store: a view from the eighteenth century', in Geoffrey Crossick/Serge Jaumain (eds.), *Cathedrals of Consumption: The European Department Store, 1850-1959* (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 46-71; *idem*, 'Shops, Shopping, and the Art of Decision Making in Eighteenth-Century England', in John Styles/Amanda Vickery (eds.), *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America 1700-1830* (London/New Haven, 2006), pp. 151-177; Helen Berry, 'Polite Consumption: Shopping in Eighteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), pp. 375-394; Nancy Cox, *The Complete Tradesman: A Study of Retailing, 1550-1820* (Aldershot, 2000); Erin Mackie, *Market à la Mode: Fashion, Commodity, and Gender in The Tatler and The Spectator* (Baltimore/London, 1997).

122 Pepys, *Diary*, 29 Oct. 1663.

123 Pepys, *Diary*, 14 March 1664.

124 *Ibid.*

125 *Ibid.*



matters, which he doth very ill, and that he finds him to have been so negligent that he used to trust his servants with cutting out of clothes, never hardly cutting out anything himself. And by the abstract of his accounts, we find him to [owe] about above 290/ and to be coming to him under 200/.<sup>126</sup>

This was indeed the last straw for Pepys' decision to close Tom's tailor shop in the spring 1664. It is true that Pepys' decision to terminate his brother's business was on ground that he did not want to be burdened with Tom's debts. However, it could also be the case that Pepys was, as the diary entries testified throughout, so angry with his negligent brother, that he thought it appropriate to punish his brother one way or another, especially when Pepys' commands were never responded by his subordinate. The blood tie and the small age gap that bound these two male siblings together were by no means so powerful that the 'second' patriarch would indulge his inferior. The scales of power negotiation between brothers were rarely tipped in favour of the rebellious siblings.

Nevertheless, in comparison to other siblings, it is difficult to deny that Pepys did allow his beloved brother Tom much time to correct himself and improve his own business. This was evident when Pepys kept visiting, checking, discussing and finally warning his brother of his ill behaviour as a tailor, although Pepys' warnings fell only onto Tom's deaf ears. Pepys' time buying can be considered as Pepys' willingness to give his much-loved brother a second chance for self-improvement, something Pepys rarely gave to his other siblings, as we have seen so far. It is interesting to speculate that this was due to the fact that Pepys had strong emotional attachment towards his brother Tom, although it is still unclear whether Pepys' fondness was based on their shared childhood or his pity on Tom's speech impediment or simply both. Still, brotherly love was unmistakable.

Last but not least, fraternity was naturally crucial in brothers' emotional lives, too. The brother's manly stoicism was perhaps never more tested than in bereavement. The late historian Lawrence Stone notoriously argued that in the age of larger families and excessive mortality, parents as well as siblings were emotionally disengaged from their children and siblings, and thus unaffected by their untimely death.<sup>127</sup> However, evidence suggests that both parents and siblings were indeed grievously touched by such mournful events, although their reactions varied, depending on pressing circumstances. The death of a beloved sibling always

<sup>126</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, 25 March 1664.

<sup>127</sup> Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, 206-214, 247-249. However, Stone's argument has been unsurprisingly attacked by recent historians. See, for instance, Amanda Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven and London, 1998), 122; John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven and London, 1999), 100-101.

tested siblings' emotions, especially when the deceased was the dear loved one.

I shall return to the Pepys in a minute. But for now, let us witness a bereaved sister, Elizabeth Aglionby, a 41-year-old gentlewoman from Cumberland, who lost his eldest brother Christopher in 1785. Elizabeth poignantly expressed her wretched mind to her sister, Mary Yates:

[T]ime is necessary to recover so severe a shock & so great on loss – no former affliction ever affected me as this has done, but the extreme anxiety & fatigue I underwent was beyond my strength [*sic*], & has hurt me so much that I fear I shall not be well either in Mind or Body for a great while.<sup>128</sup>

At first glance, one might imagine that these lamenting lines were penned after Elizabeth experienced either parental, filial or spousal loss. None of these was the case. In fact, it was the death of her one surviving brother, Christopher Aglionby (1752-1785), that brought her to that state of 'extreme anxiety & fatigue'. Up until that moment Elizabeth had witnessed four deaths among her family members: both of her parents and her two elder brothers. Yet she confessed that 'no former affliction ever affected as this has done'. Christopher's demise grieved her 'so much', it diverted her strength as well as damaged her mind and body. In other words, this brotherly loss was for Elizabeth an experience in which her 'Mind or Body' was destroyed, and it took 'a great while' for her to revive.<sup>129</sup> Elizabeth's lamentation invites us to ruminate on the significance of siblings for an individual's life, just as the relationship between Pepys and his beloved brother Tom will show.

The case of Pepys and his dear brother Tom proved to be a less straightforward case study of emotional fraternity, for the evidence rather suggests the mixture of Pepys' emotions towards his brother when they lived their lives together. As we have seen, on the one hand, Pepys felt responsible and pity on Tom because of his speech imperfection and lack of official education that barred him from entering bureaucratic professions. On the other hand, Pepys was enormously disturbed by Tom's negligence in his business which was the sole source of income should Pepys die suddenly. The mixture of emotions between anxiety, worry, concern, pity and love poses a question how Pepys would emotionally react to his brother's demise, and whether Lawrence Stone's thesis on emotional disengagement in early modern world was valid.

128 CRO/Carl. D/Ay/6/14/1 (n.d. [1785]), Elizabeth Aglionby to Mary JO Yates, Carlisle.

129 Recently, sociologists have explored the emotional impact of sibling death on the remaining siblings; see Elizabeth DeVita-Raeburn, *The Empty Room: Surviving the Loss of a Brother or Sister at Any Age* (New York, 2004).

In fact, the eternal ending of this fraternal relationship started in March 1664 when Tom was diagnosed with small pox. The brief period of a wrong diagnosis made Pepys relieved for a little while, when the doctor 'swears there is not, nor ever was any, ... all which did put me into great comfort.'<sup>130</sup> It is important to note that the early year of 1664 was at the same time as Pepys had conflict with his brother Tom, since the latter showed a clear sign of not minding his trade and the former gave an ultimatum to close the latter's tailor shop forever to stop potential debts that may occur. Yet Pepys left no clue that he was nonchalant towards his troubling brother. Of course, one might argue that no sane brother would have wished his siblings die straightaway. However, we need to be sensitive to Pepys' writing in which he left us an obvious remark on how he was worried of his brother's severe illness. His great comfort after having known that Tom was not infected with small pox must be read in the context of acute brotherly quarrel. It can be argued that Pepys put the conflict aside for a good while when Tom's deadly sickness emerged as an urgent issue. The love for his close brother did rule out the family struggle.

However, the death of a sibling always testified the centrality of brotherhood in men's lives, although self-command at the time of bereavement remained a crucial qualification for manly characteristic. On 15 March 1664 Pepys experienced his brother's demise. He recounted, as follows:

I went up and found the nurse holding his eyes shut; and he, poor wretch, lying with his chops fallen, a most sad sight and that which put me into a present very great transport of grief and cries. And ended [*sic*], it was a most sad sight to see the poor wretch lie now still and dead and pale like a stone. ... And so this was the end of my poor brother, continuing talking idle and his lips working even to his last, that his phlegm hindered his breathing; and at last his breath broke out, bringing a flood of phlegm and stuff out with it, and so he died.<sup>131</sup>

As I have noted, it is extremely pivotal to contextualise this tragic description. Recall that Pepys and Tom were in severe quarrel against each other. Yet, only the heart of stone can deny that the dying Tom grieved his 'second' patriarch at heart. Self-control and Christian fortitude were certainly present at the heart of this 'second' patriarch. However, when he attended the death bed of his sibling, there was no need to veil his brotherly tears. That night was completely a nightmare for this eldest brother. As Pepys confessed, 'I lay close to my wife, being full of disorder and grief for my brother, that I could not sleep nor wake with

130 Pepys, *Diary*, 15 March 1664.

131 Pepys, *Diary*, 15 March 1664.

satisfaction.<sup>132</sup> The death of siblings always testified the centrality of brotherhood in a man's life, however severe the quarrel between them may have looked like.

The relationship between Pepys and Tom reveals an important aspect in sibling relations. To some extent, it is striking that brotherly closeness and fondness since childhood did play a key role in shaping the long-lasting companionship between them. The close childhood had direct influence on Pepys' emotional attachment with his closet brother Tom, and set the latter into the special position in the former's heart and mind. Tom became a true favourite for his eldest brother, and thus enjoyed a series and long-term privileges, even when he repeatedly misbehaved himself. It is also interesting to note that for this type of sibling relationship, power and authority of the 'second' patriarch did not rule out the relationship that both siblings had constructed during their childhood. Perhaps, some significant felt emotions shaped people's lived experiences in a more extensive way than some historians, like Lawrence Stone, have allowed themselves to admit.

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This research paper has discussed at length the roles of siblings in constructing and performing brotherly masculinity. As I noted at the beginning, the paper aims to problematise Ruth Perry's argument on the ideal brotherhood. Perry contends that brotherly masculinity was *chiefly* measured – conferred or denied – by a man's behaviour towards his sisters *alone*, as if other factors – such as birth order, sibling obligations and gender relations – did not play a vital role in the brothers' lives. Perry also suggests that brotherly love towards the sisters became 'a moral litmus test', a sign which guaranteed that he would be a good husband.<sup>133</sup> Yet, it is obvious from this research paper that it was not necessary for – at least – an eldest brother to appear as a loving figure towards his sister. Recall now the case of Pepys and Paulina. Thus, my finding on the relationship between Pepys and Paulina disproves Perry's argument thoroughly. There was no obligation that a brother always had to behave himself lovingly towards his sisters to show off his gentlemanliness.

In addition, this paper has taken a broader perspective, looking into the roles, obligations, and expectations of an eldest brother within a particular family, and how these had impacts on the brother's gender and emotional life. This was striking in the case of the

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>133</sup> Perry, *Novel Relations*, ch. 4.



eldest brother, Samuel Pepys, whose birth order gave him privileged status in the sibling hierarchy. (Recall that he was promoted to be the family's heir.) However, this superiority came with a range of obligations which he was expected to perform. His duties rendered him the 'second patriarch' of the family, second only to his father. Other sons could find benefit from sibling relationships, too. This was because of the nature of the sibling relationship itself. Siblings valorised their relationships and viewed them in terms of physical and emotional closeness. This led to siblings' desire for mutual practical assistance and deep devotion. In such a close tie, a 'family stage' would emerge in which each actor, that is the siblings, had a chance to present himself as a loving brother or set forth his achieved manliness to his siblings. This was a significant opportunity for brothers to reaffirm their masculine self-esteem with their family peers. Thus, it was this close nature of sibling relationships that offered men a channel to make sense of their lives.

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